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Rewriting Eden with the Book of Mormon: Joseph Smith
and the Reception of Genesis 1–6 in Early America

By

Colby Townsend

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

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2019

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ABSTRACT

Rewriting Eden with the Book of Mormon: Joseph Smith
and the Reception of Genesis 1–6 in Early America

by

Colby Townsend, Master of Arts

Utah State University, 2019

Major Professor: Dr. Philip Barlow
Department: History

Only a few months after the publication of the *Book of Mormon* Joseph Smith, Jr. edited the version of Eden found in the *Book of Mormon* into the text of the Bible itself. Where there was no story of Cain plotting with Satan prior to his revisionary work, after he was done working on the manuscripts of his “new translation,” the section on Cain killing Abel in Genesis was expanded to include a story about Cain plotting explicitly with Satan to become “Master Mahon,” master of the great secret that you can kill to get gain. The text of Genesis also leaves the effects of the expulsion from Eden, known more broadly as “the Fall,” unspoken, and it is unclear whether the Fall was supposed to be viewed as positive or negative. In the *Book of Mormon* it is argued that without the Fall Adam and Eve would not have had children and humanity in general would not be able to have joy. In Smith’s expanded text Adam and Eve both exclaim happiness with the results of the Fall because they can now have children and joy, something they would not have had if they had not eaten the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. (217 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Rewriting Eden with the Book of Mormon: Joseph Smith
and the Reception of Genesis 1–6 in Early America

Colby Townsend

The colonists living in the new United States after the American War for Independence were faced with the problem of forming new identities once they could no longer recognize themselves, collectively or individually, as subjects of Great Britain. After the French Revolution American politicians began to weed out the more radical political elements of the newly formed United States, particularly by painting one of the revolution's biggest defenders, Thomas Paine, as unworthy of the attention he received during the American War for Independence, and fear ran throughout the states that an anarchic revolution like the French Revolution could bring the downfall of the nation. State, local, and regional organizations sprang up to fight Jacobinism, the legendary secret group of murderers and anarchists that fought against the French government.

This distressing situation gave rise to new literature that sought to describe the “real” origins and background of Jacobinism in the War in Heaven and in Eden, and a new movement against Jacobinism was established. Fears about the organization of secret societies did not wane in the decades after the French Revolution, but worsened in the last half of the 1820s when a Freemason, William Morgan, disappeared under mysterious circumstances in connection to an exposé of Masonry he had written. Most Americans assumed that Freemasons had abducted and murdered Morgan in order to keep their oaths and rites secret.

One influential early American who was influenced by this socio-historical was Joseph Smith, Jr., the founding prophet of Mormonism. Smith interpreted the Eden narrative in light of the movement against secret societies, and literary motifs common to anti-Jacobin literature during the period provided language and interpretive strategies for understanding the Eden narrative that would influence how Smith produced his new scripture. Only a few months after the publication of the *Book of Mormon* Smith edited the version of Eden found there into the text of the Bible itself and made the biblical narrative conform to the version found in the *Book of Mormon* through his own revisions and additions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A scholar may often feel alone in their work as they pour over manuscripts in an archive or piles of books on a desk but it would be impossible to find one who is not in constant conversation with their contemporaries as well as the important work done by others who came before them. I am indebted in all of my work to both. First, I would like to thank my thesis committee, Doctors Philip Barlow, Norm Jones, and Keri Holt, each of whom has shaped my thinking and writing in unique and significant ways. To Dr. Barlow for helping me to say what I wanted to say in a generous way toward my subject and the sources. To Dr. Jones for introducing me to the thought and society of the transatlantic world of Early Modern Europe and always being ready to laugh, and to Dr. Holt for helping me to find the sources and archives that I needed at just the right moments and the kind of constructive criticism every young scholar needs. I owe each of you more than I could ever hope to repay.

Much of the work in this thesis was presented in graduate seminars and academic conferences over the last two years. I appreciate the helpful comments from Elisabeth Cropper, Raelyn Embleton, Al Roberts, Vinna Chintaram, Landon Wilkey, Katie Houser, Kate Martin, Tayce Robinson, Ben Horrocks, Dr. Susan Grayzel, Dr. James Sanders, and Dr. Christopher Conte on parts of the introduction and chapters one and two. Chapter three benefited greatly from the insights and editor's hand of Dr. Keri Holt, as well questions and comments from attendees at the 2018 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Denver, Colorado. Chapter four benefitted, especially during the thesis defense, to the reactions of Drs. Barlow, Jones, and Holt. An early version of this chapter was presented at the annual Joseph Smith Papers Conference at the Church History Museum in Salt Lake City, Utah. I appreciate those in attendance who asked questions and provided feedback on all of my research. I also benefited from stimulating conversations with fellow graduate students

Joanna Dobrowolska, David Tauber, Jason Fackrell, Kirtan Patel, and Dan Weller. Thank you all for a delightful first year at Utah State University. I also need to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to scholars who have always been open to discussing my work and early American religious history and have shaped my thinking. Robin Jensen, David Grua, Brian Hauglid, David Bokovoy, Ben Park, Bill Davis, Loyd Ericson, Christopher Blythe, and many others. Thank you for sharing your thoughts, time, and research with me.

I am indebted to the staffs of several university libraries and archives. In particular, I enjoyed working closely with the staff of the Special Collections and Archives at the Merrill-Cazier Library at Utah State University as the graduate fellow for the 2018–2019 academic year. Being able to not only see but also engage in the inner workings of an archive has been a gift to an aspiring historian. Thank you Jennifer Duncan, Clint Pumphrey, Dan Davis, Bob Parson, Todd Welch, Rose Milovich, Devin Greener, Randy Williams, and many others for giving me a home away from home. I would also like to thank the archivists and staff at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, particularly Ashley Cataldo and Kimberly Toney. The entire staff at the archive was a pleasure to work with. I have also spent many hours studying and writing at the J. Willard Marriott Library at the University of Utah and appreciate the professional and quiet work of the staff there.

This thesis is dedicated to Kelsey and Jude, the two who have had to listen to me talk about the subject of this thesis the most, sometimes what probably felt like days on end. For this I will be forever grateful.

Colby Townsend

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INTRODUCTION

Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805–1844) left an imprint on American religious history that is as hard to ignore as it is to explain. It would be difficult to write a book on religion in America from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries without describing or, as often happens, attempting to unravel the mystery of Smith’s religion-making enterprise. While Smith’s involvement in polygamy, legal battles, fighting between Mormons and locals in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, running for the office of the President of the United States, and other issues in early Mormon history are commonly scrutinized to explain Smith’s short-lived public career from 1830–1844, the specific content of the texts he produced during this time are not often the focus of that process.¹

The historical setting that Smith created his texts within likewise has not always received the attention it is due for understanding that content. The early national period of American history, from roughly 1780–1833, was a whirlwind of political, social, and religious turmoil. Early Americans grew up not only as children of veterans, both men and women, of the American War for Independence, but also in the wake of the terror of the French Revolution.² The fear of secret societies and combinations leading the new nation toward anarchy and chaos was an ever-present threat to many early Americans.

¹ Although I am speaking here of all the texts that Smith produced during his career, this is not unrelated to the famous comment by Thomas O’Dea that “the Book of Mormon has not been universally considered by its critics as one of those books that must be read in order to have an opinion of it.” In Thomas O’Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 26.

² Cf. Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000). Appleby only mentions the French Revolution twice in passing. See Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution*, 34, 135. For the terror of the French Revolution, see Rachel Hope Cleves, *The Reign of Terror in America: Visions of Violence from Anti-Jacobinism to Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

This fear also transcended political boundaries into religious devotion. Continental European scholarship of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had called into question the authorship, reliability, and divinity of the Christian Bible.³ Although the pastors and ministers, ostensibly the defenders of the biblical text, would unwittingly assist in the process of moving away from the social and political authority of the Bible,⁴ they would first attempt to diminish the impact and availability of this research to American audiences.⁵ Both of these fears—the fear of European popular revolution and European scholarship on the Bible—influenced the early development of Mormon history.

First, the trends in European biblical scholarship were present in the everyday life of the Smith family. One night in 1804 Asael Smith, Joseph Smith, Jr.’s grandfather, went to the Joseph Smith, Sr. home to speak with his son.⁶ Asael and one of his other sons, Jesse, had heard and were angry that Smith, Sr. had been attending Methodist meetings with his wife, Lucy. As a Universalist and enlightened American living in the early republic, Asael was angry about Smith, Sr.’s attendance at an Evangelical church.⁷ After arriving at Joseph and Lucy’s home Asael “threw Tom Pains age of reason into the house and angrily bade him read that untill he believed it.”⁸ Paine’s work, the *Age of Reason*, published ten years prior to Asael’s visit to the family, had become a symbol of the errors and inaccuracies of the

³ See Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁴ Michael J. Lee, *The Erosion of Biblical Certainty: Battles Over Authority and Interpretation in America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁵ I describe this in chapter two.

⁶ Dan Vogel places this event in 1804. See Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents: Volume I* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 597, nt. 6.

⁷ As Richard Bushman has previously described, Universalists viewed the conversionary practices of Evangelicalism negatively because all were going to be saved by God. From this perspective dwelling on guilt, anxiety, humiliation, and depression would not help a person become committed to or interested in living a religious life. Cf. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 38. This is found verbatim in Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 25.

⁸ Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy’s Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith’s Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 291.

Christian Bible American Protestant religion in the view of early American Universalists, deists, and others on the fringes of organized religion. As I will discuss further in chapter two, Paine's work distilled the major continental European scholarship that was viewed as critical toward the Bible and made it accessible to American and British popular audiences.

Years later Lucy Mack Smith would write that Smith, Sr. had asked her to stop attending Methodist meetings after Asael's visit in order to not give their friends "such disagreeable feelings," so much that "it was hardly worth [their] while" to receive the negativity simply for going to the Methodist church.⁹ Ironically, the Smith family neighbors would remember Smith, Sr. for the opposite reason. Independent of Lucy's memory about Asael's use of the *Age of Reason*, residents of Vermont that knew the Smiths would write a response in 1844 to Joseph Smith, Jr.'s call for the help of the "Green Mountain Boys" in redressing the wrongs done to Mormons in Missouri.¹⁰ In the open letter the residents of Vermont told Smith, Jr. that his father made "frequent declarations that the whole bible was the work of priestcraft, and that no Nation was So enlightened," as the United States, and "that Voltairs writings was the best bible then extant, and Thomas Paines age of reason, the best commentary."¹¹ For the group of Green Mountain Boys writing about this issue four decades later, it was seen as negative that Smith, Sr. had viewed Paine's book positively. Paine's *Age of Reason* clearly hit a note not only in early American history broadly speaking, but made a significant impact on Smith family relations with religion, the Bible, and in their family and social relations.

There is further evidence that European biblical scholarship was everywhere present in early American life and touched the life of Smith and his wife Emma directly. One of

⁹ Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 292.

¹⁰ Joseph Smith, Jr., *General Joseph Smith's Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys* (Nauvoo: Taylor and Woodruff, 1843).

¹¹ Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents, Volume I* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 597.

Emma's uncles, Nathaniel Lewis, was a prominent itinerant Methodist preacher and had several encounters with Smith in the 1820s.¹² On one occasion, Lewis inquired about the spectacles Smith was understood to be using to translate the plates of the *Book of Mormon* into English. Lewis wanted to know "if any one but himself could translate other languages into English by the aid of his miraculous spectacles?"¹³ Smith answered that others could also use the spectacles the same way that he did, so Lewis brought out his copy of one of the volumes of Adam Clarke's commentary on the Bible. Clarke included notes on the linguistic background of the Bible and related languages, and often had scripts and languages that very few Americans were able to read. Lewis stated that if the spectacles could help Smith to translate the *Book of Mormon*, and if they would work for anyone, then Lewis would be able to translate some of the languages in Clarke's commentary into English if Smith would allow him to test them. He would then believe Smith about being able to translate the ancient script on the *Book of Mormon* plates. Understandably, Smith took this offensively and ended any further conversations with Lewis about the *Book of Mormon* after that meeting.

Even more important than both the work of exploiting European biblical scholarship by Tom Paine and providing a window into the ancient world and languages of the Bible by Adam Clarke, the French Revolution created an atmosphere of conspiracy during the early national period. Secret societies like the Jacobins were everywhere in hiding, attempting to plot against the wealthy and the current form of government. For some of the most prominent political figures in early American history the more radical fringes of the

¹² Lewis was allowed to preach before being ordained a deacon at the suggestion of John Hilborn, another minister. See Rev. Albert Clarke, *Methodist Episcopal Church, Lanesboro, Pennsylvania: Centennial Celebration, March 3–5, 1912* (Lanesboro: Lanesboro Methodist Episcopal Church, 1912), 9. For his earliest statement about his meetings with Smith, see Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Dan Vogel, ed.; Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2016), 373–375.

¹³ Anonymous, "Mormonism and the Mormons," *Methodist Quarterly Review* (January 1843): 113.

American Revolution had to be cut, and anyone connected to the democratic French Revolution was held under suspicion.

A note about the 1804 gubernatorial election for New Hampshire is indicative. Early voting returns “from two hundred and three towns...[gave] Governour Gilman a majority of 371 votes, notwithstanding the exertions of a secret combination of all the leading Democrats in the State, to use their utmost influence in support of Mr. Langdon.”¹⁴ The phrase “secret combination” in earlier British usage described an attempt to overthrow the king either by British subjects or their enemies (or both working together),¹⁵ so once there was no longer a monarchy governing the United States a secret combination meant any political attempt to usurp power in local, state, or federal government. The phrase was used more frequently from the 1790s to the 1830s to describe groups of men meeting together secretly to accomplish some dark or scheming political end, especially in describing Jacobins (whether the identified group was Jacobins or not) and Masons.¹⁶

It is exactly this context that Smith would grow up in, and its influence is seen in the way that the texts he dictated were composed. The *Book of Mormon* and Smith’s revision of Genesis both respond to the arguments about the contradictions, variants, and inconsistencies in the textual history of the Bible. Smith harmonized the texts he viewed as scripture, and worked to smooth over contradictions. He composed new religious literature and engaged in reinterpreting the Christian Bible from the beginning of his work. The texts

¹⁴ “New Hampshire,” *Repertory* (Boston, MA; April 10, 1804).

¹⁵ In a speech given Feb. 16, 1727 in Edinburgh the provost Geo. Drummond spoke about current hostilities in Europe and about disaffected subjects of King George I. The “Majefty’s faithful Subjects” will “raife in those who are difaffected to [the king’s] Person and Government the utmoft Rage and Defpair; they will find their fecret Practices expofed,” and, later in the speech it is said that their “fecret Combination” was “to attempt the Deftruction of the Proteftant [British] Succreffion.” *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia, PA), May 4, 1727.

¹⁶ Cf. “Spirit of the Times!” *Vermont Republican* (Windsor, VT; April 6, 1812), Volume 4, No. 15; and “For the Gazette of the United States,” *Gazette of the United States and Evening Advertiser* (Philadelphia, PA; April 24, 1794), Vol. 5, No. 113; and “For the North Star,” *North Star* (Danville, VT; Feb. 10, 1829), Vol. 23, No. 4; and “Voice of Manor Township,” *Lancaster Intelligencer* (Lancaster, PA; Aug. 25, 1823), Vol. 1, No. 28; and “To the Freemen of Vermont,” *The Watchman* (Montpelier, VT; Aug. 25, 1809), Vol. 3, No. 146.

he produced would act as the basis for how many early American and European Mormon converts would reread their bibles after conversion, and, as he continued to supply more religious literature, how they read the earlier texts he produced in light of theological developments in new compositions. Portions of his work on the *Book of Mormon* rewrote the Eden narrative of Genesis 2–4,¹⁷ providing him the chance to revise the Bible toward the *Book of Mormon* after its publication in March 1830 so that the Bible would align with the version of Eden found in the *Book of Mormon*. His revision of the first chapters of Genesis from June 1830 through the rest of that year would later influence the composition of another text called the *Book of Abraham*, one he would explain as having translated from Egyptian papyri that he purchased in 1835.¹⁸

Outline

Smith initially edited the first six chapters of Genesis from June 1830 to the beginning of 1831 as part of a larger project to revise the entire King James Bible, dependent solely on English language materials including an 1828 printing of the Bible for the text and marginal notes,¹⁹ at least one contemporary commentary on the New Testament,²⁰ and spiritual

¹⁷ Colby Townsend, “Appropriation and Adaptation of J Material in the Book of Mormon” (Undergraduate Honors Thesis; Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2016).

¹⁸ See Robin Scott Jensen and Brian M. Hauglid, eds, *The Joseph Smith Papers, Revelations and Translations, Volume 4: Book of Abraham and Related Manuscripts* (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2018).

¹⁹ Smith and Cowdery inscribed on the front free endpaper, “The Book of the Jews And the prophecy of | Joseph Smith Junior and Oliver Cowdery | Bought October the 8th 1829. at Egbert B. Grandins | Book Store Palmyra Wayne County New York.” For the exact printing of the Bible that they used see *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Together with the Apocrypha: Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised with Canne’s Marginal Notes and References, to Which are Added, An Index: An Alphabetical Table of all the Names in the Old and New Testaments, with their Significations; Tables of Scripture Weights, Measures, and Coins, &c.* (Cooperstown: Stereotyped, Printed and Published by H. & E. Phinney, 1828). See <http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/bible-used-for-bible-revision/5> (Last accessed on October 8, 2018).

²⁰ Thomas A. Wayment and Haley Wilson Lemmon, “A Recently Recovered Source: The Use of Adam Clark’s Bible Commentary in Joseph Smith’s Bible Translation” (Forthcoming).

inspiration.²¹ The Utah-based Church of Jesus of Christ of Latter-day Saints later canonized this section of his work in 1880 as the Book of Moses in the *Pearl of Great Price*,²² so as part of the scriptural canon of the Mormon Church and as an example of early American engagement with the Bible Smith's revision of Genesis 1–6 is significant for many reasons.

In order to contextualize Smith's work and the reception of the Eden narrative by early Americans I will describe the trends in Europe of the previous three centuries before the early national period of American history. In chapter one I describe the intellectual history and development of biblical criticism from the early sixteenth century Humanists to the late eighteenth century publications of Thomas Paine. It is crucial to understand this history not only to see how approaches to the Bible shifted during these centuries but also how these shifts affected society in Europe and the United States.

In chapter two I analyze the ways that the Eden narrative affected personal and national identity formation in the American British colonies and the early United States. John Milton's version of Eden in *Paradise Lost* is what most Americans had in mind when thinking about Eden, but beyond Milton's influence the idea of a first man and woman falling from a state of paradise deeply affected how people understood themselves, the vast wilderness that they now inhabited (was it a prelapsarian or postlapsarian Eden?), and the potential of their new nation. Some individuals viewed their personal wrongdoing as worse than Adam and Eve because when Adam and Eve sinned by eating the fruit of the tree they at least were in a state of innocence. Those living in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century knew the

²¹ See Robert J. Matthews, *"A Plainer Translation": Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible, A History and Commentary* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975).

²² The Reorganized Church of Jesus of Christ of Latter Day Saints, now the Community of Christ, also canonized Smith's revision in a complete Bible entitled *The Holy Scriptures* they first printed in 1867. The Book of Moses materials were also included in their Doctrine and Covenants.

heavenly commands they were supposed to follow and the consequences for not living up to those standards.

Chapter three provides a close reading of the earliest extant texts that Smith dictated from 1828–1830 and analyzes the way that the King James Bible influenced the way that Smith composed the revelations. At several key turns the way that Smith engaged with the Bible show that he was actively figuring out just how to incorporate the Bible into his new scriptural compositions. Chapter four analyzes the version of the Eden narrative in the *Book of Mormon* and in Smith’s revision of Genesis 2–4 and argues that Smith edited the text of Genesis 2–4 to harmonize with the *Book of Mormon*. Smith is the source for this singular version of Eden, and it shows evident influence from centuries of inherited biblical interpretation, particularly in the wake of the publication and mass reception in Christian communities of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*.

Methods

Historical-critical methods will inform my research into what can be known about the biblical literature that Smith was engaging with in producing his revision of Genesis. In this specific case study, this method informs my work by noting Smith’s ideas, the phrases he employed, and his theological stances as he responded to the tensions he found in the text of Genesis 1–6. Smith’s revisions to the text, as well as the historical accounts and manuscript evidence, make it clear he was only working with an English Bible and did not have any knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek outside of commentators’ notes and translations while he was “translating” the King James Bible. His additions were Christocentric and focused on editing the book of Genesis toward the New Testament in a way similar to how

he was revising Genesis toward the *Book of Mormon*.²³ Smith's were, like many of his contemporaries, focused on harmonizing scriptural texts with one another.

Source-criticism is also an essential tool for the present study. Not only am I comparing Smith's manuscripts with the Genesis text in the copy of the King James Bible he was revising, once I have separated his additions and revisions from the biblical text, I will compare them to the rest of the Christian Bible and find influence from other books as well, especially in the New Testament. This allows the study to focus on and explain how Smith incorporated the structure of Matthew 4 and the language and ideas of John 1 into Moses 1, as well as how he incorporated ideas about the binding of Satan in Revelation 20 into his portrayal of Satan in Moses 6–8. These source-critical insights, grounded in current methodological inquiry, will assist in analyzing the literary connections among these books while being careful to not fall into the trap of parallelomania.²⁴

I am dependent for the methodology in my analysis primarily on studies by Michael Fishbane,²⁵ Richard B. Hays,²⁶ and Christopher Beetham.²⁷ After locating what Nicholas J. Frederick has recently labeled a “biblical interaction” in Mormon scripture,²⁸ I then carefully analyze the relationship that the new text (the hypertext) has to the earlier text (the hypotext),²⁹ and assign a relationship in one of five categories: (1) formal quotation, (2)

²³ Thomas Wayment has made similar observations about Smith's Christianizing of the Bible in his revisionary work in a recent essay, “Intertextuality and the Purpose of Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible,” in Mark Ashurst-McGee, Robin Scott Jensen, and Sharalyn D. Howcroft, eds., *Foundational Texts of Mormonism: Examining Major Early Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 74–100.

²⁴ Samuel Sandmel, “Parallelomania,” in *Journal of Biblical Literature* Vol. 81 (March, 1962), 1–13.

²⁵ Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

²⁶ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

²⁷ Christopher A. Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians* (Biblical Interpretation Series, Vol. 96; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008).

²⁸ Nicholas J. Frederick, “Evaluating the Interaction between the New Testament and the Book of Mormon: A Proposed Methodology,” in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 24 (2015): 1–30.

²⁹ Hypertextuality was introduced in literary criticism by Gérard Genette in his *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 13; English translation: *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (Translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 5. Genette is quoted in

informal quotation, (3) allusion, (4) echo, or (5) parallel. As J. Todd Hibbard has argued in his study on the reuse of earlier texts in Isaiah 24–27, it is not enough to simply point out intertextual connections and label relationships between texts.³⁰ I will explain what bearing the connections have on rereading the text of the *Book of Moses*, particularly what the connections mean for how Smith composed his additions and made his revisions.

Although my close reading of the ways Smith incorporated biblical ideas, motifs, and language into his new composition is dependent on theories of source-criticism and intertextuality, the main framework I will be working within is the reception history of the Bible. The ways in which Smith received, appropriated, and adapted the Bible do not exist in a vacuum. Smith was creating new literature that was structurally based on the oral and performative culture he grew up in.³¹ Although it was abnormal for a twenty-two or twenty-three year old to dictate a lengthy and complicated pseudo-biblical narrative to a scribe and then work to have it published, the style, arguments, ideas, and the ways that Smith engaged with and re-interpreted the Bible were not dissimilar from numerous literary examples from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Smith made the attempt to not delete any part of the biblical text, but he also added and revised a considerable amount of material in the first six chapters of Genesis. There are two kinds of changes that Smith made that I will be focusing on: revisions and additions. Revisions are places in the text where he only slightly altered wording, tense, gender, or number of a few verbs. For example, in Moses 2:4//Gen. 1:4 Smith revised the passage from third to first person, changing the beginning of both sentences in the verse to read,

Bartosz Adamczewski, *Constructing Relationships, Constructing Faces: Hypertextuality and Ethopoeia in the New Testament Writings* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 11–12.

³⁰ J. Todd Hibbard, *Intertextuality in Isaiah 24-27: The Reuse and Evocation of Earlier Texts and Traditions* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe, 16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 7.

³¹ See William Davis, “Performing Revelation: Joseph Smith and the Creation of *The Book of Mormon*” (PhD Dissertation; Los Angeles: University of California–Los Angeles, 2016).

“And I, God,” and altered the italicized wording “saw the light, that *it was* good,” to then read, “saw the light, and the light was good.”³² Additions are places where Smith expanded the biblical text, like his addition of Moses 1 to the beginning of Genesis, or the expansion of the figure of Enoch in Moses 6–8 from roughly seven verses to over two additional chapters. Source-critical methods will drive not only my analysis of the revisions, comparing and contrasting how Smith altered his source text, but also the additions.

The additions themselves are dependent directly on the New Testament, as well as indirectly on common knowledge at the time about the recent “discovery” and translation into English of the *Book of Enoch* in Ethiopia at the end of the eighteenth-century. Unlike Cirillo, I do not think that Smith was directly influenced by an English translation of the full text of the *Book of Enoch*, but I do think that Smith was aware of contemporary conversations and general knowledge about the fact that the lost *Book of Enoch* would soon be available,³³ and a general outline of the beginning chapters of the book.

