

WHO IS JOSEPH?

THE Y CHROMOSOME

“Wow! You won’t believe this,” Fabienne shouts down. “Your test is back!”

I hurry upstairs. There on her computer screen is a map of the world. Colored branches show migratory routes my remote male ancestors took out of East Africa about sixty or seventy-thousand years ago.

We are participating in the Genographic Project. This is a partnership between National Geographic and IBM formed to chart the migratory history of the entire human species from DNA samplings. For a hundred dollars each we got kits with cheek swabs. We returned our specimens like hundreds of thousands of participants around the world and maybe some of you have done, too. Migratory pathways are plotted from mutation sequences in the female X and male Y chromosomes. Migratory groups with matches are classified in haplogroups.

Fabienne’s report arrives first. It traces her maternal lineage out of Africa from the first Eve into the Middle East and then into Europe, about the time the Neanderthals were there some thirty-thousand years ago. My mutations require deep analysis and take longer to classify.

My report is now on the screen. It shows that my Y chromosome markers match those from Haplogroup Q, an offshoot from the main trunk out of East Africa sixty-thousand years ago. Instead of moving west into Northern Europe from Central Asia, as I expected, this branch veers northeast into Siberia and across Beringia about fifteen-thousand years ago, before the ice retreats to form the Bering straits. The migrations move down the coast or inland and spread throughout the Western Hemisphere. The male Y

chromosome passes only from father to son and most Amerindian males, says the report, have the same Y DNA markers as those in Haplogroup Q from Siberia. And my Y markers match.

I step back. "How can that be?" I ask. "That's not right! My line comes directly from Sweden! We have records to prove it! My great-grandfather John Christenson came to Utah directly from Sweden in 1861. I pay for three more tests. They all confirm that my male ancestors are indeed part of Haplogroup Q that migrated into the Americas from Asia.¹ I'm now in a quandary. We all are made up of the same recombining DNA if we go back far enough, but it would be good to know about my recent male ancestors.

How would I know if my great grandfather had this Y DNA? If he doesn't, it must come from a male ancestor in Haplogroup Q such as a Native American. I'm not as successful in matching my Y DNA to individuals, as Henry Louis Gates is in his fascinating PBS piece, *Know Thyself*. My own Y chromosome most certainly came from my father and his father, Joseph, my grandfather. There's no evidence that Haplogroup Q migrated into Scandinavia where John's ancestors lived. So where did Joseph's Y chromosome come from, then? From a Native American in Utah?

American Fork

Bishop Leonard Harrington points out an enclosure on his farm in American Fork thirty miles south of Salt Lake City. Wagons from a Swedish emigration company are moving in, on their way to settlements south.

The Harrington farm is a place to rest and re-provision before entering the mountains that lead into the Mormon frontier colonies of Mt. Pleasant, Manti and Gunnison in Sanpete County. It is October in the year 1863, and the mountains blaze with bright aspen and scrub oak amidst the green pines. Harrington is town mayor, Mormon bishop and postmaster. He's one

of the first to settle American Fork, an outpost of a theocracy ruled with cunning and iron hand by Brigham Young.

Harrington speaks no Swedish. He uses Johannes now John Christenson, my great-grandfather, to interpret. John left Sweden two years earlier in a company of nearly a thousand Mormon converts aboard the *Monarch of the Sea* sailing from Liverpool. He and his fiancé marry soon after arriving in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. They work and learn English. A year later the couple moves to American Fork. Here they irrigate and plow, back-breaking work; but it's a new life on their own land, an escape from Sweden's severe overlords and bad times.²

As the wagons unhitch, Bishop Harrington spots something. He turns to his translator standing by: "John, we need to find out if anything is wrong in that wagon." A distraught young woman is yelling in Swedish, while a pregnant woman helps a little girl from the wagon. John greets the young woman in Swedish. She is Johanna Herling from the Hansen wagon. Johanna is my great grandmother. She's helping Pehr and Kristina Hansen move to America from Sweden. Kristina is her sister. John learns that the Hansen family starts out with three children but two die on the long trip. They hope to get to Mt. Pleasant before Kristina gives birth to her fourth.³

