

# I Am Not the Hero

REDEEMING DILLEY'S HEROES THROUGH STORY

By Shaunna Sanders, 2L

**B**efore I went to Dilley, Texas, I talked about the trip as if I'd be something of a hero. "It's a legal mission trip," I told my friends and family. "I'll be helping people who can't help themselves. I can't think of a better way to use my legal education."

Looking back, I admit that it was a bit of an ego trip, but I told myself I wanted to be a hero, not for glory and recognition but because heroes help people; they save the day. I could pay it forward by giving back. At least that's how I talked about it to other people. What I didn't admit to anyone was how much I enjoyed the prestige surrounding the Dilley volunteers. Sacrificing my placement break to help refugees made me look noble, selfless, heroic.

## The Hero's Journey

I've been obsessed with hero archetypes since my undergraduate days studying English literature. In *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Joseph Campbell points out that all heroes' stories follow, more or less, the same cycle. The hero is called on an adventure. She must overcome a series of obstacles before she fulfills her quest. As she undergoes these battles, she is transformed. Finally, she returns to the community she left behind and, in returning, brings something with her that infuses new life into that community. Sometimes it's a physical object,



but more often what she brings back is her own transformation. Her struggle to pass through hell (often literally) provides her with the knowledge and the strength she needs to face and defeat the enemies threatening her both at home and abroad.

In contemporary terms, although the concept has been diluted somewhat, the hero, by default, is still the person or group who succeeds—the one who wins the game, saves the day, defeats the enemy, or prevails against all odds. So I thought I was going to Texas to win. That was my first mistake.

My initial experiences at Dilley aligned with the pattern of the hero's journey like I had expected. I was called on the adventure and faced obstacles: my application for the project was accepted even though I

don't speak Spanish, I have no experience in immigration law, and I've hardly spent any time at all in a courtroom. Although I only spent five days inside the facility, it was—as the hero's journey promises to be—plenty of time to transform me. And finally, in that transformed (and overwhelmed) state, I returned home.

But ever since boarding the return flight in San Antonio, I've been asking myself whether I actually fulfilled my quest. If I did, I guess my hero cycle is complete and everything I said before I left was true. But if I didn't fulfill my quest, am I really a hero? Probably not. And if not, what was the point of my journey?

When I came home and told the story of what I'd done in Dilley, people often said, "Thank you for your service. I'm sure

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Since the fall of 2016, BYU law professors Kif Augustine-Adams and Carolina Núñez have taken groups of BYU Law students and faculty to Dilley, Texas, to give pro bono legal services to women seeking asylum in the United States. These women are housed in the South Texas Family Residential Center—the largest immigrant detention center in the country.

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you did a lot of good.” Although they had the best of intentions, this sentiment made me feel hollow. After hearing it over and over again, I finally realized that I’d had the whole thing wrong from the beginning. Their gratitude for my “service” gave me credit for a heroic effort I didn’t deserve. Because the thing is, I failed. I’m not a hero—not of this story, anyway.

But if I’m not the hero, who is?

### The True Heroes

The true heroes of this story are—or should be—the women and children of Central America. But I went through the exercise of fitting their stories into the cycle anyway—just to be certain of what I thought I knew.

Step one: the call to adventure. Although *adventure* is too bland a word to describe her call to leave her country, there is always a moment where the Guatemalan or Honduran or El Salvadorian woman says, “Enough is enough. I’m not going to stand by and watch the destruction of everything that is precious to me.” So she gathers her children and flees, often into dangers as great as or greater than the ones she left behind.

Step two: overcoming obstacles. The woman in this story struggles through violence, oppression, depravity, and loss, often with only a vague sense of what awaits her when she gets beyond these obstacles. I don’t know what sustains her through the journey, but I do know that the journey refines her. It strengthens and toughens her. Yet she manages, somehow, to keep her humanity intact, which is beyond miraculous. She literally fights for her own life and the life of her children every day. But when those children need a kind word or a soft touch, she

can still hold them and soothe their sorrows.

Step three: fulfilling the quest. Finally, she arrives at the river. She has almost made it! Her quest is at an end—or so she thinks. She wades or swims across, carrying her children if necessary, to the land of promise. It must be better here; it must be worth the sacrifices she has made.