The most popular sections of the *Book of Enoch* during the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries dealt with one of Smith’s most important thematic additions to Genesis 1–6: the idea that a group or individual would make contracts with fallen angels or demons. For Smith, Cain and Irad make contracts with the fallen angel Lucifer of Isaiah 14, broadly interpreted in Christianity as Satan. In the *Book of Enoch*, a group of fallen angels make contracts with one another and their leader, either Samyaza or Azazyel.³⁴ Both groups are

³² This is similar to what David P. Wright has observed in Smith’s revision of the KJV Isaiah in the Book of Mormon. See David P. Wright, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon: Or Joseph Smith in Isaiah,” in Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe, eds., *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 157-234.

³³ **Briefly describe D&C 107**

³⁴ These spellings are according to Richard Laurence’s 1821 English translation. See Richard Laurence, *The Book of Enoch the Prophet: An Apocryphal Production, Supposed to Have Been Lost for Ages; but Discovered at the Close of the Last Century in Abyssinia; Now First Translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: The University Press for the Author, 1821), 5, 7. Modern translations and secondary literature spell the names as Shemihazah and Azazel. See David R. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism: Three Defining Paradigm Exemplars* (Library of

responsible for the beginnings of evil in each respective tradition that expands on and revises the first few chapters of Genesis. The *Book of Mormon* often uses the term “secret combinations” to describe these contracts or oaths.³⁵

This thesis will utilize methods from a number of different disciplines, including biblical studies, literary criticism, and history. In order to comment on the interpretation of Genesis 1–6 in the early American republic I incorporate contemporary research on: the ways that the book of Genesis was written and the sources used to compile it; how those chapters were appropriated and rewritten in early Judaism and in early Christianity; their interpretation in the medieval period and into the Christian Reformation; exegesis of these chapters during the Enlightenment by people and groups of various ideologies; and the ways that the early chapters of Genesis were understood in the colonies and later United States. This is only possible through an interdisciplinary approach, utilizing both diachronic and synchronic readings of this literature to understand how an early American like Joseph Smith, Jr. interacted with and, unlike most other early Americans, rewrote chapters of the Bible.³⁶ The findings in this thesis will have a bearing on the reception history of the Bible, religion in early America, and the burgeoning field of Mormon Studies.

Smith’s revision of Genesis did not provide a new edition of the book based on contemporary translations or linguistic amendments like the earlier work of Alexander Campbell on the New Testament³⁷ or the later work by Noah Webster on the entire English

Second Temple Studies, 49; London: T&T Clark, 2004); and for another spelling see George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012).

³⁵ The phrase “secret combination” appears once in Smith’s revision of Genesis 1–6 in Moses 5:51.

³⁶ On utilizing diachronic and synchronic approaches to texts see the essays in Johannes C. de Moor, ed., *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis* (Oudtestamentische Studien, vol. 34; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

³⁷ Alexander Campbell, *The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, Commonly Styled the New Testament, Translated from the Original Greek by George Campbell, James MacKnight, and Philip Doddridge, Doctors of the Church of Scotland. With Prefaces to the Historical and Epistolary Books; and an Appendix, Containing Critical Notes and Various Translations of Difficult Passages* (Buffaloe: Alexr. Campbell, 1826).

Bible.³⁸ Smith altered the narratives of these first chapters in Genesis in creative ways, responding indirectly to criticisms of the book of Genesis first leveled against the text in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is my argument that a major reason for Smith's revisionary work was to attempt to solve tensions created at the time of the dictation of the *Book of Mormon* between that book and the Bible. The *Book of Mormon* is familiar with a version of Eden that is not found in the book of Genesis, but one that Smith added to the Bible soon after his work on the *Book of Mormon*. In tracking, organizing, and commenting on the methods used by Smith to compose his new text, I hope to provide a novel way of approaching the religious literature of early America that is informed by the methods of biblical studies and biblical reception history.

Although Smith and his developing religious community were in many ways not part of mainstream American Christianity, Mormonism became the exemplary American religion because it was not only born in America (unlike most other Protestant Christian movements)³⁹ but also because Mormonism later became a new and international religious tradition with a large public presence. Several defining moments in Mormon history run parallel to similar moments of American history, particularly toward the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. In many ways Mormonism is a unique and informative starting point for understanding early American religious traditions.

³⁸ Noah Webster, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, in the Common Version, with Amendments of the Language* (New Haven: Durrie & Peck, 1833).

³⁹ On this note, attention needs to be paid to the Seventh Day Adventist church which, like Mormonism, was born in the United States, has twice the membership of Mormonism, but has nowhere near the publicity and visibility that Mormonism has. Seventh Day Adventism and a few other American religions are often forgotten about because they are not referenced as often in popular literature or media but have made a direct impact on more individual people's lives.

CHAPTER 1

THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT: CREATING HERETICS
AND ESTABLISHING BIBLICAL CRITICISM

“The honorable the fenate of the ftate of New-York, on the 19th of April last, paffed a refolve, (with only two diffenting voices) to prefent Mr. THOMAS PAINE, with a farm in Weftchefter county, as an acknowledgment, *on the part of that ftate*, “for the eminent fervices rendered by him to the United States of America in the progrefs of the late war, and as a teftimony of the fenfe which the people of that ftate entertain of his diftinguifhed merit.””⁴⁰

“The ATHEIST.

Tom Paine having fo unfuccefsfully wielded his blafphemous pen againft heaven, has turned his impotent weapon, the United States. He croaks a little, but has fo totally loft the favor of all parties, that they univerfally exclaim, “*Ceafe babbling Monfter, born to vex the ftate, With wrangling talents formed for foul debate.*””⁴¹

Thomas Paine (1737–1809) was the most celebrated author in Anglo-America in the immediate wake of the American War for Independence. Although celebrated, the two quotes above highlight the two public lives of Paine: the first, his successes and wide admiration, the second his failures later in life. His book *Common Sense* had been the tipping point for many colonists to switch to the view that the collective colonies needed to completely separate from Great Britain.⁴² Some citizens and politicians of the early United States, in the case above specifically the state of New York, were so grateful for Paine’s work before and during the war that the state in 1784 awarded him a farm in Westchester County just north of New York City and east of the Hudson River.

⁴⁰ *Hartford Courant* (September 12, 1785), 3. This notice was printed in several other newspapers at the time. Cf. *Poughkeepsie Journal* (September 15, 1785), 3.

⁴¹ *The Green Mountain Patriot*, Vol. 2, No. 99 (January 9, 1800), 4.

⁴² Thomas Paine, *Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by W. and T. Bradford, 1776).

This admiration would unfortunately not last long, since Paine moved back to Europe in 1787 and joined in the French Revolution.⁴³ That revolution was viewed popularly in the new United States as reprehensible, a literal Reign of Terror, and a movement that had terrifying implications for what could potentially happen to the new American nation if its own politicians and citizens collectively were not careful.⁴⁴ The widespread view that complete democracy leads to the disestablishment of not only current forms of government but also religious institutions portended to early Americans of all political parties a doomed future for the republic, and the more radical fringes of the American Revolution needed to be taken off the edges of society before they could fray anymore.

It was in this context that Paine began publishing what would become his book *The Age of Reason*,⁴⁵ which instantly became one of the best selling books in early American history while at the same time making Paine one of the most infamous Americans of the early national period. By the late 1790s many early Americans could not help but obsess over Paine while claiming his obscurity.⁴⁶ It was at this period of his life that Americans no longer viewed him as the champion of liberty and the beginnings of freedom from British rule but instead as an anarchistic, drunken “vexer” of both state and religion. Paine’s use of continental European biblical scholarship to argue the obsolescence of the Christian scriptures turned him against the early American pious and made him a friend to the many different groups of deists. Eventually towns and large groups in the United States and in

⁴³ Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (Updated Edition; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 211.

⁴⁴ Amanda Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 18.

⁴⁵ Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason. Being an Investigation of True and of Fabulous Theology* (Philadelphia: Printed by James Carey, 1794).

⁴⁶ Seth Cotlar, *Tom Paine’s America: The Rise and Fall of Transatlantic Radicalism in the Early Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 1–3.

Great Britain would burn effigies of Tom Paine while he was still alive because to them he became the great antithesis of the two great nations.⁴⁷

Paine's rise and fall from fame effectively explains early American political and religious relationships with continental Europe. Paine engaged heavily with European thought in his writings, particularly with contemporary biblical scholarship in *The Age of Reason*, and inadvertently turned many early Americans against that thought. In order to adequately understand the cultural and historical situations early Americans found themselves in the early national period (1783–1833) I will first explore in chapters one and two the European academic contexts of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment from the fourteenth century CE to the American War for Independence and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The relationship of church and state was drastically altered forever in Europe during this period, directly affecting the early development of the United States government and society, and leading the way for a personality like Tom Paine to become the literary giant that he was in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁸ The separation of church and state in this transatlantic context was not a purely secular move nor are its origins to be found in the American colonies themselves or with characters of the late eighteenth century like Tom Paine. The idea of the separation of church and state goes back to the intellectual history of Europe during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

What were the literary, philosophical, and theological currents in Europe during these centuries that led to this separation? Biblical interpretation and the breakdown of biblical

⁴⁷ This is referenced in Thomas Paine, *Tom Paine's Jests: Being an Entirely New and Select Collection of Patriotic Bon Mots, Repartees, Anecdotes, Epigrams, Observations, &c. on Political Subjects* (London: Printed for J. Ridgway, H. D. Symonds, and T. Spence, 1794), 35; and reported in *The Leeds Intelligencer and Yorkshire General Adviser*, Vol. 41, No. 2002 (January 21, 1793), 3.

⁴⁸ To be clear, the declaration of "separation of church and state" really only meant that the United States federal government could not sponsor a specific religious institution. States, however, were able to and had established churches during the early national period. See James H. Huston, *Church and State in America: The First Two Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 105. See also Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776–1787* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 18–26.

authority played a major role in this development. What effects did the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment—with their move toward focusing on the text of the Bible and the violent relationship between dissenters and governments—have on the development of European scholarship on the Bible? How did this growing scholarship alter the relationship between state sponsored churches and the various groups and factions within the governments that supported them?

In order to begin an attempt to answer these questions this chapter will provide an intellectual history of the centuries leading up to the mid-eighteenth century onwards. British colonists would set the stage for their descendants and understanding the scholarly climate in Europe, including prevailing and developing ideas during the period about how to best study the history of the bible, is a crucial part of exploring the ways in which early Americans were expected to not only believe but also to think about the Bible within their individual faith communities and society as a whole.

Later in chapter two I will describe the reception history of the Eden narrative in early America. The American tradition was a transplant from and a concurrent development of the religious and intellectual upheavals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries British social, political, and religious history, including the earlier European Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, and Enlightenment more broadly. I will begin by examining ideas about Eden, the Torah, and Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Bible in Europe during these centuries and then describe early American interpreters and their contexts.

This chapter will describe the relevant currents in European thought from the late seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth because British colonial and early American identities were affected by whether or not individual colonists accepted the observations of continental European biblical scholarship. If they accepted the conclusions

of scholars like Baruch Spinoza, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean Astruc, all scholars that will be described later in this chapter, then they likely did not have a very good relationship with their American clergy. They might end up a Deist or Unitarian, or leaving religion altogether.⁴⁹ If they wanted to remain pious Christians, a crucial part of early American identity, then they likely rejected or ignored the arguments of European scholarship and retained belief in the inerrancy of the Bible, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, or any other topic in biblical history that contemporary scholarship was challenging and revising during the late seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries.

Eden in Europe: Historiography and Early Scholarship

The Torah provided the stories that were the most told, retold, rewritten, dramatized, and shared by Europeans from the medieval period to early modern thought. The most important of these has been the Eden narrative and the expulsion from the Garden.⁵⁰ In the reception history of the Eden narrative there are expansive literary traditions in both early Judaism and Christianity. Some of these texts, specifically the two groupings of texts known as the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, were composed from roughly the third century BCE to well into the Common Era. They expanded on the stories and characters of the Hebrew Bible, filling in the gaps the authors of the biblical texts left in those stories. One of the most

⁴⁹ See “What Constitutes Infidelity?” *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January 1830): 1–17; and “What Constitutes Infidelity? To the Conductors of the Spirit of the Pilgrims,” *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (September 1830): 447–458.

⁵⁰ See Lynette R. Muir, *The biblical drama of medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 65–74; and William Tydeman, ed., *The Medieval European Stage, 500–1550* (Theatre in Europe: a documentary history; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Brian Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Brian Murdoch, *Adam’s Grace: Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000); and Alastair Minnis, *From Eden to Eternity: Creations of Paradise in the Later Middle Ages* (The Middle Ages Series; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Paul B. Harvey, Jr. and Baruch Halpern make a similar observation when they write, “Indeed, it is in the penumbra of [Spinoza’s] argument that the later comparison of Biblical to other historical texts emerged, as in Thomas Jefferson’s dictum to a nephew, “You must read your Bible as you would Livy or Herodotus,”” in Harvey, Jr. and Halpern, “W.M.L. de Wette’s “*Dissertatio Critica*...”: Context and Translation,” *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte*, Vol. 14 (2008): 50.

influential of these throughout European history was the tradition about the life of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Eden, circumstances not described in Genesis except to tell the story of Cain and Abel and to list Adam and Eve's sons. Likewise, the New Testament expands on and reinterprets the Eden narrative as well.⁵¹

The Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* was known broadly in its Latin form, *Vita Adae et Evae* (*VAE*), throughout Europe from roughly the tenth century onwards, although, according to Brian Murdoch, this text was one of only two Old Testament pseudepigrapha that had broad influence on medieval Europe, the other being the *Book of Enoch*.⁵² Murdoch has argued a probable explanation for this widespread knowledge of the Adam books, arguing that “the biblical account of Adam and Eve is patently too short, and people wanted to know, in crude terms, what happened next.”⁵³ The ancient Christian composition of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, particularly in its Medieval Latin form, provided exactly the kinds of details a broad Christian audience would have been looking for. The text was also made available in many vernacular adaptations, ensuring “that the *VAE* never really disappeared from European cultural consciousness.”⁵⁴

The fact that there were different versions of the Eden narrative than just the Bible invites historians who study the Bible's influence in Europe and America to look at the reception of a wider corpus of texts. There were multiple texts which were available to be read, heard, and shared by Europeans and early British Americans to understand Christian

⁵¹ See, for example, Matt. 5:21–25; 23:35; John 8:44; 20:22. There are many more allusions to Genesis 2–4 in the New Testament. See Maarten J. J. Menken and Steve Moyise, eds., *Genesis in the New Testament* (Library of New Testament Studies, 466; London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

⁵² Brian Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe*, 11–12.

⁵³ Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe*, 12. On this note, see his earlier study, *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from Saltair Na Rann, Volume II: Commentary* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976), 11.

⁵⁴ Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe*, 34. See also Brian Murdoch and J. A. Tasioulas, eds., *The Apocryphal Lives of Adam and Eve* (Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies; Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

salvation history. These included vernacular editions of the Bible, oral traditions about biblical stories and sometimes based on liturgical traditions specific to varying communities, the *VAE*, theater,⁵⁵ and the biblical commentaries that would bring some of those traditions together in one place. This history was understood to begin with the creation of the world in Genesis and end with judgment of the world in the Book of Revelation. It was within the framework of this history that the early Puritans understood the significance of their removal from Britain.⁵⁶

The narratives about Adam and Eve in both their canonical and non-canonical versions represent some of the most influential and widely used biblical traditions throughout the medieval period in a multitude of forms. Alastair Minnis has explored some of these developments and the ways late medieval scholars discussed various topics related to Eden, Adam, and Eve, ending with the Protestant theologian John Calvin.⁵⁷ His study focuses primarily on how commentators approached exegesis of the biblical account of Eden and attempted to answer questions that arise from close readings of Genesis 1–4. Medieval commentators asked questions about how life would have been in the Garden if Adam and Eve had not been expelled, and explored the implications the answers they came up with had on their understandings of the Christian gospel and the idealized historical past.

As many scholars in Europe were shifting toward new ways of viewing history, thinking about art, and approaching the study of ancient texts at the beginning of the Renaissance, a handful of these scholars began to turn away specifically from the work of the scholastics, whose research on the details of the Eden narrative is described effectively by Minnis. The

⁵⁵ The influence of theater in early American life cannot be overstressed. See Kim C. Sturgess, *Shakespeare and the American Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 15. Cf. Lynette R. Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe*.

⁵⁶ Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and apocalypse in the Puritan migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.

⁵⁷ Minnis, *From Eden to Eternity*.

scholastics focused their work on developing the doctrines of the Catholic Church, searching out the limits of theology and shoring up the traditional beliefs at the foundation of those doctrines. This new group, known collectively as humanists,⁵⁸ were among the first westerners in centuries who could study the Septuagint—the books of the Hebrew Bible, and a few additional texts, translated into Greek—and New Testament in the Greek language the manuscripts were written in.

Prior to the work of the humanists western scholars of the medieval period had relied solely on Latin translations of these texts.⁵⁹ Once Greek was again taught in Europe, beginning in Italy in 1397, western European scholars could study the New Testament in its original language.⁶⁰ By the end of the fifteenth century a core group of humanists had the necessary tools to begin the serious study of the history of the text of the Christian Bible. The attention that the humanists gave to understanding this history would allow them to create new methods in textual criticism and ways of understanding the composition of texts, when they were written, and by whom.

One of the most influential humanists, Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), was a pioneer in textual criticism, and was the first western scholar to have knowledge of the Greek language and to use that knowledge extensively in his study of the text of the New Testament.⁶¹ While his text-critical work was significant, Valla also put the insights of philology to use by

⁵⁸ There has been some disagreement about the effectiveness of the term “humanists” to describe a group of Renaissance scholars whose aims and goals were not always in agreement with one another, but to argue that the movement had no specific ideology misses the point that humanists were unified by a shared methodology and their desire to move away from the kind of work the medieval scholastics had done. As Jerry H. Bentley has noted, the humanists were not interested in systematic theology but in the text of the New Testament and the “details of the text itself, declining the opportunity, often taken by scholastics, to derive heady theological doctrine from the intellectually modest writings of the New Testament.” In *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 8.

⁵⁹ According to Bentley, no western European scholars knew Greek from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 15. This is at least partially due to the schism ca. 1000 CE between the western Roman Catholic and eastern Greek Orthodox churches. Since Greeks were seen as potentially connected to heresy the language itself and its textual tradition became suspect.

⁶⁰ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 15–16.

⁶¹ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 32–33.

revealing a handful of texts that were thought to be ancient but were in reality forgeries written centuries after the fact. He is remembered best for his work exposing the *Donation of Constantine*, an eighth century document used, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to support papal authority. Although he was not the first to question its authenticity,⁶² Valla's use of philological insights, coupled with his skilled argumentation, established the fact that the *Donation* was a forgery written centuries after the life of Constantine.⁶³

All of Valla's work, and the work of other humanist contemporaries, was meant to provide better understandings of the words in the texts that he studied. One of his primary concerns was his desire to provide a revised Latin translation of the New Testament in order to correct the errors of the translator of the Vulgate. The main focus of the humanists, although they developed important historical-critical tools in some of their research, was not the historical criticism of the Bible. Rather, it was more important to them to provide improved translations of the text so that they and their contemporaries could understand the earliest years of the Christian experience itself.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, Valla did not always apply these crucial methods consistently to the New Testament text, but his work provided examples to later scholars that gave them the tools to apply historical-critical insights to biblical texts more thoroughly.⁶⁵

Another pioneer of New Testament textual criticism likely better known today came in the generation after Valla was Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536). Erasmus is famous for publishing the first edition available in the West of the Greek New Testament in 1516,

⁶² André Vauchez, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages: Volume 1, A–J* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 445.

⁶³ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 46–47, 65–66; and Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford-Warburg Studies; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 21.

⁶⁴ Some of Valla's corrections to the Vulgate are provided in Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 51–55.

⁶⁵ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 47, 68.

which he continued to edit and republish in five editions until the end of his life.⁶⁶ Erasmus's work became controversial soon after it was published, especially with the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, a group of scholars editing a Greek text of the New Testament at the same time Erasmus was preparing his first edition.⁶⁷ Erasmus worked under the methods of humanist critical study, and therefore focused on the text of the New Testament in the Greek manuscripts that he had access to. This meant that several passages of the New Testament known in the Latin Vulgate were excluded from Erasmus's Greek text because they were not part of the Greek manuscript tradition and had crept into the Latin.

One passage that carried heavy theological weight, and as a result had more potential to cause problems for Erasmus, was the *Johannine Comma* found in 1 John 5:7–8. The text entered the Latin liturgical tradition in the fourth century, and was likely added to a manuscript of 1 John sometime in the ninth century.⁶⁸ Erasmus was justified in excluding the *Comma* from his edition of the Greek New Testament, but he was pressured to include it by the third edition of his text.⁶⁹ The passage in question was important because it was the only text in the Latin New Testament that provided clear support for the doctrine of the Trinity. Erasmus's prioritizing of the Greek manuscript witnesses over theological tradition was seen as a major problem, especially in view of how critics of the Catholic Church or "heretics" might take advantage of Erasmus's text in order to attack the Trinity. Ecclesiastical leaders took this issue seriously and later banned all of Erasmus's publications in "the first Roman Index of Prohibited Books (1559)."⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Fourth Edition; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 148.

⁶⁷ See Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 70–111.

⁶⁸ Metzger and Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament*, 148.

⁶⁹ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 133–134.

⁷⁰ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 173.

The shift that the humanists started in the way that scholars studied the New Testament would eventually lead to similar work done on the Hebrew Bible and other aspects of Christian and Jewish history and textual traditions. Humanists faced censure for their publications⁷¹ and introduced methods into the study of the Bible that were often antithetical to the work of the scholastics who were more interested in systematic theology than in the textual transmission and variants in wording between the manuscripts of the text of the New Testament. The focus of the humanists was on establishing not only the text of the Bible but accurate definitions and translations of its words for contemporary readers.

While Erasmus and some of his contemporaries opened the door for later historical-critics by arguing, for example, that Paul was not the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and that the author of the gospel of John did not write Revelation,⁷² the humanists were not focused on establishing the compositional history of the Bible. They were also not like the Protestant reformers who spent their time creating new commentaries on every verse of the Bible, “they limited themselves instead to the production of accurate text, translations, and historical explanations of the New Testament.”⁷³ The later critical work of the reformers would create new theological systems, something the early humanists were not interested in, which would be the catalyst for new readings and re-readings of the text of the Bible that went away from the wording of the Bible on the page and created not only new systems of dogma, but new biblically oriented traditions.

Some of the early traditions spun off of the work of Protestant reformers is examined in a study by Kathleen Crowther entitled *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*. In the book Crowther focuses on sixteenth century German Lutheran approaches to interpreting and

⁷¹ Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 341; and Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 80.

⁷² Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 160.

⁷³ Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 218. See also Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 22.

representing the story of Adam and Eve.⁷⁴ For example, some of St. Augustine’s specific theological arguments were renewed through Martin Luther’s writings in the Protestant reformation and influenced Lutherans toward retelling the story of Adam and Eve in uniquely Lutheran ways. According to Crowther, for Luther “Adam and Eve’s original act of disobedience in the Garden of Eden had so thoroughly debased and corrupted the human race that we were no longer capable of restoring ourselves to God’s favor through our own actions or merits.”⁷⁵ This led sixteenth century Lutherans like Lutwin⁷⁶ and the playwright Arnold Quiting⁷⁷ to recast the story and infuse it with Lutheran doctrine.

For one of Quiting’s plays this meant that in the post-Edenic world God came to visit Adam, Eve, and their children. Each had to recite a characteristically Lutheran catechism—a series of specific theological questions and memorized answers—to ensure that their parents were teaching them correctly. Cain could not recite the catechism and declared that he was a member of the Roman church and a papist. He believed that works were essential to salvation although the Catechism specifically expressed the Lutheran doctrine of *sola gratia*, salvation by grace alone, against the Catholic belief in the salvific nature of the sacraments. The new Lutheran teachings, born during the struggles against the Roman Catholic Church, enabled Quiting and his audience to cast their beliefs back in time onto Adam and Eve themselves. The members of the new Lutheran faith were, either consciously or unconsciously (but likely the latter), renewing their engagement with the Bible, and the differences of belief between Lutheranism and Catholicism were at the center of this new relationship. As Crowther states, “Lutherans certainly did not see themselves as promoting a new interpretation of Genesis. They understood their work to be recovering the “true”

⁷⁴ Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁷⁵ Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, 2.

⁷⁶ Cf. Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, 16–25.

⁷⁷ Cf. Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, 1–6.

meaning of the story, especially due to their belief that these truths were lost to history because of the corrupting nature of the Pope and his church.⁷⁸

These concepts would have a significant influence in the development of Protestant thought for the centuries to come, and the findings in the studies by Minnis and Crowther, as well as many other studies on the reception of Adam and Eve during the late medieval and Early Modern periods, are crucial to keep in the foreground as context for the early American reception of Eden. Early Americans were engaging with the Bible in ways reflective of their time, place, and religious affiliations. The interpretive approach to Eden seen in Quiting's writings highlights his connection to Lutheranism against Catholicism. It is possible to see these kinds of influences in early American sources as well.