Johanna loosens her long auburn hair from its knotted bun and explodes. Never should she have come to this place. Never did she believe this religion. She only joined to help her sister. Never should she have left Sweden. On their long trip two Hansen children took ill with fever. In the Civil War, no passenger cars were available, so the immigrants rode from New York packed in cattle cars. The son died in one. A daughter died later on the plains after leaving rails' end in Florence, Nebraska. The children's bodies were left in solitary unmarked graves—hundreds of miles apart. Johanna almost drowned crossing a river.

She is now putting her foot down. She'll go no further: not into unsettled valleys; not to face hostile Indians; not to sleep one day more on some trail; not to Mt. Pleasant; not to watch after her niece Anna; not to help her sister give birth; not for more sorrow. No, she won't!

She misses her handsome father⁴ in his officer's uniform of the Royal Guard; the Swedish lakes and forests and countryside covered with wildflowers and berries and fruit she picks; her work at the café. Most of all she keeps seeing the sturdy face and blue eyes of the young man she loves and was going to marry. He was away, a railway conductor traveling when the telegram came. Her sister needs help, it said; come at once. She couldn't say no and didn't wait! Now she wants to go home!

It takes awhile for John to absorb all this. He reports it to Bishop Harrington. "Stay here, then," says the bishop to Johanna through John, with generous smile. In the morning the Hansens leave without Johanna. Two days out, in Thistle Junction, Kristina has her baby.

Sometime over the next eighteen months in American Fork, Johanna Herling the Swedish spitfire has a sudden change of heart. She becomes John Christenson's wife number two and gives birth to a son, my grandfather. John names him Joseph, after the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith. The rest of this paper is about quandaries regarding each of these two Josephs: a genetic quandary and a religious one.

The State of Deseret

Mormon history sticks in my bones, even though I no longer believe the religion. I'm a cultural not a practicing Mormon. Over fifty years ago I concluded after long study and reflection that the *Book of Mormon* is 19th century American fiction of poor literary quality (Mark Twain called it "chloroform in print"); that Native Americans have Asian roots and did not descend from a Jewish family from Jerusalem, as told in the *Book of*

Mormon;⁵ and that Joseph Smith is a charismatic con-artist. Yet, how could I think worthless the lives of ancestors who risked their all, were persecuted in one place after another, and finally were driven from the United States for beliefs that gave meaning to their lives?

A few years after the Mormons arrive in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847, an Army Topographical Engineer by the name of John Gunnison, writes a best-selling book he calls *The Mormons or Latter Day-Saints*⁶ during the time he spends there with the Stansbury survey of 1849-50. He is one of the first outsiders to record a full and "careful observation of that strange and interesting people" who make up the "demo-theocratic State of Deseret."

The first part is about Joseph Smith, his money-digging, his answered prayers, the angel and the gold plates and *Book of Mormon*; of Indians that descended from a family of Jews from Jerusalem who sailed to the New World before Christ; of Christ's visit to them after his resurrection and the ensuing wars. Gunnison writes as the Mormons tell it: the restoration of the only true church through revelations of the Prophet Joseph, the persecutions in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois and finally the exodus to the Great Basin.

In the second part Gunnison is not so sympathetic. He reveals what many in the East and in Europe detest in Joseph Smith and his followers: Scams and schemes; fraud in the Kirtland, Ohio bank failure; over-zealous encroachments; the Saints' voracious appetite for land; the war of expulsion in Missouri; and, the most disgusting of all, polygamy. These all add up and eventually lead to Joseph Smith's murder at the height of his power as prophet, mayor of Nauvoo, Illinois commanding general of the Nauvoo Legion and a candidate for the US presidency.

