

Pillars of My Faith

Among the pillars of my faith were my Mormon heritage, my personal relationship with God and intense experiences with the Divine, my conviction that God's authority and divinely appointed leaders exist in the LDS church, my belief that God had a mission for me to perform among the Latter-day Saints, and my growing interest in Mormon history as an extension of my Mormon faith.

THE REST IS HISTORY

By D. Michael Quinn

FOR SOME PEOPLE IT MAY seem a contradiction for me to proclaim my Mormon faith since I was excommunicated eleven months ago.¹ I want to begin with a statement of what I am *not* seeking to do.

First, I am not playing "word games." When I say that I regard Joseph Smith as a prophet in the same way Moses was, I emphatically mean that both Joseph Smith and Moses talked with God face to face and received the words of God through "revelation." When I say that I believe the gold plates of the Book of Mormon were as literal as the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments, I mean that both were physical objects that could be (and were) touched by human beings, despite the otherworldly dimensions of these two artifacts. My faith is more literal than some are willing to credit.²

Second, I am not "trying to gather a following."³ Aside from my hope to be regarded as sincere even by those who disagree with me, I don't want followers. My hope is that people will follow the will of God for them individually, wherever that



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may take them.

Third, I am not seeking to "reform" The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or to bring about changes in its policies. There are things about current LDS policies that I wish were different, but it's possible that God doesn't share my point of view. If there is a need for reform or change in the LDS Church, then it is the responsibility of God's prophets, seers, and revelators to have the active faith to obtain his will, the compassion to see the pain and struggles of "the least" of God's children, and the courage to make needed changes.

Fourth, I am not trying to portray myself as a "good guy," while dismissing the leaders of the Church as "bad guys." This includes the one or two who for years branded me as an "apostate" Mormon historian and sought to bring about my excommunication.⁴ I've disagreed with LDS leaders about certain matters, but

I've always regarded them as better men than I've ever been.

Fifth, I have researched and publicly examined "problem areas" in the Mormon past, but not to embarrass the current LDS church or its leaders, or to disenchant believing Mormons. I'm not a "wolf" within "the flock," despite public relations statements to the contrary.⁵ From my essay in the *Ensign* seventeen years ago on "Brigham Young and the Gifts of the Spirit" to the present, I've written about the silences in Mormon history.⁶ Whatever was responsible for those silences, I've felt they were worth exploring in order to end the silence

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about significant topics and developments. There is remarkable diversity in the Mormon experience that all people can benefit from knowing about.⁷ It is not spiritually damaging to understand the highs and lows in the experience of churches and religious communities.

However, few Mormons are interested in reading their own history or in hearing academic presentations about Mormonism—except when they learn about efforts to suppress such inquiries and presentations. LDS leaders and members alike should remember that news of a book being “banned in Boston” was a virtual guarantee that the book would become a best-seller. The “forbidden” is one thing the apathetic cannot resist.

WHEN I think of “the pillars of my faith,” I remember childhood and youthful experiences which defined the contours of what Mormons call a “testimony.” For me, faith is not a statement; it is an experience. But faith is also a divine gift. I don’t know why I’ve had the gift of faith since childhood, while I have known earnest, young missionaries who prayed unsuccessfully for the ability to say they “know” there is a God or that they “know” Joseph Smith was a prophet. But I’m sure it is not a measure of personal righteousness or of God’s love for a person.

Among the pillars of my faith were my Mormon heritage, my personal relationship with God and intense experiences with the Divine, my conviction that God’s authority and divinely appointed leaders exist in the LDS church, my belief that God had a mission for me to perform among the Latter-day Saints, and my growing interest in Mormon history as an extension of my Mormon faith.

I was born to a Catholic father of Mexican parentage and a Mormon mother of Anglo-Swiss heritage. The Prophet Joseph Smith’s manuscript diary even mentioned her pioneer ancestor. My parents divorced when I was about five, and I learned later that their religious differences were part of the problem.

Shortly after the divorce, I contracted polio. As my family rushed me to the hospital, I asked that they first take me to Brother Jackman, an elderly high priest in our LDS ward. I wanted him to heal me with a priesthood blessing. Brother Jackman promised that I would recover fully from the disease and leave the hospital shortly. Although I was diagnosed with a fatal form of polio, I left the hospital after a few weeks of spinal taps and hot compresses.

I remember very distinctly my LDS baptism at age eight. I felt “a burning within” me of what I knew was God’s presence. For me, partaking of the sacrament was always a celebration of my relationship with God and Christ.

When I was nine, I experienced what I regarded as divine protection when I became separated from a tour group inside the Oregon Caves. As I was trying to catch up with them, all the lights went out for a demonstration of total darkness. I continued walking in the dark until I heard a quiet voice say, “Stop.” I started to take another step, when the word was repeated with greater emphasis, and in a very different voice

from the tour guide’s in the distance that I was trying to regain. I didn’t take another step. When the lights came back on, I found that I had been walking off the trail, and was on the edge of a sheer drop that disappeared into further darkness even when the trail lights were on. No one in the group seemed to notice my return.

Growing up in my California ward, I frequently said in monthly testimony meetings that God’s priesthood spared me from polio, and his voice saved me from falling to my death in the caves.