*Eden in the Hebrew Bible: The Development of "Heretical" Biblical Scholarship*⁷⁹

A dramatic turning point in the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, one that would powerfully affect early American intellectuals like Thomas Paine, developed out of the seventeenth century work of scholars like Baruch Spinoza and Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). Turning away from the Eden narrative specifically to its wider literary context within the first five books of Moses, this section of the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament has been at the heart of western history and law. It has had a significant influence in western thought especially since the European Renaissance of the fourteenth century onward in both civic and religious settings. This period saw the turn of European thought toward antiquity, including studying the classics in Greek literature as well as the rediscovery of the textual history of not just the New Testament in the work of the humanists, but also the Hebrew

⁷⁸ Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, 260.

⁷⁹ Early American clergy like Jonathan Edwards would view this era of scholarship as heretical, especially in the way that it influenced and was taken up by Deists in the American colonies and early states. See Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 176.

Bible.⁸⁰ This had broad implications for the development of modern societies toward a kind of religious secularism over the next several centuries.

As Eric Nelson has recently argued, the five books of Moses played a major role in the development of European political thought during the Enlightenment that has gone unnoticed in historiography until only the last few years.⁸¹ During the Enlightenment—the period that scholars often assume secularization was beginning to take hold of Europe—⁸² the Bible became so central to political discourse that many historians have begun to refer to the seventeenth century as “the Biblical century.”⁸³ Rather than completely ignoring the Bible in formulating their political theories, intellectuals of the period began to use it much more frequently than before. This is due both to how it provided them with a source of authority and because of the focus the Protestant Reformation brought to the text of the Bible itself for ecclesiastical leaders, laypersons, and especially scholars in the early development of biblical criticism. Some of these Christian theorists began to fixate on the idea that God had provided a sacred constitution for the Israelites in the Torah and because of that the text had divinely revealed information that would be instructive for their work in seeking out the best kinds of government, particularly for writing their governments’ constitutions.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

⁸¹ Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

⁸² For example, as Jonathan Israel has argued, “In practice, ordinary folk could not be shielded from the philosophical revolution transforming the outlook and attitudes of Europe’s élites...Especially worrying...was the growing trend among ordinary folk to mock Holy Scripture, reject Heaven and Hell, doubt the immortality of the soul, and question the existence of Satan, demons, and spirits. If one demands proof that new ideas were rapidly transforming attitudes and beliefs throughout society, such proof was abundantly evident on every side and in every part of Europe. Indeed, surely no other period of European history displays such a profound and decisive shift towards rationalization and secularization at every level as the few decades before Voltaire.” In Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6.

⁸³ Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic*, 2.

⁸⁴ Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic*, 85–86.

During the seventeenth century Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) was appropriating and inventing new methods—now known collectively as the historical-critical method—to interpret the Bible in order “to undermine theocratic ambitions in the Dutch Republic.”⁸⁵ Ultimately, the work of Spinoza and some of his contemporaries shaped the development of western politics, opening the door for the creation of democratic and republican constitutional governments. Spinoza’s book *Theological-Political Treatise* is “one of the most profoundly influential philosophical texts in the history of western thought,”⁸⁶ not simply because it informed new approaches of understanding the individual self and the relationship of governments to the polity, but because it also laid the groundwork for modern approaches to the understanding the background and history of the Bible. Complicating the ways that government agents and ecclesiastical leaders could utilize the Bible to accomplish their political goals altered the ways that European powers could use or misuse religion to authorize the laws and policies they wanted in place.

Spinoza’s work made the Bible irrelevant as a base for political authority, stripping from those who had theocratic ambitions the very thing they cited as their source of power and legitimacy. The major assumption guiding most interpreters of the Bible up to the seventeenth century was that since the Bible was the word of God it was different than all other texts. Most readers assumed it was accurate in every possible way, especially in how it presented history. Once contemporary scholars of Spinoza like Scaliger, Saumaize, and Bochart had begun to compare the biblical chronology with the histories of China, India, and other countries outside the purview of the Hebrew Bible they began to realize that a universal flood could not have happened and needed to revise their understanding of world

⁸⁵ J. Samuel Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Israel, *Spinoza: Theological-Political Treatise* (Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), viii.

history.⁸⁷ This invited scholars like Spinoza, la Peyrère, Hobbes, and others to bring the Bible down to earth and start viewing it like any other ancient text. One of the most important axioms embedded in modern biblical scholarship is that the Bible is a collection of historical books among many other books from antiquity, and that it should receive the same treatment from historians as all other ancient books do.⁸⁸ This axiom has its beginnings in the work of many of the Renaissance Humanists and Spinoza.⁸⁹

Spinoza challenged the claim that the Bible was of divine origin and that Moses had written any portion of the five books bearing his name but he was not the only one.⁹⁰ Hobbes also doubted that Moses wrote the Pentateuch as a whole but believed that Moses authored any section that was specifically attributed to him.⁹¹ Contemporary biblical scholars were familiar with many of the individual observations that Spinoza and Hobbes employed in their arguments because Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1167) had already noted some of them in the twelfth century CE,⁹² but Spinoza and Hobbes expanded on those insights in novel ways while applying them to specific political debates in which they were engaged at the end of the seventeenth century.

⁸⁷ Lee, *The Erosion of Biblical Certainty*, 15. Harvey, Jr. and Halpern note that the first to take up these methods and develop them further was the Catholic priest Richard Simon as a response to Spinoza's attacks on church dogma. Engaging with Spinoza's work as well as Isaac la Peyrère's, "Simon developed the rudiments of what would become the historical criticism of the Pentateuch (including attention to variation in literary style), as an assault on Mosaic authorship in the context of a defense of the dogma of Mosaic authority." Harvey, Jr. and Halpern, "W.M.L. de Wette's '*Dissertatio Critica*...'" 50.

⁸⁸ Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority*, 208.

⁸⁹ According to Preus, "Spinoza sought to strip the Bible of its usefulness to such theocratic interpreters—not, as is commonly supposed, merely by submitting it to a critique from the perspective of pure (i.e., seventeenth-century) reason, but by reconceiving and exhaustively explaining the Bible itself *and* its religion in a radically new way: historically." In Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority*, 2. See also Lee, *The Erosion of Biblical Certainty*, 22, 26.

⁹⁰ Steven Nadler, "The Bible Hermeneutics of Baruch de Spinoza," in Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation, II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 829.

⁹¹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Revised Student Edition; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 262.

⁹² See Uriel Simon, "Abraham ibn Ezra," in Magne Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation, Volume I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300), Part 2: The Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 377–387.

The observations were based on details within the text of the Torah itself, noting how, for example, it was unlikely for Moses to write the first chapter of Deuteronomy,⁹³ or that the entire Torah could fit on the size of the scroll that is described in Deuteronomy 27:1–10.⁹⁴ They also noted how it would be impossible for Moses to state that “the Canaanite was then in land,” found in Gen. 12:6 and 13:7, because the conquest of Canaan did not happen until after Moses was dead.⁹⁵ Ibn Ezra only argued that Moses could not have written every line of the Torah, while Spinoza argued that Moses could not have written any of it. In order to do this Spinoza added several points that were overlooked by his predecessor,⁹⁶ and developed them in ways that were different from Hobbes’s work.

Spinoza’s *Theological-Political Treatise* and Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, among a handful of other critical scholars’ works,⁹⁷ were widely influential and began a major shift in the study and interpretation of the Bible. Their separate publications were controversial, and elicited a storm of responses from their critics in the ensuing decades after they were written. They received some of their most negative criticism from contemporaries who argued that they were atheists and ignored the divine origins of the Bible.⁹⁸

⁹³ Moses never crossed the Jordan, yet Deut. 1:1 says (in the NRSV), “These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan.” Cf. Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise*, 119.

⁹⁴ Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise*, 119.

⁹⁵ Nadler, “The Bible Hermeneutics of Baruch de Spinoza,” 829. Cf. Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise*, 120.

⁹⁶ These include: the author of the Torah writes about Moses in the third person and bears witness about him; the narrative describes Moses’ death and compares him with prior prophets and those who came after him; place names do not reflect the era Moses lived in but centuries later; the narrative goes past the death of Moses. See Nadler, “The Bible Hermeneutics of Baruch de Spinoza,” 829.

⁹⁷ See Richard Simon, *A Critical History Of the Text of the New Testament; Wherein Is firmly Establish’d the Truth of those Acts on which the Foundation of Christian Religion is laid* (London: R. Taylor, 1689); and Jean le Clerc, *Twelve Dissertations out of Monsieur Le Clerc’s Genesis* (London: R. Baldwin, 1696); and Isaac La Peyrère, *Præ-Adamitæ. Sive Exercitatio super Verbis duodecimo, decimotertio, & decimoquarto, capituli quinti Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Romanos. QVIBVS INDVCVNTVR, Primi Homines ante Adamum conditi* (Amsterdam: Louis & Daniel Elzevier, 1655).

⁹⁸ See William Carroll, *Spinoza Reviv’d: Or, a Treatise, Proving the Book, Entitled, The Rights of the Christian Church, &c. (In the most Notorious Parts of it). To be the same with Spinoza’s Rights of the Christian Clergy, &c. And that both of them are grounded upon downright Atheism* (London: Printed, And to be Sold by J. Morphew, 1709), 120; and Anonymous, *The Apparition. A Poem. Or, a Dialogue Betwixt the Devil and a Doctor, Concerning the Rights of the Christian Church* (The Second Edition; London: The Booksellers, 1710), 6–7; and Jonathan Israel, “The early Dutch and German reaction to the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*: foreshadowing the Enlightenment’s more

One of their most significant readers was a French physician named Jean Astruc (1684–1766).⁹⁹ Now known as setting in motion the source criticism of the book of Genesis, Astruc’s original purpose in writing his book was apologetic in nature. He had read the works of Spinoza, Hobbes, Richard Simon (1638–1712), and others,¹⁰⁰ and wanted to argue against the trend he saw in scholarship that moved away from belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and he pushed toward novel ways of retaining that authorship.

He synthesized some of the observations these scholars had made on the Pentateuch and argued that Moses compiled the book of Genesis through the second chapter of Exodus from documents that he inherited from authors who wrote before him. Astruc separated out “memoirs” or different source documents into two columns to show that Moses was dependent on these multiple prior texts he split the text of Genesis.¹⁰¹ According to Astruc, Moses did not need sources after Exodus 2 because he would have experienced those events firsthand.¹⁰² Although he meant for his publication to help preserve the authorship of the five books of Moses,¹⁰³ Astruc’s work instead assisted the field in moving further away from that position because he popularized new ways of analyzing how multiple authors were involved in writing and compiling Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch, with Moses acting

general Spinoza reception?” in Yitzhak Y. Melamed and Michael A. Rosenthal, eds., *Spinoza’s Theologico-Political Treatise: A Critical Guide* (Cambridge Critical Guides; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 77, 93.

⁹⁹ For background on Astruc and his contributions to science and biblical studies, see Rudolph Smend, *From Astruc to Zimmerli: Old Testament Scholarship in Three Centuries* (Transl. Margaret Kohl; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 1–14.

¹⁰⁰ These include Jean le Clerc, Hugo Grotius, Isaac de la Peyrere, Jean Pascal, Samuel Brochart, Pierre Huët, Claude Fleury, Laurent François, and Thomas de Vio. See Aulikki Nahkola, “The Memoires of Moses and the Genesis of Method in Biblical Criticism: Astruc’s Contributions,” in John Jarick, ed., *Sacred Conjectures: The Context and Legacy of Robert Lowth and Jean Astruc* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies, 457; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 212, nt. 34.

¹⁰¹ This had already been done decades prior to Astruc’s work by the German scholar H. B. Witter but his research was lost to biblical studies until its rediscovery and publication by A. Lods in 1925. See A. Lods, “Un précurseur allemand d’Astruc, Henning Bernhard Witter,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 43 (1925): 134–135. Cf. Harvey, Jr. and Halpern, “W.M.L. de Wette’s “*Dissertatio Critica...*” 52.

¹⁰² Nahkola, “The Memoires of Moses and the Genesis of Method in Biblical Criticism,” 193. Cf. Harvey, Jr. and Halpern, “W.M.L. de Wette’s “*Dissertatio Critica...*” 52.

¹⁰³ “By this expedient, Astruc defended an original Mosaic authorship and, in his view, explained the “confusion” in the order or placement of the doublets found in the narrative (Spinoza had already remarked on this “confusion”),” in Harvey Jr. and Halpern, “W.M.L. de Wette’s “*Dissertatio Critica...*” 52.

only as compiler of previously written sources for all of Genesis 1–Exodus 2. It was only then that scholars had to disagree with Astruc and believe that the different “memoirs” or source texts in Genesis were not written prior to Moses, and to think that the material from Exodus 2 to Deuteronomy 34 was not written by Moses, that they would view the entire Torah as being authored centuries after Moses’s life. These methods and their implications would directly affect early American readers of the Bible like Thomas Paine and ignite longstanding controversies well after the life of Astruc.

Although many early biblical scholars were from France and Germany not all European biblical scholars of the late eighteenth century were from the continent like Spinoza, Simon, and Astruc. Alexander Geddes (1737–1802), a British Catholic priest, stunned both general and academic audiences with his statements about the authorship of the Pentateuch in the preface of his new translation of the Bible.¹⁰⁴ According to Geddes three things were clear about the authorship of the Pentateuch: it was not written by Moses in its current form; it was written in Canaan, most likely Jerusalem; and it could not have been written prior to David’s life or after Hezekiah, although he was open to interpolations that post-dated Hezekiah’s reign.¹⁰⁵ He also added that it was possible that some of the texts that the author of the Pentateuch was reliant on went back to Moses but was not sure if those were written texts or oral traditions.¹⁰⁶

Geddes’s observations were almost all ahead of his time, though in some of his comments he pushed back against some of the most commonly held conclusions of his day. For instance, Geddes did not accept the findings of Astruc and another European biblical scholar, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), that Genesis 1:1–2:4 was a separate

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Geddes, *The Holy Bible, or the Books Accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians; Otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants, Volume 1* (London: Printed for the Author by J. Davis, 1792).

¹⁰⁵ Geddes, *The Holy Bible*, xviii.

¹⁰⁶ Geddes, *The Holy Bible*, xix.

creation account from that found in chapter two.¹⁰⁷ He believed that both came from the same author, an individual that was not Moses, and that after carefully going over both Astruc's and Eichhorn's studies he still viewed chapter two as "a natural resumption of the subject."¹⁰⁸ Geddes's publications would play an important role in the further development of biblical studies, especially in the way they influenced Johann Severin Vater (1771–1826) at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Before the work of Vater, though, a major shift in critical scholarship occurred between two generations of biblical scholars.

The generational gap between two German scholars, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827) and Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849),¹¹⁰ is representative of this shift in the development of biblical scholarship. Eichhorn was the first to write a full introduction on the Old Testament, publishing a large three-volume set in the late eighteenth century.¹¹¹ In his introduction, Eichhorn argued that Moses likely authored the books attributed to him, and, although some more recent scholars have stated otherwise, continued to do so by the fourth edition of that work, published in five volumes between 1823 and 1824.¹¹²

During the early nineteenth century the work of the younger scholar, de Wette, was creating a new consensus among scholars about the dating of the five books of Moses. Prior

¹⁰⁷ Alexander Geddes, *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures: Corresponding with A New Translation of the Bible, Volume 1. Containing Remarks on the Pentateuch* (London: Printed for the Author by Davis, Wilks, and Taylor, 1800), 29.

¹⁰⁸ Geddes, *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures*, 29.

¹⁰⁹ Vater's work will be described further below.

¹¹⁰ Smend, *From Astruc to Zimmerli*, 43–56.

¹¹¹ Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (3 vols.; Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1780–1783).

¹¹² Henning Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation, Volume 4: From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century* (Transl. Leo G. Perdue; Resources for Biblical Studies, Number 63; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 224–225. Jean-Louis Ska incorrectly states that at first Eichhorn "continued to defend the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, but he changed his opinion after the discoveries of de Wette." Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (Transl. Sr. Pascale Dominique; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 103. Reventlow states that "Eichhorn clearly remarks that he adheres to his position of Mosaic authorship even after forty years...He does not wish to change his position (de Wette remarked maliciously that he did so in order to save face), although he mentions all the new objections directed against him of which he was aware thereby demonstrating that he continued to follow the discussion." Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation, Volume 4: From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century*, 224.

to de Wette's research scholars had connected Deuteronomy with the lost scroll of 2 Kings 22, supposedly found inside the Jerusalem temple but, like Eichhorn, they had continued to assume that Deuteronomy was Mosaic in style and authorship.¹¹³ De Wette showed briefly in his dissertation and more exhaustively soon after in his 1806–1807 work *Beiträge zur Eileitung in das Alte Testament* that this assumption was problematic,¹¹⁴ that Deuteronomy was very different in style and content from the other books of the Torah, and he made it clear that the book was composed no earlier than Josiah's reform in 622 BCE.¹¹⁵ This further allowed scholars to begin to reconstruct the dating of the individual books and sections of the Torah, but it was a crucial moment in the development of Pentateuchal scholarship for the start of the wider rejection of the Mosaic authorship of the five books.

At the same time de Wette was developing methods that would later culminate in Julius Wellhausen's work on the Documentary Hypothesis, Johann Severin Vater was developing what would become known as the Fragmentary Hypothesis. Taking into account variations in style, divine names, and doublets, Vater took seriously a new criterion: narrative continuity.¹¹⁶ This led him to reject the idea that there were continuous sources running through the Pentateuch. Instead, the Pentateuch was viewed as a patchwork of various literary sources, few of which were necessarily originally connected to one another. The further biblical scholars moved away from the idea of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch the further they moved from being able to identify any biblical characters as

¹¹³ Regarding the Torah scroll discovered by Hilkiah in the temple and read to King Josiah in 2 Kings 22, de Wette explained that "Eichhorn should like to persuade us that at the time the lawbook was not at all unknown, and in consequence he understands the discovery of the lawbook as that of a noteworthy exemplar of it, a temple exemplar, or perhaps an autograph exemplar of Moses." In Harvey, Jr. and Halpern, "W.M.L. de Wette's *Dissertatio Critica...*" 62. Harvey Jr. and Halpern's essay provides a historical contextualization and full English translation of de Wette's dissertation.

¹¹⁴ W.M.L. de Wette, *Beiträge zur Eileitung in das Alte Testament* (2 vols; Halle: Schimmelpfennig, 1806–1807).

¹¹⁵ See Smend, *From Astruc to Zimmerli*, 48; and Harvey, Jr. and Halpern, "W.M.L. de Wette's *Dissertatio Critica...*," 60.

¹¹⁶ Harvey, Jr. and Halpern, "W.M.L. de Wette's *Dissertatio Critica...*," 55.

authors of these books. If readers of the Bible could not confidently identify the human authors of the Pentateuch, or other parts of the Bible, it was possible to wonder what the implications were for identifying the divine authorship of any of the Bible if it was written by a host of nameless authors completely disconnected from the encounters with the divine described in the Bible.

Although readers of the Bible in North America were mainly shielded by British authors and ecclesiastical authorities from continental European scholarship that was critical of the Bible until the late nineteenth century by British authors and ecclesiastical authorities, it is problematic to assume that continental European scholarship had no affect on the biblical commentaries that were most readily available in the early republic.¹¹⁷ Earlier American scholars like Cotton Mather (1663–1728) and Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) were familiar with the trends in critical European scholarship in their day, and responded to and incorporated aspects of that work into their own understandings of and writings on the Bible.¹¹⁸ Many Americans after the work of Mather and Edwards likewise kept up to date on the scholarship of J.J. Griesbach (1745–1812),¹¹⁹ Eichhorn, and others in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as numerous newspaper announcements for new books for

¹¹⁷ See Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete: Biblical Interpretation and Anglo-Protestant Culture on the Edge of the Enlightenment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 19; and John Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: Fortress Press, 1985), 161.

¹¹⁸ Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete*, 19; and Cotton Mather, *Biblia Americana: America's First Bible Commentary, A Synoptic Commentary on the Old and New Testaments, Volume 1: Genesis*, ed. Reiner Smolinski (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck and Baker Academic, 2010). This idea is central to Michael J. Lee's thesis that it was the gatekeepers and defenders of the biblical text that eventually incorporated more historical-critical and naturalistic methods in defending the Bible, ultimately contributing to the decline of the authority of the Bible in early America. See Lee, *The Erosion of Biblical Certainty*.

¹¹⁹ For more on J.J. Griesbach see Bernard Orchard and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, eds., *J.J. Griesbach: Synoptic and text-critical studies, 1776–1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation, Volume 4*, 202–204.

sale during this period,¹²⁰ and the citations of these works in sermons and books makes clear.¹²¹

The earliest commentaries produced by authors in America were either only available in manuscript form or were first available two or three decades into the nineteenth century, and some were idiosyncratic and difficult to follow.¹²² Their work was unlikely to gain much popularity, as so many European scholars were already well known and trusted. Scholars like Matthew Poole (1624–1679), Philip Doddridge (1702–1751), Matthew Henry (1662–1714), Arthur Bedford (1668–1745), John Owen (1616–1683), Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), and, later, Adam Clarke (1760–1832), became household names in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America and Britain.¹²³ Most of these scholars wrote in Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were aware of the trends in European scholarship that questioned issues like Mosaic authorship, and, as noted earlier, roundly rejected those studies while often purposefully leaving out the names of the authors or titles of the publications they were responding to. From their perspective all their readers needed to know was provided in the commentaries that they published or in popular understandings of the Bible that were prevalent at the time.

In particular, Europeans on the continent, in Britain, and in the American British colonies and later states were heavily influenced in their devotional understanding of the

¹²⁰ See “Review of Griesbach’s New Testament,” *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Vol. 10 (February 1811): 107–114; and “Review of Griesbach’s New Testament (Concluded from page 114),” *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Vol. 10, No. 6 (June 1811) 403–421; and David Harrowar, *A Defense of the Trinitarian System, in Twenty-four Sermons; in which the Leading Controversial Points between Trinitarians and Anti-Trinitarians, are Stated and Discussed* (Utica: Printed by William Williams, 1822), 109–111, 122–130, 148–159, 202.

¹²¹ See “New Book Store,” *Vermont Chronicle*, Vol. 3, No. 47 (November 21, 1828): 188; and “Eichhorn,” *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate*, Vol. 2, No. 18 (August 5, 1829): [4]; and “Lately published, and for sale by Williams & Whiting,” *New-York Evening Post*, No. 2604 (September 15, 1810): [3]; and “Great Assortments of BOOKS,” *Connecticut Courant*, Vol. 54, No. 2782 (May 19, 1818): [1].

¹²² Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana* has only been printed over the last eight years, and there are still volumes awaiting publication. See Cotton Mather, *Biblia Americana: America’s First Bible Commentary, A Synoptic Commentary on the Old and New Testaments, Volume 1: Genesis*.

¹²³ Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete*, 7. Cf. Lee, *The Erosion of Biblical Certainty*, 39, 73.

Bible by authors like John Milton (1608–1674). For most of these readers the version of the Eden narrative they were most familiar with did not come strictly from the text of the Bible but from the popularization of Milton’s poetic expansions on the text of the Bible in *Paradise Lost*.¹²⁴ Milton was as influential in early American thought as the Bible because his version of the story of Adam and Eve was infused in early Americans’ minds so thoroughly that it was the biblical story. Milton’s *Paradise Lost* became the Bible that most early Americans knew.

It is in this broader European context after supposed “heretics” and “atheists” developed biblical scholarship that several eighteenth century British scholars like Adam Clarke, Matthew Henry, and others wrote commentaries on the Bible and pushed back against the continental European claims that Moses had not written the Pentateuch. These scholars consciously sought to limit the influence of the work done by Spinoza, Astruc, Geddes, de Wette, and others. For many of these scholars it was enough to simply not mention the critical academic work going on in England, France, and Germany, as a multi-volume family Bible created by British scholars at the beginning of the nineteenth-century suggests. In this Bible the editors chose to ignore any of the specific issues that had been discussed in the scholarship of the previous one hundred and fifty years by stating that “THE first five Books of the Bible, commonly called the Pentateuch, were composed by Moses, as the concurrent testimonies of all ages declare; and as hath ever been firmly believed by the Jews, with whom the fact continues to this day to be one of the thirteen articles of their creed.”¹²⁵ From their perspective it was not worth even noting that there was

¹²⁴ Erik Gray has noted that by the early nineteenth century Milton’s *Paradise Lost* became the version of the Bible that readers knew rather than the text of Genesis. See Erik Gray, *Milton and the Victorians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 41–59.

¹²⁵ “The First Book of Moses, called Genesis, Introduction,” in *The Holy Bible, According to the Authorized Version; with Notes, Explanatory and Practical; Taken Principally from the Most Eminent Writers of the United Church of England and Ireland: Together with Appropriate Introductions, Tables, Indexes, Maps, and Plans: Prepared and Arranged by*

a growing consensus among scholars that the historical evidence did not support Mosaic authorship, and especially did not want to provide the reasons for why many scholars had recently come to that conclusion.