In the ensuing power struggle, Brigham Young takes over the Mormons in the name of the martyred prophet. He leads a mass exodus west heading

first to Nebraska for a year, then to the Great Basin beyond the Rocky Mountains in Mexican territory. My mother's ancestor John Robinson, a former Maine sea captain, and his family are part of this exodus as told in my 1996 paper, *Eveline*, the story of Robinson's daughter, my great-great-grandmother.

After months of hard travel, Mormon wagon trains come upon the old Donner Party trail. They take it up Big Mountain and down Emigration Canyon, near where my family had a summer cabin, into the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Soon, tens of thousands spread out over the Great Basin, like inward flowing streams with no outlet to any ocean. The pioneers form an independent theocracy. Its name: the State of Deseret, meaning the honey bee. Its capital: Salt Lake City. It's head: Brigham Young. A Mormon hymn begins with a martial beat: "In our lovely Deseret where the Saints of God have met. . ."

After the war with Mexico ends Deseret, now US territory, seeks admission to the Union. Congress breaks it up instead, carving out Utah and New Mexico and admitting only California. Brigham Young, who is appointed governor of a much diminished Utah Territory, jabs a thumb twice in the federal eye. First, he promulgates Joseph Smith's secret revelation on celestial plural marriage—more on this later. Next, he tells his people (and warns the government) that the practice of polygamy is a religious liberty protected under the American constitution.

Captain Gunnison returns to Utah the next year to head up the important Pacific railroad survey, with its huge commercial and political implications. He doesn't last long. Indians massacre him and most of his party. The Army investigates, looking for Brigham's thumbprints. Nothing comes of it. Nearby a settlement is named *Gunnison* in honor of the captain. My grandfather Joseph later grows up there, in a Mormon culture at war with Washington.

Both parties in Congress declare the mountain Mormons to be "alien enemies" and urge that the "loathsome, disgusting ulcer" of Mormonism that dominates Utah must be removed from the body politic. In the Salt Lake Tabernacle Apostle Heber C. Kimball tries to raise the spirits of the faithful: "I have noticed," he intones, "that a man who has but one wife . . . soon begins to wither and dry up, while a man who goes into plurality looks fresh, young, and sprightly. . . . For a man of God to be confined to one woman is a small business; it is as much as we can do to keep up under the burdens we have to carry, and I do not know what we should do if we only had one woman apiece."⁷ He has forty-three.

War with the Mormons begins with "Buchanan's Blunder" in sending troops to Utah (a story too long to tell here). When it ends, the War Between the States begins. Interested in keeping the Mormons from aiding the South, Abraham Lincoln studies Captain Gunnison's book. He tells a visiting Utah diplomat that the Mormons are like a log he came upon when clearing land: It was "too hard to split, too wet to burn, and too heavy to move, so we plowed around it. You go back and tell Brigham Young that if he will let me alone I will let him alone."⁸ That is about the time when the Scandinavian wagons roll into American Fork.

Johanna's Predicament

My genetic puzzle leads to my great grandmother Johanna. What happened there on Harrington's farm to change her mind? Why did she marry John? Was she involved with some Ute, Paiute or Pahvant warrior? Maybe she was abducted for a time or raped. Those things did happen. That might explain the mystery of my Y chromosome.

A family narrative—Johanna's daughter writes it after her mother's death in 1925— tells us sweetly that Johanna falls in love with John. He overcomes her defiance and converts her.⁹ With a promise of eternal exaltation, and his

first wife's permission, she joyfully agrees to be John's second wife.¹⁰ That's hardly convincing. It sounds like a "Just So" story.

Johanna is trapped, no doubt about that. She's in a faux-friendly place. There's no way she'll be able to return to the Sweden she misses and the man she loves. Johanna is a natural beauty and a free spirit. John must have been smitten on the spot. And it isn't far-fetched for warriors to defend their lands with rape in mind. It's too ugly to imagine.

Johanna knows her situation all too well. The character Toby in Margaret Atwood's novel, *The Year of the Flood*, faces similar entrapment when she finds herself in an environmental cult trying to survive disaster. Atwood writes "She found herself stepping into a ritual as if into a pair of stone shoes."¹¹ Johanna will be cared for, too, if she steps into plural marriage: servitude for protection. What other choice does she have?