But just as I mistakenly thought I was making a heroic journey to Dilley where I would have the opportunity to save the day, I wonder if she thinks the South Texas Family Residential Center is a poor reward for her heroic journey. Detention, credible fear interviews (CFIS), and asylum cases seem like a complicated, lengthy, and torturous way to say, “You lost. You’re not a hero. We don’t have anything here that can help you. All your suffering has been for naught.”

Step nothing: If the quest is not fulfilled, the hero can’t return transformed, bringing new life into her community.

During the days I spent cloistered in a CFI prep room that was always too hot or too cold, I heard many cases, some stronger than others, that fit the mold of the hero’s journey. But other stories were just too weak. They were real stories, but not the type that interested the law. And even those stories that were good enough to pass the low bar of a credible fear interview will probably not be good enough for permanent asylum in the United States. Either way, most of the women will find themselves returning home without having fulfilled their quest. They were transformed, but to what end? Why did they go through all of that heartache if it didn’t work?

This question has occupied my thoughts for a long time now.

If the hero loses—and according to almost all definitions of success, an asylum claim rejection is a failure—can she still be a hero? No matter what happens with her claim, this woman is not going to spend the rest of her days in paradise. If she stays in the United States, she’ll still be poor. She’ll still struggle to find work and feed her children. She’ll have to deal with prejudice because of her gender, her nationality, the color of her skin, and the language she speaks. She’ll worry about the ones she left behind, and she’ll try to make enough money to send for them. But even if they make it here, that will only mean she’ll have another mouth to feed. She’ll have to work very hard, and she’ll still be lonely. So how can I call her a hero? How can I believe that her life matters at all? Maybe we are none of us heroes. And maybe God has simply turned away His face from our suffering.

But in my heart I can’t believe it. As I struggled to understand the point of their injustice and my own helplessness, I realized that the answer lies in their stories.

### The Power of Story

There is value and power in telling your story to someone—anyone—who is willing to listen. The Greeks believed that there are two paths to immortality. The first path is through children, who carry on your name and your legacy; you live through them even after you have died. The second path is through story. Heroes like Achilles, Odysseus, Beowulf, Siddhartha, King Arthur, and Hamlet are, in a sense, still alive and still hold power because someone told their stories and someone listened to them.

Telling a story establishes a sacred trust between the one who tells it and the one who hears it. It validates the storyteller’s experience and makes the events in the story even more real than they were when they happened. Telling a story creates truth, and listening to a story recognizes that truth.

In Spanish, “to feel” is *sentir*. If you want to say “I’m sorry,” however, you say “*Lo siento*”—“I feel you.” And while my Spanish is limited and mostly incomprehensible, I know how to say “*lo siento*.” Better yet, those words encapsulate the one gift I *did* give these women. I listened to their lives, witnessed their heartaches and traumas, the depths of their sorrows, and the intensity of their struggles, and I said, “I feel you.” I testified that they lived, that they tried, and that they were transformed by their journey.

I want the gift of hearing these women to be what completes their cycle and transforms them into true heroes. I have no idea what will happen to them; if I think about it too much, I feel paralyzed at the hopelessness of their plights. But I do know that each woman I interviewed found her voice. She told her story, and I heard it. And if that was all I could do for her, I hope with all my heart that in that moment it made her the hero of her own story.

It made her a hero in my eyes. Maybe that’s all that matters.

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# Opening Doors

LEADING AND LOVING IN AND ON THE COURTS

By K. Marie Kulbeth, '10

**T**im Overton, '07, recently received the Arizona Black Bar Association's Excellence in Diversity Award for his contributions to the legal profession and the community, and those contributions come in ways you might not expect. As a stake president for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a partner at Steptoe & Johnson LLP, and a father of five young children, Overton has a schedule few can compete with.

## The Invitation

Regardless of his having little free time, twice a week you can find Overton in his church building's gym playing basketball with a group of about 20 young men ages 18 to 25. Usually only a couple of them are members of the Church. But they keep coming. Overton prays with them, shares a lesson with them, and gives them a place to play where they know good sportsmanship is required. For Overton, opening doors and inviting people to be part of his life is the essence of both the gospel of Jesus Christ and his obligation as a Black professional.