Others were more direct in their opposition to this scholarship. Writing only seven years before the editors of the family bible, Adam Clarke summarized the evidence for Mosaic authorship in a way similar to the later publication and then argued,

As to those, who, in opposition to all these proofs, obstinately persist in their unbelief, they are worthy of little regard, as argument is lost on their unprincipled prejudices, and demonstration on their minds, because ever wilfully closed against the Light. When they have *proved* that Moses is *not* the author of this Work, the advocates of divine revelation will reconsider the grounds of their faith.¹²⁶

For Clarke and his broad American and British audiences, the idea that Moses did not author the Pentateuch was an attack on the Christian faith. He felt that if they accepted that Moses was not the author their identity as Christians could be in jeopardy because, as he understood it, accepting non-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch meant a rejection of a belief in divine revelation. Although Clarke explicitly responded to the claim that Moses did not author the five books attributed to him, he still thought that the substance of the critical research happening in Europe was not worth paying any attention to. This kind of response to scholarship during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was common, and many lay readers would have been made aware of the fact that Moses's authorship was in question in Europe through these commentaries but they would not know why it was being

The Rev. George D'Oyly, B. D. and The Rev. Richard Mant, D. D. Domestic Chaplains to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Under the Direction of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. For the Use of Families. Vol. I. (Oxford: Printed for the Society at the Clarendon Press, 1817), not paginated.

¹²⁶ Adam Clarke, "Preface to the Book of Genesis," in *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. The Text Carefully Printed from the Most Correct Copies of the Present Authorized Translation, Including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts. With a Commentary and Critical Notes, Designed as a Help to a Better Understanding of the Sacred Writings. By Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., &c. &c. The Old Testament. Volume I. Containing the Books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers* (London: Printed for Joseph Butterworth and Son, 1825), not paginated.

questioned. Clarke's commentary, in particular, was made widely available all throughout the early United States.

During the early national period of American history the reception of the Eden narrative was heavily influenced by the voices of British scholars like Adam Clarke, Matthew Henry, John Milton, and others who saw no merit to the work done by scholars like Baruch Spinoza, Thomas Hobbes, or W. M. L. de Wette and their contemporaries. Although many lay readers would not have been made aware of the reasons why Mosaic authorship was being questioned by the more pious commentators, Thomas Paine's publications brought much of the contemporary European scholarship into the average person's hands, allowing them to understand the reasons scholars did not think Moses wrote the Torah more concretely than they had before. It is also very likely, based on the sheer number of copies it sold, that more early Americans were reading Paine's book *The Age of Reason* than the commentaries on the Bible produced by scholars like Adam Clarke.¹²⁷ The successful printing and distribution of Paine's book, as well as its impact on early American identity and perceptions about the Bible, will be described in chapter two.

¹²⁷ Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason. Being an Investigation of True and of Fabulous Theology* (Philadelphia: Printed by James Carey, 1794).

CHAPTER 2

ENACTING EDEN: BIBLICAL RECEPTION AND
THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY IN EARLY AMERICA, 1730–1830

“Above all, ordinary people—people who had listened to the story told from the pulpit or seen it depicted on walls or heard it from parents or friends—turned to it again and again for answers to the questions that baffled them. It helped to explain or at least to reflect back at them what was most disturbing in sexual intercourse, marital tension, the experience of physical pain and exhausting labor, the devastation of loss and mourning. They looked at Adam and Eve, and...they grasped something crucially important about themselves.”¹²⁸

The Eden narrative has played an integral role in the formation of identity for millennia in Western history. As Stephen Greenblatt has recently stated in his study *The Rise and Fall of Adam and Eve*, this story has conveyed to readers and listeners important concepts about who they are, their past, present, and future. This chapter will examine how the Eden narrative influenced identity formation for individuals living in early America from the 1730s to the 1830s. This chapter will also include descriptions of how the narrative informed both regional and national identity formation as well. The Eden narrative played a meaningful role in the construction of early American identity, an aspect of American history that has received limited treatment in the past.

The fact that individuals have turned to the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden for millennia to answer the kinds of questions detailed in Greenblatt’s recent study quoted above is unquestionable, although it is only in recent decades that scholars have

¹²⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, *The Rise and Fall of Adam and Eve* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2017), 7–8.

begun to examine closely the reception history of this story.¹²⁹ Perhaps during no other period of its reception has a group of people collectively viewed the Eden narrative and Fall of Adam and Eve¹³⁰ as an imminently cautionary message for their daily lives than the Puritans that emigrated from England to the early British colonies at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹³¹ The different groups of Puritans that founded the early colonies handed down to their children a religious tradition that included immense respect and love for the Bible, viewing it as the central authority in their lives. This had an enormous impact on the way those colonies developed.¹³² This is especially true in the late colonial and early national periods of American history as a national American identity began to emerge.¹³³

The Eden narrative and the biblical concept of Israel as a chosen nation enjoyed a special status in the creation of new societies in the colonies.¹³⁴ They instructed men how to be good husbands, to take instruction from God—given through the Bible and the sermon—

¹²⁹ For a recent treatment on the background and methods of reception history, particularly as it applies to biblical studies, see Robert Evans, *Reception History, Tradition and Biblical Interpretation: Gadamer and Jaus in Current Practice* (Scriptural Traces: Critical Perspectives on the Reception and Influence of the Bible, 4; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014). For studies on the idea of paradise and its manifestations over the centuries see Markus Bockmuehl and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds., *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and F. Regina Psaki and Charles Hindley, eds., *The Earthly Paradise: The Garden of Eden from Antiquity to Modernity* (International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism; Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2002); and Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹³⁰ There is no description of a “Fall” in Genesis 2–4 per se. More accurately, Adam and Eve are expelled from the Garden and God’s presence in Genesis 3 because of the possibility of their becoming immortal. See James Barr, *The Garden of Eden and the Hope of Immortality* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 4–7.

¹³¹ Some other groups have likely held their bibles in as high regard as the Puritans but it is unlikely that any held it higher than they did.

¹³² This is apparent in the book buying habits of early colonists. According to David Hall, “English readers bought up hundreds of thousands of copies of [the Bible and translated versions of the Psalms] in the decades between 1570 and 1640. In this context, the decision to prepare and print a fresh translation of the psalms soon after the colonists reached New England made sense.” In David D. Hall, *Ways of Writing: The Practice and Politics of Text-Making in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Material Texts; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 12.

¹³³ See Benjamin E. Park, *American Nationalisms: Imagining Union in the Age of Revolutions, 1783–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); and Carrie Hyde, *Civic Longing: The Speculative Origins of U.S. Citizenship* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018); and Stephanie Kermes, *Creating an American Identity: New England, 1789–1825* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

¹³⁴ Even short-lived societies like the Puritan colony of Providence Island, now a part of Colombia, portrayed themselves as living in an Edenic state. See statements made by Lewis Morgan, the first minister of Providence Island, in Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630–1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 32–33.

and pass it down to their wives and children.¹³⁵ From some early colonial perspectives the curse on Eve to have children “in sorrow” was not felt as strongly by African and Native American women as it was for European women. They thought this was because Native men were less masculine than European men who farmed and worked the field. Since Native women had to work more they believed they were heartier and stronger,¹³⁶ and therefore better able to bear the pain. Genesis 1–3 provided guidelines for women about how to be “good wives,”¹³⁷ mothers, and models in the communities that they lived in. The Eden narrative was also used as a tool of misogyny, with some early American commentators arguing that men needed to be careful of the wiles of women and the fact—to Christians of the late Early Modern period at least—that women were more susceptible to sin and the influence of the devil.¹³⁸ This meant that men needed to be aware that Satan might get to them through the women in their lives.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Eden narrative of the book of Genesis was not a static text. There were many different ways that early Americans read and interpreted the story, but there were also important convergences. For example, most early Americans thought of or referred to Adam and Eve as their “first parents,” highlighting how

¹³⁵ Throughout this essay “the Bible” will refer mainly to the King James translation of the Christian Bible, which incorporated the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament at least until many printers stopped including the Apocrypha in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

¹³⁶ Heather Miyano Kopelson, *Faithful Bodies: Performing Religion and Race in the Puritan Atlantic* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 116.

¹³⁷ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982). Chapters five through eight of Thatcher’s book are about the ways early British Americans applied the story of Eve to their lives.

¹³⁸ This had been a cultural norm in Britain since at least the time the Puritans emigrated to the New World. John Brinsley commented at length in a book in the following way: “2. Why *Satan* fingles out the *woman*? Why he firft fets upon her, to deceive and feduce her? A. For this take a double reason... In as much as fhe was the *weaker Veffell*, leffe able to withftand the ftroke of his Temptations... A fitting *Instrument*, being her felf deceived, to deceive her Husband, by conveying the fame fugeftions unto him, who would the leffe fufpect what came through her hands... *Such Inftruments Satan often maketh ufe of in feducing of others.*” John Brinsley, *A Looking-Glasse for Good Women, Held forth by way of Counfell and Advice to fuch of that Sex and Quality, as in the fimplicity of their Hearts, are led away to the imbracing or looking towards any of the dangerous Errors of the Times, fpecially that of the Separation* (London: John Field for Ralph Smith, 1645), 4. Emphasis in the original.

stock imagery and language became common that were not found in the biblical text itself. Another significant convergence is that early Americans, throughout the colonial, revolutionary, and early republican periods were universally influenced by John Milton's *Paradise Lost* for their understanding of the meaning and application of the concept of the fall read into the first chapters of Genesis. Not all readers were influenced by *Paradise Lost* in the exact same way, but all early Americans read the text of Genesis through their reading (or hearing) of the English poem. I will highlight in this chapter the function that Eden played in early American sources that range from sermon literature—the vehicle by which most Americans learned how to interpret the Bible in early America, especially since most colonies had laws requiring weekly church attendance¹³⁹—to published newspaper articles, books, and personal writings.

These texts will inform my analysis of the differences in understanding and interpreting Eden between ministers and the average layperson. Are the differences explicable in terms of race, class, gender, or denominational lines? In what ways can an analysis of the print culture of the day inform these questions? It is clear that early Americans both in and out of the ministry were influenced by the available commentaries in print,¹⁴⁰ so how did these commentaries inform understandings of Eden? Did the critical scholarship on the Bible in Europe during the seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries affect American interpretations? That scholarship, particularly in German and French publications, was in

¹³⁹ Soon after Jamestown was first settled in 1607 the following law requiring weekly church attendance was enacted in 1610: “Every man and woman shall repair in the morning to the divine service and sermons preached upon the Sabbath day, and in the afternoon to divine service, and catechising, upon pain for the first fault to lose their provision and the allowance for the whole week following; for the second, to lose the said allowance and also be whipt; and for the third *to suffer death*.” Quoted in William Addison Blakeley, *American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation* (Revised and Enlarged Edition; Washington, D. C.: The Religious Liberty Association, 1911), 33. See Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (25th Anniversary Edition; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 20–29.

¹⁴⁰ Michael J. Lee, *The Erosion of Biblical Certainty: Battles over Authority and Interpretation in America* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 73; and Seth Perry, *Bible Culture & Authority in the Early United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 51.

general unpopular among theologians and ministers in Britain and the late colonial and early national periods of American history. How did this negative perspective about that scholarship inform early American identity?

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an intellectual history of early American interpretations of Eden by both men and women from various social classes and ethnic backgrounds and how the story helped them to understand themselves. I will limit my analysis mainly to English speakers in the northeastern colonies that later became part of the United States and those European scholars that influenced them. This period, especially the last fifty years that I will analyze, represents an important era in the development of early American identity.

The Reception of John Milton's Paradise Lost in Early America

Early Anglo-Americans loved to read and, based on the fact that many of them descended directly from the Puritans who initially immigrated to the colonies, especially loved to read the Bible. Their reading did not get far removed from the Bible, since the most popular fictional reading that they engaged in was still considered “biblical.” As William J. Gilmore has noted, the books most often read in New England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were Bunyan’s *A Pilgrim’s Progress*, Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, and Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield*.¹⁴¹ These books could be found in the homes of “fortunate farmstead families,” and had a lasting presence and effect on New England cultural consciousness.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 13.

¹⁴² Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life*, 328.

New Englanders purposefully chose these books as their non-biblical reading material because some of them, Milton's *Paradise Lost* in particular, served as extensions of the Bible itself. Because *Paradise Lost* enjoyed an "extraordinary proliferation of references in the 1790s," particularly referencing "the marital bliss of Adam and Eve that Milton had portrayed in Book IV,"¹⁴³ the book "by gradual steps...became, around the middle of the eighteenth century, not so much a secondary Book of Genesis as a substitute for the original—at least as far as the pictorial imagination was concerned."¹⁴⁴ When late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Americans imagined creation, the War in Heaven, Adam and Eve, the fallen angels, Satan and the serpent, their version of these biblical stories was not what they found in the printed edition of Genesis in the King James translation. Rather, it was the version of these stories as told by Milton in *Paradise Lost*.

Since its original publication in the middle of the seventeenth century *Paradise Lost* has been "the most influential literary depiction of Eden in English."¹⁴⁵ Just prior to the American War for Independence the now famous Olaudah Equiano, an African slave who worked his way to freedom, learned to read and write as a sailor, and later became an author and abolitionist, quoted Beelzebub's speech in *Paradise Lost* in response to what he saw as the British government's uncaring approach to handling their citizens. He wondered then, in the decades just prior to America's Revolutionary War, how the British rulers were not worried about a general insurrection of their subjects.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (The Oxford History of the United States; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 497.

¹⁴⁴ Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956), 220.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph Duncan and David W. Baker, "Eden," in David Lyle Jeffrey, ed., *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 225.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 245.

In a seemingly different world British elites were obsessing over Milton's description of the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost*, and invested high amounts of time and money into the production of large, elaborate gardens on their estates. According to Stephen Prickett, "few of the many eighteenth-century English discussions of gardens could escape appropriate references to the description of Eden in Milton's *Paradise Lost*."¹⁴⁷

Beside the aesthetic appeal of Milton's Eden in Great Britain, British colonists and later early Anglo-Americans found *Paradise Lost* to be useful in discussions about politics and religion. After the formation of the new United States clergymen and politicians actively worked to suppress and eradicate the more radical tendencies of the Revolution. They read Satan's rebellion in heaven in *Paradise Lost* as an attempt to overthrow order and correct government. They used this reading against those who, like they themselves had previously done, called for greater equality, liberty, and individual autonomy.¹⁴⁸

At the heart of the matter, these clergymen and politicians were worried about their claims to authority, and were working to fight what they viewed as a major theological and social problem that plagued the early American colonies: antinomianism. Patriarchal structures and social order were essential in their view to be kept in balance, and they did not want democracy and freedom to lead to the dangerous conclusions Milton's Satan sometimes came to in *Paradise Lost*. This was especially true regarding the realization that the concepts they had already accepted and advocated for—equality, liberty, and individual autonomy—were directly related to Satan's argument "that the Only Begotten Son was, in fact,

¹⁴⁷ Stephen Prickett, *Origins of Narrative: The Romantic appropriation of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 138. See Max Schulz's reminder that much of this may "have been more a state of mind than a fact of gardening," in Max F. Schulz, *Paradise Preserved: Recreations of Eden in Eighteenth- & Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 13.

¹⁴⁸ K. P. Van Anglen, *The New England Milton: Literary Reception and Cultural Authority in the Early Republic* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 43.

no different from others of the angelic host who were all begotten sons.”¹⁴⁹ During this struggle between Federalist and anti-federalist, Federalist and Jeffersonian, and the struggle of the clerical Standing Order to retain cultural authority,¹⁵⁰ people on all sides of the political and theological spectrum used Milton to make their arguments.

In writing *Common Sense*, for instance, Thomas Paine—later vilified for his radical theology and politics in the decades after the war—had borrowed some of his antimonarchical ideas from Milton,¹⁵¹ and other British radicals popular in the late eighteenth century America, like William Blake, were likewise directly influenced by Milton in their work.¹⁵² As described by John Coffey, early American abolitionists—also viewed as radicals in their time—cited Milton among other British thinkers as their predecessors in the work they were engaging in.¹⁵³

All of this is crucial context for understanding the influence of Milton on early American culture and thought. Milton influenced early American conceptions of Eden, politics, and individual rights. Each of these had implications for early national period ecclesiastical leaders and politicians. As the Standing Order (the elite clerical ruling class among the Congregationalist hierarchy) would soon find out, the democratization of early American religion would be outside of their power to stop, and would have significant implications for religious and social order in the ensuing decades and centuries.¹⁵⁴ It would lead in large part

¹⁴⁹ Van Anglen, *The New England Milton*, 43.

¹⁵⁰ Peter S. Field, *The Crisis of the Standing Order: Clerical Intellectuals and Cultural Authority in Massachusetts, 1780–1833* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

¹⁵¹ Mark A. Noll, *In the Beginning Was the Word: The Bible in American Public Life, 1492–1783* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 308.

¹⁵² See Jon Mee, *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 100, 178, 209.

¹⁵³ John Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation: Deliverance Politics from John Calvin to Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 20.

¹⁵⁴ See Field, *The Crisis of the Standing Order*; and Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

to the Second Great Awakening, the proliferation of new pseudobiblical literature,¹⁵⁵ and would be the origin for several new religions. All of these developments would have an impact on the formation of late colonial and early national individual and national identities. The rest of this chapter will examine how concepts and perceptions about the Eden narrative and the Fall played a role in identity formation during this period.

Eden in Colonial America and the Early United States

Early colonists like Sarah Osborn (1714–1796) tied their personal identities to the stories of the Bible. Sarah herself described her early childhood in terms of going beyond the “original sin” of Adam and Eve and into “actual” sin she consciously chose to commit in her youth in defiance of God.¹⁵⁶ In her view she had sinned in her younger years worse than Adam and Eve’s transgression. Her approach to and understanding of the Bible informed how she felt about her earlier life in contrast to the more pious person she became later on. Her later retelling of this shift in her relationship to Christianity was informed by the Eden narrative, which magnified the seriousness of her earlier sinful life. This chapter attempts to highlight the ways that the Bible was interpreted by a variety of people from different genders, social, ethnic, and religious backgrounds to analyze the reception of Eden in colonial British America and the early republic.

In recent decades numerous scholars of early American history have spent much of their time explaining the central role religion played in everyday life during the colonial and early

¹⁵⁵ See chapter 3, “‘A Truly American Spirit of Writing’: Pseudobiblicism, the Early Republic, and the Cultural Origins of the Book of Mormon,” in Eran Shalev, *American Zion: The Old Testament as a Political Text from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 84–117.

¹⁵⁶ Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn’s World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 34. I will follow Brekus’s lead in referring to Sarah Osborn by her first name rather than her last name. Like other women throughout modern history, her first name was the only name that was consistent throughout her life. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn’s World*, xii–xiii.

national periods.¹⁵⁷ The influential work of Perry Miller (1905–1963) in the early and mid-twentieth century turned the attention of historians of early America toward exploring the “New England mind” in the history of the early British American colonies,¹⁵⁸ and the work of several scholars in the last half of the twentieth century continued to work in that tradition, correcting and building on much of the progress of the previous generations.¹⁵⁹

Initially, the work of Miller’s generation produced studies that helped provide better-informed understandings of how Puritan Christianity influenced social, political, and familial life during the colonial period and in the centuries following. Then, with the work of scholars like Mark Noll and Harry Stout, the focus began to be more on the ways that early Americans utilized the Bible and how they enacted and lived out their different religious traditions. The closer these scholars examined the sources the more they realized that there was not just one “New England mind” but many.¹⁶⁰ More and more scholars have recently started to shift to the understanding that while these Protestant groups believed in the

¹⁵⁷ See Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956); and Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul*; and John Saillant, *Black Puritan, Black Republican: The Life and Thought of Lemuel Haynes, 1753–1833* (Religion in America; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Theophus H. Smith, *Conjuring Culture: Biblical Formations of Black America* (Religion in America; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Garry Sparks, ed. and transl., *The Americas’ First Theologies: Early Sources of Post-Contact Indigenous Religion* (Religion in Translation; New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); and Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture and University of North Carolina Press, 1988); and Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn’s World*; and Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600–1850* (Christianity and Society in the Modern World; London: Routledge, 1999); and Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); and James P. Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War: The Bible and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); and Keith W. F. Staveland, *Puritan Legacies: Paradise Lost and the New England Tradition, 1630–1890* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); and Meredith Marie Neuman, *Jeremiah’s Scribes: Creating Sermon Literature in Puritan New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

¹⁵⁸ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1953).

¹⁵⁹ See especially Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul*; and Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); and Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Anniversary Edition; Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); and Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *The American Puritan Imagination: Essays in reevaluation* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); and Mark A. Noll, ed., *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the 1980s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

¹⁶⁰ Stout, *The New England Soul*, xiv.

doctrine of *sola scriptura* they rarely practiced it,¹⁶¹ forcing scholars to reconsider this assumption, among many others, that had been at the heart of much of the earlier work. Research on the Bible in early America has been an important part of the history of the reception of the Bible in general, and the literature has contributed significant insights that are illuminating not just for the field of American religious history, but have implications more broadly about how people have engaged with literature throughout time.

In related fields, particularly European history, scholars have started to look more closely at how readers, organizations, and social movements have interacted with and understood specific texts from the Bible, often selecting passages that have informed broad social movements or events in the fields they are researching. Looking at the Bible's influence in this way has added significant insight to this history because the Bible has been central to the development of Western society throughout its history. These studies have allowed scholars to look more closely at religious and secular engagement with the Bible on a micro scale. Related studies have also highlighted important social and historical issues in the way that individual people and larger social movements have used the Bible. Examples include the use of the "curse of Ham" to justify slavery in the Early Modern era,¹⁶² which would later directly affect debates and popular ideas surrounding slavery in the United States, segregation in public society and private worship, and the Mormon priesthood ban of people

¹⁶¹ Seth Perry, *Bible Culture & Authority in the Early United States*, 133–134. The term *sola scriptura* ("scripture alone") was an important concept during the Christian Reformation for the Protestant push against Catholic tradition. It meant that Protestants rejected the institutional authority of Catholicism and desired to base their religious thought and practice only on the Bible.

¹⁶² David M. Whitford, *The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era: The Bible and the Justifications for Slavery* (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History; London: Routledge, 2009).

of African descent from 1852 to 1978.¹⁶³ There are also many studies that examine the afterlives of specific biblical characters, books, or pericopes.¹⁶⁴

While these studies have analyzed important aspects of the development of the study of the Bible and religion in other regions of the world and at different times, so far not much work has been done to look at specific passages of the Bible and their influence on early American life. The only work that I am aware of that does exactly this for the period spanning the late colonial and early national periods is John Coffey's book *Exodus and Liberation*,¹⁶⁵ and even then it is only the first five chapters of that book that examine concepts drawn from the book of Exodus on early American life. Another recent study by Zachary McLeod Hutchins looks at the ways colonists in early British America invented Eden in the New World only up to the late eighteenth century,¹⁶⁶ but is representative of the positive steps toward describing early American life through various societies' interactions with the Bible. This approach, as can be clearly seen in both Coffey's and Hutchin's books, can help to explain many social, religious, and economic factors in America's early history in ways that have not yet been done. Many aspects of early American history that have often been ignored due to their omnipresence in the lives of the people who created historical sources during this period can be brought into the foreground to better contextualize major shifts in early America.

¹⁶³ For the origins of the ban and the dependence of Mormon institutional policies on the curses of Ham and Cain see W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 125–128, 147–170.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, William John Lyons, *Joseph of Arimathea: A Study in Reception History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Yvonne Sherwood, *A Biblical Text and Its Afterlives: The Survival of Jonah in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Jennifer L. Koosed, *Gleaning Ruth: A Biblical Heroine and Her Afterlives* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011).

¹⁶⁵ John Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation: Deliverance Politics from John Calvin to Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁶⁶ Zachary McLeod Hutchins, *Inventing Eden: Primitivism, Millennialism, and the Making of New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

The developments within broader Christianity after the Reformation, and especially in an American setting after the War for Independence, gave new context and meaning to American readers of the King James Bible in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as they read the Bible into their new geographical and national landscape. They believed that Providence or the hand of God directed everything they did,¹⁶⁷ and provided the nation as a land of promise for righteous Christians to inherit. It is important, then, to understand how early Americans, including clergy and lay readers, were learning how to engage the source of their belief in God's providence: the Bible.

Recent studies on sermon writing, including the literature instructing ministers how to study and preach, have noted the main books recommended to Puritan preachers of the seventeenth century onwards for their systematic reading of the Bible were, in the order that they were to be read: Romans; the Gospel of John; the Psalms; the prophets, especially Isaiah; and then the historical books, emphasizing the necessity of reading Genesis in particular.¹⁶⁸ These texts received the most attention in the sermons that clergy presented to the various congregations throughout the colonies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Laypeople in the colonial and early republican periods became familiar with these books of the Bible more than any others.

The next question was how one was to read and interpret these books. According to Lisa Gordis, early Puritan authors of sermon manuals argued that “proper exegesis was the bulk of the minister's task,” and “that once one had properly interpreted the text, the shaping of the sermon was a relatively simple matter.”¹⁶⁹ The authors of these manuals assumed that the plain meaning of the text was what the inspired authors meant when originally writing

¹⁶⁷ Nicholas Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States, 1607–1876* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁶⁸ Meredith Marie Neuman, *Jeremiah's Scribes*, 20.