My sisters prefer a love affair story. My nephews from California only want to know what tribe we come from to share in its casino money! Not at all unusual in those times, explains my son with his Carleton history degree. Revisionist memoirs are always written years later to keep the heritage pure and legitimate, he says. My grandson Ethan writes proudly in a school report that one of his ancestors is Native American.

We know that John trades his productive farm in American Fork for a team of oxen and a wagon and moves the family of two wives and children into a fort at Gunnison at the time of the nearby Black Hawk war. Why does he sell out so cheaply and leave town so fast then? Now I'm questioning family stories like a history detective!

When Chief Black Hawk surrenders, records do show that John builds a duplex in town. His two families move in, one on each side, until the serious federal crack-down on polygamy begins. By then, my grandfather Joseph is eighteen and a runner in the underground. When the feds are spotted, he

and others run to alert men living with more than one wife. They flee or hide out in secret rooms. The feds arrest John several times, but he's never convicted. When Joseph returns from a church mission to Sweden, he finds his mother Johanna huddled slave-like in a shabby shack in Centerfield on a homestead claim with his young brothers and sisters.

Joseph teaches school, moves to Salt Lake City, and marries my grandmother Lillian Rachael Brown from England in 1890. He settles into his own long life as powerful Mormon bishop, Salt Lake temple official and vice president of the Genealogical Society. Joseph and Lillian have nine children, most in a house in Salt Lake City, where I grew up. My father the youngest¹² buys the house during the Depression as he begins law practice. Joseph now lives with us, alone in his room, well into the Second World War. At dinner table Joseph tells us that we must prepare for the Second Coming and the Kingdom of God by learning how to take care of ourselves. Joseph opposes FDR and the New Deal; Stalin is enemy!

My grandfather seems like Isaiah—white haired, ruddy-faced, full of patriarchal benevolence. Every night and morning he kneels by his bed to pray, aloud. I hear him still, grateful, pleading with the Lord for strength to bear his life's burdens.¹³ We ride the bus to the golf course where I'm his caddy. He takes me to ball games, wrestling matches and my first Shakespeare. He gives me a dollar to read the Bible through and says that the Jews are God's chosen people and we, too, are from the tribes of Israel. I borrow Josephus from his library to read. He leaves twelve volumes of a journal he keeps daily. After he dies, I find and read them.

Revisiting Heresy

Mormon theology begins with Joseph Smith's modern Pelagian heresy in Puritan disguise: "a Judaic-like community religion grounded in the Puritan moral doctrine that the vocation of man is to create the kingdom of God."¹⁴

It is literal like much of Protestantism but heretical in denying original sin. It reflects 19th century liberalism both corporate and individual. It anticipates a disintegrating Protestantism and claims to restore the original church after its apostasy. It believes in continuous personal revelation from God, yet flirts with fourth century Christian fundamentalism.

Yale professor Harold Bloom, America's Yoda on all things spiritual, says that the Mormons borrow a powerful mythology from the Hebrew Bible: persecution and exodus! It starts in the *Book of Mormon*.¹⁵ Group loyalty and self-discipline make Mormon economic and political power alarming as they move west. And, Bloom writes, when the "Prophet . . . also restore[s] patriarchal marriage customs, then indeed [the] capacity for disturbing the conventional [becomes] extraordinary."¹⁶

The *Book of Mormon* teaches monogamy. But Joseph Smith, like today's men of power who think they're invisible, is caught by his wife Emma having a romp in the barn with Fanny Alger, a young hired girl.¹⁷ He explains to a furious Emma that God makes him do it. He's received a new revelation that supersedes the *Book of Mormon*. It commands him to have many wives like the prophets of old.¹⁸ Emma isn't fooled. She rails at him for months. Then she drives a pregnant Alger from the house.