Overton draws on his unique life experiences, his personal values, and the ideals instilled at BYU Law as he lives out his personal creed: legal skills are not simply a means to make money but a means to help others. As Overton explains, his own life was changed by others reaching out to him and inviting him to be part of their lives.

"I was a big Black college football player with long hair and earrings, playing football in Idaho and getting the usual check-the-box 'Here's a Book of Mormon' type of invitations," Overton remembers. "I was somewhat active in my own church and not at all interested in the Book of Mormon or another church. But when two people—a classmate and a teammate—invited me into their homes for meals with their families without any mention of

the Church, it was life changing. That was 18 years ago. Looking back, as a partner at a top law firm and a stake president, my life has been one miracle after another because people reached out to me socially."

Overton also attributes his focus on empowering others to his father, who traveled to Arizona to be with him when he received the Excellence in Diversity Award. "My dad wanted to go to law school and become a lawyer. But he looked around and saw that there were no jobs for Black lawyers then. How cool is it," Overton concludes, "that he was able to be there with me for that event, that because of his hard work I was able to accomplish so much."



In addition to this recent recognition by the Arizona Black Bar Association, Overton was selected as a Leadership Council on Legal Diversity Fellow in 2017 and was named to the *Phoenix Business Journal's* 40 Under 40 list in 2016. He has also been recognized multiple times on the Southwest Super Lawyers Rising Stars list.

### The Gift of Empowerment

Just as others helped open doors for him, Overton works to open doors for others. He is keenly aware of the challenges faced by attorneys of color, and he has worked on his own and with formal organizations to improve diversity in the profession. He has joined the Arizona Black Bar Association, the National Bar Association, and the Leadership Council on Legal Diversity in order to address these challenges. He utilizes the power of formal associations to participate in organized mentoring programs and support the Black Law Students Association at the Sandra Day O'Connor Law School (ASU Law) and at BYU Law. He also teaches a course titled Race and the Law at ASU Law that addresses how the social construct of race has influenced our nation's legal system from its foundation through the present day, raising students' awareness about the impact of race on the legal system and vice versa.

Overton also maximizes service opportunities through his law firm as he serves on its Diversity and Inclusion Committee and chairs his firm's Black Lawyers Affinity Group. He uses these platforms to train attorneys and staff members at his firm on diversity issues, to empower women and minority attorneys and staff members,

and to encourage improved relationships among all groups. He also leverages his firm's contacts to reach out to other entities and provide training

to managers and employees on unconscious bias, teaching them about the value of every human being regardless of differences. He values working through formal structures because they are visible organizations that people can turn to for guidance and support. He finds that being associated with these organizations opens doors while also legitimizing his personal outreach.

Overton's personal outreach includes giving pro bono legal services, volunteering at his children's schools, and serving in his faith community. Overton identifies people to mentor in part by simply being aware of those around him who may share challenges he uniquely understands. For example, as he plays basketball, he talks to the young men about their goals. If they express an interest in being a paralegal or medical assistant, he asks, "Why not a lawyer?" or "Why not a doctor?"

Many of them, he explains, do not see a path to those types of careers because no one in their families has those kind of jobs, and no one has helped

is very concerned about me playing basketball," Overton recounts. However, the feeling and thought did not subside. "I recognized that this was the kind of prompting I had learned to follow in other circumstances, so I sent out several text messages, and we met to play the next day."

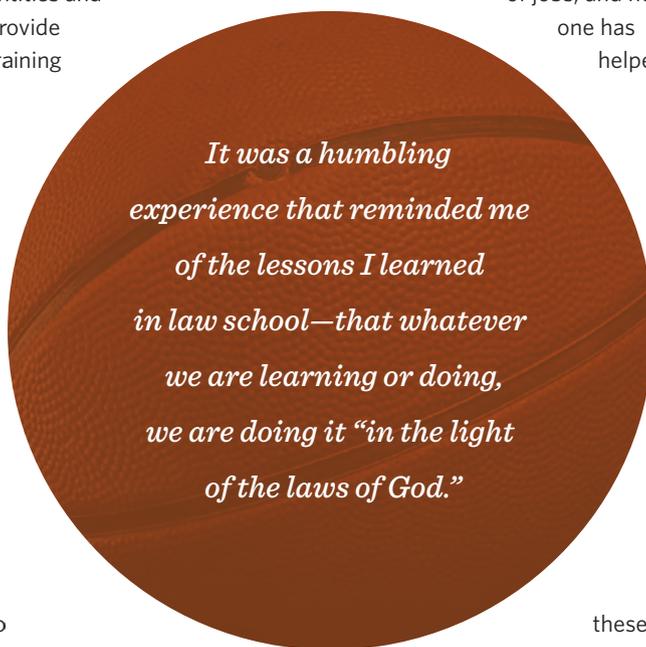
After playing for a few hours, Overton walked toward the parking lot with some of the young men. One of them stopped Overton to ask if they could talk about something important going on in his life. Before they could do so, a second young man approached with the same request. It turned out they were both facing situations with serious personal and legal implications.