¹⁶⁹ Gordis, *Opening Scripture*, 17.

the various verses of the Bible. They focused on the idea that while it was necessary for ministers to study and prepare their sermons that they should allow the Holy Spirit to guide and direct their preaching.¹⁷⁰ From this perspective Puritans viewed preaching as prophecy, so the minister had to rely on the Holy Spirit in everything they did. Like many Christians after the Reformation, Puritans believed they were continuing the process that had started the upheavals of that movement centuries before away from Catholic traditions and beliefs.

A full century prior to the Puritan exodus from Britain, one of the most significant developments of the European Renaissance and the Protestant move away from Catholic dogma had to do with the issue of the textual transmission and translation history of the Bible. The Renaissance would bring about important works like Desiderius Erasmus' 1516 *Novum Instrumentum*,¹⁷¹ the first attempt at producing a critical edition of the Greek New Testament that Erasmus created based on a small group of manuscripts he had collected and compared to one another. It was a significant development in that Erasmus's text corrected and often had readings that varied from the authoritative text tradition in Catholicism, the Latin Vulgate. This observation—that the Vulgate did not always align with the Hebrew or Greek manuscripts—would fuel many Protestant apologetic arguments in the centuries after the Reformation.

By the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century enough of a focus had been given to debates about the accuracy of the Vulgate, which was translated by Jerome in the fourth-century CE, that scholars like Erasmus had collected enough manuscript copies of the Old and New Testaments that they could begin serious comparisons between the manuscripts to see how the Bible had changed or remained the same over time. This shift

¹⁷⁰ Gordis, *Opening Scripture*, 13.

¹⁷¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1516). The book's more popular name, *Novum Testamentum*, would appear in the second edition published in 1519. Erasmus lived from 1466–1536, and remained Catholic throughout his whole life.

toward the text-critical study of the Bible would evolve into a serious academic field that engaged the historical events and characters that lay beyond the text of the Bible. The development of the field of biblical studies has its origins in British, French, and German academic and theological circles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This scholarship would mostly have a direct effect on Deists and other minority groups in eighteenth century Britain and America, but their arguments would come indirectly to a wider New World audience through the writings of individual American authors. As previously noted, Thomas Paine was the most significant of these authors, particularly because of his book *The Age of Reason*.¹⁷² The book purportedly sold 100,000 copies in its first year, an unprecedented number in the eighteenth-century, and received wide distribution throughout all of the early United States.¹⁷³ If a person living in the newly established United States read a book other than the Bible in the 1790s or the next several decades, it was likely that they read Paine because his book had a bearing on the life and thought of believers and unbelievers alike.

To be a productive citizen of the United States in its early years or an active member or interested observer of the “republic of letters,” it was crucial to understand the message and contents of Paine’s book if you were going to live up to that ideal image.¹⁷⁴ As Seth Cotlar has recently argued, “the image of Thomas Paine remained absolutely central to how

¹⁷² Paine, *The Age of Reason*.

¹⁷³ John Keane, *Tom Paine: A Political Life* (New York: Grove Press, 1995), 399. Cf. Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 10. Edward Larkin also notes that the reported numbers of volumes sold for Paine’s books is likely exaggerated according to the work of Trish Loughran. Even then, “taking Loughran’s more conservative numbers into account, his texts enjoyed unprecedented success.” See Edward Larkin, *Thomas Paine and the Literature of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7–8, nt. 10; and Trish Loughran, “Virtual Nation: Local and National Cultures in the Early United States” (PhD Dissertation; University of Chicago, 1999).

¹⁷⁴ Richard D. Brown, “The Revolution’s Legacy for the History of the Book,” in Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, eds., *A History of the Book in America, Volume 2, An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790–1840* (Chapel Hill: American Antiquarian Society and The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 69.

Americans defined their political identity.”¹⁷⁵ I will analyze Paine’s approach to the five books of Moses, as well as some of his comments on the Eden narrative further below. Paine was a popular early American interpreter of the Bible that wielded an enormous amount of influence on early American understandings of the Bible from the 1790s on.

Beginnings: The Puritans and Early Colonists

Prior to the arrival of the first Puritans in Plymouth Colony on November 11, 1620,¹⁷⁶ Christopher Columbus had his own theories about the New World. On one of his many voyages to the western hemisphere, thinking he was somewhere in Asia, he believed the Orinoco River to be one of the four great tributaries of the Garden of Eden due to the sheer magnitude of the body of water.¹⁷⁷ Throughout his life Columbus continued to believe that he had discovered the location of the historical Garden of Eden but that he had been unable to make the trek all the way to the garden itself.¹⁷⁸

Eleven and a half years before the Puritan exodus from England and arrival in Plymouth William Symonds, preacher at Saint Saviors in Southwark, London, England, preaches a sermon on April 25, 1609 about the prospects of a colony in Virginia.¹⁷⁹ In order to encourage those who would migrate to the New World colony Symonds said, “Let us bee cheerefull to goe to the place, that God will shew us to possesse in peace and plentie, a Land

¹⁷⁵ Seth Cotlar, *Tom Paine’s America: The Rise and Fall of Transatlantic Radicalism in the Early Republic* (Jeffersonian America; Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 2.

¹⁷⁶ William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647* (2 vols.; Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), 162; and James Deetz and Patricia Scott Deetz, *The Times of Their Lives: Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Anchor Books, 2001), 4; and William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647* (Boston: Published for the Society, By Little, Brown, and Company, 1856), 80.

¹⁷⁷ Mary Alexandra Watt, *Dante, Columbus and the Prophetic Tradition: Spiritual Imperialism in the Italian Imagination* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 42–46; and Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630–1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 3.

¹⁷⁸ Watt, *Dante, Columbus and the Prophetic Tradition*, 45.

¹⁷⁹ William Symonds, *Virginia: A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel, In the presence of man, Honourable and Worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia* (London: Printed by I. Windet, 1609).

more like the garden of Eden: which the Lord planted, then any part else of all the earth.”¹⁸⁰ During the 1620s, European authors like Samuel Purchas (1575–1626) described Virginia as a new Eden,¹⁸¹ viewing the discovery of the New World as “a long ascent back to the integrity they lost in Eden.”¹⁸² As the colonists would discover their first winter, the geographical setting in Plymouth Colony was less than a paradise. Competing descriptions of the New World as a barren wasteland and Eden began to emerge, but the colonists worked hard to create their new garden homes. From the very beginning stages of the Spanish and British colonization of the New World the “Edenic myth,” as Charles L. Sanford has described it, “has been the most powerful and comprehensive organizing force in American culture.”¹⁸³ It is this mythic motif, and more particularly the way that it has shaped identity formation for European migrants throughout American history, that this chapter will examine.

One significant Puritan colonist whose identity was informed by the Eden narrative was Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672). Born in England, Bradstreet immigrated with her husband to Salem, Massachusetts in 1630 and became a well-known poet in the colonies and England.¹⁸⁴ In one of Bradstreet’s formal meditative poems entitled “Contemplations,” she focused on aspects of the sun to tell a story about the world. After describing the glory of the sun, she recounted the Eden narrative. In Bradstreet’s Eden Adam is lord of all, but turns “miscreant” when he is “driven from that place.” The penalty to “get his bread with pain, and sweat of face” is given to all humanity.¹⁸⁵ She describes Eve in a post-Eden setting as having just

¹⁸⁰ Symonds, *Virginia*, 26.

¹⁸¹ Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 115.

¹⁸² Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 117.

¹⁸³ Charles L. Sanford, *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), vi.

¹⁸⁴ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *New England Meditative Poetry: Anne Bradstreet and Edward Taylor* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 23.

¹⁸⁵ Hambrick-Stowe, *New England Meditative Poetry*, 104–105.

birthed Cain, holding him “in her lap...bloody.” The “imp” does not know the evil he will do when he grows up, while Eve thinks about how she lost Paradise in order “to be more wise,” seemingly implying that she did not become so because she was duped by the “Father of lyes.”¹⁸⁶

In the next stanza Cain and Abel are depicted making their offerings to God. The acceptance of Abel’s offering is described as a fire descending from the sky, while nothing happens to Cain’s offering. Cain is of course angry, has a “thousand thoughts” about killing Abel, “whose blood his future good he hopes to raise.” While Abel is tending his sheep Cain comes and murders him. The earth is characterized as a virgin at this point in time, Abel’s “blood her first draught drinks.”¹⁸⁷ The biggest difference between Bradstreet’s post-Eden narrative and Genesis 4 is that there is no explicit confrontation between Cain and God. In her description Cain “looks now at the Barr [or court]” and realizes his guilt, becomes a vagabond, goes to the Land of Nod, and establishes a city.¹⁸⁸

The idea in Bradstreet’s poem that Cain had murdered his brother Abel for Gain was common in the seventeenth-century. As Philip Almond has explained, “the sectaries saw the rich and powerful as descended from Cain, and the poor, oppressed, and ungodly from Abel.”¹⁸⁹ A representative of this school of thought was the seventeenth-century author and minister John Bunyan (1628–1688), known for his book *Pilgrim’s Progress*,¹⁹⁰ who said, “It is the lot of Cain’s brood to be lords and rulers first, while Abel and his generation have their

¹⁸⁶ Hambrick-Stowe, *New England Meditative Poetry*, 105.

¹⁸⁷ Hambrick-Stowe, *New England Meditative Poetry*, 105.

¹⁸⁸ Hambrick-Stowe, *New England Meditative Poetry*, 105, 110.

¹⁸⁹ Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 108.

¹⁹⁰ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progreffs from this World to That which is to come: Deliver’d under the Similitude of a Dream: Wherein is Discover’d, The Manner of his Setting out, His dangerous Journey, and Safe Arrival at the Defired Country* (25th ed.; London: A. W. for J. Clarke, 1738).

necks under oppression.”¹⁹¹ According to Almond, this was a common interpretation of Cain among the radical religious sects of seventeenth-century Britain.¹⁹²

The Two Great Awakenings

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), well known for the many books he published during his lifetime as well as his involvement in the First Great Awakening, a series of religious revivals that energized the North American British colonies during the 1730s and 1740s,¹⁹³ commented on many verses of the Bible in his manuscript collection *Notes on Scripture*,¹⁹⁴ but the book he commented on most often was Genesis.¹⁹⁵ Edwards was responding to the aftermath of Spinoza’s work,¹⁹⁶ arguing against the claim that Moses did not write the five books attributed to him and the idea that the biblical chronology was in any way inaccurate.¹⁹⁷ Edwards’ understanding of Adam and Eve and the concept of the Fall was in line with traditional orthodox Christian views. “If Adam had never fallen, then he would have had eternal life on his own account, and for his own goodness.” Because of this all humanity has “fallen and lost” their “goodness, we are saved only for Christ’s sake.”¹⁹⁸ The Fall goes hand in hand with Jesus’ death and atonement according to Christian salvation history. In Edwards’ worldview, everything was made right through Jesus, and the idea of

¹⁹¹ John Bunyan, *The Works Of that eminent Servant of Christ Mr. John Bunyan, Minister of the Gospel, and formerly Pastor of a Congregation at Bedford, Vol. II* (London: W. Johnston, 1768), 696. Cf. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought*, 174.

¹⁹² Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought*, 175.

¹⁹³ Jonathan Edwards, *The Great Awakening*, ed. C. C. Goen (The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. 4; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

¹⁹⁴ Jonathan Edwards, *Notes on Scripture*, ed. Stephen J. Stein (The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Vol. 15; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁹⁵ Peter J. Thuesen, “Edwards’ Intellectual Background,” in Sang Hyun Lee, ed., *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 28.

¹⁹⁶ Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible*, 36.

¹⁹⁷ Thuesen, “Edwards’ Intellectual Background,” 16–33.

¹⁹⁸ Wilson H. Kimnach, Kenneth P. Minkema, and Douglas A. Sweeney, eds., *The Sermons of Jonathan Edwards: A Reader* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 114.

the Fall and atonement were central for his understanding of himself and where he and his fellow Christians fit their identities in salvation history.

Another important eighteenth-century figure in charismatic Christianity was Sarah Osborn (1714–1796). Born in London, Sarah moved to Rhode Island as a child with her parents.¹⁹⁹ Although Sarah had a difficult life she spent most of her time helping those less fortunate around her. She became an important figure, along with Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield (1714–1770),²⁰⁰ and others, in the first Great Awakening in the British colonies, holding her meetings in her home as well as giving moving speeches and sermons wherever and whenever she had the chance.²⁰¹

For Sarah, the Eden narrative had application in her daily life and for those around her. In her 1743 memoir she counseled young people to not listen to any of their friends that attempted to convince them that their “parents or superiors deal hardly with you,” because “however great their friendship may seem to be, they are only instruments in the devil’s hands.” She tells them to flee from those kinds of friends “as you would from serpents, for they are false friends—or rather private enemies—doing the devil’s drudgery and laying snares for your precious souls.”²⁰² For Sarah, the serpent of Genesis 3 did not only dwell in the Garden of Eden thousands of years ago. Beguiling serpents were a part of life outside the Garden, since they were in a fallen state, and Christians—especially the youth of her day—needed to be vigilant and ready for Satan to attempt to get to them in any way possible.

¹⁹⁹ Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn’s World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 1ff.

²⁰⁰ See Peter Y. Choi, *George Whitefield: Evangelist for God and Empire* (Library of Religious Biography; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2018); and Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Library of Religious Biography; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991).

²⁰¹ Brekus, *Sarah Osborn’s World*, 15–17. For the Great Awakening see Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

²⁰² Catherine A. Brekus, ed., *Sarah Osborn’s Collected Writings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 66.

Earlier in her memoir Sarah had made similar comments but directed them at parents instead of the youth. She hoped that they would be careful to not “provoke their children to wrath by being too severe to them, since a subtle adversary will take advantage of such seasons.”²⁰³ Her desire was to help the youth not find themselves in a fit of anger directed at their parents, “lest they should provoke God to permit Satan to suit a temptation to their condition and leave them to themselves to comply with it so as to be past all recovery.”²⁰⁴ She did not want to have the youth of her day experience this level of temptation because she had gone through it herself when she was young.

Sarah knew that this was an issue all people would have to suffer with because “everyone has the same seeds of corruption in them through the woefull fall of our first parents.”²⁰⁵ In one of her other writings, Sarah looked forward to a time when “The old serpent shall be bound, that he deceive the nations no more.”²⁰⁶ Referencing Rev. 20:2 for the idea that Satan would be bound for one thousand years, only then, at the time of Jesus’ second coming, would the negative effects of Adam and Eve’s fall be overcome. For Sarah Osborn those effects were a part of her daily life as a Christian in colonial America, and influenced how she viewed her own identity and believed she could help the youth of her day and their parents to take control of that identity. To do so, they would need to situate their lives the best they could in order that they not be allowed by God to be tempted by the Devil. If they could do that then they were living up to their Christian identity.

Another colonial American, Isaac Backus (1724–1806), likewise found the Adam and Eve stories in Genesis useful for understanding his daily life. In particular, Backus was known as a vocal proponent of the separation of church and state long before the founding

²⁰³ Brekus, ed., *Sarah Osborn’s Collected Writings*, 11.

²⁰⁴ Brekus, ed., *Sarah Osborn’s Collected Writings*, 11.

²⁰⁵ Brekus, ed., *Sarah Osborn’s Collected Writings*, 11–13.

²⁰⁶ Brekus, ed., *Sarah Osborn’s Collected Writings*, 323.

of the new republic.²⁰⁷ His published responses to the taxation of all colonists for the state sponsored church made him a well-known opponent of numerous public issues throughout the last half of the eighteenth-century. The Eden narrative appeared in several of these discussions in his publications, which he utilized to not only structure his ideas but also to present them in a way that his readers could easily engage with them.

Many colonial Christians believed in the idea that a “covenant of works” had been given to Adam in the Garden of Eden.²⁰⁸ As Backus stated in a 1756 publication, the covenant “shows that in order to enjoy a blessing promised, we must perfectly and constantly live in a conformity to this law without the least failure, for if we don’t *continue to do all things that are written in the law*, we are immediately bound under the curse...and so stand exposed to eternal damnation.”²⁰⁹ Although he argued in that publication entitled, “A Short Description of the Difference Between the Bondwoman and the Free,” that Christians were no longer living under the “covenant of works” but under the “covenant of grace” because of Jesus’ atonement, he still accepted in 1756 the idea that Adam had been bound by that covenant.

Twenty-five years later in 1781 Backus held to his stance on this issue. In a pamphlet titled, “Truth is Great and Will Prevail,”²¹⁰ he responded to several of his critics by arguing against recent statements published by Charles Chauncy on the covenant of works. Chauncy stated that the idea that Adam had to live perfectly in the Garden of Eden or face expulsion and death “is said entirely without book. The Scripture nowhere insinuates that he was under *such a covenant of works*. It suggests, on the contrary, that God, in favor to him, did not put

²⁰⁷ William G. McLoughlin, ed., *Isaac Backus on Church, State, and Calvinism: Pamphlets, 1754–1789* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), 6–7.

²⁰⁸ Arguments about whether or not Christians lived under a “covenant of works” or a “covenant of grace” had earlier led to the Antinomian controversy in Massachusetts of 1636–1638. See David D. Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638: A Documentary History* (Second Edition; Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

²⁰⁹ McLoughlin, ed., *Isaac Backus on Church, State, and Calvinism*, 136. Emphasis in the original.

²¹⁰ McLoughlin, ed., *Isaac Backus on Church, State, and Calvinism*, 398–425.

him upon so *severe* a trial for life. His trial, if we may believe the sacred record of it, was a *single instance*.²¹¹ Backus mostly agreed with Chauncy, but disagreed that the trial was just in one instance. Adam's fall allowed all humanity to have access to grace because in their prelapsarian state Adam and Eve lived only under the covenant of works. For Backus, grace "means relief to the guilty and miserable in distinction from *works*, which innocent man was to have lived by if he had continued in that state."²¹²

Backus's explanation for the fall was that God was sovereign over the earth and Adam and Eve "rebelled against HEAVEN and seized upon the earth as [their] own."²¹³ If Adam and Eve had not challenged the sovereignty of God they might have stayed in Eden, but Backus implies that it was better for them to fall so that they could gain access to grace. As the cherubim and flaming sword kept Adam and Eve, and therefore all humanity, away from Eden, Christians could have access to God through Jesus in a fallen world anyway.²¹⁴ This was an essential idea to all Christians living in the late colonial era in the British colonies in America, but life after Eden would also soon inform colonists at the moment they were beginning to break away from their imperial homeland, England. Unfortunately, it would take some severe tragedies to bring out some of the uses of the Eden narrative in this setting.

John Lathrop (1740–1816), minister of the Second Church in Boston, Massachusetts, gave a fiery speech on March 11, 1770, the Sunday after the Boston Massacre, comparing the murder of "a number of our innocent fellow-citizens" to the murder of Abel by Cain in Genesis 4.²¹⁵ According to Lathrop justice demanded that the murderers be killed themselves,

²¹¹ McLoughlin, ed., *Isaac Backus on Church, State, and Calvinism*, 409.

²¹² McLoughlin, ed., *Isaac Backus on Church, State, and Calvinism*, 409.

²¹³ McLoughlin, ed., *Isaac Backus on Church, State, and Calvinism*, 410.

²¹⁴ McLoughlin, ed., *Isaac Backus on Church, State, and Calvinism*, 143.

²¹⁵ John Lathrop, *Innocent Blood Crying to God from the Streets of Boston. A Sermon Occasioned by the Horrid Murder of Messieurs Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Attucks, with Patrick Carr, since dead, and Christopher Monk, judged irrecoverable, and several others badly wounded, by a party of Troops under the Command of Captain Preston: on the fifth of March, 1770. And preached the Lord's-Day following* (Boston: Re-Printed and Sold by Edes and

and if not it would be “to let the blood of the innocent, like that of Abel, cry unto God for vengeance.”²¹⁶ For Lathrop this was clear in the statements made by the guilty Cain himself, that “*Every one that findeth me shall slay me.*”²¹⁷ It was necessary not just for the family members and friends of the men killed by the British soldiers on March 5, 1770 to receive justice, but, according to Cain’s statement, and Lathrop’s application of it to the aftermath of the massacre, it was up to anyone who would meet the soldiers to bring justice on them as well. The first murder in the Bible was a source for a militant response to a hostile ruling power,²¹⁸ and these soldiers were not given any promise or mark from God that they would not be killed “lest any finding [them] should kill” them.²¹⁹ It was sermons like this one, and their use of violent images from the Bible, that drove the American Revolution into a War for Independence and into the exploration of new national identities away from Great Britain.

Although Henry Alline (1748–1784) lived in Nova Scotia and not the northeastern British colonies that would later become the United States, Alline had a significant influence on the religious fervor throughout the Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and New England region.²²⁰ Alline’s contemporaries considered him the Nova Scotian George Whitefield,²²¹ the British evangelist that had stoked the fires of the First Great Awakening in the North

Gill, 1771), 5. Cf. James P. Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War: The Bible and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 34.

²¹⁶ Lathrop, *Innocent Blood Crying to God from the Streets of Boston*, 9.

²¹⁷ Lathrop, *Innocent Blood Crying to God from the Streets of Boston*, 10. Emphasis in the original.

²¹⁸ Another minister, Charles Chauncy (1705–1787), in preaching two months after the Boston Massacre echoed the language found in Genesis 4 but did not cite that passage explicitly. His sermon called for “as fair and equal a tryal as they themselves can defire,” but also stated that if found guilty they might “efcape the fecund [spiritual] death” and not escape “the firft death.” Charles Chauncy, *Trust in GOD, the Duty of a People in a Day of Trouble. A Sermon Preached, May 30th 1770.* (Boston: Printed by Daniel Kneeland, 1770), 35. Cf. James P. Byrd, *Sacred Scripture, Sacred War*, 192, nt. 55.

²¹⁹ Gen. 4:15.

²²⁰ George A. Rawlyk, *Henry Alline: Selected Writings* (Sources of American Spirituality; New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 5.

²²¹ See Choi, *George Whitefield: Evangelist for God and Empire.*

American British colonies.²²² Known for his involvement in revivals as a preacher and for the hymns he wrote, Alline was an influential character in late eighteenth-century North America. Many people in Canada and the colonies took his writings seriously during the period of the American Revolution.

Like Sarah Osborn, the description of Adam and Eve's expulsion from Eden played a role in Alline's perception of his identity at a young age. In his journal he wrote that he "began to examine and study what I read, and what I was taught in my catechism, that Adam had rebelled, and that all the world must be sent to hell and be punished with all that could be inflicted on them for that sin."²²³ From Alline's perspective the god described to him in his catechism seemed "as bad as...the devil," and although he felt guilty for thinking something so blasphemous he could not help constantly having the thought, since God offered humanity salvation but was only really planning on giving it to such a small number of them.²²⁴ He did not think it was right that the majority of people born into the world would suffer in eternity because of something they inherited from Adam, and this deeply affected Alline's understanding of his self-identity as he grew up. The fall of Adam played a major role in how he understood his relationship to his god.

While living in Paris during and after the French Revolution, Thomas Paine wrote his bestselling book *The Age of Reason*. As he stated in the introduction, Paine had not planned on writing on the subject of religion until he was older but due to the revolutions in America and France he felt compelled personally and by his friends to finally write his thoughts about the place of religion within Enlightenment thought.²²⁵ Although he made it clear several

²²² Rawlyk, *Henry Alline: Selected Writings*, 5; and Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Library of Religious Biography; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991).

²²³ Rawlyk, *Henry Alline: Selected Writings*, 58.

²²⁴ Rawlyk, *Henry Alline: Selected Writings*, 58–59.

²²⁵ He would die fifteen years after the first part of *The Age of Reason* originally appeared in print.

times throughout the book that he believed that every man had the right to believe and worship however they felt best, he spent most of the pages in the book explaining why he did not feel that Christianity, Judaism, or Islam provided accurate portrayals of God or history or that they represented the best forms of ecclesiastical institutions to serve the millions of people within the three world religions.²²⁶ He felt that humanity had made it to a point where they needed to individually and collectively advance forward in time and leave certain aspects of the pre-revolutionary world behind them. The new tools of historical criticism were the main resources he turned to in order to make his arguments.

After commenting extensively on the aspects of Jesus' life as described in the New Testament that to him were based on mythological tropes or motifs rather than reality,²²⁷ Paine affirmed that Jesus was still a real person, "that he was crucified, which was the mode of executions at that day, [and that these] are historical relations strictly within the limits of probability."²²⁸ Even then, most of his audience would not have been supportive of Paine's description of many Christian beliefs as "frauds" or "impositions" on the public. These were the kinds of conclusions that Christian ministers feared most in the historical-critical method. If Paine's readers, which included at the time many Americans, took his book seriously enough then maybe they would also question the reality of the gospels' accounts of Jesus's miracles, resurrection, or other aspects of the Bible that were viewed as central to Christian identity. Maybe they would also conclude with Paine that Moses could not have written the books of Exodus or Numbers,²²⁹ and especially not the book of Deuteronomy, which to

²²⁶ Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason. Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* (Philadelphia: James Carey, 1797),

²²⁷ Paine, *The Age of Reason*, 6–9.

²²⁸ Paine, *The Age of Reason*, 10.