Later, Joseph improves the revelation by adding an enforcement clause: an angel with drawn sword will destroy Emma if she doesn't consent. The angel will destroy him, too, if he refuses to teach and practice plural marriage.¹⁹ Joseph finally admits that the world isn't yet ready for this restored truth; milk before meat! And to Emma, he promises to give up the extra wives he has, though not spiritually. And Joseph secretly "seals" women to him "spiritually". Emma finds out. She knocks one of these spiritual wives, poet Eliza Snow, down the stairs with a broom causing a miscarriage.²⁰ Some are not yet sixteen. One fifteen-year-old girl, Helen Mar Whitney, later confides to her mother that she would never have been

spiritually sealed to Joseph “had I known it was anything more than a ceremony.”²¹ Joseph is polyandrous, too. He spiritually marries other men’s wives, sometimes after sending the husbands on missions.

Before he is killed at the age of thirty-eight, Joseph secretly marries at least thirty-three wives. Other alpha male Mormons acquire even more; over fifty-five for Brigham Young. Emma loves Joseph to the very end along with the property he puts in her name to escape creditors. She denies he ever had a revelation on plural marriage; seems complicit; refuses to go to Utah with Brigham Young; and remarries a non-Mormon.

In harboring my own disbelief of the religion, I mean no disrespect for the beliefs of the Mormons we all know and my sisters and their families, my many relatives who are smart, decent hard-working people. They devoutly believe Joseph Smith is a true prophet of God.

It is true that Joseph’s genius outlines an astonishingly radical doctrine of the human self. This can be captured in a single sentence: “The human self in its essential being is given and uncreated.”²² Recall that our *Declaration of Independence* says that “all men are created equal [and] endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights. . . .” Joseph’s more radical American vision sees what Jefferson and the Enlightenment never did: human selves are not created and have always existed. Selves are not defined by rights; they are gods in embryo in an expansive universe. They co-exist with God.

The self certainly is not created *ex nihilo*. And there is no such thing as immaterial spirit. All spirit is indestructible matter, but of a finer kind. The idea of materialism is an old one, as we know from Democritus and the pre-Socratic atomists. But Joseph, believing that “the glory of God is intelligence”²³ personalizes his ontology: While souls or selves are uncreated, they are “organized” from this finer living matter of intelligence. How does that work? Here’s where celestial marriage comes in. You have to

imagine heavenly copulation that recombines finer matter like DNA from two sexually different indestructible intelligences to form a soul or self.

Now the Pelagian heresy is trivial compared to this one. Augustine taught that the spirit is God-created, while the flesh is corrupt and evil, since it has not been created directly by God. Pelagius on the other hand thought human nature was good in its creation and rejected original sin. But Joseph's uncreated self soars far beyond either of these into godhood. "Man is that he might have joy," says Joseph. "As man is, God once was; as God is, man may be." That doctrine Mormon leadership now avoids.

Nonetheless, today's church fuses Joseph's radical religious vision with Brigham Young's practical architecture of power and wealth, where "[o]rganization . . . becomes [the] sacred idea."²⁴ It's hard to draw a line between the church's sacred tax exempt institutions and its beneficial trust that owns huge taxable businesses: media networks, ranches, agri-businesses, banks, insurance companies and commercial real estate, all of great wealth and undisclosed balance sheets.

Noticeably and quietly, the modern church is revising radical core doctrine. The teaching of polygamy, of course, has changed. The eternal family remains heterosexual though now monogamous. Teachings stress obedience to the sacred organization and downplay the man-god myth. If you want to return to the celestial presence of the Heavenly Father and see your family again, you must keep the commandments and follow the prophet who heads the corporate church.

You live under a ritual of law not under grace: praying daily, three hours in church each Sunday, family night each Monday, accepting all callings, marriage for eternity in temples, no smoking, no drinking of alcohol, coffee or tea, no recreational drugs, no fornicating, no adultery, no masturbating, modest dress, and one last thing. You have to pay tithing, a full ten percent

of your gross income. With no original sin to give you a guilty conscience, God's love and blessings may be withheld from slackers until they shape up.