"I sat down with each of those good young friends, and I felt God communicate with them through me as I gave them counsel and advice," Overton shares. "It was a humbling experience that reminded me of the lessons I learned in law school—that whatever we are learning or doing, we are doing it 'in the light of the laws of God.'"<sup>1</sup>

Overton uses a set of keys to open the doors of a building for young people. He uses his legal skills to open doors for his clients and the community members he works with. And, like his father, who has opened doors for him, and his teammate and classmate, who reached out to him, he keeps his heart open to the people around him.

#### NOTE

- 1 J. Reuben Clark Law School Mission Statement; quoting Marion G. Romney, in *Addresses at the Ceremony Opening the J. Reuben Clark Law School (Brigham Young University)*, Aug. 27, 1973, 20, and D&C 93:53.



these young men see their true potential. Similarly, as he works with minority law students, he sees that many do not have a vision of themselves as a partner, dean, or C-suite officer. Overton believes deeply in the power that comes from strong personal relationships and uses those relationships to empower others to realize their potential.

### Life and the Law

After a recent change to the basketball schedule that eliminated pick-up games on Saturday mornings, Overton got a text message from one of his players asking if they would be playing Saturday morning. Within a few minutes, a second young man had sent a similar text. Overton answered both of them in the negative. However, he received an impression that he should go ahead and play basketball on Saturday.

"At first I laughed to myself because I don't believe God

# Toward a More Perfect Union

By Steve Hill, '77

Remarks excerpted from an address  
delivered at the JRCLS Annual Leadership Conference  
on October 5, 2018, in Aspen Grove, Utah

I had the good fortune to help arrange a meeting in May 2018 between the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I want to speak briefly about how that meeting came about and what I believe it means.

## The Long Road to Equality

I first met Wil Colom, an African American lawyer from Mississippi, 10 years ago through a close friend from BYU Law School, James Parkinson, '76. When Colom invited me to join him and Parkinson on a trip to Tanzania, I had a romanticized view of East Africa—based primarily on the film *Out of Africa*—and I jumped at the chance to join them.

I spent my first three days in Tanzania on safari with Derrick Johnson, then president of the Mississippi Conference of the NAACP. After spending time with Johnson, I realized I knew woefully little African American history. Johnson recommended books that, along with a lot of other reading, radically changed my less-informed perspective.

The preamble to the U.S. Constitution states that “we the People” aspire, among other

things, “to form a more perfect Union” and to “secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.” As formed, however, our union was far from perfect. Millions of Americans were systematically denied the blessings of liberty. The Civil War amendments ended slavery, granted equal protection of the laws, and promised voting rights. Following Reconstruction, however, the redeemer movement effectively denied Blacks the right to vote, and in *Plessy v. Ferguson* the U.S. Supreme Court held that “separate but equal” was constitutional,<sup>1</sup> leading to the Jim Crow era.

But separation by race was never equal, and to fight this injustice, W. E. B. Du Bois and others created the NAACP in 1909. The NAACP had three main objectives: (1) end segregation, (2) obtain voting rights, and (3) end lynching. Despite great progress, much work remains to be done.