Perhaps because I was such a regular testimony bearer, I grew up hearing older Mormons say that God was preparing me for important service in his Church. My grandmother (who raised me) was more direct. “I wouldn’t be surprised,” she said, “if God makes you one of his apostles.”

It would have saved me a lot of unnecessary concern and aspiration if I’d realized then how common that sentiment is in Mormon culture. As a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, Marion G. Romney recounted his effort to motivate a full-time missionary who didn’t want to get up early in the morning, didn’t want to tract door-to-door, didn’t want to stay on his mission. Elder Romney asked, “Isn’t there anything that you want?” The missionary replied, “Yes, Brother Romney, I want to be an apostle.”⁸

As far back as I can remember, I knew what it was to feel the presence of God within me, and I felt close to him as my father, comforter, and strength. But I hadn’t thought much about the LDS church itself, even though I was a seventh-generation Mormon who attended Church every week. At the age of eleven, I tried reading the Book of Mormon, but found it boring and confusing. Finally, I just asked God if the Book of Mormon was true, and experienced the warm sensation within me that it was. Then with the same results, I asked if the LDS church and its prophet were true. I felt God wanted me to show my love for him by giving service to his Church and his people.

By fifteen I had read most of the standard works of LDS scripture. I began a several-year project to re-read them and make my own card-index of Mormon-oriented passages from the Old Testament, New Testament, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price. I loved these sacred texts and used them as my only source for every talk I gave in Church.

By age seventeen I was also reading LDS histories published by Deseret Book Company but was confronted by three different challenges that year concerning Mormon history. One of my friends gave me an anti-Mormon pamphlet about changes in the Book of Mormon text.⁹ A girlfriend also gave me Samuel W. Taylor’s *Family Kingdom*, a book about his apostle-father’s experience with plural marriage after the Church’s 1890 Manifesto supposedly ended it. Also, during a visit of our group of LDS friends to a nearby chapel of the Reorganized Church, the RLDS pastor gave us evidence (which I at first denied “in the name of Jesus Christ”) that Brigham Young taught that Adam was God. As a result, I read the first volume of the *Journal of Discourses* and found many doctrinal surprises in the

teachings of President Young and the other prophets, seers, and revelators of the early LDS church.¹⁰

In the midst of my historical inquiries that same year, LDS President David O. McKay dedicated our stake meetinghouse in California, and I witnessed his virtual reenactment of a New Testament miracle. As he and Sister McKay left the building, I followed only a step or two behind, hoping to get his autograph in my Bible. When they neared their limousine, hundreds of people were crowding around the McKays and even pushing up against them. Immediately behind me, amid the noise of this jostling crowd, I heard a woman whisper, "If I can only touch him." She reached her arm past me and her finger tips barely touched the back of President McKay's suit while he was pressed by people on all sides. Instantly, he straightened to his full height, turned around, looked at the woman behind me and extended his arms to her. She came forward, tears streaming down her face, able only to say: "My prophet, my prophet." He said, "God bless you," held her hands for a moment, kissed her forehead, and turned back to help Sister McKay enter the car. I knew nothing further about this woman or the incident, except that I had read a remarkably similar story in the Book of Luke.¹¹ (See Luke 8:45-48.)

In December of that year, Apostle LeGrand Richards came to our ward to visit his daughter and son-in-law, our bishop. I asked Elder Richards about Brigham Young's teaching of the Adam-God doctrine. He said Brigham Young was a prophet, but that as an apostle he [LeGrand Richards] just "put on the shelf" some of Brigham Young's teachings that seemed difficult to understand. That seemed like an honest and sensible approach to me. Apostle Richards thought pride was the basic problem with those who continued to practice polygamy after the Church officially abandoned it in 1890. I knew enough of my own pride that I could accept this as a reason for what he described as spiritual error. Satisfied with the explanations of Apostle Richards, I no longer felt concern about the Manifesto or Brigham Young's "one" Adam-God statement, both of which had bothered me for months.

At age eighteen, I started researching other "problem" areas of the Mormon past and typed up my own explanations within a faithfully factual context. I wrote Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, who was then LDS Church Historian, about changes in the Book of Mormon text since 1830, and got back a cantankerous reply that questioned my testimony. I should have seen the handwriting on the wall then, I suppose, but just shrugged off his reaction as a personality quirk.¹² I continued trying to understand Mormon controversies so that I could help defend the Church.

A year later, I entered the Los Angeles Temple to receive the

endowment. I regarded the ceremony as both inspiring and intriguing,¹³ and I attended the temple weekly during the months before I began a full-time mission. While I was a zone leader in England, the temple president there asked me to serve as an ordinance worker whenever I could come to the temple.¹⁴ With my mission president's permission, I went there with my companion whenever it was convenient. The London Temple was the first of several in which I officiated as an ordinance worker in ceremonies whose words I still remember and find inspiring.

Early in this mission, I had my first experience in speaking what I regard as revelatory words to another person. I was in the middle of routinely setting apart a woman for a position in a small branch of the Church. Suddenly the words "You are accepted of the Lord" came into my mind with overwhelming power. At the same instant I felt at the center of my being the burning sensation I have always known as the Spirit of God.