Gay and lesbian members are most welcome, if they remain celibate. The modern church firmly opposes same-sex marriage because it undermines procreation through sacred marriage of a man and a woman in an eternal family. The church's political campaigns to ban same-sex marriages by popular referenda were successful in Hawaii, California and Maine. Gays and lesbians countered with anger and staged mocking protests in front of Mormon temples and filed a federal law suit. Last fall, LDS Apostle Dallin Oaks preached sternly that such vitriolic attacks should be suppressed because they persecute the Saints yet again and threaten religious liberty.

Blacks once were considered less noble spirits in the pre-existence and until 1978 they were denied the priesthood and eternal marriage. A Mormon political campaign helped kill the Equal Rights Amendment. Sonia Johnson an active Mormon feminist was excommunicated for supporting the ERA in testy testimony before Utah Senator Orrin Hatch.

Women should submit to male priesthood authority of their husbands and lay bishops and fulfill their "natural office" which is "motherhood". In the 1990's some Mormon feminists advance what they have been taught: that God the Father has a wife God the Mother who listens to their prayers. They too are excommunicated. Hot Mormon muffins at BYU are tolerated, barely. Glenn Beck, a proud Mormon libertarian, taps into historical Mormon hostility to secular government at all levels.

The Two Josephs

Millions today believe in the prophet Joseph Smith and his restored church of Jesus Christ. What makes this 19th century Joseph so alive, so powerfully compelling still. Who is he?

“You don’t know me;” Joseph preaches only weeks before he dies, “you never knew my heart. No man knows my history. I cannot tell it; I shall never undertake it. I don’t blame anyone for not believing my history. If I had not experienced what I have, I could not have believed it myself.”²⁵ Here he is, ineffable, as god. “His story is the antithesis of a confession.”²⁶

To me, he’s but a grandiose narcissist, a reckless magnetic fraud in a time of religious revival, who never understood Machiavelli’s prudent advice that a prince should stay away from other men’s women and property.

What, then, of my grandfather Joseph? I knew him well, but will I ever find out whether his biological father is a Native American? In my story, his mother Johanna was trapped. She didn’t believe Mormonism, broke with her sister, and found herself stuck in American Fork. Maybe Johanna submitted to John, a good man, as his second wife to survive and came to love him after all. Perhaps someday like Henry Louis Gates I’ll be able to afford more extensive DNA analysis of my genome that might explain where my Y chromosome mutations came from.

Yet, despite due diligence in pursuing these questions and my heritage, this genetic puzzle of mine is of no moment.²⁷

For even if from science I might find out for sure, I love my grandfather Joseph as I know him to be. But I do have to let Joseph Smith and his church go.

ENDNOTES

¹ A major scientific study says, "Haplogroup Q is . . . the major lineage among the Native Americans, with Q-M3 (Q1a3a) being almost completely restricted to the Americas (Zegura et al. 2004)."

² *History of John Christenson* (typed copy of four pages, undated, by unknown author, probably one of his first wife's children)

³ Hannah Christenson Lundberg, *Johanna Herling Christenson* July 30, 1840 to October 8, 1925 (typed copy of 7 pages)

⁴ Before she died, my aunt Gertrude Anderson (my father's sister) who knew her grandmother Johanna, told me that the father killed a king's man in a duel and was exiled; but the story has not been verified and remains part of oral family lore.

⁵ In 1823 Ethan Smith, pastor of a church in Poultney, Vermont near the Smith farm in Sharon, published a popular book, *View of the Hebrews; or the Ten Tribes of Israel in America*. See also, ch. 7, *The Book of Mormon*, in DALE MORGAN ON EARLY MORMONISM: CORRESPONDENCE AND A NEW HISTORY (John Phillip Walker, ed., with intro., 1986).

