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A Study in Political Attitudes and Activism of North Dakota Clergymen

Gary K. Malm

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A STUDY IN POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND ACTIVISM
OF NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN

by
Gary K. Malm

Bachelor of Philosophy, University of North Dakota, 1958

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty
of the
University of North Dakota
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

August
1971

This Thesis submitted by Gary K. Malm in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota is hereby approved by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done.

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Permission

Title A STUDY IN POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND ACTIVISM OF
NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN

Department Political Science

Degree Master of Arts

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Date August 2, 1971

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ABSTRACT

The intent of this paper was to examine some of the attitudes and actions of the North Dakota clergymen toward politics and specific political issues. The specific political actions which were studied were voting behavior, participation in protest marches and demonstrations, and active campaigning for a political candidate or party. The attitudes which were studied were with regard to the rating of the Supreme Court of the United States, pari-mutual betting in North Dakota, following laws which one considered to be morally wrong, conscientious objection to specific wars, and the use of the pulpit for statements of personal political beliefs. These attitudes and actions were compared with similar attitudes and actions of the general public of North Dakota and the United States. Three factors--age, denominations, date of ordination--were examined in connection thereto. The study was done by mailing questionnaires to 500 North Dakota clergymen. The tabulated results indicated that the North Dakota clergy were very highly interested in politics but not extremely active. Age was the only factor that proved to be consistently important. The questionnaires further revealed that North Dakota clergymen were very independent and individualistic in their political attitudes.

A Study in Political Attitudes and Activism
of North Dakota Clergymen

Gary K. Malm, M.A.

The University of North Dakota, 1971

Faculty Advisor: Professor Walter E. Kaloupek

The intent of this paper was to examine some of the attitudes and actions of the North Dakota clergymen toward politics and specific political issues. The specific political actions which were studied were voting behavior, participation in protest marches and demonstrations, and active campaigning for a political candidate or party. The attitudes which were studied were with regard to the rating of the Supreme Court of the United States, pari-mutual betting in North Dakota, following laws which one considered to be morally wrong, conscientious objection to specific wars, and the use of the pulpit for statements of personal political beliefs. These attitudes and actions were compared with similar attitudes and actions of the general public of North Dakota and the United States. Three factors--age, denominations, date of ordination--were examined in connection thereto. The study was done by mailing questionnaires to 500 North Dakota clergymen. The tabulated results indicated that the North Dakota clergy were very highly interested in politics but not extremely active. Age was the only

factor that proved to be consistently important. The questionnaires further revealed that North Dakota clergymen were very independent and individualistic in their political attitudes.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the 1960's many sounds of criticism spread across this country. Some of this criticism was aimed at the religious sector of American life. The church and many of its leaders were criticized for not attempting to end the social injustices that had been recognized in the United States. One area of criticism often pointed out was concerned with the church's role in the betterment of race relations. As some observers had stated to the rest of the world, at eleven o'clock on Sunday morning the United States had its most racially segregated hour.¹

During the early 1960's many clergymen began to leave their pulpits and take part in the action of protest and civil rights movements. In 1961 clergymen went into the South on the historic freedom marches. In 1963 the National Council of Churches organized its Commission on Race and Religion which has since become the center of the National Council of Churches' activities in the civil rights struggle.

Religious organizations and leaders have continued to speak out on many issues since the early sixties. One such organization is the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. This organization is

¹Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1965), p. 6.

a war protest group of about 33,000 members of which the majority are clergy or others in religious leadership positions.²

Not all people have agreed with the participation of clergymen in affairs they believe to be outside of the realm of the church. One such critic is J. Howard Pew, chairman of the board of the Sun Oil Company and vice president of the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Mr. Pew said the basic purposes of the church are

. . . to preach the gospel . . . convert men to a personal faith in Jesus Christ. . . . To commit the church as a corporate body to controversial positions on which its members differ sharply is to divide the church into warring camps, stirring dissensions into one place where spiritual unity should prevail.³

The purpose of this study is to examine the political attitudes and activism of North Dakota clergymen. An attempt will be made to see if the North Dakota clergymen are politically active and to ascertain their position on how politically active clergymen should be. The study will also attempt to determine how the clergyman believes that his congregation and his leadership would feel if he became more politically active.

²Richard John Neuhaus, "The War, The Churches, and Civil Religion," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (January, 1970), p. 131.

³J. Howard Pew, "Should Churches Meddle in Civil Affairs," Reader's Digest, May, 1966, p. 52.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Clergymen have been politically active throughout the history of our country. Early religious leaders such as Roger Williams demanded changes in the way of life of their day. In 1635 Williams was banished from Massachusetts for "having breached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of the magistrates."⁴

The Beecher family of Connecticut was extremely influential in bringing about changes in their state's early history. Reverend Lyman Beecher preached against the practice of dueling in the early 1800's. Through his sermons and his family's influence, Connecticut was the first state to exclude from voting persons convicted of dueling.⁵

The clergy was extremely active in the temperance and liquor control movement of the early 1800's. In 1826 the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was established and seven of the thirteen members of its first Board of Directors were Protestant ministers.⁶ Protestant ministers in Maine established the Maine Temperance Society

⁴Anson Phelps Stokes and Leo Pfeffer, Church and State in the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 13.

⁵Ibid., p. 252.

⁶Ibid., p. 261.

which secured the passage of the first definitive legal prohibition of intoxicating liquor. This law was the Maine law of 1851.⁷

One of the most important moral issues of American history in which clergymen took an active part was the slavery issue. The first opponents of slavery in North America were the religious leaders of the Quakers, Mennonites and Dunkers.⁸

Clergymen became extremely active in the anti-slavery organizations. In 1835 two-thirds of the delegates of the New England Anti-Slavery Society were clergymen.⁹ Theodore Weld, a former student for the Congregational ministry, organized a group of clergymen and ministerial candidates called "The Seventy."¹⁰ This group was responsible for setting up over a thousand anti-slavery societies whose total membership was over one hundred thousand people.¹¹

Clergymen participated in petition campaigns against slavery. Two examples of note occurred in 1836. One was a petition to Congress protesting slavery. This petition was over 200 feet long and contained the names of 3,050 New England clergymen. The other notable petition campaign of 1836 resulted in petitions from 125 New England clergymen

⁷Ibid., p. 262.

⁸Anson Phelps Stokes, Church and State in the United States (3 vols.; New York Harper and Brothers, 1950), II, p. 121.

⁹Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁰The name "The Seventy" had been intentionally chosen from the early group of disciples referred to in The New Testament who were to christianize the world.

¹¹Stokes, Church and State in the United States, II, p. 155.

and their congregations. These two petition campaigns resulted in the introduction of a resolution in the United States Senate by John C. Calhoun that all anti-slave petitions be permanently tabled without discussion.¹²

After the Civil War many clergymen turned their attention to the preaching of social gospel. The social gospel idea was that the church should turn its attention to the social needs of society and help to solve the social ills of society. Clergymen who were early forerunners of the social gospel included Henry Ward Beecher, William Ellery Channing, and Washington Gladden.

An editorial of Reverend Gladden provides an excellent example of how social gospel ministers of this country attacked the social ills of society. The following is Reverend Gladden's reply to Boss Tweed's defiant "What are you going to do about it?"

We are going to turn you and all your creatures out of office. . . .
We are going to get back as much as we can of the booty you have
stolen. . . .

. . . We are going to . . . send you to your own place, the
penitentiary. . . . We are going to make the city and the whole
country too hot for you. . . . God may have mercy on you; but
for us, we promise you that your ill gotten booty shall be poor
compensation for the inheritance of shame which shall be yours
forever.¹³

The leading exponent of the social gospel in the United States was Reverend Walter Rauschenbusch. In his book, Christianizing the Social Order, he said:

¹²Ibid., pp. 153-154.

¹³Ibid., p. 259.

My sole desire has been to summon the Christian passion for justice and the Christian powers of love and mercy to do their share in redeeming the social order from its inherent wrongs.¹⁴

By the early 1900's the different religious denominations began to form groups and boards to examine some of the problems of social reform. A few of these groups were the National Council of the Congregational Church Joint Commission on Social Service founded in 1910, the Methodist Federation for Social Service founded in 1907 and the American Unitarian Society's Department of Social and Public Service founded in 1908.

Prohibition was another example where the church and clergymen were actively involved in a moral question that had political implication. In this instance certain clergymen openly supported candidates who were in favor of prohibition and opposed candidates who were against prohibition. One example of this open support was by Bishop Cannon of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who along with several of his associates formed the Anti-Smith Democrats in 1928.¹⁵ This group had much support among the leading organs of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In the 1960's the clergymen of this country began to enter the civil rights movement in large numbers. The Selma March in 1965 drew several thousand clergymen of almost every denomination. Crises on the local level usually drew forth more clergymen proportionally than a crisis on the national level. In Cleveland in 1964, 221 clergymen or

¹⁴Ibid., p. 268, quoting Walter Rauschenbusch's, Christianizing The Social Order.

¹⁵Ibid, p. 331.