I've written in SUNSTONE of the crisis of faith I also experienced as a young missionary while I excommunicated boys who had been deceptively baptized as part of the Church's Baseball Baptism Program.¹⁵ The one positive aspect of that experience was that for the first time in my life I could understand those who are unbelievers or atheists. Otherwise, the mission field was a spiritual feast to me.

Part way through my mission, I also experienced the fulfillment of prophetic words expressed by Apostle Ezra Taft Benson.¹⁶ In Salt Lake City, Elder

Benson had set me apart along with several others for missionary service in England.

In setting apart two of us, he said the words: "I set you apart as a missionary in the British Mission and any other mission to which you may be called." We two were also the only ones of these ten or twelve missionaries who eventually served in more than one mission during our two-year service.

In returning to Brigham Young University following that mission, I had an experience of personal revelation that would be repeated at other times in similar situations. The newly appointed BYU bishop, Richard L. Anderson of the religion department, told me that all positions in the ward had already been filled, but it might be possible in a few months to call me as a substitute teacher in a class. As I left our initial meeting, the words came into my mind, "You will be a counselor in the elders quorum presidency next Sunday." I have no idea why I would have that thought, or why (as I believe) God would bother to reveal it to me. In any case, the next Sunday I attended, Bishop Anderson asked me to be a counselor in the elders quorum.¹⁷

While in that position, I participated in the most remarkable healing experience I ever witnessed. A diabetic student in

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the ward suddenly began losing his sight, and within days was blind in one eye and had almost no vision in the other. I was asked to join with the stake presidency, bishopric, and elders quorum presidency in giving the young man a blessing before he left campus. When I entered the room where the others were already assembled, I was overwhelmed by the burning of the Spirit within me. In the priesthood administration, Stake President Harold Goodman promised the young man he would regain his sight and return the next semester to study at BYU. Both promises were fulfilled.

A few months later, I had the unusual experience of a non-Mormon and non-Christian asking me for a Mormon priesthood blessing. A Muslim graduate student at BYU fell on the ice, hit his head, and began experiencing what seemed to be symptoms of brain concussion. I offered to take him to the hospital, but he replied, "No, I want you to give me a blessing to heal me, like those of your religion can receive." This request startled me, but I thought to myself: "Why not?" I regarded his faith as more important than LDS procedures, so I closed my priesthood administration to him in the name of Allah, rather than Jesus Christ. I checked on him half an hour later, and found that he had stopped vomiting and was free of head pain. This Muslim had no further difficulty from his head injury, and I attributed that to his faith in the God of Abraham.

During my first semester back at Brigham Young University, a faithful Mormon student also shook my confidence in traditional Mormon history. One afternoon Stephen E. Robinson (a religiously devoted freshman) confronted me in the BYU dorm with the accusation that his religion professor had wilfully lied to the class that morning by claiming that anyone who married in polygamy after the Manifesto was an adulterer. "My grandfather was a mission president who married two plural wives in Salt Lake City ten years after the Manifesto," he said and added that his family had a recommend (signed by LDS President Joseph F. Smith) for one of the marriages.

I was deeply disturbed by what Steve Robinson told me about his grandfather's post-Manifesto polygamous marriages. This did not fit the explanation that Apostle Richards had given me as a teenager, and it contradicted traditional histories by B. H. Roberts and Joseph Fielding Smith. At first I couldn't believe it, and asked for his grandfather's name to check out the story. The next weekend I took the bus to the LDS Genealogical Society, where I found that the man married two plural wives in 1901, and remained mission president for almost twenty years, during which time he fathered children by all his wives.¹⁸

This BYU student sent me on a quest to understand post-Manifesto polygamy and every other historical claim about the

LDS church made by anti-Mormons. In the process, I found that traditional Mormon historians were denying the existence of things (or remaining silent about events) that anti-Mormons could demonstrate from Mormon sources. Among these were Brigham Young's Adam-God teachings for thirty years, not just in a brief reference of one sermon.¹⁹ I felt that the average Mormon was vulnerable to this contrast between historical evidence and official LDS history. I was determined to get to the bottom of every historical claim made by anti-Mormons and do what traditional historians had not been doing—acknowledge all the evidence and still come up with an explanation that was both honest and reassuring for believing Mormons.

During my next three years as a BYU undergraduate, I was a teaching assistant for Book of Mormon classes in the religion department, was a temple ordinance worker, and served as a guide at Salt Lake Temple Square.²⁰ Each was a great experience of service. All during this time I was also reading anti-Mormon publications that used Mormon history as a weapon, and I checked every quote and citation for accuracy and context. I prayed for the Lord to guide me by his Spirit to learn the truth of these matters and to know how to present them in a faithful way.

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While in the military during 1970, I had my first run-in with a Church officer about Mormon history. At the suggestion of the full-time missionaries in Munich, I agreed to give them a presentation about the history of plural marriage from Joseph Smith to post-Manifesto polygamy. A few days later, the mission president invited me to his office and said that it wasn't always good to tell the truth about Church history. President Orville Gunther said: "On more than one occasion I've met with members of the Utah legislature, and have showed them a letter from the First Presidency indicating a wish that the legislature vote a particular way on certain bills." He explained that he had "Church authorization" to do this, but showed such letters only to men he knew were loyal to the Church and would know how to vote after seeing a letter of this kind.