⁶ THE MORMONS OR LATTER-DAY SAINTS, IN THE VALLEY OF *THE GREAT SALT LAKE: A HISTORY OF THEIR RISE AND PROGRESS, PECULIAR DOCTRINES, PRESENT CONDITION, AND PROSPECTS, DERIVED FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION DURING A RESIDENCE AMONG THEM*, BY LIEUT. J. W. GUNNISON (of the Topographical Engineers) (London: Sampson Low, Son & Co. 47 Ludgate Hill; Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., 1852). The dedication reads: "To the Commanding Officer of the Exploring Expedition to the Great Salt Lake of Utah, Capt. Howard Stansbury, T.E., Who Has So Ably Given the Official and Scientific Results Surveys in the Country of "The Latter-Day Saints," to Which this Book Appends their History and Theology, and in Pleasant Recollection of our Tour in the Rocky Mountains is this Respectfully Dedicated.

⁷ JOURNAL OF DISCOURSES, vol 5, p. 22

⁸ Quote by T.B.H. Stenhouse, in LEONARD J. ARRINGTON AND DAVIS BITTON, *THE MORMON EXPERIENCE: A HISTORY OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS* 170 (1979).

⁹ Lundberg, *Johanna Herling Christenson*, *supra*. See also WILLIAM K. ICKES, *TWO'S COMPANY; THREE'S A CROWD* (1998) a novel by my first cousin that depicts the tensions between the two wives and John in a love story. More than anyone else, Ickes researched all the material and writes from the viewpoint of a faithful Mormon with great love and respect for our ancestors.

¹⁰ My aunt Gertrude told me that her grandmother Johanna (as second wife) had a choice between taking her own landed family name "Herling" or an ordinary peasant name "Christenson" and she chose the latter.

¹¹ MARGARET ATWOOD, *THE YEAR OF THE FLOOD* 35 (2009)

¹² My father had a younger brother, Milton, who died in infancy.

¹³ He had diabetes and palsy. After bearing nine children and the death of Milton at 7 months, in 1911, his wife had a complete breakdown in 1915 and was committed to the State mental institution in Provo, Utah, as described poignantly in his journal entries.

¹⁴ STERLING M. McMURRIN, *THE THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE MORMON RELIGION*, x, 49-57 (1965).

See David Brion Davis, *New England Origins of Mormonism*, *NEW ENGLAND QUARTERLY* 26 (June 1953): 147-68, 158 ("Mormonism was a link in the Puritan tradition, asserting a close and personal God, providential history, [an] ideal theocracy, the importance of a Christian calling, and a church of saints.").

¹⁵ HAROLD BLOOM, *THE AMERICAN RELIGION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE POST-CHRISTIAN NATION* 87-88, 102 (1992).

¹⁶ *Id.*, at 103.

¹⁷ LINDA KING NEWELL AND VALEEN TIPPETTS AVERY, *MORMON ENIGMA: EMMA HALE SMITH* 66 (2nd ed., 1994).

¹⁸ *Id.*, at 152-55.

¹⁹ See generally ch. 10, *More Wives and a Revelation*, *id.*, at 130-56. As published in the official Doctrine and Covenants, sec. 132, the revelation says that God will destroy Emma and those who do not obey the celestial plural marriage commandment, eliminating reference to an angel with a sword.

²⁰ *Id.*, at 135.

²¹ *Id.*, at 147.

²² STERLING M. McMURRIN, *THE THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE MORMON RELIGION* 49-57 (1965).

²³ FAWN M. BRODIE, *NO MAN KNOWS MY HISTORY: THE LIFE OF JOSEPH SMITH, THE MORMON PROPHET* (2nd ed., revised & enlarged, 1974).

²⁴ BLOOM, *supra*, at 116.

²⁵ From the King Follett funeral sermon, April 7, 1844; see FAWN M. BRODIE, *NO MAN KNOWS MY HISTORY: THE LIFE OF JOSEPH SMITH, THE MORMON PROPHET* vii (2nd ed., revised & enlarged, 1974).

²⁶ BRODIE, *id.*

²⁷ See BARBARA HERRNSTEIN SMITH, *NATURAL REFLECTIONS: HUMAN COGNITION AT THE NEXUS OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION* (2009) (adapted from Terry Lectures at Yale, 2006).

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