40 percent of the metropolitan area's white Protestant clergymen were involved in the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights. During the summer of 1965, 444 civil rights demonstrators were clergymen or nuns.¹⁶ In 1966, 132 Detroit clergymen signed a statement that they would promote civil disobedience and would submit themselves to arrest if Mayor James Cavanaugh did not respond to the housing demands of the poor. The 132 clergymen made up approximately one third of the more liberal Protestant churches.¹⁷

These are but a few of the many examples of political activities in which the church and its clergy have been involved. Throughout the history of the United States it appears that the church and its clergy have been active in political matters. The remainder of this thesis will be an attempt to analyze how the North Dakota clergymen of today views his political role and how actively he carries out this role.

¹⁶Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Clergy Involvement in Civil Rights," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (January, 1970), p. 124.

¹⁷Jeffrey K. Hadden, The Gathering Storm in the Churches (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969), p. 126.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND ASSUMPTIONS

In order to analyze how the North Dakota clergymen view their role in the political process, a mail questionnaire (See Appendix B) was developed. The questionnaire was prepared and sent to 500 clergymen of seven different denominations during the month of April in 1969. The list for 500 North Dakota clergymen was taken from the official publications of the seven different denominations. These official lists were updated and supplemented by interviewing clergymen of the seven denominations who were located in Grand Forks. The seven denominations were chosen because they are the largest in the state and are located throughout the state. These factors gave the survey a wider geographical and numerical base so as to improve the validity of the study.

Of the 500 questionnaires sent out, 265 were completed and returned for analysis and evaluation. Table 1 shows the number of questionnaires sent to each of the seven denominations and the number completed and returned. The 53 percent return is considered satisfactory for statistical purposes.¹⁸ Since complete anonymity was

¹⁸Donald S. Longworth stated ". . . with a return of less than fifty percent, serious methodological questions can be raised to the validity of the study." "Use of a Mail Questionnaire," American Sociological Review, XVIII (June, 1953), 310. G. Allen Rocher agreed with Longworth and prefaced Longworth's quote with the following: "Though a minimum level below which yields cause specious results

promised in the cover letter (Appendix B), no follow-up study was possible. The return percentage was sufficient to eliminate sufficient bias.¹⁹

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED

Denominations	Number of Questionnaires Sent	Number of Questionnaires Returned
Catholic		
Bismarck Diocese	110	75
Fargo Diocese	110	73
Lutheran		
American Lutheran	105	26
Lutheran Church in America	25	16
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	55	33
Presbyterian	40	28
Methodist	30	4
Episcopal	25	15

The original study format was to study denominational differences, age of clergymen, and date of ordination. One additional

has not been established (and would probably vary with both the purpose and the character of the individual project) 'a return of' . . . "Effective Techniques In Increasing Response To Mailed Questionnaire," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVII (Summer, 1963), 299.

¹⁹According to Edward C. McDonagh and A. Leon Rosenbloom ". . . study suggests that mail questionnaires may reveal representative responses in spite of partial returns." And they concluded ". . . in their study no significant difference between those who responded and those who didn't." "A Comparison of Mailed Questionnaires and Subsequent Structured Interviews," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIX (Spring, 1965), 136.

factor was added in the case of the Catholic clergymen, that of diocese differences. The Catholic clergy were asked to indicate whether they were a member of the Fargo or Bismarck Diocese.

A consideration of the returns indicated a desirability of effecting changes from the original study format. The very small percentage (13.3 percent) of returns from the Methodist clergymen was deemed insufficient upon which to base any reasonable conclusions. The returns were therefore dropped from the study. Similarly, the low percentage (25.2 percent) of returns from the clergymen of the American Lutheran Church raised the same doubt. However, in this later instance, the returns showed no significant difference from those of the clergymen of the Lutheran Church in America; therefore, the returns of both groups were added and are so reported in this study.

The questionnaire requested information as to age and year of ordination. The age results were grouped in the following groups for the purpose of this study: 25-35, 36-45, and over-45. The grouping was done so that age could be easily studied as a factor. The year of ordination was dropped as a factor after the results were compiled because of the fact that no significant data was obtained by the use of this factor. The probable reason for this is that most of the clergymen who responded to the survey were obtained at approximately the same age.

Another change in the original format of the study was the elimination of the diocese difference among Catholic clergy. The reason for this elimination was that no significant differences between dioceses were found when the statistics were computed.

The results of each question were computed into percents arranged in tables. These tables are found throughout the thesis. Each question was tabulated except for the first three; these were used only for statistical purposes. One question was not tabulated in the final analysis. That was question 10. (See Appendix B). The reason this question was omitted was due to insufficient answers. While a satisfactory 53 percent of the clergy surveyed returned answers, only 31.8 percent of the total surveyed answered question 10. Even this small percentage failed to answer the question in its entirety. The question was therefore dropped.

The questions used in the questionnaire (see Appendix B) were taken from the Gallup Poll, the Minnesota Poll, or were constructed specifically for this questionnaire. The reason for three different sources of question was so that the researcher could in certain cases compare his findings with other known results and also examine certain issues of a political nature which would affect clergymen more specifically than others.

It should be noted that the survey was made two years before the final writing of this thesis. The obtained results therefore may not reflect the opinions of the North Dakota clergy of 1971.

The purpose of this research was to examine some of the attitudes and actions which the clergymen of North Dakota had toward politics and political issues. The specific political actions which were studied were voting behavior, participation in protest marches, actively campaigning for candidates, precinct work and giving of a contribution to a candidate or a party. The attitudes of clergymen toward Vietnam, the

United States Supreme Court, pari-mutual betting in North Dakota, following laws which are considered morally wrong, conscientious objection to certain wars and the use of the pulpit for statement of political belief were studied.

An attempt was made to prove or disprove the following assumptions with reference to North Dakota clergymen:

1. The voting behavior of the North Dakota clergy is similar to the voting behavior of the general electorate of the state.

2. Younger clergymen are more liberal in their political attitudes and beliefs than older clergymen.

3. Clergymen in general are less interested in politics than is the general public.

4. The political attitudes of North Dakota clergy would be similar to that of the general public.

5. Age is a more important factor in the specific political beliefs and attitudes of clergymen than the denomination to which the individual clergyman belongs.

6. The clergy of North Dakota believe they should be more politically active; however, if they did become more active politically, their congregations and hierarchy would disapprove.

The listed assumptions were chosen because of reactions expressed in the press and other media of North Dakota when individuals such as Father Branconnier²⁰ received much adverse publicity over their draft

²⁰Father Branconnier was a priest at the Newman Foundation, affiliated with the University of North Dakota. While serving in that capacity, he became intensely interested in various aspects concerned with the Viet Nam conflict, and organized and led a number of local demonstrations, protests, and other types of activities.

counseling and protest of ABM. Furthermore, North Dakota has been basically a conservative state in the last few years and it is the researcher's belief that the clergymen reflected the opinions of their congregations.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The results of the questionnaire were examined and analyzed in the order in which they are presented in the paper. Questions 1 through 3 were not analyzed as the three questions were submitted solely for informational purposes. The results are tabulated and placed in table form with a written explanation and analysis following each table. The reason for each question asked and the assumption, if any, which was to be proved or disproved is included in the written part of each section.

Interest in Politics

The introduction to this thesis showed that clergymen of various denominations have taken an active part in the political affairs of this country. This activity has been of various types and has continually occurred since the days of the founding fathers. When an individual or group takes an active part or role in an activity, it then can be assumed that the individual or group has some degree of interest in the particular affair or matter. Since there has been interest in politics by clergymen since the early days of American colonization, the extent of interest found presently among North Dakota clergymen becomes important to a better understanding of the political spectrum.

The first question asked attempted to establish the degree of interest, if any, of North Dakota clergymen in politics. Four variables of response were offered: a great deal, a fair amount, only a little and no interest.

Table 2 indicates that the clergymen of North Dakota who responded to the questionnaire were interested in politics. The interest varied from one denomination to another.

TABLE 2
NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN AND THEIR INTEREST IN POLITICS

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentages of degrees of interest			
		Great Deal	Fair	Only a little	No interest
Catholic	148	32	60	8	0
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	33	12	73	15	0
Lutheran	42	42	48	10	0
Presbyterian	28	56	44	0	0
Episcopal	15	27	60	13	0

Of the respondents the Presbyterian clergymen with 56 percent showed the highest degree of interest, rather closely followed by the Lutheran clergymen with 42 percent. The clergymen of the remaining denominations displayed a declining rate of interest, with the Catholics indicating 32 percent, the Episcopalians 27 percent and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod only 12 percent. However, the picture alters considerably when consideration is given to the percentage of those evincing a fair amount of interest. The clergymen of the Lutheran

Church-Missouri Synod had the highest percentage of its respondents in this category, with a percentage of 73. The clergymen of the other four denominations surveyed indicated a fair amount of interest in politics by the following percentages: Catholics 60 percent, Episcopalians 60 percent, Lutherans 48 percent and Presbyterians 44 percent. By adding the percentages of the first two indicators of interest in politics, that of a great deal and a fair amount, a more significant comparison of interest between the five different denominations can be made. All the Presbyterian clergymen who responded to the questionnaire indicated that their interest in politics was either a great deal or a fair amount. The clergymen of the other four denominations studied ranked in the following order: Catholics 92 percent, Lutheran 90 percent, Episcopalians 87 percent and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod 85 percent. Obviously the interest of the clergymen of all five denominations was quite high.