"What I have told you is true," President Gunther said, "but if you told anyone else I said this to you, I'd deny I ever told you such a ridiculous story, and I'd deny it ever happened."²¹ Up until this point, I had understood his line of argument about not volunteering information about Mormon history to investigators or new members that could injure their faith, but I was amazed that he used this story as an illustration.²²

Nevertheless, this mission president's advice had its impact on me. I decided that I would not impose my understanding of Mormon history on Church members. In all the years afterward, I did not speak about Mormon history in sermons or Sunday School lessons unless the ward bishop specifically asked me to. It was a decade before I would even talk about

Mormon history during firesides at private homes, and again only when asked to do so by the host. Otherwise, my texts and topics came from the scriptures alone.

During my three-year service in the U.S. military, I also made the transition from planning on a career in English literature to wanting to be a professionally trained historian of the Mormon past. While in the military, I read and prepared my own indexes of the six-volume *Comprehensive History of the Church*, the twenty-six volume *Journal of Discourses*, and also the four published volumes of testimony in the U.S. Senate's investigation from 1904 to 1907 of the LDS church and post-Manifesto polygamy. My former bishop, Richard L. Anderson, had arranged for BYU's library to send these volumes to me in Germany. In our frequent correspondence of 1969–70, Professor Anderson wrote that his research in early Mormonism did not have any controversies like my research in post-Manifesto polygamy. Years later, I think we both saw the irony, when I published *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*.²³

I prayed almost daily for God to give me hidden knowledge of Mormonism when I got out of the military. I specifically prayed for access to the documents of the LDS church that would give understanding of the internal operations of the Mormon hierarchy, and particularly about the activities of the general authorities regarding polygamy. Amazingly, that's what happened when I started graduate study in history.

In 1971, I began researching manuscripts of the LDS Archives. A month after my return to Salt Lake City from Germany to begin studying history at the University of Utah, my graduate adviser, Davis Bitton, employed me to research hundreds of diaries in the LDS Church Historian's Office.²⁴ As newly appointed Church Historian, Apostle Howard W. Hunter had opened up the LDS Archives to researchers, and I sat next to non-Mormons who were examining files of the First Presidency.²⁵ I was sure that God was providing the way for me to understand the "deep things" of the Mormon past, and that this was somehow part of my mission to his Church. During this time, I was also a Sunday School teacher, a temple worker, and a guide on Temple Square.

From 1972 onward, Leonard Arrington (then the official Church Historian) encouraged me to publish Mormon history and become a professional. My acceptance to Yale University in 1973 was beyond any of my youthful dreams.²⁶

However, that year I wanted to be free of an aspiration that had dogged me since childhood. At the April 1973 general priesthood meeting, I laughed spontaneously at President Romney's story about the lazy missionary who wanted to be an apostle, but I was embarrassed at how closely it applied to me.

I thought if anything or anyone could release me from my oppressive sense of mission, it would be for the president of the Council of the Twelve to solemnly tell me that I was completely wrong to think of becoming a Mormon apostle.

A couple of months later, I managed to get an appointment with Spencer W. Kimball. I explained to him my lifelong delusion of becoming an apostle, how the words and blessings of others had encouraged it, and how I felt I could not be free of this obsession until he simply told me that I was wrong.

President Kimball asked if I would like to have a blessing. As he laid his hands upon my head, I expected him to give me the comfort and strength to overcome my aspirations for Church office. Instead, Spencer W. Kimball promised me that one day God would call me as an apostle. After the blessing, President Kimball told me not to work for the office or try "to curry favor" with Church leaders, but just to live as I felt the Lord desired for me. There was no way I could logically explain that experience, then or now. Within two months, I went to Yale, where I also served as a bishopric counselor and LDS institute teacher. In 1976, I wrote a Ph.D. dissertation about the Mormon hierarchy.²⁷

Years later, I spent four Saturdays in a row with Spencer W. Kimball and his wife Camilla in their home, while I read his personal diaries and took notes. I never reminded him of the blessing he had given me six months before he became Church president. After asking about my family background, he said: "I married a Mexican, too. Sister Kimball was born in the [Mormon] colonies there." He always introduced me to others as "my Mexican"—the same words President Kimball whispered to me as he repeatedly kissed me the last time we were together before he was physically incapacitated.

Shortly after G. Homer Durham's appointment as managing director of the LDS Historical Department in 1977, I also developed a curious working relationship with this general authority. He began restricting and impeding research for others in LDS Archives almost immediately, and yet he seemed to respect my dogged determination to keep asking for sensitive materials. Once as I sat waiting to see the Church Archivist with some request slips in my hand for restricted documents, Elder Durham walked by, smiled and gave me the clenched-fist salute of the sixties radicals. I wrote him a twelve-page, single-spaced memo summarizing my knowledge of post-Manifesto polygamy and my intention to one day publish that information. At the same time I sent similar letters to the First Presidency, and later explained my knowledge of post-Manifesto polygamy during a private meeting with Counselor Gordon B. Hinckley in his home. President Hinckley told me "It is up to you," when I asked whether I should publish my

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Nevertheless, for six years after my letter to Elder Durham and our own conversation about it, he continued to authorize me to research restricted documents regarding polygamy. Just days before his death, Elder Durham gave me access again to First Presidency files, which I had explained were necessary to finalize a *Dialogue* article on post-Manifesto polygamy. "Mike Quinn has helped us explain other problem areas," Elder Durham told the young Church Archivist, Glenn Rowe. "I hope he can help us here, because this is a tough one."²⁹ The article I published was simply a long version of what I had written Elder Durham six years earlier.