During the Church’s first two decades—the late 1820s and into the 1840s—some Black men were ordained to the priesthood. One of them, Elijah Abel, participated in temple ordinances in Kirtland, Ohio, and was baptized by proxy for deceased relatives in Nauvoo, Illinois. In 1852, however, Brigham Young announced that



men of African descent could no longer be ordained to the priesthood.<sup>2</sup>

Much has changed in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since 1852. In June 2018, at Be One—A Celebration of the Revelation on the Priesthood, we commemorated the 40th anniversary of the revelation that all worthy men may hold the priesthood in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During that event, President Dallin H. Oaks remarked that, at the time of the revelation in 1978, the various reasons that had been given by Church leaders for the priesthood ban were all disavowed,<sup>3</sup> echoing the Church’s stance in the 2013 Gospel Topics essay

“Race and the Priesthood.”<sup>4</sup>

Following the violence in Charlottesville, Virginia, during the summer of 2017, the Church issued statements denouncing white supremacy in the strongest terms<sup>5</sup> and sustaining, as stated in the Book of Mormon, that “all are alike unto God.”<sup>6</sup>

## The Church and the NAACP

In October 2017, Derrick Johnson, my safari companion, was elected national president and CEO of the NAACP. He asked my good friend Wilbur Colom to act as his special counsel. As Johnson and Colom discussed strategies for the NAACP, they decided to reach out to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This occurred to

them because of a service project performed earlier that year by Church members in Jackson, Mississippi, when an inspired stake president called the NAACP office in Jackson to see if his stake could be of service. Not long after that call, Church volunteers refurbished the Medgar Evers Home Museum in Jackson, where the local NAACP chapter has offices. What began as a local act of community solidarity came to the attention of the national NAACP offices when the Jackson chapter decided to give the Church an award for its members' service.

As a result, Colom called me mid-December 2017 and asked if it might be possible for the officers of the NAACP to meet the leaders of the Church. I thought it would take at least a year to arrange a meeting, but within three weeks Elder D. Todd Christofferson of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had sent a letter to Johnson, inviting the NAACP board to come to Salt Lake City for a meeting in May.

In preparation for the NAACP visit, Colom and I met with Elder Christofferson. Colom asked him what the Church hoped to accomplish by meeting with NAACP leaders. Elder Christofferson said that the Church hoped for a fresh start and new friends—exactly what the NAACP hoped for.

At a press event following the private meeting between the First Presidency and the NAACP leaders, President Russell M. Nelson stated:

*Today, in unity with such capable and impressive leaders as the national officials of the NAACP, we are impressed to call on people of this nation and, indeed, the entire world to demonstrate*

*greater civility, racial and ethnic harmony and mutual respect. In meetings this morning, we have begun to explore ways—such as education and humanitarian service—in which our respective members and others can serve and move forward together, lifting our brothers and sisters who need our help, just as the Savior, Jesus Christ, would do. These are His words: “I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one ye are not mine” (Doctrine and Covenants 38:27).<sup>7</sup>*

On behalf of the NAACP, Johnson responded:

*We compliment The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for its good faith efforts to bless not only its members, but people throughout . . . the world in so many ways. The NAACP, through our mission, we are clear that it is our job to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. And we do so in an advocacy voice, but now with a partner who seeks to pursue harmony and civility within our community. I am proud to stand here today to open up a dialog to seek ways of common interest to work towards a higher purpose.<sup>8</sup>*

The next Sunday morning, following *Music and the Spoken Word*, the Tabernacle Choir at Temple Square performed the Black National Anthem, “Lift Every Voice and Sing,” in honor of the NAACP visitors. Afterward, one member of the choir told me it was a good thing there are 360 choir members, because at any given moment about a quarter of them were too choked up to sing.

The words of the second verse highlight one of the areas of common ground between the NAACP and the Church of Jesus Christ—a history of searching for a place of freedom:

*Stony the road we trod,  
Bitter the chastening rod,  
Felt in the days when hope unborn  
had died;  
Yet with a steady beat  
Have not our weary feet  
Come to the place for which our  
fathers sighed?<sup>9</sup>*

Less than a month later, the Be One celebration made a powerful statement to members of the Church and beyond. More than once Colom and I commented to each other that it felt as though an invisible hand was guiding us.

### The Arc of Peace

So what do I think all this means?

First, the impact of reaching out of our comfort zones to people not part of our families or immediate circles of friends can be powerful and can bring about significant change. I could never have imagined that, years after we met on a safari, I would stand with Johnson in a meeting with the First Presidency. Likewise, those members in Jackson, Mississippi, probably could not have foreseen the goodwill their acts of service would create.