It is interesting to note that only a small percentage of clergymen in any of the denominations indicated only relatively small degrees of interest in politics. Table 2 shows that, although no Presbyterian clergymen fitted this category, the spread between the remaining four denominations was slight and that all were quite low: 15 percent of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod clergymen, 13 percent of the Episcopalians, 10 percent of the Lutherans and only 8 percent of the Catholics.

No clergymen responding to the questionnaire indicated that they had a complete lack of interest in politics. A possible reason for this is that, since the questionnaire was political in nature, were a member of the clergy completely lacking in such interest, it is

probable that he failed to return the questionnaire. No verification of this assumption could be made.

One of the preliminary assumptions made in undertaking this thesis was that North Dakota clergymen were less interested in politics than was the general public. Table 3 indicates the interest level of the general public in politics, as found by a Gallup Poll survey taken in 1968.

TABLE 3

AMERICAN PUBLIC'S INTEREST IN POLITICS^a

"Generally speaking, how much interest do you have in politics: a great deal, fair amount, only a little or no interest?"

Interest in politics	Percentage of agreement
A great deal	18
A fair amount	52
Only a little	27
No interest	3

^aCalculated from the Gallup Poll, Minneapolis Tribune, April 7, 1968, p. 17a.

A comparison of Tables 2 and 3 indicates that the North Dakota clergymen who responded to the survey questionnaire had a greater interest in politics than did the American public as reflected in the Gallup Poll. The clergymen of only one of the five denominations studied indicated that a smaller percentage had a greater interest in politics than did the general public. That group, as noted above, was the clergy of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod with only 15 percent

indicating a great deal of interest in politics as compared to the general public's percentage of 18.

The difference in the amount of interest in politics varied greatly when the percentage of those with a great deal of interest and those who indicated a fair amount of interest were combined. The general public's percentage was 70, while the clergymen of the five denominations studied varied from a high of 100 percent to a low of 85 percent. Obviously clergymen displayed a greater degree of interest.

The American public's percentage on the lower interest levels was much higher than those of the North Dakota clergymen who responded to the survey. According to the Gallup Poll results, 30 percent of the American public had either only a little or no interest in politics. The respondents to the survey questionnaire ranged from a high of 15 percent of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod clergymen to a low of 0 percent of the Presbyterian clergymen. The average, in decided contrast to that of the public, was only 9.2 percent. It would appear that the preliminary thesis assumption that North Dakota clergymen are less interested in politics than the general public is not founded.

Political Activity of North Dakota Clergymen

The clergymen who responded to the survey indicated that they had a high interest in politics. The question then arose: How politically active are the clergymen of North Dakota? This question was asked of the clergymen, and choices were offered the respondents to indicate some of the possibilities that might indicate such activity. Although the choices offered admittedly did not include all types of

such political activity, they were deemed the ones most readily available to an ordinary person.

Interest in politics was quite high among the respondents to the questionnaire but the responding clergymen did not admit to taking part in the political activities purveyed. The distribution of this activity varied greatly from one denomination to another among the five denominations studied. Table 4 shows that the most active denomination was the Presbyterian group wherein 88 percent of those responding indicated that they had participated in at least one of the three listed activities. This corresponds to the previously ascertained fact that the same group showed the highest level of interest in politics. Least active were the clergymen of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; only 22 percent of those responding indicated participation in at least one of the three listed activities. Again, a corresponding figure is found in that the same group was shown to have the lowest interest in politics. The respondents of the remaining denominations indicated a variable but predominantly strong percentage of participation in these activities. The Episcopalian group with 57 percent and the Lutheran group with 52 percent showed majorities so interested; the Catholic group with 39 percent showed participation to a lesser degree. As with the other two groups, these corresponded to their general interest in politics. The political activity most often carried out by the clergy was the giving of a contribution to either a candidate or political party. Four of the five groups studied indicated that giving of a contribution was the leading activity involved, if they involved themselves in any activity.

Of the five denominations studied only the Presbyterian clergy were involved to any great degree in the other political activities listed.

TABLE 4
POLITICAL ACTIVITY INDICATORS OF NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentage of Indicators			
		Actively campaigning	Precinct work	Gave Contribution	No activity
Catholic	148	7	5	27	61
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	33	3	12	17	68
Lutheran	42	14	0	38	48
Presbyterian	24	38	33	17	12
Episcopal	14	21	0	36	43

Precinct work was the activity receiving the least attention. The Lutheran and Episcopalian clergymen indicated no precinct work at all; the remainder indicated only a slight amount of such work. On the other hand, campaigning for a candidate or party, an activity requiring public involvement, was indulged in by all groups, and it was interesting to note that both the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and Presbyterians indicated participation. The Presbyterian group again scored the highest percentage (38) of all groups in this respect.

Voting Preference

One of the assumptions made at the beginning of this thesis was that the political attitudes of North Dakota clergymen would be similar to that of the majority of North Dakota citizens and voters.

At the time this survey was taken, following the election of 1968, the state legislature of North Dakota was predominantly Republican. The State Senate membership consisted of 6 Democrats and 43 Republicans and the State House of Representatives membership consisted of 18 Democrats and 79 Republicans. With such numerical majorities for the Republicans, the assumption could be made that the State of North Dakota was in 1968 a Republican oriented state. If one can assume that one's political attitudes or beliefs are reflected in one's voting behavior, then were the clergy of North Dakota found to have similar attitudes to that of the general public they should vote Republican. In order to ascertain how the clergy of North Dakota voted the following question was asked: "Do you most often vote for Democratic candidates or Republican candidates?" The results as tabulated in Table 5 indicated that the clergymen of North Dakota were not as politically oriented to the Republican Party as the average North Dakota voter.

Clergymen of only two of the five denominations indicated that their usual voting preference was for members of the Republican Party. These were the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (84 percent) and Episcopal Church (64 percent). The other three denominations indicated a 50 percent or less preference for Republican candidates. The percentages of the other three denominations were Presbyterian (50 percent), Lutheran (48 percent), and Catholic (23 percent).

Age was an extremely important factor among the Catholic clergy who returned completed questionnaires. As indicated in Table 6, the older the Catholic clergymen were, the more likely they were to show a preference for the candidates of the Republican party. A

possible explanation for this is that the older the Catholic clergy, the more conservative their religious beliefs, and this conservatism in religious beliefs may carry over into their political beliefs.

TABLE 5

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN AND THEIR VOTING PREFERENCES

Denominations	Number of Replies	Percentage of preference in voting	
		Democratic Candidates	Republican Candidates
Catholic	127	77	23
Lutheran	40	52	48
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	32	16	84
Presbyterian	28	50	50
Episcopal	14	36	64

TABLE 6

NORTH DAKOTA CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN AND THEIR VOTING PREFERENCE ACCORDING TO THE AGE OF THE CLERGYMAN

Age of clergymen	Number of Replies	Percentage of preference	
		Democratic Candidates	Republican Candidates
25-35	26	100	0
36-45	42	86	14
Over-45	59	58	42

Voting Preference of Clergymen during the
1968 Presidential Election

The 1968 Presidential election again showed the individualist tendencies of North Dakota clergymen. The results of the questionnaire showed a wide variance among the five denominations studied. Table 7 indicates this variance.

TABLE 7
1968 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE PREFERENCE OF
NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN

Denominations	Number of Replies	Percentage of vote received		
		Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace
Catholic	144	58	39	3
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	33	6	88	6
Lutheran	44	45	55	0
Presbyterian	25	52	48	0
Episcopal	14	36	64	0

The clergymen who indicated the highest percentage of votes for Richard Nixon were the members of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod with a percentage of 88. Other denominations in which a majority of the clergymen responding indicated that they had voted for Nixon were the Lutherans (55 percent) and Episcopalians (64 percent). Hubert Humphrey received a majority vote from the clergymen of the two denominations: Catholic (58 percent) and the Presbyterian (52 percent). Third party candidate George Wallace received only minimal support

from the clergymen responding; only in two denominations, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and Catholic, did any respondent indicate that he voted for Wallace.

Although the Catholic clergymen who responded to the questionnaire indicated that 58 percent of them had voted Hubert Humphrey, it was among this group that Richard Nixon gained his greatest degree of support. Table 5 indicated that 77 percent of the Catholic respondents generally voted for candidates of the Democratic Party. In the case of the 1968 Presidential election only 58 percent had voted for Humphrey, a loss of 19 percentage points for the Democrats. Of these 19 percentage points, Nixon received 16 and Wallace 3. The preference of the other four denominations changed only a few percentage points from their normal voting patterns.

Age was a significant factor in the voting patterns of the 1968 Presidential election. Table 8 indicates that the younger the clergymen, the more likely they were to vote for Humphrey; the older the clergymen, and especially those over 45, the more likely they were to vote for Nixon. In all the denominations except for the Presbyterians, Humphrey received his greatest percentages of support from those clergymen in the 25-35 age category. Humphrey also received 50 percent or more of the total vote indicated by those responding in the age category of 25-35, except for the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod clergymen.