²²⁹ See Paine, *The Age of Reason*, 65: "...it cannot be admitted as a fact in those books, that it is Moses who speaks, without rendering Moses truly ridiculous and absurd—For example, Numb. chap. xii. v. 3 "*Now the man Moses was VERY MEEK above all the men which were on the face of the earth.*" If Moses said this of himself, instead of being the meekest of men, he was one of the most vain and arrogant of coxcombs; and the advocates for those

Paine was clear that “the style and manner of writing marks more evidently than in the former books that Moses is not the writer.”²³⁰ Paine’s approach to understanding the Christian interpretation of the serpent in the Garden of Eden was viewed by clergy as even worse, especially because Paine believed Christianity portrayed Satan as having been deified along with the Trinity.²³¹

Paine’s approach to the biblical text and the history behind it was viewed as antithetical to Christian identity. Even though he was clear about his strict adherence to monotheism throughout his book, he was often referred to as an atheist, sometimes the antichrist,²³² and disliked by many Americans partially, at least, for his public disagreements with George Washington.²³³ For many early American Christians Paine personified—whether in reality or not—all of the qualities that their ministers, pastors, and priests wanted them to avoid. It was well known throughout the early United States and Europe that one did not want to be viewed as similar to Thomas Paine, so many early Americans did what they could to develop their personal identities away from his public identity.

In the wake of the French Revolution and the publication of new theories in political science about the establishment and formation of governments by authors like Thomas Paine, a movement against Jacobinism began that at times became very violent.²³⁴ The Jacobins had originally formed in small clubs in France in 1789 at the beginning of the

books may now take which side they please, for both sides are against them. If Moses was not the author, the books are without authority; and if he was the author, the author is without credit; because to boast of meekness if the reverse of meekness, and is a lie in sentiment.”

²³⁰ Paine, *The Age of Reason*, 65.

²³¹ See Paine, *The Age of Reason*, 11; and John Anketell, *Structures Upon Paine’s Age of Reason* (Dublin: Printed for the Author, 1796), 82.

²³² In one satirical poem Paine is only a part of the body of the antichrist, “the a——hole.” See Poor Robin, *Old Poor Robin, An Almanack, Composed (According to the modern Mode of Composition) on A Variety of Subjects, both Ancient and Modern* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1793), 38.

²³³ Richard Parkinson, *The Experienced Farmer’s Tour in America* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1805), 478.

²³⁴ See Rachel Hope Cleves, *The Reign of Terror in America: Visions of Violence from Anti-Jacobinism to Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Revolution in an attempt to help shift away from monarchy without violence and without allowing the old government to have too much influence on the establishment of the new one.²³⁵ Due to fractures in the various factions and the actions of some members of the organization, Jacobinism soon came to be synonymous with conspiracy, violence, and anarchy to British and American observers in the 1790s.

In his 1817 publication, *A Dictionary of the English Language*,²³⁶ Noah Webster defined Jacobinism as, “unreasonable opposition to government,” and a Jacobin as, “the member of a private club to overturn government in a secret manner or from an unreasonable spirit of discontent.” He extended these definitions to the adjective Jacobinic or Jacobinical as, “pertaining to secret associations against government.”²³⁷ Children growing up in the United States and being taught in common schools would have understood the French Revolution and any “unreasonable” resistance to the government in these terms.

By the late 1790s several volumes were published that purported to expose the history and crimes of the Jacobins and one of the most important of these was a four-volume set by Abbe Barruel.²³⁸ An American book review of Barruel’s work was published soon after the fourth volume was in print. The reviewer described what were, from their perspective, the true Edenic origins of Jacobinism.²³⁹ According to this anonymous author, Jacobinism did not begin in France in 1789 but instead in the War in Heaven depicted in Jude 1:6, Revelation 12, and Isaiah 14. It was common for Christians in the eighteenth and nineteenth

²³⁵ Isser Woloch, *Jacobin Legacy: The Democratic Movement Under the Directory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1–2.

²³⁶ Noah Webster, *A Dictionary of the English Language; Compiled for the Use of Common Schools in the United States* (Hartford: Printed by George Goodwin & Sons, 1817).

²³⁷ Webster, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 179.

²³⁸ Abbe Barruel, *Memoirs, Illustrating the History of Jacobinism, A Translation from the French of the Abbe Barruel* (4 vols.; London: Printed for the Author, 1797–1799).

²³⁹ “Barruel Amended, No. I,” *Commercial Advertiser* (October 21, 1799), 2. The *Commercial Advertiser*, originally titled the *American Minerva*, was founded by Noah Webster in 1793. See Joseph J. Ellis, *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 198.

centuries to weave these verses together to describe a war in heaven, particularly in a milieu that was saturated with Miltonic biblical interpretation.²⁴⁰ These themes are best described in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, since, as the author states, "Milton's *Paradise Lost*, is the finest satire upon Jacobinism, in the English language."²⁴¹ The beginning of Jacobinism is found in the movement that Satan or Lucifer led one-third of the host of heaven away from the righteous government of God. This was the crucial first step, but Satan had to introduce Jacobinism into the newly created world after the War in Heaven.

The second occurrence of Jacobinism the author describes is Satan deceiving Eve, and through Eve Adam, to get them to rebel against God and be expelled from Eden. Satan is "that arch Jacobin," the one that "raised an insurrection in Heaven."²⁴² The serpent was either Satan himself or a pupil or emissary. In either case the motive behind the deception seems clear to the reviewer: "It is true that in many instances, the Jacobin who attacks the possessor of wealth and office, does it because he wishes and expects to obtain the same advantages; but the history of jacobinism furnishes paralel instances of men who plot day and night, to ruin the happiness of others, when they have no idea of ever coming in possession of it themselves. That is they do mischief for the sake of mischief."²⁴³

Satan is also the arch democrat, acting just like a Jacobin when he assumes the role of a friend in approaching Adam and Eve as if he only wanted to help them become free and at liberty. According to the reviewer, it was also jacobinic of Satan to go after Eve, "the person

²⁴⁰ See George F. Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); and K. P. Van Anglen, *The New England Milton: Literary Reception and Cultural Authority in the Early Republic* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993); and Keith W. F. Stavely, *Puritan Legacies: Paradise Lost and the New England Tradition, 1630–1890* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

²⁴¹ "Barruel Amended, No. 1," *Commercial Advertiser* (October 21, 1799), 3.

²⁴² "Barruel Amended, No. 2," *Commercial Advertiser* (October 23, 1799), 3.

²⁴³ "Barruel Amended, No. 2," *Commercial Advertiser* (October 23, 1799), 3. Jacobins were similarly described as servants of Satan in the *Gazette of the United States and Daily Evening Advertiser* (March 23, 1795), 3.

most credulous, most easily deluded by his fascinating speeches.”²⁴⁴ The reviewer believed that working men and women were taken advantage of by Jacobins just the same as Eve fell to Satan easily because of the fact that she was a woman, the weaker sex.²⁴⁵ The lower class people were not being helped by Jacobins in the 1790s but were instead being taken advantage of because of their lack of training and knowledge. The author of the review believed that calls to liberty and democracy were jacobinic, and thus of Satanic origin. Pointing out wealth inequality and class conflict was seen as a smoke screen for the true intentions of the Jacobin, to either profit off of the destruction of the current government or to make everybody miserable, especially the wealthy, like they themselves were.

The methods of Jacobins are also described by the reviewer in numbers two and three of their review. In order to get what they want, Jacobins “rob, steal, plunder, and cut throats.”²⁴⁶ This is seen most clearly in the third example the author brings to the attention of their readers, the story of Cain and Abel. Satan is a “foreign intruder,”²⁴⁷ advising against following the laws and government of Eden.²⁴⁸ Jacobinism worked in Cain to secretly plot revenge against his brother Abel because Abel had the favor of God—the head of the government—and money or belongings that Cain did not have and was therefore jealous of. Cain killed Abel in the field because of his jealousy and misery. The secret murders and conspiracies of Jacobinism, according to the author of the review, have been around since the beginning of the world when Cain killed Abel.

²⁴⁴ “Barruel Amended, No. 2,” *Commercial Advertiser* (October 23, 1799), 3.

²⁴⁵ The reviewer remarked that Satan was likely only able to deceive Eve because she was “absent from her husband, who might defeat his insidious wiles.” “Barruel Amended, No. 2,” *Commercial Advertiser* (October 23, 1799), 3.

²⁴⁶ “Barruel Amended, No. 2,” *Commercial Advertiser* (October 23, 1799), 3.

²⁴⁷ “Barruel Amended, No. 3,” *Commercial Advertiser* (October 25, 1799), 3. This is likely a reference to the Jacobin clubs formed in America in the 1790s, initially from French Jacobins moving to the United States and attempting to extend the movement from France across the Atlantic.

²⁴⁸ It is likely impossible to prove but it is difficult to not associate the idea of a foreign intruder here with Thomas Paine.

The final example provided by the reviewer, Genesis 16, is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it also happens that Sarah was an ancient Jacobin as well. For the reviewer it was obvious that Jacobinism had at its roots all of the worst of modern and ancient politics. Jacobinism, as well as democracy and the calls for liberty, was a blatant deception and its origins were Satanic. Beyond individual identity, particularly if one identified as a Democrat or a Jacobin in the early republic, this depiction of reality had serious implications for national identity. According to the reviewer the new United States had to be as cautious about not only Jacobins but also Democrats, as they believed that the one-third host of heaven should have been about Lucifer's insurrection, or Eve about the serpent's suggestions about eating from the tree, or about fraternizing with Cain. Not only were American lives at stake in the early republic but also the future destiny of the nation could be in ruins if Jacobins or Democrats were allowed to be in power or to work in secret.

Other publications during this period regularly used the term "secret combination(s)" to describe the inner workings of the Jacobin movement.²⁴⁹ This will be crucial historical context in order to understand some of the ways that Joseph Smith interacted with the text of Genesis in his revisionary project of the Bible. Suffice it to say that for the reviewer of Barruel's four-volume work, the vitality of civilization and Christianity was at stake if secret societies like the Jacobins—but especially the Jacobins because all of the secret works and murders from the beginning of the world were truly Jacobin—were allowed to poison it.

As one might guess from her middle name, Hannah Mather Crocker (1752–1829) was the granddaughter of Cotton Mather.²⁵⁰ Due to her family connections, Hannah was able to

²⁴⁹ See "For the Watchman. No. II. *To the Freemen of Vermont*," *The Watchman*, Vol. 3, No. 146 (August 25, 1809), 2; and *Vermont Courier*, Vol. 4, No. 52 (August 22, 1834), 3; and "The Political Monitor—No. II," *Dedham Gazette*, Vol. 1, No. 34 (April 8, 1814), 4.

²⁵⁰ Marion Ann Taylor and Heather E. Weir, *Let Her Speak for Herself: Nineteenth-Century Women Writing on Women in Genesis* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 24.

grow up with the opportunity to learn about the Bible through several forms. Her grandfather, father, and husband were all preachers, and she had access to the large family library. This allowed her to study all the best sources available in the last half of the eighteenth-century and beginning of the nineteenth when she began to publish her own writings on the Bible and its application to late colonial and early republican life. This is significant because she was the first American to publish a book arguing for the rights of women.²⁵¹

In her book, *Observations on the Real Rights of Women*,²⁵² Hannah described the Eden narrative in vivid detail.²⁵³ She argues that since both Adam and Eve were created in the image of God, they received “equal right to think, reason and act.”²⁵⁴ Because both Adam and Eve chose to eat from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil they and their posterity were placed under the “Jewish dispensation,” including the practice of men being able to buy and sell their women, but this was broken with the Christian gospel.²⁵⁵ After Jesus’ life and death on earth women were no longer subject to that dispensation and were restored to their Edenic state of equal rights and freedoms as men. This was a central argument for Hannah’s book, which is a crucial text in the history of gender studies in America. It was also an important argument for Hannah’s audience, who would have been mostly if not all Christians.

One final representative of the later early national period is Sojourner Truth (1797–1883). Known in her earlier life as Isabella Baumfree, Sojourner wrote a personal narrative that was published in 1850 in which she described her path to Christianity and involvement in revival

²⁵¹ Taylor and Weir, *Let Her Speak for Herself*, 24–25.

²⁵² H. Mather Crocker, *Observations on the Real Rights of Women, with their Appropriate Duties, Agreeable to Scripture, Reason and Common Sense* (Boston: Printed for the Author, 1818).

²⁵³ Crocker, *Observations on the Real Rights of Women*, 7–14. See also Taylor and Weir, *Let Her Speak for Herself*, 25–29.

²⁵⁴ Taylor and Weir, *Let Her Speak for Herself*, 27.

²⁵⁵ Taylor and Weir, *Let Her Speak for Herself*, 28.

preaching, abolition, and other aspects of nineteenth-century activism including human rights and feminist equality.²⁵⁶

Sojourner had lived a hard life in slavery, being sold and moved to different plantations several times throughout her life. In reading the beginning chapters of the Bible Sojourner realized that while God could create the world, provide his son Jesus as a sacrifice for all mankind, and do all other things known to man, she could presumably do something he could not. Genesis 3:8 describes God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, presumably “because he was inconvenienced by the heat of the sun.”²⁵⁷ Sojourner realized that “it seems that God cannot do as much as *I* can; for *I* can bear the sun at noon, and work several days and nights succession without being much tired,” in contrast to God’s resting at the end of each day in Genesis 1.²⁵⁸

While the fact that Sojourner’s endurance played an important role in her personal identity throughout her life, the realization that she could do more than her God was short lived. She reminded herself, although her previous thoughts followed the text of Genesis more closely, that God was a spirit and not a person and so he would have experienced work, the heat of the sun, and other aspects of the material world different than she or other humans would. Still, the fact that she did not need to rest every night, walk under plants or trees to get away from the heat, or seek other types of comfort in her work played an important role in how she viewed herself in the world she lived in.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Sojourner Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, A Northern Slave, Emancipated from Bodily Servitude by the State of New York, in 1828* (Boston: Printed for the Author, 1850). See William Kaufman’s introduction to the narrative in Sojourner Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1997), iii–vi.

²⁵⁷ Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, 107.

²⁵⁸ Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, 107.

²⁵⁹ Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, 114.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have analyzed specific individuals, authors of texts either known or unknown to the historical record. These authors spanned two and a half centuries, although the focus has been on American writers in the late colonial and early national period from roughly 1730 to 1830. Some of these authors were influenced by interpretive trends in Europe that began to move away from identifying Moses as the author of the Eden narrative, but for the most part the majority of the authors were not directly affected by that debate. They were influenced indirectly through the writings of Thomas Paine, and they may have seen the strong responses to that scholarship by the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth centuries by scholarly commentaries on the Bible like Adam Clarke's, but it was only a small handful of early Americans like Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards that engaged directly with those issues. It would not be until the mid-nineteenth-century that Americans more broadly would begin to engage with critical European biblical scholarship. Paine, and the descriptions of shadowy heathen and non-Christian scholars in Europe who questioned Mosaic authorship, were viewed more as examples of who not to be for the pious Christian in the early national period. It was essential for the personal identity of many Christians as well as Unitarians and people of other religious and social affiliations to pay attention to Paine's writing to understand where the individual saw themselves as fitting in their world.

From the earliest discoveries of the New World and their depictions to a broad European audience, America was understood as a new Eden. The vast open lands seemed like they retained the innocence left behind in Eden. This depiction would remain well into the nineteenth-century, even though it coexisted for much of that time with other, often more gloomy and depressing, perspectives on the promises the vast geography of North

America held for future immigrants to its shores. Generations of immigrants wanted to find Eden, and many of them were either lucky enough to get a taste of it in the New World or they had to invent Eden within it. As Zachary Hutchins has noted, “Having invented Eden, citizens of New England and the new republic could only pray that they would be more fortunate than their first parents and avoid reenacting the Fall.”²⁶⁰

I have argued that the Eden narrative provided crucial source material for early American conceptions of identity for individual, regional, and national identities. In each case Eden played a significant role in how they perceived the world around them and how they fit within it. For all of the authors I reviewed in this chapter the after effects of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden were felt in their daily lives. They believed that they had personally inherited the weaknesses of Adam and Eve and could at any moment betray God’s trust and lose his favor. Many of them tied these failings to themselves when they reflected back on their younger selves as they wrote their memoirs.

Some of them employed the imagery of the serpent in the garden as an agent working for Satan, and others understood the serpent as Satan himself. Some of them held to the idea that there were metaphorical serpents in everyday life that Satan was dispatching to tempt pious Christians away from their relationship with God. Others found solace in the depictions of Eden, that Adam and Eve were created equally in the image of God, and that the Christian gospel restored much of what was lost when they were expelled. The hope for Eden and the promises they believed God had given them helped to promote their beliefs that in some significant way they would be able to enjoy aspects of Eden while still alive on earth.

²⁶⁰ Hutchins, *Inventing Eden*, 244.

CHAPTER 3

AN ILLITERATE FARM BOY?:
JOSEPH SMITH'S USE OF THE BIBLE FROM 1828–1830

Some scholars of early Mormon history assume that, due to his lack of formal education, Joseph Smith, Jr. was not directly familiar with the Bible through his own reading and engagement with the collection of books prior to and during his work on the *Book of Mormon*. For many others who do accept that Smith had read the Bible and knew it well they agree with the former group that he still could not have utilized the Bible in any meaningful way while working on the text from 1828 to 1829.²⁶¹ Based on the idea that Smith was an illiterate or uneducated farm boy who rarely read, some have argued that it was virtually impossible for Smith to compose his own literature.²⁶² Consequently, such criticism suggests that Smith's texts are best described in terms of the supernatural and defy the methods used by scholars since Baruch Spinoza to understand how other religious and historical texts were written. Methodologically speaking, these are the same assumptions Spinoza, la Peyrère,

²⁶¹ This is not always the norm, especially in more recent work. For example, among others, see Nicholas J. Frederick, *The Bible, Mormon Scripture, and the Rhetoric of Allusivity* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press Mormon Studies Series; Lanham: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2016); and Frederick, "Line Within Line: An Intertextual Analysis of Mormon Scripture and the Prologue of the Gospel of John" (PhD Dissertation; Claremont Graduate University, 2013). Contrast these two works with Frederick's more cautious essay, "Evaluating the Interaction between the New Testament and the Book of Mormon: A Proposed Methodology," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 24 (2015): 1–30.

²⁶² See John L. Sorenson, *Mormon's Codex: An Ancient American Book* (Salt Lake City: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship and Deseret Book Company, 2013); and Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Provo: Deseret Book Company and Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985); Terryl L. Givens, *By The Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 157–159. Similarly, a recent study by three scholars at Stanford University on *Book of Mormon* authorship excluded any of Smith's writings in comparison with the text of the *Book of Mormon*. Their reasoning was not simply that Smith was uneducated, but that from their perspective it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine what Smith actually composed because he hardly ever wrote anything himself. He utilized scribes, so they assume that for the purposes of an authorship study the dataset is tainted because any of the scribes could have altered or added their own language to the texts. See Matthew L. Jockers, Daniela M. Witten, and Craig S. Criddle, "Reassessing authorship of the *Book of Mormon* using delta and nearest shrunken centroid classification," *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, Vol. 23, Issue 4 (Dec. 2008): 465–491.

Hobbes, Geddes, Eichhorn, and de Wette responded to during their respective careers engaging with the Bible described in chapter one.

These assumptions, relied on in numerous previous studies on Mormon religious literature, are problematic for similar reasons. As more research is published on early Mormonism, and on the history of early national America, more and more scholars are moving away from the idea that Smith was too uneducated to play a meaningful role in the production of the texts he dictated. Scholars like Philip Barlow,²⁶³ Jared Hickman,²⁶⁴ Seth Perry,²⁶⁵ Roberto A. Valdeón,²⁶⁶ and others have started to recognize that Smith was, like his contemporaries, intimately familiar with the Bible and able to utilize that knowledge in his storytelling, giving sermons, and creation of new sacred texts. Smith was exposed to biblical phraseology at religious revivals, through standard education and homeschooling typical of early nineteenth century America, during family devotionals, and by reading the Bible directly himself. He would incorporate his knowledge of the Bible and acquisition of King James English in his own religious compositions, primarily beginning in the last two years of the 1820s.

I intend to add to the continuing conversation about Smith's religion-making abilities by looking closely at the sources that went into writing these texts. A reevaluation of Smith's knowledge of the Bible during the period 1828–1830 will benefit greatly from detailed analyses of Smith's dictated revelations because these texts show the breadth and depth of

²⁶³ Philip L. Barlow, "Before Mormonism: Joseph Smith's Use of the Bible, 1820–1829," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Winter 1989): 739–771. A revised version of this essay was also published in Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (Updated Edition; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 10–45.

²⁶⁴ Jared Hickman, "The Book of Mormon as Amerindian Apocalypse," *American Literature* (2014), 86 (3): 429–461.

²⁶⁵ See Seth Perry, "The Many Bibles of Joseph Smith: Textual, Prophetic, and Scholarly Authority in Early-National Bible Culture," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (Sept. 2016): 750–775; Seth Perry, *Bible Culture & Authority in the Early United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

²⁶⁶ Roberto A. Valdeón, "Joseph Smith's Use of Pseudo-, Intralingual and Intersemiotic Translation in the Creation of the Mormon Canon: *The Book of Mormon*, the *Bible*, and the *Book of Abraham*," *Across Languages and Cultures* 15 (2): 219–241.

Smith's engagement with and appropriation of specific verses or sections of the King James Bible. This body of literature represents a wealth of comparative data that has gone unnoticed for its potential to explain Smith's compositional abilities.

In this paper I apply historical-critical methods from the fields of biblical and literary studies—including text- and source-criticism, and a blend of inner-biblical exegesis and intertextual studies—to describe the depth of Smith's familiarity with the Bible during the years 1828–1830. I explored in detail these methods in my study, “Appropriation and Adaptation of J Material in the Book of Mormon,” and created a working methodology there that I will continue to use here.²⁶⁷ This kind of detailed analysis of the historical textual sources and engagement with the implications of these methods and the data for understanding composition has been very rarely done previously in Mormon Studies.²⁶⁸ Specifically, I will examine the influence of King James Bible language on the composition of the early revelations Smith dictated that are now designated *Doctrine and Covenants* sections 3–12 and 14–23, as well as a handful of other texts he produced during the same period.

Smith's knowledge of the Bible directly affected not only his daily ministry within early Mormonism, it also informed the composition of the *Book of Mormon*,²⁶⁹ his revision of the Bible,²⁷⁰ and the revelations he received that were published later in the *Book of Commandments*

²⁶⁷ Colby Townsend, “Appropriation and Adaptation of J Material in the Book of Mormon” (Undergraduate Honors Thesis; Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2016), 7–35.

²⁶⁸ For examples of research that provide this kind of analysis of early Mormon texts see the work of David P. Wright in the following note.

²⁶⁹ See David P. Wright, ““In Plain Terms that We May Understand”: Joseph Smith's Transformation of Hebrews in Alma 12–13,” in Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 165–229; and Wright, “Isaiah in the Book of Mormon: Or Joseph Smith in Isaiah,” in Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe, eds., *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 157–234. I also dealt with this question in my undergraduate honors thesis. See Colby Townsend, “Appropriation and Adaptation of J Material in the Book of Mormon.”

²⁷⁰ Thomas A. Wayment, “Intertextuality and the Purpose of Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible,” in Mark Ashurst-McGee, Robin Scott Jesnsen, Sharalyn D. Howcroft, eds., *Foundational Texts of Mormonism: Examining Major Early Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 74–100.

(1833) and the *Doctrine and Covenants* (1835).²⁷¹ More knowledge about the extent of Smith's familiarity with the Bible during 1828–1830 can illuminate one of the most important aspects of Mormon beginnings: the production of its scriptural texts. Similar to the work of the Renaissance humanists like Valla and Erasmus, this study takes seriously the fact that language use changes over time, and that the words used in a text can be studied philologically in order to not only better understand their meaning but also to gather information about when they were written and by whom. This can help shift academic work on early Mormonism toward using reliable methods of collecting data and help to place Mormon scripture within the established field of the reception history of the Bible.²⁷²

In relation to the problem of Smith's intellectual abilities Hugh Nibley, at the time a professor at Brigham Young University, occasionally challenged his students to author new scriptural texts.²⁷³ They would have only that semester to create their book and needed to choose an ancient civilization at random as the basis of the fictional story. Nibley assumed that, since they had so much education, it should be much easier for them to accomplish the task than for an uneducated farm boy like Joseph Smith.²⁷⁴ As interesting as this challenge was, its core argument fails when one considers that Smith was already telling stories about the *Book of Mormon* characters to his family as a teenager,²⁷⁵ as well as the fact that there had

²⁷¹ See Ellis T. Rasmussen, "Textual Parallels to the Doctrine and Covenants and Book of Commandments as found in the Bible" (Unpublished Master's Thesis; Provo: Brigham Young University, 1951); and Lois Jean Smutz, "Textual Parallels to the Doctrine and Covenants (Sections 65 to 133) as Found in the Bible" (Unpublished Master's Thesis; Provo: Brigham Young University, 1971).

²⁷² A recent example of a high quality essay placing Mormonism within the reception history of the Bible is Christopher James Blythe, "The Prophetess of Endor: Reception of 1 Samuel 28 in Nineteenth Century Mormon History," *Journal of the Bible and its Reception*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2017): 43–70.

²⁷³ Hugh Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon* (The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, Vol. 8; Provo: Deseret Book Company and the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1989), 221–222.