Second, Martin Luther King Jr. said, “The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.”<sup>10</sup> We are wrong to think King meant the arc bends on its own. We should be grabbing our crowbars and bending it ourselves. I believe those Church members in Jackson bent the arc a little, and when the Church and NAACP leaders came together, they bent it a bit more. The task of realizing the vision of the Founding Fathers—the blessings of liberty for us all—never ends.

Ultimately, I am reminded of these words of the Savior

from the Sermon on the Mount: “Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.”<sup>11</sup> That’s what I saw throughout this process—people coming together as peacemakers—and that’s what I hope we all can be.

### NOTES

- 1 Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).
- 2 See The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, “Race and the Priesthood,” Gospel Topics essay, December 2013, [lds.org/topics/race-and-the-priesthood?lang=eng](https://www.lds.org/topics/race-and-the-priesthood?lang=eng).
- 3 See Dallin H. Oaks, “President Oaks Remarks at Worldwide Priesthood Celebration,” Newsroom of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Jun. 1, 2018, [mormonnewsroom.org/article/president-oaks-remarks-worldwide-priesthood-celebration](https://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/president-oaks-remarks-worldwide-priesthood-celebration).
- 4 See the Church, “Race and the Priesthood.”
- 5 See “Church Issues Statements on Situation in Charlottesville, Virginia,” Newsroom of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Aug. 13, 2017, [mormonnewsroom.org/article/church-statement-charlottesville-virginia](https://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/church-statement-charlottesville-virginia).
- 6 2 Nephi 26:33.
- 7 Russell M. Nelson, quoted in “First Presidency and NAACP Leaders Call for Greater Civility, Racial Harmony,” Newsroom of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, May 17, 2018, [mormonnewsroom.org/article/joint-statement-first-presidency-naacp-national-leadership](https://www.mormonnewsroom.org/article/joint-statement-first-presidency-naacp-national-leadership).
- 8 Derrick Johnson, quoted in *ibid.*
- 9 “Lift Every Voice and Sing,” the Black National Anthem, words by James Weldon Johnson (1900), music by John Rosamond Johnson (1905).
- 10 Martin Luther King Jr., “Out of the Long Night,” *Gospel Messenger* 107, no. 6 (Feb. 8, 1958): 14; quoting Theodore Parker, *The Sermons of Religion* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company, 1853), 84–85.
- 11 Matthew 5:9.

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3 See, for example, J. Reuben Clark Jr.'s 1947 classic tribute to the Latter-day Saint pioneers in Conference Report, October 1947, 154–60; also “To Them of the Last Wagon,” *Ensign*, July 1997.

4 J. Reuben Clark Jr., Conference Report, April 1951, 154; stated at the time he was sustained as second counselor in the First Presidency after having served two decades as first counselor. Quoted in Boyd K. Packer, “Called to Serve,” *Ensign*, Nov. 1997.

5 *Index to Journal of Discourses, Volumes 1–26* (Provo: Brigham Young University Library, 1959), 104.

6 Email from James R. Rasband to author, Dec. 30, 2018.

7 See Richard L. Evans, address given to the young people at the Northwest Inland Division gathered for Zion’s Camp, Oct. 15, 1971; quoted by David A. Bednar in “Your Whole Souls as an Offering unto Him,” Ricks College devotional address, Jan. 5, 1999.

8 Neal A. Maxwell, quoted in Bruce C. Hafen, *A Disciple’s Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 380.

9 Marion G. Romney, in *Addresses at the Ceremony Opening the J. Reuben Clark Law School (Brigham Young University)*, Aug. 27, 1973, 20; quoting D&C 93:53.

10 See Hafen, *A Disciple’s Life*, 166–67.

11 The Aims of a BYU Education (Mar. 1, 1995).

12 Online introduction to Life in the Law series, BYU Howard W. Hunter Law Library, digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/life\_law.

13 Paraphrasing Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.: “The only simplicity for which I would give a straw is that which is on the other side of the complex”; in a letter from Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. to Lady Pollock, Boston, Massachusetts, Oct. 24, 1902, in *Holmes-Pollock Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock, 1874–1932*, ed. Mark DeWolfe Howe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 109.