TABLE 8

1968 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE PREFERENCE OF NORTH DAKOTA
CLERGYMEN ACCORDING TO AGE

Denomination and age group	Number of Replies	Percentage of vote received		
		Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace
Catholic				
25-35	28	76	20	4
36-45	47	72	28	0
Over-45	69	41	54	5
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod				
25-35	16	13	81	6
36-45	11	0	91	9
Over-45	6	0	100	0
Lutheran				
25-35	17	71	29	0
36-45	13	39	61	0
Over-45	12	25	75	0
Presbyterian				
25-35	7	57	43	0
36-45	9	67	33	0
Over-45	9	33	67	0
Episcopal				
25-35	4	50	50	0
36-45	1	0	100	0
Over-45	9	33	67	0

Nixon received his greatest support among the clergy in the over-45 age category. In all five of the denominations studied, he received 54 percent or better of the indicated vote of the over-45 age category. His area of next greatest support was in the 36-45 age category. Among the five denominations studied, he received a majority percentage from three of the five denominations in this age category.

The assumption that age was a more significant factor than denominational background appears to be true for voting preference. Only one denomination, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, indicated that all three age groups gave Nixon a majority of their votes. While some particular age group in each of the other denominations indicated casting a majority vote for Nixon, other age groups in the denominations gave a majority vote to Humphrey.

The assumption that younger clergymen are more liberal in their political attitudes appears to be true if one assumes that Humphrey was a more liberal candidate than Nixon. Humphrey's greatest support came from the youngest age group, while Nixon's came from the oldest age group.

One of the major assumptions of this thesis was that the clergymen of North Dakota would vote along similar lines to the voting public of North Dakota. As indicated earlier their preference for Democratic candidates does not bear out this assumption. As seen in Table 9 when compared to Table 7, only the Lutherans and the general voting public of the state showed a percentage of close correlation. Therefore the assumption that the voting behavior of North Dakota clergy and North Dakota electorate would be similar does not appear to be true.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGES BY CANDIDATES OF TOTAL VOTE IN 1968
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION^a

Candidate	Percentage of North Dakota vote
Nixon	55.9
Humphrey	38.2
Wallace	6.9

^aCalculated from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (90th ed.; Washington, D. C., 1969), p. 357.

Approval or Disapproval of the Past
Democratic Administration

Clergymen of three of the five denominations studied indicated that they had voted for Richard Nixon for President. Did their disapproval of the previous Democratic administration have any effect on their decision to vote for a Republican president? Table 10 indicates that this may have been one reason.

TABLE 10

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL OF
THE PAST DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentage of choices	
		Approving	Disapproving
Catholic	132	51	49
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	32	12	88
Lutheran	36	33	67
Presbyterian	24	29	71
Episcopal	13	21	79

Of the respondents, only those of one denomination indicated that a majority approved of the way the past Democratic administration had handled its job. That denomination was the Roman Catholic, with 51 percent indicating approval. The Roman Catholic clergymen also indicated the greatest percentage vote for Hubert Humphrey (see Table 9). The Presbyterian clergy was the only other group which indicated a majority vote for Humphrey but they disapproved of the handling of its job by the past Democratic administration, by a 71 percent margin.

Disapproval with the past Democratic administration's handling of its job appears to have been a prime factor in causing individual clergymen to vote for a Republican presidential candidate. When the results of this survey showing party preference and the actual voting for President are grouped together, significant changes appear. Seventy-seven percent of the Catholic clergymen responding to the questionnaire indicated that they usually voted for candidates of the Democratic party. However in the 1968 presidential election only 58 percent indicated voting for Humphrey; this constituted a loss of 19 percentage points for Humphrey. Part of this loss may be explained by the fact that only 51 percent of the Catholic clergy surveyed stated they approved of the past Democratic administration. The same drop in voting pattern occurred among the Lutheran clergy who responded to the survey. As indicated in Table 5, 53 percent of the Lutheran clergy surveyed indicated a preference for Democratic candidates but only 45 percent voted for Humphrey. Sixty-seven percent of the Lutheran clergy responding indicated a disapproval of the past Democratic administration's handling of its job. This may have been a factor in the shift of voting preference.

A comparison of the North Dakota clergymen and the general public who responded to a similar question in the Gallup shows little agreement between the Gallup Poll's results and the results of this survey. The two surveys were taken at approximately the same time.

Table 11 indicates the results of the Gallup Poll question "Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Johnson handled his job as President?" The question contains two items which are dissimilar to that of the clergy survey question. President Johnson's name was used instead of 'past Democratic administration' and a third alternative choice, that of 'no opinion,' was offered. These two differences were purposely used in this thesis in an attempt to remove any bias that President Johnson's name may have caused and to eliminate additional factors by allowing the choice of a third option.

TABLE 11

GALLUP POLL RESULTS ON THE APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL OF THE WAY PRESIDENT JOHNSON HANDLED HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT^a

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Johnson handled his job as President?"

Choices offered	Percent of agreement
Approved of President Johnson's handling of his job	49
Disapproved of President Johnson's handling of his job	37
No opinion	14

^aCalculated from the Gallup Poll, Grand Forks Herald, January 19, 1969, p. 3.

The comparison of Table 10 and Table 11 indicates that only the Catholic clergy respondents had a close correlation to that of the

general public's opinion of President Johnson and his past Democratic administration. The wide percentage range between the remaining four denominations indicates that in this case the assumption that the political opinions of the North Dakota clergymen would be similar to the general population does not appear to be valid. The percent of disagreement between the Gallup Poll and clergy survey is of such a magnitude that the differences between the two surveys appears due basically to the differences in the questions asked and choice of answers given.

Involvement in Another Vietnam

The Vietnam War has created a great amount of concern and comment among the clergy of this country. Some are in favor of the continuation of the war; others want a quick and complete withdrawal of American forces.²¹ This survey question does not deal with the Vietnam war question but with a question of a similar situation. The question asks: "If a situation like Vietnam were to develop in another part of the world, do you think that the United States should or should not send troops?"

Many people believe that religion and non-violence go together. Many also believe that clergymen are men of peace and do not believe in war. The clergymen of North Dakota are not very different from the rest of the United States when it comes to using troops in another situation similar to that of Vietnam.

²¹Harold E. Quinley discusses this issue extensively in his article "The Protestant Clergy and the War in Vietnam," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIV (Spring, 1970), 43-52.

Table 12 indicates that 25 percent or more of all the clergymen replying to this survey believed that troops should be used in a situation similar to Vietnam. The percentages varied among the five denominations studied. Clergymen of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod were the most prone to send troops. Thirty-nine percent of that group favored the use of troops. The group of clergymen who least favored the use of troops were the Episcopal; only 13 percent of those replying believed troops should be used. The other three denominations were in close agreement with each other in the use of troops. The respective percentages of each group were Presbyterians (28 percent), Catholic (26 percent) and Lutheran (24 percent).

TABLE 12

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN ON THE USE OF TROOPS IN A
SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT OF VIETNAM

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentage of groups	
		Favor use of troops	Not favor use of troops
Catholic	127	26	74
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	28	39	61
Lutheran	37	24	76
Presbyterian	25	28	72
Episcopal	15	13	87

Table 13 indicates the result of a poll taken by the Gallup organization in early 1969. The percentages of approval or disapproval for the choices correlated quite closely with those of the clergymen

responding to the survey. This correlation appears to prove the assumption that the clergymen's view would be similar to that of the general public.

TABLE 13

GALLUP POLL RESULTS ON THE SENDING OR NOT SENDING OF
TROOPS TO ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD IF A
VIETNAM TYPE SITUATION OCCURRED^a

"If another Vietnam situation would occur in another part of the world should the United States send troops?"

Choices offered	Percentages
Should send troops	25
Should not send troops	62
No opinion	13

^aCalculated from the Gallup Poll, Grand Forks Herald, February 13, 1969, p. 2.

The Gallup Poll question allowed for one additional response, that of no opinion. With this added factor the agreement between the results of the two questionnaires is quite close. In the Gallup Poll findings, 25 percent of those surveyed said troops should be sent into another Vietnam situation. In the clergy survey, 26 percent of the Catholic and 24 percent of the Lutheran clergy responding indicated troops should be sent. Twenty-eight percent of the Presbyterian clergy said to send troops. Three of the five denominations were within 3 percentage points of the national total. The percentage of Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod was within one percent of the national findings on not sending troops.

Rating of the Supreme Court

The United States Supreme Court has at times within the last ten years become one of the most criticized institutions of our federal government. In 1969 the Gallup Poll asked the following question of a nationwide sample: "In your opinion, what kind of rating would you give the Supreme Court of the United States? excellent, good, fair, or poor?" Table 14 indicates the results of that survey.

TABLE 14

RESULTS OF A GALLUP POLL ON PUBLIC'S RATING
OF THE SUPREME COURT^a

"In your opinion, what kind of rating would you give the Supreme Court of the United States? excellent, good, fair, or poor?"

Ratings	Percentages received
Excellent	8
Good	35
Fair	31
Poor	23
No opinion	18

^aCalculated from the Gallup Poll, New York Times, June 15, 1969, p. 43.