Whether by design or as one of life's little jokes, Apostle Boyd K. Packer was the general authority who interviewed me for joining BYU's history department. He lectured me for forty-five minutes, the highlights of which were these statements: "I have a hard time with historians," Elder Packer said, "because they idolize the truth. The truth is not uplifting; it destroys. . . . Historians should tell only that part of the truth that is inspiring and uplifting." I spoke of balance, perspective, context. He just shook his head, and said, "You'll learn."³⁰ I did.

And, as the saying goes, "The rest is history."

NOTES

1. "Apostasy Investigation Launched against Historian," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 Feb. 1993, A-6, A-7; "Michael Quinn Investigated for Apostasy," *SUNSTONE* 16 (Mar. 1993): 69; "Verdict in Trials of 6 Mormon Scholars: Guilty in Each Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 Oct. 1993, C-2; "As Mormon Church Grows, So Does Dissent from Feminists and Scholars," *New York Times*, 2 October 1993, 7; "Elders Banishing Dissidents in Struggle over Mormon Practices," *Washington Post*, 26 Nov. 1993, A-3; "Mormon Church Ousts Dissidents," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 Dec. 1993, E-2; "Mormon Church Excommunicates Five Scholars over Their Books," *Publishers Weekly*, 25 Apr. 1994, 12; "Biblical Scholar at Brandeis Is Excommunicated by Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 18 May 1994, 18; "Religion," *Time* 143, 13 June 1994, 66; D. Michael Quinn, "Dilemmas of Feminists & Intellectuals in the Contemporary LDS Church," *SUNSTONE* 17 (June 1994): 73, n. 2.

2. This refers to my statement of faith in Quinn, "Dilemmas of Feminists & Intellectuals in the Contemporary LDS Church," 68, as evaluated by John Charles Duffy's letter to *SUNSTONE* editors, 11 June 1994: "Since I have my doubts as to how literally Quinn regards the stone tables of the Law or the Biblical record, I see how this confession could rightly be considered deceptive. . . . I can't help but feel that belief has degenerated into semantic games." Duffy's letter was published in a somewhat different form as "Line Dancing," *SUNSTONE* 17 (Dec. 1994): 5.

3. For the allegation of "trying to gather a following," see statement of Dallin H. Oaks in "Church Isn't Conducting a 'Purge,' LDS Apostle Says," *Deseret News*, 2 Oct. 1993, A-1.

4. For the role of Apostle Boyd K. Packer, see D. Michael Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (And Its Aftermath)," in George D. Smith, ed., *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 90-92; "LDS Apostle Denies Ordering Dissident's Excommunication," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 Oct. 1993, D-1; "Cartoonist Says Oaks Lied to Protect Fellow Apostle," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 Oct. 1993, B-1; "More Stories Point to LDS Leaders As Source of Dissident Crackdown," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 Oct. 1993, B-1, B-3; "Packer Says He Was Concerned by Request for Meeting, But Apostles Endorsed It," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 Oct. 1993, B-1, B-2; Steve Benson, "Oaks Dissembled Packer's Role in Toscano Excommunication," *SUNSTONE* 16 (Dec. 1993): 69; Quinn, "Dilemmas," 73, n. 2.

5. Transcription of Dallin H. Oaks statement during program, "Critics Claim Mormon Church Is Purging Intellectuals," *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio, 27 Sept. 1993; also "Phone Threat Reaches Wrong Man," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 Oct. 1993, D-3.

6. "Brigham Young: Man of the Spirit," *Ensign*, August 1977: 34-37,

reprinted in *Celebrating the LDS Past: Essays Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the 1972 Founding of the LDS Church Historical Department's "History Division"* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University, 1992), 115-20.

7. For longer statements of that view, see D. Michael Quinn, "Editor's Introduction," and Leonard J. Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," in Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), esp. vii-x, 6-9.

8. *April 1973 Conference Report* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1973), 116. For storytelling purposes, I use the word "want" in place of Elder Romney's original usage of "desire," and I invent examples of the missionary's lack of motivation which Elder Romney did not actually specify.