²⁷⁴ Nibley, *The Prophetic Book of Mormon*, 221.

²⁷⁵ Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 344–345. The manuscripts give some confusion about Smith's exact age, with Lucy's earliest manuscript originally having "17" and then altered to show "16." Anderson notes that the Coray edition has "nineteen," and that the writers of holograph corrections on the Coray fair copy have "eighteen." See footnote 46 in Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 344.

already been generations of speculation in the United States and Europe about the ancient inhabitants of the Americas in ways similar to what is found in the *Book of Mormon*.²⁷⁶ Smith's subject was not just a random culture or geographical location but an integral part of daily life in the region in which he grew up. He heard adults and others close to him speculate about who the ancient race of mound builders might have been, as well as explanations of the origins of the Native Americans. Smith also had a full year in between his work on the lost manuscript of the *Book of Mormon* in 1828 to when he began working on the extant text of the *Book of Mormon* in 1829, beginning with Mosiah.²⁷⁷ He clearly would have had more than a semester to think about the subject matter for what would become the *Book of Mormon*.

Whatever one's views are on the origin of the *Book of Mormon*, the analogy Nibley created *ad hoc* is simplistic and does not deal with the reality of Smith's historical setting. Smith was beginning to produce a large corpus of literature in the year leading up to and during his work on the extant *Book of Mormon*, continuing that process for the rest of his life. This part of Smith's literary production, what became known as sections of the Mormon *Doctrine and Covenants*, offers numerous examples of Smith's compositional abilities. When close attention is paid to how Smith drew upon the King James Bible in composing these revelations, new information can be gleaned about his authorial methods when the reader is able to see how prior authoritative texts, like Matthew 4 and John 1 in Moses 1 for example, provided him the structure, language, and ideas that he utilized to create new religious literature.

²⁷⁶ See Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986). The origins of the Native Americans have been a popular subject since the sixteenth century. See Gordon M. Sayre, "Prehistoric Diasporas: Colonial Theories of the Origins of Native American Peoples," in Philip D. Beidler and Gary Taylor, eds., *Writing Race Across the Atlantic World: Medieval to Modern* (Signs of Race; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 51–75; and Eran Shalev, *American Zion: The Old Testament as a Political Text from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 118–150; and Richard H. Popkin, "The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Indian Theory," in Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulán, and Richard H. Popkin, eds., *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 63–82.

²⁷⁷ Brent Lee Metcalfe, "The Priority of Mosiah: A Prelude to Book of Mormon Exegesis," in Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 395–444.

This chapter will provide close readings of these revelations in order to describe what is hopefully a much clearer and more accurate picture of what Smith knew about the Bible prior to, during, and just after the period of the production of the *Book of Mormon*. Using literary, historical, and source-critical methods, this chapter will highlight the sources that Smith used to compose his revelations and draw out some of the biblical verses that Smith was most comfortable utilizing during this process. I approach these documents by using these methods in an attempt to understand how they were created and how Smith's religio-historical context helped to shape his own unique authorial voice.

The Bible, Literacy, and Early American Education

Three hundred years prior to the life of Joseph Smith William Tyndale stated that he (Tyndale) would, “cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than [the Pope] did.”²⁷⁸ Basing the notion on this statement it is often assumed by scholars, college students, and the general public that the populace in Europe and America up to and including the nineteenth century was ignorant of the Bible, unaware of its contents, and therefore unable to appropriate its language or stories into their everyday speech and interactions. James Morey's *Book and Verse* has shown that this assumption is inaccurate as a historical depiction of the centuries leading up to Tyndale's era.²⁷⁹ Likewise, William Gilmore's *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life* argues that in the region and at the time Smith was growing up, reading became essential to the lives of those residing in New England and its surrounding areas during the winter months in order to stay sane. In general, people turned

²⁷⁸ Rev. Ingram Cobbin, ed., *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (London: Knight and Son, 1854), 482.

²⁷⁹ James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Illinois Medieval Studies; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). On the first page of the introduction Morey responds to the assumption that the Bible was largely unknown in the late medieval period.

to daily reading, most often from the Bible, because they and their families were snowed in to their homes. They had little else to do and nowhere to go.²⁸⁰

Studies that have examined literacy rates in America during the colonial and early national periods have highlighted the difficulty scholars have had of obtaining the exact percentage of literacy for the general populace,²⁸¹ agreeing on a specific set of criteria or methods that can best help historians to explore the question in a unified manner, or to define what exactly “literacy” means.²⁸² Despite issues of nuance in the definition of terms or methods, most scholars of early British colonial and United States history still conclude that by the early nineteenth century most societies in New England and the northeastern states boasted literacy rates as high as 80–90%.²⁸³ This was due in large part to the growth of Common and Sunday schools throughout New England and the region from the last quarter of the eighteenth century onward.²⁸⁴

The most prevalent teaching methods used in Common and Sunday schools from the late eighteenth century until at least the 1830s was to have students first learn to read and then memorize hundreds, and eventually thousands, of lines from a variety of different

²⁸⁰ William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

²⁸¹ See Kenneth A. Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England: An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1974), 4; and Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (Expanded Edition; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 122–130; and David Hall, “The World of Print and Collective Mentality in Seventeenth-Century New England,” in John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 166–180; and Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982), 19–44; and Hester Blum, *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 28–30.

²⁸² Davidson, *Revolution and the Word*, 124–125.

²⁸³ See Blum, *The View from the Masthead*, 29; and Davidson, *Revolution and the Word*, 123; and Julie Hedgepeth Williams, *The Significance of the Printed Word in Early America: Colonists’ Thoughts on the Role of the Press* (Contributions to the Study of Mass Media and Communications, Num. 55; Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 8–9.

²⁸⁴ See Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); and Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

sources both ancient and modern.²⁸⁵ For example, in the town of Hingham, Massachusetts an all female Sunday school was established in April of 1818. During a six-month period in 1819 eighty-six girls altogether were enrolled in the school, and, although classes were never larger than sixty-five attendees at one time, collectively memorized “13,146 verses of Scripture, and, 1,178 answers to Cummings’s questions.”²⁸⁶ In addition, the class also memorized seven hundred and two hymns, and three of the class’s “scholars” received honorable mentions: a seven-year-old memorized 225 verses; a ten-year-old memorized 495 verses, as well as her full catechism and many hymns; and a twelve-year-old memorized 685 verses as well as answering 370 of Cummings’s questions.

The high amount of verses that these children memorized may seem like an enormous feat to readers situated in the twenty-first century, but these numbers were fairly normal and in some cases relatively low in the early nineteenth century. For example, in the Brick Church in Rochester, New York, the closest town to Smith’s Palmyra, the young scholars there were memorizing what Paul Johnson has called a “numbing” amount of verses of the Bible.²⁸⁷ In 1823 Jane Wilson, at thirteen years old, won a prize for having 1,650 verses memorized. The next in line, Sally Ann Bond, at age eleven, had 1,211 verses, Fanny at age

²⁸⁵ Boylan, *Sunday School*, 40.

²⁸⁶ *Third Annual Report of the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor; Presented at their Anniversary, Nov. 8th, 1819* (Boston: Printed by U. Crocker, 1819), 14. During the year prior, from May 20 to October 20, 1818, a Sunday School class in Framingham, Massachusetts “committed to memory 1676 Doctrinal Catechism, 1646 Historical, 4166 Assembly’s, 242 Wilber’s Catechism, and 92 Baldwin’s, 8409 Cummings’ Questions, 5934 verses in Scripture, 13242 verses in Hymns, amounting in all to 35,457.” The school had 135 “scholars” involved, averaging seventy people in the classroom each week. “One girl recited 1048 verses in Scripture, 142 answers in Wilber’s Catechism, and 558 verses in Hymns.” See “Framingham Sabbath School,” *The Christian Herald*, Vol. 5, No. 20 (Jan. 16, 1819): 624.

²⁸⁷ Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper’s Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (25th Anniversary Edition; New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 111.

ten had 1,091, and the lowest number of verses recorded in a long list of the female participants was Henrieta Ward, who at age seven had 103 verses memorized.²⁸⁸

If it is inaccurate to state that during the late medieval period the general populace of Europe was ignorant of the Bible it is even more mistaken to assume that children in general during the first few decades of the nineteenth century were not familiar with the text of the Bible. Smith grew up at a time and in a region where the Bible was at the heart of education, social and religious experience, and intellectual thought at all levels. People learned to read so that they could encounter the text of the Bible daily themselves. Smith himself as a young man owned a pocket Bible,²⁸⁹ and, just like all other children in the early United States, would have memorized numerous verses of the Bible during the beginning stages of his education.

Lavina Fielding Anderson has convincingly shown that Smith family discourse was biblically infused to its core, so that as Joseph Smith, Jr. and his siblings grew they were intimately familiar with the language of the Authorized Version.²⁹⁰ This upbringing would assist Smith to be prepared to learn as he entered common school at age four in Royalton, Vermont.²⁹¹ As he sporadically attended school through his youth and teenage years, he would become more familiar with the Bible, the most important textbook in early American education. Utilizing the extant records as much as possible, William Davis has recently

²⁸⁸ G.B.F. Hallock and Maude Motley, eds., *A Living Church: The First Hundred Years of the Brick Church in Rochester* (Rochester: Henry Conolly Company, 1925), 125. The boys' records for this period had been destroyed prior to Hallock's and Motley's publication.

²⁸⁹ *A History of the Bible* (Cooperstown: H. & E. Phinney, 1825). This pocket Bible is a shortened story of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation and included many pictures, but could fit in the palm of the hand. Smith's copy is in the private collection of Reid N. Moon. The author viewed the Bible on December 4, 2018.

²⁹⁰ Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Mother Tongue: KJV Language in Smith Family Discourse," presented at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association in Springfield, Illinois, May 22, 2009. I thank Lavina Anderson for sharing a copy of this paper with me.

²⁹¹ Dennis A. Wright and Geoffrey A. Wright, "The New England Common School Experience of Joseph Smith, Jr., 1810-1816," in Donald Q. Cannon, Arnold K. Garr, and Bruce A. Van Orden, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The New England States* (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2004), 237.

shown that Smith would attend “approximately seven full school years” before he entered adulthood.²⁹² He would also engage in a local debate club as a teenager, with one of his interlocutors later remembering that Smith was a good sparring partner and often kept the group in line.²⁹³

All of this experience helped to prepare Smith to dictate the revelations he would later publish as scripture, and, similar to her comments about Smith’s non-involvement in polygamy, suggests that scholars should use caution when quoting Emma Smith Bidamon’s problematic reminiscence that Smith could not write or dictate a well-worded letter.²⁹⁴ We have a little over twenty such documents from the period Emma Smith Bidamon describes, and, as my analysis will show, while early drafts needed some editing and revising, during the period from 1828–1830 Smith was a capable author and dictator of letters and religious documents that were complex literary documents.

I will examine each of the documents Smith produced during this period in detail, including sections 3–12 and 14–23 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, a letter from Smith to Cowdery, and an uncanonized revelation about obtaining the copyright of the *Book of Mormon* in Canada. For the documents I have utilized the earliest extant manuscript or printed versions available in the body of this paper unless otherwise noted. I rely on the transcripts of all of these in the first volume of the Documents series of the *Joseph Smith Papers Project*. I will provide brief historical context for each document and then explore the ways Smith incorporated biblical phrases, imagery, and motifs in each composition.

²⁹² William Davis, “Reassessing Joseph Smith Jr.’s Formal Education,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 49, Num. 4 (Winter 2016): 46. Davis’s statement that Smith attended “seven full school years” should not be taken to imply that Smith had the equivalent to a twenty-first-century seventh grade education. Rather, Smith attended roughly seven full school years in his childhood and teen years according to the curriculum and standards of the early nineteenth-century.

²⁹³ Dan Vogel, ed., “Orsamus Turner Account, 1851,” *Early Mormon Documents, Volume III* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), 49–50.

²⁹⁴ Joseph Smith, III, “Last Testament of Sister Emma,” *The Saints’ Herald* 26 (October, 1879): 289–290.

Revelation, July 1828 [Doctrine and Covenants 3]²⁹⁵

The eventual financier of the publication of the *Book of Mormon*, Martin Harris worked with Smith from mid-April to mid-June 1828 on the lost manuscript of the Book of Lehi,²⁹⁶ commonly known as the lost 116 pages. After completing this part of the manuscript Harris wished to pacify his wife and other family members who were uncomfortable with Harris's financial involvement in Smith's work. In the process, the manuscript was stolen from Harris and never resurfaced. Smith traveled from his home in Harmony, Pennsylvania to Harris's in Palmyra, New York in July 1828, and was devastated to find out that Harris had lost the manuscript. Shortly after arriving home that same month Smith produced the revelation now titled section 3 of the LDS *Doctrine and Covenants*. In this context, the revelation was meant as a rebuke of Smith for not listening to God's voice earlier on when Smith said God had told him not to give the manuscript to Harris.

The revelation itself, although comparatively short, contains several biblical phrases, all embedded in Smith's new composition and evincing a surprising amount of biblical language. Beginning in verse two a phrase from Isa. 59:8 is echoed to describe how God does not walk in "crooked paths," and, borrowing language found in several biblical verses,²⁹⁷ neither does he "turn to the right hand nor to the left." Throughout the rest of the revelation, Prov. 1:25 is echoed three times to describe those who "set at naught the councils of God," (*Doctrine and Covenants* 3:4, 7, 13), the concept that "God is merciful" is borrowed from several biblical

²⁹⁵ Michael Hubbard MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831* (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2013), 6-9. The editors of this volume provide transcripts of the earliest extant versions of the revelations. As the editors note for this document the earliest manuscript dates to ca. March 1831 and is found in Revelation Book 1.

²⁹⁶ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 6.

²⁹⁷ The phrase "turn to/unto the right hand nor/or to the left" appears 11 times in the KJV, but in a sense closest to that here it appears in Deut. 2:27; 5:32; 17:20; Josh. 1:7; 23:6; 2 Sam. 14:19; Prov. 4:27; and Isa. 30:21.

verses,²⁹⁸ the expression “the knowledge of a savior” in 2 Pet. 2:20 is echoed in *Doctrine and Covenants* 3:16, and the phrasing “the iniquities of their fathers” in 3:18 is borrowed from several other biblical verses.²⁹⁹ All of this biblical language is meant to center the attention of the sinner (Smith) and the “wicked man” (Harris) on the good qualities of God in contradistinction to their own actions. The loss of the manuscript, coupled with the strong rebuke, would hold off the advancement of their work for a full year.

Revelation, February 1829 [Doctrine and Covenants 4]³⁰⁰

Smith received a revelation in February 1829 for his father, Joseph Smith, Sr., now designated section 4 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*. The revelation was dictated just before Smith began working in earnest on the extant *Book of Mormon*, which provided the focus of this revelation and nudged Smith, Sr. to engage in the work of spreading the story about Smith’s discovery of the plates and the forthcoming publication of the *Book of Mormon*.

Similar to several other early revelations Smith dictated, verse 1 echoes language found in Isa. 29:14 to describe the *Book of Mormon* as a “marvelous work.” The second verse informally quotes either Mark 12:30 or Luke 10:27 in its use of the phrase “serve [God] with all your heart ~~mind~~ might mind & strength,” which has been subconsciously altered from its biblical precedent to conform to early nineteenth century usage.³⁰¹ Smith informally quoted John 4:35 in verse 4, “behold the field is white already to harvest,” juxtaposing that language with an informal quotation of Rev. 14:16, 19, “& lo he that thursteth [sic] in his sickle.”

²⁹⁸ Cf. Deut. 4:31; 2 Chron. 30:9; Ps. 116:5; and Joel 2:13.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Lev. 26:39; Neh. 9:2; Isa. 65:7; and Jer. 11:10.

³⁰⁰ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 9-13. The earliest extant copy of this document dates from ca. December 1830 to Spring 1831.

³⁰¹ The *Gospel Advocate* (Buffalo, NY) published a piece on Jan. 5, 1827 from the *Religious Inquirer* that started by quoting Mark 12:30 and then paraphrasing that verse this way: “...that we should *Love him with all the heart, might, mind, and strength*” (Emphasis in original). The lists in both Mark and Luke do not include might.

Next he echoed 1 Cor. 13:13 with “faith, hope, charity,” at the beginning of verse 5, and then informally quoted 2 Pet. 1:5–7. In the earliest extant copy of this revelation, in Edward Partridge’s hand, it is apparent that Smith originally left out the full quotation of 2 Pet. 1:5–7. The language was familiar enough to himself and his scribes that it was only necessary to include, “remember temperance patience humility diligence &C.”³⁰² The revelation was printed this way in the 1833 *Book of Commandments*, and then updated in the 1835 *Doctrine and Covenants* to include the full list of virtues from the source text.

This is an essential piece of textual evidence to understand that Smith is the active agent producing these revelations and supplying the biblical language. He acted by making the choice in the earliest dictation and manuscript to exclude the quotation of 2 Pet. 1:5–7 until he could later include a more complete quotation of the specific source-text he wanted to use. This is significant because many scholars have argued previously that Smith was a passive vessel and that the revelations and translations he dictated do not indicate his awareness of or engagement with the Bible, and especially do not represent his own compositional abilities. The evidence from the earliest manuscripts of *Doctrine and Covenants* 4 shows that Smith was actively engaged in providing biblical language in his dictated compositions.

To finish off the revelation, Smith ended with an almost complete quotation of Matt. 7:7, “Ask & ye shall receive knock & it shall be opened unto you.” Smith utilized these biblical sources in his composition to instill positivity and determination in his small group, particularly his father, about the coming proselytizing work they would do to share the *Book of Mormon* and its message with others outside their fledgling faith.

³⁰² MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 13.

Revelation, March 1829 [Doctrine and Covenants 5]³⁰³

A year had passed since Harris had lost the manuscript of the *Book of Mormon*, and considering how he was going to be involved in the book's publication, although now at more of a distance and primarily through financial support, Harris wanted to see the plates for himself. Harris's wife, family, and neighbors feared that a few local money diggers were attempting to scam him out of all his wealth. After Smith received this revelation Harris was convinced that Smith was telling the truth, even though he was not able to see the plates at that time like he requested.

Excluding a Johannine imperative at the beginning of the section,³⁰⁴ Smith did not utilize biblical language in this revelation until verse 5. He begins by echoing language found in Zeph. 2:5, "woe shall come unto the Inhabitents of the Earth," and then echoes John 5:47 and 5:20.³⁰⁵ In verse 12 Smith echoes the phrase "Know of A surety" found only in Gen. 15:13 and Acts 12:11. The traditional call for "three Witnesses" to testify of a truth, found several times in the King James Bible, is likewise echoed in verse 15.³⁰⁶ Toward the end of verse 16 the divine voice states that he will visit those who believe in his word and "they shall be Born of me," echoing an idea found only in 1 John.³⁰⁷ In verse 18 the phrase "harden not their hearts" echoes Heb. 3:8, 15, and 4:7, found also in the earliest extant manuscript of *Doctrine and Covenants* 5 only a few lines later in a part of the revelation that was removed in later printed editions of verse 19. The concept of being "deliver[ed]" "up unto Satan," from 1 Cor. 5:5, is also found in the material that was later removed from the

³⁰³ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 13-19. The earliest extant copy of this revelation date to ca. April 1829 and is in Oliver Cowdery's handwriting.

³⁰⁴ John 4:35: "Behold I say unto you..."

³⁰⁵ *Doctrine and Covenants* 5:7: "Behold if they will not believe my words they would not believe my servants if it were possible he could show them all things."

³⁰⁶ See Deut. 17:6; 19:15; Matt. 18:16; and 2 Cor. 13:1.

³⁰⁷ See 1 John 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 4, and 18.

revelation, as well as an allusion to the “iniquities of Sodom and Gomorrah” from Genesis 18–19.

In a curious turn Smith alludes to the Sword of Damocles in that excluded part of *Doctrine and Covenants* 5:19 with the following line: “Behold the Sward of Justice doth hang above their heads.”³⁰⁸ In 5:20 the voice of Jesus alludes to his telling the people of Jerusalem about their impending destruction in Matt. 24:1–2 and Luke 21:20–24. Later in this section Eph. 4:4 is echoed twice, once each in verses 32 and 33 with the idea that enemies “lie” or are “lieing in wait” to destroy Smith. Deut. 6:2 is informally quoted in verse 33 with the line, “that thy Days may be prolonged I have given unto you these Commandments.” To finish the revelation Smith alludes in verse 35 to 1 Thess. 4:17, the text most popular in Protestant Christianity for the idea of the Rapture, or, in Smith’s words, that future time when disciples would be, “lifted up at the last Day.”

The biblical verses Smith used throughout this revelation portray the need for the world to be open to new revelations from God and emphasize the necessity for the world to listen to Smith as a new mouthpiece for God. Harris had desired to see the plates Smith had said to be taking his translation of the *Book of Mormon* from, but Smith stated that no one else was allowed to see them. It makes sense given this context that all of the language borrowed from the Bible emphasizes loyalty, obedience, and listening to the will of God as given by Smith rather than allowing Harris to see the plates. It is also significant that Smith utilized a non-biblical text, the Sword of Damocles, in this revelation. As will be noted several times

³⁰⁸ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Book 5:61–62, in Paul MacKendrick and Herbert M. Howe, *Classics in Translation, Volume II: Latin Literature* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 174.

throughout this chapter, Smith alluded to this text multiple times in the texts he wrote from 1828–1830 and in the years after.³⁰⁹

Revelation, April 1829-A [Doctrine and Covenants 6]³¹⁰

Smith dictated this revelation for Oliver Cowdery as they began to work together, Smith dictating the *Book of Mormon* and occasional revelations and Cowdery acting as scribe. It would set the tone for several revelations that followed over the next few years. Cowdery had briefly lived with Smith’s parents at their home just before coming to work with Smith on the *Book of Mormon*. Cowdery claimed to have seen God and the plates in a vision, and had, previous to meeting Smith, asked God for confirmation about the truthfulness of Smith’s work. This revelation was in part meant to provide evidence of the work’s credibility for Cowdery.

The section is characterized by its heavy dependence on biblical phrases and concepts focusing on the word and kingdom of God, missionary work, and having correct and upright virtues. Out of thirty-seven verses there are at least twenty-eight instances where a clear biblical precedent is being quoted, alluded to, or echoed by Smith. In opening, Smith utilized one of the verses he most often cited in his texts to describe the young Mormon movement, Isa. 29:14, to argue that the work Smith was doing with the *Book of Mormon* was a “great” and “marvelous work.” In verse two the narrative voice of God informally quotes Heb. 4:12 to

³⁰⁹ The earliest recorded example of Smith alluding to the Sword of Damocles is in a letter Smith wrote in 1828 to his grandfather Asael and uncles Jesse, Asahel, and Silas after his father, Joseph Smith, Sr., had sent a letter to them about Smith, Jr.’s visions. The uncles “ridiculed Joseph’s visions,” according to George A. Smith almost thirty years later, but Smith did not give up. He sent a letter himself “Soon after...in which he declared, that the sword of vengeance ^{of the} ~~from~~ the Almighty hung over this generation, & that except they repented, & obeyed the Gospel, and turned from their wicked ways, humbling themselves before the Lord, it would fall upon the wicked, & sweep them from the earth ^{as} with the besom of destruction.” See George A. Smith, History of George A. Smith, circa 1857–1875, page 2, George A. Smith papers, 1834–1877, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. This part of the history was written in 1857. See also Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Reprint; Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999 [1977]), 83–84.

³¹⁰ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 34-37. The earliest extant manuscript for this revelation dates to ca. March 1831.

describe the strength behind the word of God, and then echoes Jer. 18:18 to counsel the importance of listening to God's word.

This is noteworthy since these revelations were themselves believed by Cowdery and others at the time to be dictated by God to Smith. By setting these verses in the first person the dictated revelation becomes words from God's mouth himself, although the revelation still fluctuates between first and third person throughout. Verse 3 then informally quotes John 4:35, blending its message that the "field" is ready to be harvested with the language of Rev. 14:16, 19 that whoever is interested can reap with their sickle. Those who do this will "treasure up" the blessings from their actions, echoing language from Matt. 6:20. The same phrase from Revelation is again used and blended with language found in Heb. 5:4, 10 to state that those who engage in proselytizing efforts are "called of God." Verse 5 then borrows language from Matthew, Luke, and John to remind Cowdery that he can ask and receive,³¹¹ and if he knocks it would be opened to him.³¹² Verse 7 echoes 1 Cor. 4:1 for "the mysteries of God," and verse 11 echoes language found in Rev. 15:1, 3 to describe the idea that the mysteries are "great and marvelous."

In verse 15 the Johannine concept of "the Spirit of truth" is invoked to describe how Cowdery could receive answers from God, and in verse 16 Smith echoes Heb. 4:12 to describe how God knows the thoughts and intents of Cowdery's heart. Verse 19 informally quotes Titus 2:2 and then adds "hope" to faith and charity, since the three are found together in 1 Cor. 13:13.³¹³ Matt. 6:20 is again echoed, now in verse 20, to invite Cowdery to appreciate and "treasure up" the revelation he is receiving through Smith.

³¹¹ See Matt. 21:22; John 16:24.

³¹² See Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9.