The North Dakota clergymen who responded to a similar question on the questionnaire sent to them did not agree with the Gallup Poll interviewees. Generally speaking, North Dakota clergymen gave the Supreme Court a higher rating than the Gallup Poll indicated the general public had given the court. Table 15 indicates that the Roman Catholic clergy was the only group of clergymen who rated the Supreme Court lower

than Gallup's finding indicated. Perhaps a better analysis of the rating can be made by adding the excellent and good ratings together. The general public's combined percentage of 'good' and 'excellent' rating was 43 percent. Of the five denominations studied only two, the Roman Catholic (26 percent) and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (36 percent), fell below the national statistics. The other three denominations rated the Supreme Court considerably higher than the general public. The combined 'excellent' and 'good' percentage ratings of the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Lutheran clergy were 86 percent, 73 percent and 56 percent, respectively. These percentages were 13 or more percentage points higher than the national average of 43 percent. These differences indicated that in rating the Supreme Court, the clergy of North Dakota did not agree with the rating of the general public. Therefore, the general assumption that the clergy's attitude would be similar to the general public does not appear to be true in this instance.

TABLE 15
NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S RATING OF THE UNITED
STATES SUPREME COURT

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentages of listed ratings			
		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Catholic	140	11	25	28	36
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	33	6	30	39	25
Lutheran	43	21	35	30	14
Presbyterian	26	31	42	15	12
Episcopal	16	29	57	14	0

One of the preliminary assumptions to be tested was that the younger clergymen would be more liberal in their political beliefs and attitudes than the older clergymen. The Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren has been labeled a liberal court by many writers. If age is a significant factor, then the 'excellent' and 'good' ratings should be given by the younger clergy and the 'poor' and 'fair' ratings be given by the older clergy. The results as compiled in Table 16 appear to bear out this rating pattern. Except for the Catholic and Presbyterian clergymen, the age group of 25-35 gave the court the highest percentages in the 'excellent' and 'good' ratings. The converse was also true; the highest percentages of 'fair' and 'poor' ratings by the five denominations came from the clergy in the over-45 age category. The most dramatic shift of rating occurred among the Catholic clergy. Catholic clergy in the age group 25-35 and 36-45 rated the Supreme Court 'excellent' or 'good' by a majority percentage (55). However the Catholic clergymen in the over-45 age group rated the Supreme Court either 'fair' or 'poor' at a rate of 85 percent.

The clergymen of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod were the most consistent throughout the three different groups. The other four denominations followed a pattern whereby the older clergy were more likely to rate the court lower than were the younger. However, the percentage ratings were much less consistent than in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

A possible reason for the younger clergymen giving the Supreme Court higher ratings than did the older clergy may be that the younger members of all denominations were more liberal or less conservative than

the older clergy. This tendency to liberalism or less conservatism was one of the assumptions to be tested. This tendency of attitudes will be studied more in depth in a later analysis.

TABLE 16

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S RATING OF THE SUPREME COURT
ACCORDING TO THE CLERGY'S AGE

Denomination and age group	Number of replies	Percentages of listed ratings			
		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Catholic					
25-35	27	7	48	26	19
36-45	45	24	31	16	29
Over-45	68	3	12	38	47
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod					
25-35	16	6	38	43	13
36-45	11	9	18	27	46
Over-45	6	0	33	50	17
Lutheran					
25-35	16	31	44	25	0
36-45	11	7	33	33	23
Over-45	12	17	25	33	25
Episcopal					
25-35	5	60	20	20	0
36-45	1	0	100	0	0
Over-45	8	13	74	13	0
Presbyterian					
25-35	7	43	29	14	14
36-45	10	30	60	0	10
Over-45	9	22	33	33	12

North Dakota Clergymen and Pari-Mutual Betting

During the 1968 North Dakota primary election a proposal to allow pari-mutual betting on horse races was voted on by the electorate. The proposal was defeated at the polls. This survey was taken after the proposal was defeated. The question asked of the clergy was: "If North Dakota was to change its law to allow pari-mutual betting on horse races, would you involve yourself in this change by writing letters, speaking from the pulpit of it, speak outside of the church or not involve yourself?" The purpose of this question was to determine, if possible, the degree of political activity clergymen would have on an issue with certain implied moral factors.

Table 17 indicates that, except for the Catholic clergy, most clergymen would take an active interest in the issue of pari-mutual betting. The type of involvement which the individual clergymen preferred varied from denomination to denomination. Except for the Lutheran and Presbyterian clergymen, speaking outside of the church was the activity most often indicated as the clergy's choice.

The Presbyterian and Lutheran clergymen who responded to the survey felt that the pulpit was the proper place for a discussion of pari-mutual betting. One-half of the Lutherans and over two-thirds of the Presbyterian clergy indicated the pulpit was their personal choice of involvement. The clergy of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and Episcopal church indicated by a two-to-one margin that the best place to discuss pari-mutual betting was outside the church.

TABLE 17

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S ATTITUDES ON PARI-MUTUAL BETTING

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentages of choices of involvement			
		Letter writing	Speak from pulpit	Speak outside church	No involvement
Catholic	146	5	6	29	60
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	32	22	19	44	15
Lutheran	42	12	50	29	9
Episcopal	15	27	20	47	6
Presbyterian	27	11	67	11	11

One reason for the failure of the Catholic clergy to become involved on this particular issue might be the Catholic Church's stand on gambling. Gambling is regarded as an innocent pastime by the Catholic Church unless one of the following conditions are present: (1) the subject matter of the bet is sinful; (2) one party is forced to play; (3) one party is certain of the outcome; (4) one party is left in ignorance of the outcome; (5) cheating and fraud are present; (6) the money staked is needed to pay debts or for the support of oneself or family; or (7) the gambling game is forbidden by legitimate public authority.²²

The interpretation of any results from this particular question is very difficult because the assumption that gambling is morally wrong

²²Leo Rosten, ed., Religions in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), p. 33.

is not true to all religious denominations. This factor was not taken into consideration when the questionnaire was written. Another factor not taken into consideration was the clergyman's personal view on gambling. As one clergyman commented on his questionnaire: "I am in favor of it and would even place a bet myself."

North Dakota Clergymen's Participation in Civil
Rights and Protest Demonstrations

In the 1960's many people pictured the civil rights and Vietnam protests as being led by clergymen like Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and Father James Groppi. Was this a true picture of the protest movement? Did the clergymen of North Dakota participate in the civil rights and protest marches?

Table 18 indicates that only a small percentage of the North Dakota clergymen replying to the survey participated. Of the five denominations surveyed, only two indicated that more than 25 percent of the respondents had participated in civil rights or protest marches. These were the Episcopal and Presbyterian. The Presbyterian clergymen had the highest percentage of participation, with 46 percent of those replying indicating that they had participated in at least one type of peaceful demonstration. The percentage of Episcopal clergy indicating participation was 27 percent.

The degree of participation of the Presbyterian clergymen in the peaceful demonstration was very consistent with their interest in politics and their political activity. Results of this survey as indicated in Table 2 "North Dakota Clergymen and Their Interest in Politics" showed that the Presbyterian clergy have the greatest interest in politics. Table 4 "Political Activity Indicators of North Dakota

Clergymen" indicated that the Presbyterian clergy had the highest percentage of the five denominations actively campaigning for a particular candidate or party. Also Table 4 indicated that fewer of the Presbyterian clergy than of any of the other denominations indicated no activity.

TABLE 18

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PROTEST MARCHES

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentages of participation or not	
		Participated	Not participated
Catholic	145	11	89
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	32	9	91
Lutherans	41	12	88
Episcopal	15	27	73
Presbyterian	28	46	54

The three denominations with the indicated lowest percentage of participation on peaceful demonstrations were the Lutherans (12 percent), Catholics (11 percent) and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (9 percent). These percentages also agreed in descending order with the percentages of those clergymen who indicated no interest in politics (see Table 4).

The results of this question on participation in demonstrations correlated with the results obtained from the question on political activity. The more politically active the clergymen were, the more apt

they were to have participated in peaceful demonstrations. According to the computed results, the most politically active clergymen were the Presbyterians, followed in descending order by the Episcopal, Lutheran, Catholic, and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod clergy. The same descending order is shown in Table 18 in the percent of participation in peaceful demonstrations.

One possible explanation for the lack of participation in the civil rights marches and protest demonstration was the lack of a great number of such occurrences in the state of North Dakota at the time of the survey. Another possible explanation is given in a statement added to the questionnaire by an elderly clergyman in answer to why he had not participated in these demonstrations: "Too old, too poor and too far."

Obey the Law or Follow One's Conscience

The protest movement in this country has brought forth many legal and moral questions. An example of this is: If a person believes that a law or an act of the government is morally wrong, should such a person follow his conscience and not obey the law or should he follow the law and obey it. According to the results as shown in Table 19, the people who responded to a Minnesota Poll in 1969 believe the individual should obey the law. By a margin of nearly three to one, the Minnesotans interviewed said that the act or law should be obeyed.

The clergy of North Dakota strongly disagreed with the idea of following the law. A majority of the clergymen in all five denominations studied indicated that one should follow one's conscience. As indicated by Table 20, four of the five denominations are within five

percentage points of agreement on the idea of following one's conscience. The denominations in close agreement were Presbyterian (57 percent), Episcopal (57 percent), Lutheran (53 percent), and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (52 percent). The Catholic clergy had the highest percentage of clergy believing that a person should follow his conscience and not obey the law.