9. The pamphlet was Arthur Budvarson, *The Book of Mormon Examined* (La Mesa, Ca.: Utah Christian Tract Society, 1959). The authoritative and exhaustive presentation of these changes is *Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference*, 3 vols. (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 1984-87), which replaces the more widely circulated Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *3913 Changes in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., [1965]). Also, current LDS Apostle Jeffrey R. Holland examined doctrinal changes in the second edition of the Book of Mormon. See Holland's, "An Analysis of Selected Changes in Major Editions of the Book of Mormon, 1830-1920" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966). The printer made relatively minor changes in the published version of the Book of Mormon, but the printer's copy (in the handwriting of Cowdery) contained important changes from the original manuscript (in the handwriting of several scribes). See Dean C. Jessee, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *Brigham Young University Studies* 10 (spring 1970): 259-278; Janet Jenson, "Variations Between Copies of the First Edition of the Book of Mormon," *Brigham Young University Studies* 13 (winter 1973): 214-22; Stan Larson, "A Study of Some Textual Variations in the Book of Mormon: Comparing the Original and Printer's Manuscripts and the 1830, the 1837, and the 1840 Editions" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974); Stan Larson, "Changes in the Early Texts of the Book of Mormon," *Ensign*, Sept. 1976, 77-82; Stan Larson, "Early Book of Mormon Texts: Textual Changes to the Book of Mormon in 1837 and 1840," *SUNSTONE* 1 (fall 1976): 44-55; Stan Larson, "Textual Variants in the Book of Mormon Manuscripts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (autumn 1977): 8-30; Stan Larson, "Conjectural Emendation and the Text of the Book of Mormon," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (summer 1978): 563-569; Royal Skousen, "Book of Mormon Editions (1830-1981)," and Royal Skousen, "Book of Mormon Manuscripts," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan-Publishing Co., 1992), 1:175, 186.

10. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-1886) which was a compilation of sermons originally published by authority of the First Presidency in the *Deseret News*. Selections (without the controversial doctrines) have appeared in John A. Widtsoe, ed., *Discourses of Brigham Young, Second President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1943); in G. Homer Durham, comp., *Gospel Kingdom: Selections from the Writings and Discourses of John Taylor . . .* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1944); in G. Homer Durham, ed., *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff . . .* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946); in Daniel L. Ludlow, ed., *Latter-day Prophets Speak* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1948); in Jerred L. Newquist, ed., *Gospel Truths: Discourses and Writings of President George Q. Cannon*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Zion's Book Store, 1957); in N. B. Lundwall, comp., *Masterful Discourses and Writings of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962); in Roy W. Doxey, ed., *Latter-day Prophets and the Doctrine and Covenants*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1963-1965); in Joseph Fielding McConkie, ed., *Journal of Discourses Digest* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974); and in Clyde J. Williams, comp., *The Teachings of Lorenzo Snow . . .* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984).

11. For other examples of David O. McKay's charismatic experiences, see Clare Middlemiss, comp., *Cherished Experiences from the Writings of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1955). By the way, President McKay signed my Bible, as did every other member of the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve, as constituted at the time of my full-time mission at age nineteen. Each of those signatures involved a story of its own with these very human prophets, seers, and revelators who were gracious enough to grant this selfish request of a young Mormon.

12. Joseph Fielding Smith to Quinn, 9 August 1962. Later I had what I considered a hilarious meeting with Elder Smith in his office as he added his signature to those of the other members of the Council of the Twelve who had autographed my Bible. For Joseph Fielding Smith's lifelong dogmatism and his questioning the

faith of those (including general authorities) who disagreed with his doctrinal views, see J. Reuben Clark to Joseph Fielding Smith, 2 October 1946, quoted in D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 166–67; James B. Allen, "Personal Faith and Public Policy: Some Timely Observations on the League of Nations Controversy in Utah," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (autumn 1973): 93–94; Richard Sherlock, "We Can See No Advantage to a Continuation of the Discussion: The Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (fall 1980): 63–78; Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 122–29, 140–41; "Editor's Introduction," in Stan Larson, ed., *The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology: The Masterwork of B. H. Roberts* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 1–vii; James B. Allen, "The Story of The Truth, The Way, The Life," in John W. Welch, ed., *The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology by B. H. Roberts* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994), clxxvi–clxxxiv.

13. Important in my own preparation for a positive experience in receiving the LDS endowment was a 1941 talk by David O. McKay, "The Temple Ceremony," transcript copies in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; in Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah; and in Joseph C. Muren, comp., *The Temple and Its Significance* (Ogden, Utah: by the author, 1973).

14. The temple president was George Eugene England Sr., whose son Eugene cofounded *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* six months after I returned to BYU from my missionary-temple service in Britain. The excitement on campus by LDS liberals, moderates, and conservatives at the news of *Dialogue's* establishment in 1966 was repeated at the appointment of professional historian Leonard J. Arrington as official Church Historian in 1972, and at Sunstone's first Mormon Theological Symposium in 1979. Subsequent criticism by LDS leaders, polarization, intimidation of subscribers and attenders, punishment of the outspoken, and the retreat of moderates have given a melancholy, Camelot-like quality to those earlier events.

15. Quinn, "I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions: The Mormon 'Baseball Baptism' Era," *SUNSTONE* 16 (Dec. 1993): 39–40.

16. For my other references to fulfillment of Ezra Taft Benson's prophetic (predictive) statements, see D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (summer 1993): 71, n. 280; "Quinn Responds," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (winter 1993): xii.

17. Before the next Sunday's service, I accepted an invitation to stay over the weekend with relatives in Salt Lake Valley. As I attended their ward's services, I was convinced that the elder's quorum of my BYU ward was being organized without me that day. I'm not sure if I was trying to test the inward impression by not showing up on the Sunday I was supposed to. In any event, two Sundays after my initial meeting with Bishop Anderson, I attended his ward and received the calling as second counselor in the elder's quorum.

18. For the historical context of post-Manifesto polygamy, see D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (spring 1985): 9–105; also B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), which summarizes the marriages of mission president Joseph E. Robinson as case #160 in the appendix.