14 For an attempt to build on Oliver Wendell Holmes’s insight (see *ibid.*), see Bruce C. Hafen and Marie K. Hafen, *Faith Is Not Blind* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2018).

15 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969), 517.

16 *Ibid.* at 287.

17 *Ibid.*

18 Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, *To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in*

*Public Policy* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977), 6.

19 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 291.

20 *Ibid.* at 292.

21 *Ibid.* at 294.

22 Clayton Christensen, “Clay Christensen on Religious Freedom (His Personal Views, Not HBS),” J. Reuben Clark Law, Mar. 5, 2014, youtube.com/watch?v=YjntXYDPw44, emphasis in original.

23 See Sir Rabinder Singh, “The Development of Human Rights Thought from Magna Carta to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” in *Magna Carta, Religion and the Rule of Law*, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and Mark Hill QC (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 274, 280.

24 Paraphrased by Sir Rabinder Singh, *ibid.* at 279. Robert F. Kennedy’s exact language was: “At the heart of that western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, *the child of God*, is the touchstone of value, and all society, all groups and states, exist for that person’s benefit” (“Day of Reaffirmation of Academic and Human Freedom,” address delivered at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, June 6, 1966, emphasis added; quoted in *ibid.*).

25 *Ibid.* at 280.

26 D&C 101:80.

27 Wilford Woodruff, in Conference Report, April 1898, 89; quoted in Blaine M. Yorgason, Richard A. Schmutz, and Douglas D. Alder, *All That Was Promised: The St. George Temple and the Unfolding of the Restoration* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2013), 307–8.

28 See Steven Waldman, *Founding Faith: Providence, Politics, and the Birth of Religious Freedom in America* (New York: Random House, 2008).

29 *Ibid.* at xvi.

30 *Ibid.* at xv.

31 *Ibid.* at 204.

32 Letter from John Adams to Zabdiel Adams, Philadelphia, June 21, 1776.

33 Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Jefferson Smith, Monticello, Feb. 21, 1825; quoted in Waldman, *Founding Faith*, 186.

34 Waldman, *Founding Faith*, xvi.

35 *Ibid.* at 203.

36 See “America’s Changing Religious Landscape,” Religion and Public Life, Pew Research Center, May 12, 2015, pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape.

37 Gallup reported that 58 percent in 1995 and 53 percent in 2016 said that religion is “very important” in their lives; see “Religion,” In Depth: Topics A to Z, Gallup, news.gallup.com/poll/1690/religion.aspx.

38 See Frank Newport, “Most Americans Say Religion Is Losing Influence in U.S.,” Politics, Gallup, May 29, 2013, news.gallup.com/poll/162803/americans-say-religion-losing-influence.aspx.

39 See Lydia Saad, “Confidence in Religion at New Low, but Not Among Catholics,” Religion, Gallup, June 17, 2015, news.gallup.com/poll/183674/confidence-religion-new-low-not-among-catholics.aspx.

40 Waldman, *Founding Faith*, 204–5.

41 *Ibid.* at 203–4.

42 Robin Griffith-Jones and Mark Hill QC, “The Relevance and Resonance of the Great Charter of 1215 for Religions Today,” in Griffith-Jones and Hill, *Magna Carta*, 17.

43 Waldman, *Founding Faith*, 187.

44 Letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, Monticello, Virginia, Sept. 4, 1823; quoted in *ibid.*

45 Letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, Monticello, Nov. 13, 1818; quoted in Waldman, *Founding Fathers*, 187.

46 D&C 101:80.

47 David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 646.

48 *Ibid.* at 647.

49 Wilford Woodruff, in Conference Report, Apr. 1898, 89–90, emphasis added; quoted in Yorgason, Schmutz, and Alder, *All That Was Promised*, 307.

50 “Discourse Preached by Elder Wilford Woodruff,” *Deseret News*, Mar. 27, 1878, 115; quoted in Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 193–94.

51 Richard E. Bennett, “‘Line upon Line, Precept upon Precept’: Reflections on the 1877 Commencement of the Performance of Endowments and Sealings for the Dead,” *BYU Studies* 44, no. 3 (2005): 66.

52 For more information about these eminent men and women, see Yorgason, Schmutz, and Alder, *All That Was Promised*, 306–7.

53 See D&C 138.

54 1 Peter 4:12–14.

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