TABLE 19

MINNESOTA POLL RESULTS ON OBEYING A LAW WHICH ONE
BELIEVES MORALLY WRONG^a

"If a person believes a law or an act of his government to be morally wrong, should such an individual follow his conscience and not obey the law or should he follow the law and obey it."

Choices	Percentage of agreement
Obey the law	70
Follow his conscience	24
Other answers	6

^aCalculated from the Minnesota Poll, Minneapolis Tribune, April 11, 1969, p. 18.

When compared with the Minnesota Poll results (Table 19) the Catholic clergy had nearly a complete reversal of percentage and the other four denominations doubled the percentage of those who believed in following one's conscience. This again disproved the preliminary assumption that the political attitudes of the clergy and those of the public would be somewhat similar.

A possible reason for the difference in the two polls lies in the use of the words "morally wrong." The church as an institution has always been involved with morals.

TABLE 20

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD OBEYING A LAW
ONE BELIEVES MORALLY WRONG

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentage of choices	
		Follow conscience	Obey the law
Catholic	135	73	27
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	31	52	48
Lutheran	38	53	47
Episcopal	14	57	43
Presbyterian	23	57	43

Age proved to be a significant factor in the results. As shown in Table 21, the 25-35 age group of all except the Presbyterians gave the greatest support to the idea that one should disobey the law and follow his conscience. These findings give support to the assumption that age is more significant than denominational background.

Two other significant changes were revealed in the findings. The first was the breakdown of the Missouri Synod-Lutheran agreement ratio. Continually throughout the findings the agreement between age groups of this denomination was not extreme. The other was that the oldest age group was not the most conservative in all groups. Rather, the middle-aged groups, who stated that the law should be obeyed, proved to be the most conservative.

TABLE 21

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD OBEYING A
LAW ONE BELIEVES MORALLY WRONG ACCORDING
TO THE CLERGY'S AGE

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentage of choices	
		Follow conscience	Obey the law
Catholic			
25-35	24	92	8
36-45	42	86	14
Over-45	69	60	40
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod			
25-35	14	71	29
36-45	11	27	63
Over-45	6	50	50
Lutheran			
25-35	16	69	31
36-45	11	27	73
Over-45	11	55	45
Episcopal			
25-35	5	100	0
36-45	1	0	100
Over-45	8	36	64
Presbyterian			
25-35	6	67	33
36-45	8	75	25
Over-45	9	33	67

Selective Conscientious Objection

The draft has created a considerable amount of controversy in the United States. The provisions for conscientious objection have been long supported by various church denominations. In the 1960's several denominations began to argue the merits of selective conscientious objection, whereby an individual might object to a particular war rather than to all wars. This particular type of objection has been approved by several denominations at their synodical or national conventions. In 1967 the Episcopal Board of Bishops stated that a person had the right to object to a particular war on the basis of his conscience.²³ In 1968 the United Presbyterian Assembly expressed a readiness to support the cause of individuals who could not in conscience participate in military activities and approved the following statement: "God alone is the Lord of conscience."²⁴ Two Lutheran denominations also supported the conscientious objection of a particular war by stating that such objection was consistent with Lutheran doctrine.²⁵ These were the Lutheran Church in America and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

Although nationally many church groups have supported the principle of selective conscientious objection, the clergymen of North Dakota as a group did not support this principle. Of the five denominations surveyed, only three indicated majority support of the idea.

²³William F. Maxwell, "The Episcopal 63rd: A Great Convention," Christian Century, November 8, 1967, pp. 1441-1442.

²⁴Wilmar Torkelson, "United Presbyterian General Assembly," Christian Century, June 19, 1969, p. 745.

²⁵Fargo Forum, August 1, 1969, p. 7.

Table 22 shows the denominational differences, which in this case are extremely apparent. The range extended from nearly three fourth (73 percent) of the Episcopal clergy who agreed with selective conscientious objection to only 9 percent of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod clergy who agreed with it.

TABLE 22
NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD
SELECTIVE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentage of agreement or disagreement with selective conscientious objection	
		Agreement	Disagreement
Catholic	141	51	49
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	32	9	91
Lutheran	41	37	63
Episcopal	15	73	27
Presbyterian	26	54	46

The preliminary assumption that age was a significant factor again appears to be a valid one. Table 23 shows that in all five denominations studied, the age groups of 25-35 and 36-45 had the highest percentage of clergy who agreed with the idea of selective conscientious objection. In fact, the age group of 25-35 was the one with the greatest percentage of agreement with selective objection except for the clergy of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and Presbyterian in that same group. Even these miss being in the highest percentage by only seven percentage points or less. The opposite is also true. The oldest age

group had the highest percentage of disagreement with the idea of selective objection. This was true among the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy. Also this age group was within 8 percentage points of having the highest percentage among the Lutherans and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Although there are some small discrepancies from the total picture, generally speaking the idea of selective conscientious objection found more support among the younger clergy. This appears to sustain the assumption that the younger clergy are more liberal than the older ones.

The clergy of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod again appeared to be the most consistent in their belief; the percentage difference among age groups was only 8 percentage points. The great difference among age groups of the same denomination was found among Catholic clergy with a difference of 49 percentage points between the youngest and oldest age groups. This was surpassed only by the Presbyterians who had a 51 point percentage difference. The reason for the differences among the Catholics again may have been due to the extreme conservatism of the older clergy. This conservatism may have arisen from their background in their clerical education. The older clergy may not have liked the changes occurring in their church and this dislike may have reflected in their attitudes to questions such as selective conscientious objection.

TABLE 23

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD CONSCIENTIOUS
OBJECTION, BY AGE

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentage of agreement or disagreement with selective conscientious objection	
		Agreement	Disagreement
Catholic			
25-35	25	80	20
36-45	36	56	44
Over-45	70	31	69
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod			
25-35	11	13	87
36-45	11	9	91
Over-45	6	17	83
Lutheran			
25-35	17	65	35
36-45	14	14	86
Over-45	11	18	82
Presbyterian			
25-35	6	67	33
36-45	11	73	27
Over-45	9	22	78
Episcopal			
25-35	5	100	0
36-45	1	0	100
Over-45	9	67	37

Use of the Pulpit

One of the areas of great criticism about the church today is that many lay people believe that the church is too active in matters considered to be outside of church affairs. One such criticism, made by J. Howard Pew, was quoted in the introduction to this thesis. In 1968 the Gallup Poll survey indicated that 53 percent of the people believed that the church should stay out of social and political questions.²⁶ This has been a long time criticism of the church. In 1941 an American Institute of Public Opinion survey indicated that only 34 percent of the public thought that the preachers and priests should discuss from the pulpit the question of America's participation in World War II.²⁷ However, some clergy disagreed. A survey made in Detroit indicated that the clergy of Detroit believed that they should take a more active stand in public on certain issues. The results of the survey indicated that 46 percent believed that the clergy should take a public stand for or against some candidates for public office and 74 percent favored the clergy taking a stand on controversial public issues.²⁸

Inspection of Table 24 shows that there was widespread support for not using the pulpit as a political podium. Except for the

²⁶Gallup Poll, New York Times, April 12, 1968, p. 21.

²⁷Hazel Gaudet Erskine, "The Polls: Organized Religion," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIX (Summer, 1965), p. 328.

²⁸Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor, Anchor Books (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 315.

Presbyterian clergy, less than one-fourth of the clergy responding said that the pulpit should be used for stating a clergyman's political beliefs.

TABLE 24

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S VIEW ON THE USE OF THE PULPIT
TO STATE THEIR POLITICAL BELIEFS

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentage of agreement or disagreement with use of pulpit for politics	
		Agreement	Disagreement
Catholic	146	7	93
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	33	3	97
Lutheran	43	14	86
Presbyterian	25	36	64
Episcopal	15	20	80

Further consideration of the statistics showed that age was not significant except in the case of the Presbyterian clergy. This question did not follow the pattern established by earlier questions, whereby the younger clergy were more liberal than the older. Even the Catholic clergy, who consistently showed a complete disagreement between the over-45 and 25-35 age groups, agreed that the pulpit was not the place for political discussion on a partisan basis.

Table 25 indicates the beliefs of the Presbyterian clergy on the use of the pulpit for the stating of a clergyman's political beliefs. The table indicates that the youngest age group and the oldest age group disagreed with the idea of the pulpit being used as a podium for a

clergyman's political beliefs. This was a departure from the usual breakdown among the age groups. Usually the disagreement was between the oldest and youngest age groups, rather than between the youngest and middle aged groups.

TABLE 25

PRESBYTERIAN CLERGYMEN'S VIEW ON THE USE OF THE PULPIT
TO EXPRESS THEIR POLITICAL BELIEFS

Age group of Presbyterian clergymen	Number of replies	Percentage of agreement or disagreement with use of pulpit for politics	
		Agreement	Disagreement
25-35	6	17	83
36-45	10	60	40
Over-45	9	22	78

Church Leadership on Social Issues

The background material to this thesis indicated that the church has been very active in helping to solve, or at the least to showing a great amount of concern for, the social ills of society. The clergymen of North Dakota did not see the present day church as a leader on the social issue of today.