19. David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (spring 1982): 14–58.

20. I assisted Daniel H. Ludlow, an original member of the 1960s Church Correlation Committee, who became the chief editor of the 1992 *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. One of my responsibilities from 1965 to 1968 was to teach weekly discussion groups for students in Professor Ludlow's large-enrollment classes on the Book of Mormon. I owe my opportunity for several years of service as a Salt Lake Temple Square guide to two people: the first, Marion D. Hanks, who recommended me to the second, Viola Clawson, then director of the Temple Square Museum–Visitor Center and tour guides. In my first meeting with her in 1966, Sister Clawson explained that there was a long waiting list of returned missionaries, former mission presidents, and others for the next vacancy as a Temple Square guide, yet she assigned me that day as a guide.

21. According to Wayne Stout (*History of Utah*, 3 vols. [Salt Lake City: by the author, 1967–1971], 3: 523, 569, 608), Orville Gunther was a Republican member of the Utah House, representing Utah County from 1953 to 1957.

22. I experienced a related irony with Orville Gunther while he was president of the Provo Temple (1976–1980). While I was a member of the high council of the Salt Lake Emigration Stake, our stake presidency, high council, bishoprics and

their wives attended an endowment session in Provo, after which President Gunther gave our group a special lecture, by prior arrangement. His previously unannounced topic was a detailed presentation of the differences between the current endowment ceremony and the Nauvoo Temple ceremony of 1845–1846, which he said he had read in the archival vault of the Salt Lake Temple. This was material that I already knew from other sources, but I learned afterward that temple president Gunther's sudden dose of historical truth had "shaken" the testimonies of several of our stake's leaders and their wives. For historical perspective, see David John Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (winter 1987): 33–76; Heber C. Kimball diary (kept by William Clayton), 11 December 1845 to 7 January 1846, in George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, in association with Smith Research Associates, 1991), 204–58; and David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness: A History of Mormon Temple Worship* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994).

23. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987). Also ironically, Stephen E. Robinson (who had once accused a BYU religion professor of lying in defense of the traditional view of the 1890 Manifesto) wrote himself (in defense of the traditional view of Joseph Smith's early life) what I regard as a vicious, wilfully inaccurate, and distorted review of my book in *Brigham Young University Studies* 27 (fall 1987): 88–95. For more balanced reviews of the book and evaluations of my interpretations of evidence, see *SUNSTONE* 12 (Jan. 1988): 36–40; *Journal of the West* 27 (April 1988): 106; *Saints' Herald* 135 (April 1988): 14; *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (spring 1988): 199–200; *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (summer 1988): 157–59; *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 8 (1988): 85–87; *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 79 (April 1988): 80; *Small Press Review* 5 (April 1988): 67; *Contemporary Sociology* 17 (Sept. 1988): 682; *Christian Century* 106 (25 Jan. 1989): 84–85; *New Mexico Historical Quarterly* 64 (April 1989): 242–43; *Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (Aug. 1989): 342–43; *Pacific Historical Review* 58 (Aug. 1989): 379–80; *Critical Review of Books in Religion* 1989, 336–38; *Church History* 59 (Mar. 1990): 110–12; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 229, 244; David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson, "Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing of Latter-day Saint History," *Brigham Young University Studies* 31 (spring 1991): 161–62; *Religious Studies Review* 18 (July 1992): 190–95.

24. My work contributed to Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), which sometimes identified me by name as the researcher of the diary-abstracts for general authorities like Heber J. Grant and of diary-minutes of the First Presidency.

25. For an account of these developments, see Davis Bitton, "Ten Years in Camelot: A Personal Memoir," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (autumn 1983): 9–35. Two non-Mormons who had access to First Presidency materials were Henry J. Wolfinger and Donald R. Moorman. See their publications of this research in Wolfinger, "A Re-examination of the Woodruff Manifesto in the Light of Utah Constitutional History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (fall 1971): 238–49; Moorman and Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992). Other non-Mormons who did research during the 1970s in previously restricted documents (now mostly unavailable to even devoted Mormons) at LDS Archives were Melvyn Hammarberg, "The Mormon People and their Way of Life, 1847–1880," *The Family in Historical Perspective: An International Newsletter* 8 (spring 1975): 6–8; Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Michael Raber, *Religious Polity and Local Production: The Origins of a Mormon Town* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of A New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); and non-LDS historian Donald R. Moorman, whose extensive research in sensitive documents at LDS archives during the 1970s (now restricted to all Mormons) was published posthumously, as edited by Gene A. Sessions, in *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992).

26. For his similar role with many other fledgling historians, see Leonard J. Arrington, "Historian As Entrepreneur," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (winter 1977): 205–07; Klaus J. Hansen, "Arrington's Historians," *SUNSTONE* 13 (Aug. 1989): 41–43, and the co-authored articles listed by David J. Whitaker, "Leonard James Arrington: A Bibliography," in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, eds., *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 439–69. In 1973 Yale initially turned down my application but admitted me with

a half-tuition fellowship because of an hour-long telephone conversation between Leonard Arrington and the dean of Yale's graduate school.

27. Quinn, "The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1976), expanded in scope and time period in the two-volume study *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* and *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, forthcoming from Signature Books, Salt Lake City, 1994-95. Concerning my willingness to abandon this controversial dissertation if that was God's will, see Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (And Its Aftermath)," 74.