The question asked of the clergy was: "Do you think the church has taken a lead in the social issues of the day or has it waited for others to do it or been neither ahead or behind the general trend of the day?" As indicated by Table 26, in none of the five denominations surveyed did a majority of the clergymen responding indicate that they thought the church had taken the lead in social issues of the day. The percentages of those who believed that the church had taken a lead

ranged from 12 percent of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod to a high of 36 percent of the Episcopal clergy.

TABLE 26

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S RATING OF THE CHURCH ON ITS
LEADERSHIP ON THE SOCIAL ISSUES OF TODAY

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentages of choices indicated		
		Church has taken lead	Others had taken lead	Church has neither lead or been behind
Catholic	144	26	47	27
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	32	12	47	41
Lutheran	42	14	38	48
Episcopal	14	36	43	21
Presbyterian	27	26	56	18

In four of the five denominations studied, a greater percent of the clergy expressed the idea that other groups have taken the lead in the social issues of the day. Over 40 percent of the clergy surveyed agreed with the statement "that the church has waited for others to take a lead in the social issues." Several contemporary writers also agree with this idea. Murray Stedman in his book Religion and Politics in America stated: "In American politics, the churches normally follow; they rarely lead. They usually react; they only infrequently seize the initiative."²⁹ John B. Coburn stated a similar idea in his book Minister

²⁹Murray S. Stedman, Jr., Religion and Politics in America (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1964), p. 109.

Man in the Middle. "Traditionally, the church has been a conservative force, in every society; it has usually tended to identify itself with the status quo. The institutional side of the church inevitably develops a stake in maintaining a stable structure of society."³⁰ Agreement with such sentiment ran as high as 56 percent among the Presbyterian clergy and dropped only as low as 38 percent among the Lutherans. This appears to show some measure of consensus among the five denominations studied. This then appears to uphold one of the prior assumptions made that differences within a denomination are greater than those among denominations.

Again age became a more significant factor than other factors measured. Earlier findings apparently indicated that age made a clergyman more conservative in his beliefs. In this question, the young men seem to see the church as a conservative force and not outgoing enough. This appears to sustain the assumption that younger clergy are more liberal in their political beliefs than older clergy.

Table 27 presents the breakdown according to age groups on their opinions of the idea of the church leading or not leading on the social issues of the day. In the five denominations studied, over half the clergymen surveyed in the 25-35 age group believed that the church had allowed others to take the lead in the social issue of today. The range of percentages from the 25-35 age group was from a high of 72 percent for the Catholic clergy to a low of 50 percent for the Presbyterians. This group of 25-35 also has the lowest percentage of those

³⁰John B. Coburn, Minister Man in the Middle (New York: MacMillan Company, 1963), p. 57.

who believed the church had been leader in social issues. The percentage ranged from a high of 20 percent for the Episcopal clergy to a low of 0 percent for the Presbyterians. Among the over-45 clergymen, the church leadership was rated the highest among 3 of the 5 denominations.

These statistics appear to point out that the younger clergy are the most dissatisfied with their church as a leader in social problems. The Catholic clergy again appears to have a great amount of division in thought from the young to the old. Internal disagreement seems to be widespread among all denominations.

More Political Activity for Clergymen

More than 40 percent of the clergymen surveyed believed that the church has not taken over the leadership in the social problems of the day and 50 percent of those surveyed believed that clergymen should become more politically active. One reason for this may be that the clergy believed that if the church is to take a more active leadership role, then the individual clergymen must become more active.

When the clergy were asked: "Do you think that the clergy should be more active politically?", a majority of each of four of the five denominations surveyed said yes. Only among the clergymen of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod did fewer than half of those replying indicate an affirmative answer. Again, as throughout much of the survey, this group of clergymen were the most conservative. Theologically they are also very conservative. Table 28 indicates a range of 50 percentage points between the Presbyterians and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod clergy who believed in more politically active clergy.

TABLE 27

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S RATING OF THE CHURCH ON ITS
LEADERSHIP ON THE SOCIAL ISSUES OF TODAY,
ACCORDING TO CLERGYMEN'S AGE

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentages of choices indicated		
		Church has taken lead	Others had taken lead	Church has neither lead or been behind
Catholic				
25-35	28	7	72	21
36-45	47	30	53	17
Over-45	69	30	32	38
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod				
25-35	15	7	60	33
36-45	11	18	36	46
Over-45	12	25	17	58
Lutheran				
25-35	17	12	65	23
36-45	13	8	23	69
Over-45	12	25	17	58
Episcopal				
25-35	5	20	60	20
36-45	1	100	0	0
Over-45	8	38	38	24
Presbyterian				
25-35	6	0	50	50
36-45	12	41	41	18
Over-45	9	22	78	0

This correlates with the amount of political activity each denomination indicated (see Table 4). The Presbyterian clergy had been the most active while Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod had been least active.

TABLE 28

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MORE POLITICAL
ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF CLERGYMEN

Denomination	Number of replies	Percentage of answers on more political activity by clergymen	
		Yes	No
Catholic	133	51	49
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	32	38	62
Lutheran	42	67	33
Episcopal	15	67	33
Presbyterian	26	88	17

Again the assumption that age was a significant factor in the beliefs of the clergy appears to be proved correct. Table 29 indicates that in three of the five denominations surveyed, the idea of more political activity by clergy received the highest percentage from the age group 25-35. The lowest percentage of those who thought the clergy should be more active politically was the over-45 age group. This was true in all five denominations.

TABLE 29

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MORE POLITICAL
ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF CLERGYMEN,
ACCORDING TO AGE OF THE CLERGY

Age group and denomination	Number of replies	Percentage of answers on more political activity by clergymen	
		More political activity by clergy	No more political activity by clergy
Catholic			
25-35	26	69	31
36-45	44	66	34
Over-45	63	29	71
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod			
25-35	15	27	73
35-45	11	64	34
Over-45	6	17	83
Lutheran			
25-35	17	89	11
35-45	13	62	38
Over-45	12	42	58
Episcopal			
25-35	5	80	20
35-45	1	100	0
Over-45	9	55	45
Presbyterian			
25-35	6	83	17
36-45	12	100	0
Over-45	8	75	25

The assumption that age would be a more significant factor than denominational background appears to be valid for this question. Table 29 shows the great change among the Catholic. This change has continually shown up in this survey, with reference to the difference in attitude of the over-45 age group to the other two age groups. The conservative Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, whose clergy has shown a great deal of agreement throughout this survey, were more divided on this question than on any other.

Congregational Reaction to Increased Political Activity
on Part of its Clergy

Public opinion polls indicate that the prestige of clergymen is at an all time low level. Lou Harris indicated in a poll taken in 1967 that only 45 percent of the people expressed confidence in clergymen.³¹

If this indicator is representative of the laity of the church, how does the clergymen view their congregation's approval or disapproval of increased political activity on their part? The results of this particular question are ambiguous. Denominational differences were great. Table 30 indicates a wide range of approval from a high of 52 percent for the Presbyterians to a low of 9 percent for the Catholics.

The disapproval percentages were just as varied throughout the five denominations. Only the Catholic clergy by a majority percentage (66 percent) indicated that their congregations would not approve of such increased political activity. The remaining four denominations indicated that a maximum of slightly more than one-fourth (26 percent)

³¹Lou Harris Poll, Church and State, XX (March, 1967), p. 4.

of their congregations would disapprove. This survey seems to refute the idea given by Benton Johnson that the Protestant minister is more susceptible to pressure from the laity than other clergymen traditionally have been.³²

TABLE 30

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S BELIEF ON HOW THEIR CONGREGATIONS
WOULD APPROVE MORE POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE
PART OF THEIR CLERGY

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentage of choices		
		Congregation would approve	Congregation would disapprove	No difference
Catholic	135	9	66	30
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod	31	16	26	58
Lutheran	40	42	20	38
Episcopal	14	50	14	36
Presbyterian	23	52	26	22

Age was a significant factor, as indicated by Table 31, but no pattern developed as to whether or not the younger or older clergymen felt their congregation would approve or disapprove. In two denominations, the Catholic and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the over-45 age group thought that their congregations would disapprove of their increased political activity, while among the Lutheran clergy the over-45 age group thought that their congregations would approve. The assumption that the

³²Benton Johnson, "Theology and Party Preference among Protestant Clergymen," American Sociological Review, April, 1966, p. 204.

congregation would not approve of a clergyman's political action does not seem to be a fear to the North Dakota clergy of four denominations.

TABLE 31

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S BELIEF ON HOW THEIR CONGREGATIONS WOULD APPROVE OF MORE POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THEIR CLERGY, ACCORDING TO THE CLERGY'S AGE

Age group and Denominations	Number of replies	Percentage of choices		
		Congregation would approve	Congregation would disapprove	No difference
Catholic				
25-35	26	3	69	28
36-45	42	19	52	29
Over-45	67	3	71	26
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod				
25-35	14	14	29	67
36-45	11	17	9	74
Over-45	16	0	50	50
Lutheran				
25-35	17	47	24	29
36-45	12	33	17	50
Over-45	11	46	18	34
Episcopal				
25-35	5	60	20	20
36-45	1	0	0	100
Over-45	8	50	0	50
Presbyterian				
25-35	7	100	0	0
36-45	8	0	75	25
Over-45	8	63	0	37

Clergymen's View of Approval by Church Hierarchy

A majority of the clergy expressed the thought that if a clergyman became more politically active, the hierarchy of his particular denomination would disapprove of his action. More than half the clergy responding to the survey indicated such disapproval. Among the four denominations³³ surveyed the disapproval ranged from 66 percent among the Catholics to 39 percent among the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (see Table 32).