28. D. Michael Quinn to G. Homer Durham on 17 January 1979; to Spencer W. Kimball on 9 March, 30 March 1979; to First Presidency on 19 June 1979, 20 May 1980; in-person conversation with Gordon B. Hinckley on Sunday, 22 November 1981, with letters to him on 17 February, 15 April, and 2 June 1982, the last in response to a telephone conversation in which President Hinckley told me that "it is up to you" to decide whether to publish an article about post-Manifesto polygamy. I included copies of all the above correspondence and summaries of my conversations with President Hinckley in my letter to Apostle Dallin H. Oaks on 10 May 1985. Although his secretary confirmed by telephone a month later that Elder Oaks had received my letter with its enclosures, I have been informed since then that Dallin H. Oaks has told various people that I allegedly misled G. Homer Durham, the staff of LDS Archives, and the First Presidency about my research interests in post-Manifesto polygamy.

For the record: Not only did Elder Durham and the First Presidency know of my research into post-Manifesto polygamy as of 1979, but staff members in the LDS Archives Research Room had known of my research interests for years and were the ones who suggested to Elder Durham that I write him this memo. In January 1985, I specifically explained to official Church Archivist Glenn N. Rowe that I was requesting access to First Presidency files at LDS Archives because I intended to use them to finalize an upcoming article about post-Manifesto polygamy in *Dialogue* (which I identified by name in my verbal request). Rowe relayed that information to G. Homer Durham, who signed the request slips for me to examine those First Presidency files for that purpose. On that occasion, Elder Durham also personally initialed the request slips to allow me to re-examine and take more complete notes from the records of polygamous marriages performed in the St. George Temple from 1877 to 1888, in the Logan Temple from 1884 to 1903, and in the Manti Temple from 1888 to 1889. Rowe's predecessor as archivist, Donald T. Schmidt, had also authorized me to examine (for my own research) and take notes from all polygamous sealing records in his custody as restricted documents in the LDS Archives vault. Church Archivist Schmidt also gave me access to records specifically identified as involving post-Manifesto polygamous marriages. In July 1973, I prepared my first memo about post-Manifesto polygamy, at the request of Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington, who also knew that I was researching the role of the general authorities in post-Manifesto polygamy. And, as indicated earlier in this presentation, before I began independent research at LDS Archives in 1971, I had informed BYU religion professor Richard L. Anderson that I was conducting extensive research about post-Manifesto polygamy. During the next decade, Anderson occasionally asked me questions about polygamy when we happened to meet at Church Archives. By my own choice, during fifteen years of research at LDS Archives, I informed appropriate personnel of the LDS Archives, as well as the First Presidency, about my research into sensitive and controversial matters of Mormon history.

There is no merit or foundation in fact to the self-serving claim by certain individuals that I abused my privileges at LDS Archives or concealed the controversial nature of my research or my intentions to publish the findings of that research. In fact, I was publishing my controversial findings while I continued research at LDS Archives. I gave copies of my 1973 master's thesis and 1976 Ph.D. dissertation to the Historical Department of the Church (HDC). Before I joined the BYU faculty that year, one HDC employee informed me that he had delivered photocopies of my dissertation to the offices of Apostles Ezra Taft Benson, Mark E. Petersen, and Boyd K. Packer. From 1976 until I resigned from BYU, I sent copies of every one of my "controversial" and "sensitive" publications to the Church Library of the Historical Department. In 1977, dean of BYU's college of social sciences, Martin B. Hickman, informed me that the First Presidency was aware of the sources, findings, and interpretations of my Yale dissertation, and had expressed no criticism. Late in 1978, I published an article on the temple prayer circle (which article quoted sensitive documents I had researched at LDS archives), and Elder Gordon B. Hinckley mentioned this article to me as we talked together on the stand of the Federal Heights Ward during a sacrament meeting where he presided and I spoke to the congregation as stake high counselor. In 1980, I published an article on the theocratic Council of Fifty (which article quoted from the minutes of the Fifty, the minutes of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, as well as other sensitive and restricted

documents), and I sent a copy of that article to Francis M. Gibbons, secretary to the First Presidency. His letter of acknowledgement indicated he had read my article, and he expressed cautious praise for my research. If certain individuals continue to circulate the claim that I allegedly misused the LDS Archives and allegedly concealed the nature of my research there, they do so in wilful disregard of the facts to the contrary.

29. Statement to me by Glenn N. Rowe, 8 January 1985. Contrast with the reaction of other general authorities to this April 1985 polygamy article which I had summarized in its pre-publication form for Elder Durham in 1979. See Quinn, "On Being a Mormon Historian (And Its Aftermath)," 91-92.

30. This quote first appeared in my 1992 essay, "On Being a Mormon Historian (And Its Aftermath)," 103, n. 22, which includes a misogynist example Elder Packer gave in his own words, but which I deleted from my verbal presentation here. He made a longer statement of his historical views in "The Mantle Is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect," presented on 22 August 1981 to LDS seminary, institute, and Brigham Young University religion instructors, as published in *Brigham Young University Studies* 21 (summer 1981): 259-78, and reprinted in Boyd K. Packer, *Let Not Your Heart Be Troubled* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991), 101-22.

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