TABLE 32

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S BELIEF ON HOW THEIR HIERARCHY
WOULD VIEW MORE POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE
PART OF THE CLERGY

Denominations	Number of replies	Percentage of choice		
		Hierarchy would approve	Hierarchy would disapprove	No difference
Catholic	114	6	66	28
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod	31	13	39	48
Lutheran	38	13	55	32
Episcopal	14	0	50	50

When the "no difference" response is added to the "disapproval" response, the overall proportion expressing non-approval increases to 94 percent among the Catholics, 87 percent among both Lutheran groups and 100 percent among the Episcopal clergy. The fact that very few

³³The reason for only four denominations is that the Presbyterian church has no hierarchy as such.

clergy felt that more political activity would receive any sizeable amount of approval from their hierarchy may be the reason why the clergy is not more politically active (see Table 4). This may be even more nearly completely true among the Catholic clergy who have a more centralized authority in their church hierarchy than their Protestant counterparts.

The prior assumption made that the clergy would find little approval from their hierarchy seems to be proven true from the response to this survey. The Presbyterians, without a hierarchy, have been one of the more liberal groups throughout this survey. The lack of a centralized church organization to keep its clergy in line may make it easy for them to be more liberal.

The age factor was again apparent. The older the clergymen, especially those over-45, felt they would be the most apt to have disapproval shown by their church hierarchy (see Table 33). This could be one reason for the more conservative ideas continually coming from the older clergy throughout this survey, that is, their fear of disapproval by their leaders.

TABLE 33

NORTH DAKOTA CLERGYMEN'S BELIEF ON HOW THEIR HIERARCHY
 WOULD VIEW MORE POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF
 THEIR CLERGY, ACCORDING TO CLERGY'S AGE

Age group and denomination	Number of replies	Percentage of choices		
		Hierarchy would approve	Hierarchy would disapprove	No difference
Catholic				
25-35	25	0	64	36
36-45	32	16	65	19
Over-45	57	5	81	14
Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod				
25-35	14	21	36	43
36-45	11	9	27	64
Over-45	6	0	67	33
Lutheran				
25-35	16	19	50	31
36-45	12	17	50	33
Over-45	10	0	70	30
Episcopal				
25-35	5	0	40	60
36-45	1	0	100	0
Over-45	8	0	50	50

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The typical North Dakota clergyman, regardless of his religious background and training, is an individualistic political animal. When he is compared to the general public of this state or nation, he does not fit any particular mold. The findings of this survey make it very difficult to place him in one particular niche in the political spectrum. Although the clergyman is trained for a particular vocation which most people believe sets him aside from others in society, his political behavior as found in this survey does not indicate any pattern. The findings indicated that a particular clergyman of particular denomination is as unpredictable as any one person chosen at random from society.

Several assumptions were listed in this thesis, to be proved or disproved. One of these assumptions was that the voting behavior of the North Dakota clergymen would be similar to the voting behavior of the North Dakota electorate. Results from this survey as compiled and shown in Tables 5, 7, 8, and 9 indicated that the clergy of North Dakota had a greater tendency to vote for candidates of the Democratic Party than did the North Dakota electorate.

The second assumption was that the younger clergymen would be more liberal in their political attitudes than the older clergymen. Age was found to be a significant factor throughout this study, but the

general assumption that the younger clergy would be more liberal than the older clergy in their attitudes did not prove to be so. Numerous examples of this point were offered. For example, Table 8 indicated that the younger clergy voted for Humphrey, who probably was the more liberal of the two candidates in the 1968 Presidential election. Table 21 indicated that the younger clergy accepted the idea of disobeying a law which they believed to be morally wrong. These examples indicated that the younger clergy were the most liberal of the three age groups. However, as indicated by Table 16, the 36-45 age group gave the Supreme Court of the United States the highest rating. The Supreme Court when this survey was taken was considered extremely liberal. The 36-45 age group also had the highest percentage of clergy who believed that they should be more politically active. These examples indicate that there was no pattern for one age group being more liberal than another. The over-45 age group was usually the most conservative, especially among the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (see Tables 6, 8, 16, 21, 23, and 29).

A third assumption, that the clergy would be less interested in politics than the general public, was also disproved. Table 3 indicated that the clergy were extremely interested in politics, but this interest was not carried into active participation (see Tables 4 and 8). Few of them participated in peaceful protest movements.

The political attitudes of North Dakota clergymen were not similar to that of the general public, as had been assumed. Differences were found throughout the survey. The clergy agreed with the public on the use of troops in a situation similar to Vietnam (see Tables 12 and

13). The clergy disagreed with the public on approval of the Johnson Administration (see Tables 10 and 11), on rating of the Supreme Court of the United States (see Tables 14 and 15), and on obeying a law one believes to be morally wrong (see Tables 19 and 20).

The denominational background of the clergy was a less important factor than the age of the individual clergyman. Of the five denominations studied, only one established a pattern of agreement among all age groups. That denomination was the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Differences within denominations were frequently found. Such differences were the greatest among the Catholic clergy. The over-45 age group of Catholic clergy usually disagreed with the two younger age groups and especially with the 25-35 age group. The other three denominations had differences between each age group but no pattern developed as to these differences (see Tables 6, 8, 11, 21, 23, 27, 29, 31, 33).

The sixth assumption made was that the clergy of North Dakota believed that they should be more politically active; however, if they did become more politically active, they believed that their congregations and hierarchy would disapprove. This assumption was found to be partially correct. They did believe they should be more politically active. However, they believed that disapproval would come from their hierarchy but that their congregations would be indifferent or approve (see Tables 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33).

This study appears to prove that the clergy in North Dakota is a very independent thinking and acting group. Labels cannot be easily attached to their political behavior.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

February 1, 1969

Gentlemen:

Have you ever wondered how your fellow clergymen felt about politics and its role in religion? I have and I have decided to study some aspects of religious and political ideas and attitudes.

My name is Gary K. Malm and I am interested in your political attitudes as a clergyman. I am presently working on my Master's Degree at the University of North Dakota. My thesis topic is "A Study in Political Attitudes and Activism of North Dakota Clergymen."

In this letter you will find a questionnaire which is designed to determine some of the political attitudes and activities of North Dakota clergymen. This questionnaire is being sent to Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal clergymen throughout North Dakota. The questionnaire is strictly confidential and no attempt will be made to determine the identity of any particular clergymen. It will be used as a data gathering sheet which will be examined to determine if any conclusions can be reached. The results of these conclusions will be used in my thesis and will also be sent to church leaders throughout the state for information purposes.

Your help by completing the questionnaire and returning it in the enclosed envelope will be appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Gary K. Malm

8. Did you approve or disapprove of the way the past Democratic administration handled its job?
1. approve
 2. disapprove
9. If a situation like Vietnam were to develop in another part of the world, do you think that the United States should or should not send troops to settle it?
1. should
 2. should not
10. Would you rate in order of importance the following programs in the United States by giving the number 1 to the one which you think should receive the most priority, the number 2 to the next and so on.
1. Vietnam
 2. Civil rights
 3. Education
 4. Crime in the cities
 5. War on poverty
11. In your opinion, what kind of rating would you give the Supreme Court?
3. excellent
 2. good
 1. fair
 0. poor
12. If North Dakota was to change its law to allow pari-mutual betting on horse races would you involve yourself in this change by writing letters, speaking from the pulpit on it, speak outside of the church or not involve yourself?
1. involve oneself through letter writing
 2. speak from the pulpit on it
 3. speak outside the church on it
 4. not involve one's self
13. Have you ever participated in a non-political activity such as a civil rights march, a protest demonstration or other types of peaceful demonstration?
1. have participated
 2. have not participated

14. If a person believes that a law or an act of his government is morally wrong, should such an individual follow his conscience and not obey the law or should he follow the law and obey it?
1. follow his conscience
 2. obey the law
15. Some organizations have advocated a theory of "selective wars" under which a young man might refuse to be drafted if he thought the war in particular was illegal or immoral? Do you agree or disagree with this theory?
1. agree
 2. disagree
16. Do you think that the pulpit is the place for a clergyman to state his political beliefs?
1. yes
 2. no
17. Do you think that the church has taken a lead in the social issues of the day or has it waited for others to do it or been neither ahead or behind the general trend of the day?
0. taken the lead
 1. let others lead
 2. remained about the same
18. Do you think that the clergy should be more politically active?
1. yes
 2. no
19. If you were to become more politically active do you think your congregation would approve or disapprove?
0. approve
 1. disapprove
 2. make no difference to them
20. Do you think that the hierarchy of your church would approve or disapprove if you would become politically active?
0. approve
 1. disapprove
 2. make no difference to them

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