³¹³ These virtues, and sometimes more, were commonly cited together in the early nineteenth century. See Samuel Walker, *Fifty-Two Sermons on the Baptismal Covenant, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and Important Subjects of Practical Religion; Being One for Each Sunday in the Year, in Two Volumes, Vol. II.* (New Edition; London: Printed by Mathews and Leigh, in the Strand, 1810), 86.

Verse 21 is almost wholly an allusion to and quotation of John 1:5, 11 to describe how Jesus was rejected in Judea and how he is the light that shines in darkness, even though the darkness does not comprehend the light. In verse 27, Smith informally quotes Matt. 6:20 as an imperative to Cowdery to “lay up treasures for yourself in heaven.” This is the last time Matt. 6:20 is used in the revelation. Then, in verse 28, thirteen straight words are informally quoted from 2 Cor. 13:1 in order to suggest that Cowdery and Smith play the role of “two or three witnesses” who establish the word of God. After describing what might happen if people reject God’s words (i.e. the words Smith is dictating) in verses 29–31, the voice of Jesus formally quotes himself in verse 32 as having said in Matt. 18:19–20 that, “where two or three are gathered together in my name, as touching one thing...will I be there in the midst of them.”

In the last four verses of the revelation Smith borrows heavily from a handful of biblical texts to emphasize that he and Cowdery have Jesus’s support and that Jesus suffered before them. Verse 34 briefly expands the audience of the revelation by echoing the phrase in Luke 12:32, “fear not little flock,” and by alluding to Jesus’s statement in Matt. 16:18 that hell would fight against his church, but that the church is his “Rock” and hell cannot prevail against it. Like the woman taken in adultery in John 8:11, Cowdery is commanded in an echo of that verse to “go your ways and sin no more.” Jesus then reminds Cowdery of the piercing he received in his side and the prints of the nails in his hands and feet, allusions to John 19:34 and 20:25.

To this point, from July 1828 to April 1829, the texts that Smith dictated indicate that he was well aware of major verses of the King James Bible that he could use to support arguments about proselytizing, repentance, faith and obedience to God, and a careful attention to and respect for the word of God. All of these work thematically together as the

dictated revelations become new words from God’s mouth in the first and third person. Smith is able to utilize the language of the Bible not only in uniquely sermonic ways, admonishing his audiences to follow correct practices and to take the best steps forward in the coming months and years, but also in developing a new prophetic voice for God. This voice is dependent on the Bible and the performance culture of early national American history.³¹⁴ As the use of these new revelations by those around Smith highlight, and as Seth Perry has recently shown, “Cowdery’s use of the revelation [in response to Smith’s brother Hyrum in June, 1829] signaled his acceptance of the role in which Smith had cast himself: that of a prophet capable of issuing scripture.”³¹⁵ Smith’s work up to April and June 1829 was only the beginning.

Revelation, April 1829-B [Doctrine and Covenants 8]³¹⁶

After Smith and Cowdery began working on the dictation of the *Book of Mormon*, Smith received this revelation promising certain gifts to Cowdery. Cowdery had been “desirous” to know if he could have the gift to translate bestowed on him so that he could be like Smith and have the gift. He would receive the gift of translation and, as the revelation affirmed, he already had the “gift of working with the sprout.”³¹⁷ Cowdery was supposed to use these gifts to help with the production of the *Book of Mormon*, and to bolster his faith in the work he and Smith were engaging in.

³¹⁴ Perry, *Bible Culture and Authority in the Early United States*; and Sandra M. Gustafson, *Eloquence Is Power: Oratory & Performance in Early America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2000); and Gustafson, *Imagining Deliberative Democracy in the Early American Republic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011); and Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language, & the Culture of Performance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

³¹⁵ Perry, *Bible Culture and Authority in the Early United States*, 111.

³¹⁶ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 44-47. The earliest extant manuscript of this revelation dates to ca. March 1831.

³¹⁷ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 46.

The revelation is brief compared to many of the others, and Smith utilized a moderate amount of biblical language in it. It begins with a Johannine exclamation, “Verily Verily I say unto you,”³¹⁸ and states that Cowdery could receive knowledge about anything as reliably as he knows that God lives, and God, of course, is his redeemer. The idea that God is a redeemer is found in only four verses in the King James Bible.³¹⁹ In the second half of verse 1 Smith informally quotes Matt. 21:22 when he tells Cowdery, “ye shall ask...believing...ye shall receive.” Smith echoes 1 Cor. 12:7 at the end of the verse to invoke “the manifestation of [God’s] Spirit.” He then echoes Eph. 1:17 at the beginning of verse 3, borrowing the idea of the “spirit of Revelation.” The rest of verse 3 is an allusion to Exod. 14:21 when “Moses brought the children of Israel through the red Sea on dry ground,”³²⁰ connecting with the important textual variant of Cowdery’s “sprout,” changed in later editions of the *Doctrine and Covenants* to “the gift of Aaron.” The work Smith and Cowdery were doing was as important as the actions of Moses and Aaron to get the Israelites out of Egypt when Aaron’s “rod” (Exod. 7:9–12) was used as a miracle against Pharaoh and his men. Then later in verse 11 Smith echoes the phrase “the mysteries of God” from 1 Cor. 4:1 as a descriptor for the kind of information that could be revealed to them if they ask.

The setting of the revelation is Cowdery petitioning and asking God for the gift of translation. All of the language and ideas borrowed from the Bible provide a framework for sincere petitions and for receiving answers, and in the case of Moses and Aaron for the performance of miracles. According to the revelation, the effects these kinds of prayers can have are similar to Moses parting the sea, if they are asked in faith.

³¹⁸ This phrase appears twenty times in the KJV and all twenty are found in the gospel of John.

³¹⁹ See Ps. 78:35; Isa. 44:6; 48:17; 54:5.

³²⁰ See also 1 Ne. 4:2; 17:26. The exact same language to describe Moses’ actions in *Doctrine and Covenants* 8:3 is found in these verses.

Account of John, April 1829-C [Doctrine and Covenants 7]³²¹

While working on the *Book of Mormon* in April 1829 Smith and Cowdery had a “difference of opinion” over how to best interpret the statement in John 21:22 about what happened to the apostle John, whether or not he continued living an extended life or died a normal death, in John 21:22.³²² This conversation brought about the intersection of at least four important texts in the Mormon canon—John 21:22; *Doctrine and Covenants* 7; Alma 45:19; and 3 Nephi 28. The composition of section 7 is inextricably tied to the question of how to best understand and explain the compositional history of the texts Smith dictated between the years 1828–1830.

This is a unique revelation as it is a meditation on and addition to John 21:20–23. It is an example of Smith revising a biblical text prior to his work on the entire Bible from 1830–1833. The “loved” disciple that leaned on Jesus’s breast in John 21:22 becomes “John the Beloved.” The vague and allusive meaning of the end of John 21 is clarified when Smith has John ask Jesus if he would give him “power that [he] may bring souls unto” Jesus in *Doctrine and Covenants* section 7 verse 2. Then in verse 3 the promise is given to John that because he desired to bring souls he would tarry until Jesus came in glory, i.e. his “second coming.” The idea that Jesus would come “in glory” is borrowed from Matt. 16:27 and Mark 8:38.

The first half of verse 4 formally quotes John 21:22, and then the desires of Peter and John are explained and contrasted. According to verses 5–8 John’s desire was better than Peter’s, presumably because of its selflessness, but it is stated that they will both get what they desired because of the joy they have in their desires. In seeking to understand John

³²¹ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 47-48. The earliest extant manuscript of this revelation dates to ca. March 1831.

³²² Joseph Smith History, vol. A-1, in Karen Lynn Davidson, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Histories, Volume 1* (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian’s Press, 2012), 284. Quoted in MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 47.

21:20–23 Smith rewrote the pericope, adding several pieces of new information to clarify the content and context of the end of the gospel of John and resolve the dispute between himself and Cowdery.

Doctrine and Covenants 7 offers another important historical insight: that Smith and Cowdery were actively consulting and interpreting specific verses of the Bible while translating the *Book of Mormon*. This revelation was received in April 1829 in Harmony, Pennsylvania prior to Smith and Cowdery moving with David Whitmer to Fayette, New York to the Whitmer farm. Smith and Cowdery had completed Mosiah through Moroni while still in Harmony, and once in Fayette they worked on 1 Nephi through Words of Mormon. Section 7 was dictated roughly at the same time as when they would have been working on Alma 45, and only a month later in May Smith dictated 3 Nephi 28. In this context Alma 45 was the catalyst that started the dispute between Cowdery and Smith, section 7 was the revelation that clarified John 21:20–23 and ended that dispute, and that clarification influenced the composition of 3 Nephi 28 and the depiction in that chapter of John’s ultimate fate. Conflict between Smith and Cowdery over biblical interpretation during the dictation of the *Book of Mormon* affected the way that scripture, and here the *Book of Mormon* in particular, was created in early Mormonism.

Revelation, April 1829-D [Doctrine and Covenants 9]³²³

Although Cowdery had been promised in *Doctrine and Covenants* sections 6 and 8 that he would have the gift of translation, when he actually made the attempt he was unsuccessful. This revelation explains to Cowdery why he failed and states that his primary role in the work he and Smith were doing was as Smith’s scribe. According to Smith’s revelation he did

³²³ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 48–50. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the Book of Commandments (1833), which was typeset sometime during November 1–December 31, 1832.

not take the role of translator as seriously as the gift required but he was a good scribe. This dictated revelation provides important context for understanding how Smith conceptualized his revelatory methods.

The revelation utilizes very little language from the Bible compared to most of the other revelations during this period. The first several words of the first verse echo the Johannine deictic interjection, “BEHOLD I say unto you,” found in the New Testament only in John 4:35, and verse 7 parallels several New Testament verses with the phrase, “when you took no thought.”³²⁴ In verse 8 Smith echoes the two disciples in Luke 24 who met Jesus at Emmaus. Cowdery’s heart, or “bosom,” would “burn within” him to let him know his translation was right. This language is found in the King James Bible only in Luke 24:32. In verse 14 Smith borrows the most biblical language out of the whole revelation. He first borrows from several New Testament verses the phrase, “Stand fast in,”³²⁵ and then he informally quotes Luke 21:18, “a hair of your head shall not be lost.” Similar to *Doctrine and Covenants* 5, section 9 ends with an allusion to 1 Thess. 4:17 that Cowdery should “be lifted up at the last day” if he follows the commandments he has been given from God through Smith.

This revelation provides important context for understanding Smith’s perspective on how he was able to accomplish his dictation of the *Book of Mormon*. Cowdery, like Smith, was supposed to deeply engage intellectually and spiritually with the dictation process. It took an incredible amount of focus and thought, he was supposed to “study it out in [his] mind,” and after asking if what he felt was supposed to be dictated his bosom would then burn as a positive answer from God. The active quality of the actions Cowdery was supposed to take—the actions Smith did take—were crucial for the dictation to receive confirmation from God. Smith was clearly doing more than seeing the text of the *Book of Mormon*. Instead, he was

³²⁴ Cf. Matt. 6:25, 31, 34; 10:19; Mark 13:11; Luke 12:11, 22.

³²⁵ Cf. 1 Cor. 16:13; Phil. 4:1; 1 Thess. 3:8.

engaging in deep thought about what words he should dictate and if he felt a burning he believed it was confirmation of the accuracy of the dictation. If the dictation was incorrect then, in verse 9, he would “forget the thing which is wrong.” Smith was not seeing the text written down but engaging with phrases and sentences in his mind at a more conceptual level.

Revelation, Spring 1829 [Doctrine and Covenants 10]³²⁶

The exact dating of this revelation in spring 1829 is difficult to pinpoint, but the editors of *Documents 1* of the *Joseph Smith Papers* make a good case for sometime in May 1829 due to the intertextual connections between section 10 and parts of 3 Nephi in the *Book of Mormon*.³²⁷ The revelation commands Smith and Cowdery to begin their work on the *Book of Mormon* where Smith and Harris had left off a year before, at the beginning of Mosiah. They were to use the “Small Plates of Nephi” as a replacement text for what was lost, since it followed the same timeline as the lost manuscript. The Small Plates of Nephi constituted what is now 1 Nephi through Words of Mormon within the *Book of Mormon*.

As the editors of the *Joseph Smith Papers Project* have pointed out, there are not only literary connections between *Doctrine and Covenants 10* and the Bible, but numerous connections to the *Book of Mormon* as well. I will note several of these below. First, the revelation starts with the same deictic interjection from John 4:35 as *Doctrine and Covenants 9:1*, “Now, behold I say unto you.” Verse 3 describes how although Smith had previously lost the manuscript, plates, and his gift of translation, at the time of writing *Doctrine and Covenants 10* they had all been restored except the lost manuscript. In verse 4 the metaphor, “Do not run faster than you have strength,” is used to describe the rapid pace Smith and Cowdery

³²⁶ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 37–44. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the *Book of Commandments*, which was typeset sometime during November 1–December 31, 1832.

³²⁷ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 39.

would dictate and transcribe the text, and its use, along with the injunction to be “diligent,” is found elsewhere in the LDS canon only in Mosiah 4:27. This section of the *Book of Mormon* was most likely dictated prior to *Doctrine and Covenants* 10, probably soon after Cowdery first met Smith the prior month, at the beginning of April 1829.³²⁸

Later, Smith echoes Acts 5:3 in verse 10 with the idea that Satan can “put” or “fill” someone’s heart with the desire to do something wicked. This motif is continued in verses 12–13, where language from John 13:2 is echoed to describe how the devil had put it into the hearts of the people who stole the lost manuscript of the *Book of Mormon* to alter its words. The use of language and content from Acts 5:3 and John 13:2 is also supplemented by the phrase found in Heb. 10:16 that God “put” laws “into their hearts.”³²⁹ Verse 15 goes on to state that those who stole the manuscript did it through the devil’s influence “to tempt the Lord their God,” echoing language from Matt. 4:7 and Luke 4:12. The rest of their plan to deceive Smith and God is described in verses 16–19, and then verse 20 uses the Johannine exclamation (similar to *Doctrine and Covenants* 6:26; 8:1; and others), “Verily, verily I say unto you.”

The next several verses explain Satan’s plans to destroy the *Book of Mormon*, and he is described in verse 27 through an informal quotation of Job 1:7 and 2:2 as going, “up and down, to and fro in the earth.”³³⁰ The Johannine exclamation is again used in verse 28, and the phrase “lieth to deceive” is a shortened version and echo of the phrase “lie in wait to deceive” from Eph. 4:14 and is used twice in verse 28. The phrase found in Matt. 4:7 and

³²⁸ See John W. Welch and Erick B. Carlson, eds., *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press and Deseret Book Company, 2005), 90–93.

³²⁹ Like Smith, the author of Hebrews also cited prior authoritative texts that his community viewed as scripture, in this case the book of Jeremiah. See Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia Commentary Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 281; and Georg W. Walser, *Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.Reihe, 356; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 85–89.

³³⁰ For similar influence of this language outside of the book of Job see Bruce Zuckerman, *Job the Silent: A Study in Historical Counterpoint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 28.

Luke 4:12, “tempt the Lord their God,” is echoed again in verse 29. In verse 32 Satan takes the role of “harden[ing] hearts,” a role reserved for God throughout the Bible,³³¹ and the phrase “stir up anger,” from Prov. 15:1 is echoed in this verse. In verse 35 Smith informally quotes John 3:7, “Marvel not that I said unto you” in God’s command to himself and Cowdery to not show anyone the text of the *Book of Mormon* until they had completed it.

The next section of the text, from verses 38–51, alludes to several *Book of Mormon* passages. Verses 38–40 allude to a handful of verses in 1 and 2 Nephi.³³² In verse 41 Smith explicitly mentions King Benjamin, a *Book of Mormon* character, and alludes to his reign using language found in Words of Mormon 1:3. Verses 46–48 allude to Enos 1:11–13, 18 about how prophets and disciples petitioned God in prayer that the gospel would go to “their brethren, the Lamanites.”³³³ Verse 49 echoes language from 2 Ne. 1:9 about the Promised Land and the possibility of other nations possessing it.³³⁴ Verse 50 alludes to the fact that some *Book of Mormon* characters left “a blessing upon this land in their prayers,” like that found in Ether 9:20.

In verse 51 Smith resumes the use of biblical phrases when he echoes the phrase “whatsoever nation, kindred, tongue, or people,” from Rev. 5:9 and 14:6. Verse 56 echoes the Johannine exclamation “verily, verily I say unto you” a third time, and then several verses in John are informally quoted in the following verses. The voice of Jesus declares itself in verse 57, informally quoting John 1:11 to state that “I came unto my own, and my own received me not.” Continuing in verse 58 Jesus says, “I am the light which shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not,” informally quoting John 1:5 almost

³³¹ The only time an entity “hardens” the “hearts” of a people is God hardening the Egyptians’ hearts (Exod. 14:17; 1 Sam. 6:6) or the Canannites’ hearts (Josh. 11:20).

³³² 1 Ne. 6:3; 19:2; 2 Ne. 5:33.

³³³ *Doctrine and Covenants* 10:48. The most obvious connection is to the prayer of Enos that future generations would receive forgiveness and repentance through Jesus. See Enos 1:11–12.

³³⁴ Cf. Ether 2:9.

verbatim. Jesus formally quotes himself in verse 59 as having said in John 10:16, “other sheep have I which are not of this fold.” He states that his disciples did not understand him, echoing six verses from the New Testament where the disciples could not understand Jesus.³³⁵ Accordingly, verse 60 states that Jesus’s disciples and readers were unaware that Jesus had other sheep that were part of the house of Israel. The *Book of Mormon* is described, echoing Isaiah 29 again, as bringing to light the “marvelous works” of the *Book of Mormon* peoples.

It is significant to note the slight variations between many of the biblical texts Smith is alluding to or quoting from and the language that makes it into his dictated revelations. The example of *Doctrine and Covenants* 10:59, with others similar to it, is illuminating because the change in Smith’s text to “other sheep have I” away from the source text’s “other sheep I have” suggests that the quotation is made from memory, just like the quotation of 2 Pet. 1:5–7 in *Doctrine and Covenants* 4:6 suggests that Smith could not remember the list of virtues and left the placeholder in his dictation to return later and supply the verse with the full quotation after a copy of the King James Bible could be consulted.

Verse 63 echoes language from Hel. 16:21 and then 11:22 to describe how “satan doth stir up the hearts of the people to contention, concerning the points of my doctrine.” The text, in the voice of Jesus, echoes 2 Pet. 3:16 to cast negative light on the results of their actions, since “they do wrest the scriptures, and do not understand them.” If they would stop Jesus would treat them the way he had wished to treat the people of Jerusalem, informally quoting Matt. 23:37, “as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings,” and, echoing Heb. 3:8, 15 and 4:7, he would do so as long as they do “not harden their hearts.” Jesus borrows a phrase for *Doctrine and Covenants* 10:67 that is only found in 3 Ne. 11:30, 32,

³³⁵ Mark 9:32; Luke 2:50; 9:45; John 8:27; 10:6; 12:16.

35, and 39, “this is my doctrine,” before completing the revelation with one more informal quotation from Matt. 16:18, “him will I establish upon my Rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them,” with a reminder and allusion to John 8:12 in verse 70 that Jesus, “is the life and the light of the world.”

Doctrine and Covenants 10 is a significant text in early Mormon history, particularly in the context of understanding how Smith dictated early Mormon literature. It connects with Smith’s use of the Bible in sections 3–9 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, going beyond mere references and allusions to the “marvelous work and a wonder” that Smith described the *Book of Mormon* as in Isaianic fashion in the majority of the previous dictations. In this text actual phrases, characters, and content from the *Book of Mormon* are alluded to and quoted. Like the previous dictations this text also highlights how Smith was providing the biblical language and imagery to these new compositions through memory, sometimes altering slightly the biblical source to fit the context or perceived needs of the new scripture that he was dictating.

Revelation, May 1829-A [Doctrine and Covenants 11]³³⁶

Joseph Smith Jr.’s older brother Hyrum visited Smith and Cowdery in Harmony, Pennsylvania sometime during the last half of May 1829, after Smith and Cowdery had baptized each other and before David Whitmer helped them move to Fayette, New York to finish their work on the *Book of Mormon*. The revelation is similar in some respects in content to the one Smith received for his father in section 4, but incorporated a lot of other material including more echoes and allusions to biblical sources.

³³⁶ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 50-55. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the *Book of Commandments*, which was typeset sometime during November 1–December 31, 1832.

This section is closely related in form and language to other revelations Smith had given to individuals, especially *Doctrine and Covenants* 4 and the beginnings of 6, 12, and 14. Sections 11, 12, and 14 all share the exact same wording in their first five verses except that 14:1 has “unto the children of men” instead of “among the children of men” like 11:1 and 12:1. The revelation begins by echoing Isa. 29:14, and then verse 2 informally quotes Heb. 4:12 about how God’s word “is quick and powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword, to the dividing asunder of both joints and marrow.” The end of the verse caps off the threat of punishment with another echo of the same language from Jer. 18:18 to warn that Hyrum Smith and others should take the message seriously.

Verse 3 informally quotes John 4:35, “the field is white already to harvest,” and Rev. 14:16, “whoso desireth to reap, let him thrust in his sickle with his might, and reap.” Smith then echoes Matt. 6:20 with the idea that a person may “treasure up” blessings in heaven and echoes the phrase “everlasting salvation” from Isa. 45:17. Smith informally quotes Rev. 14:16 again in verse 4, and says that whoever thrusts in their sickle is “called of God,” echoing Heb. 5:4, 10. As in previous dictations, Smith echoes the gospels in verse 5 to describe how if Hyrum Smith “ask[s]...[he] shall receive”³³⁷ and “if [he]...knock it shall be opened unto [him].”³³⁸ Verse 6 echoes the Johannine deictic interjection, “behold I say unto you,” and verse 7 echoes an idea found in the Bible only in Eccl. 1:13; 7:25; and 1 Cor. 1:22 that the audience should “seek...wisdom.” The phrase “the mysteries of God,” found in the Bible only in 1 Cor. 4:1, is also echoed in the verse, and verse 8 borrows again the Johannine exclamation, “Verily, verily I say unto you.”

³³⁷ Matt. 21:22; John 16:24.

³³⁸ Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9.

There is very little biblical language in verses 9 and 10,³³⁹ but in verse 11 Jesus states, “I am the light which shineth in darkness,” clearly alluding to John 1:5. Verse 12 echoes the same Johannine exclamation as verse 8, “Verily, verily I say unto you,” but in a slightly different form, “verily, verily I say unto thee.”³⁴⁰ The second half of verse 12 informally quotes Micah 6:8, commanding Hyrum Smith “to do justly; to walk humbly,” to be “good.” Smith is also commanded to “judge righteously,” echoing a phrase found only in Deut. 1:16 and Prov. 31:9. Verse 13 uses the Johannine exclamation again, and then verse 14 echoes John 13:35 by using the phrase, “by this shall you know.” The verse ends by echoing Matt. 21:22 and explaining that Hyrum Smith can get answers from God if he asks “in faith believing in me that you shall receive.”

In verse 16 Smith alludes to Matt. 16:18, inviting Hyrum Smith to wait until he is called to help move Mormonism forward until he knows the scriptures and has “my Rock, my church,” and that he knows “of a surety my doctrine.” In verse 17 Smith then informally quotes Matt. 9:29, giving hope to Hyrum Smith that “according to your faith, shall it be done unto you.” In verse 18 he echoes a phrase found only four times in the KJV to tell Hyrum to “hold your peace,”³⁴¹ and then verse 19 informally quotes Josh. 22:5 with the imperative to “cleave unto me with all your heart,” so that Hyrum could “assist in bringing to light those things of which have been spoken,” echoing 1 Cor. 4:5.

In verse 20 Smith informally quotes a version of a phrase found only in Mark 12:30 and Luke 10:27 that was common in the nineteenth-century. The list in these two biblical verses includes heart, soul, mind, and strength, but as the list appears in Latter-day Saint scripture it

³³⁹ There are still connections to several biblical verses for the use of characteristically biblical language. In verse 9 you find the phrase “keep my commandments,” which appears exactly thirteen times in the KJV (11OT; 2 NT), and the construct, “according to...commandments,” which appears three times in the KJV (Deut. 10:4; 26:13; 2 Kgs. 17:13). In the earliest manuscripts of verse 10 connects to the “gift” God told Cowdery he would be given to translate in *Doctrine and Covenants* 8.

³⁴⁰ This form of the exclamation is found in John 3:3, 5, 11; 13:38; and 21:18.

³⁴¹ Exod. 14:14; Neh. 8:11; Job 13:5, 13.

is might, might, and strength, agreeing with the ways the phrase was quoted in other early nineteenth century American sources.³⁴² Verse 21 echoes Mark 7:35 and Luke 1:64 for the idea that “tongues” could “be loosed,” and then verse 22 echoes the phrase “hold your peace,” seen already in verse 18.³⁴³ Verse 22 ends by informally quoting the idea found in Matt. 6:33 and Luke 12:31 that “then shall all things be added thereunto,”³⁴⁴ after Hyrum had obtained everything which God would give to their generation.

The last eight verses of this revelation are loaded with biblical intertexts. In verse 23 Smith continues the informal quotation of a phrase found in Matt. 6:33 and Luke 12:31 by adding more language from the source. In this verse Hyrum is commanded to, “seek the kingdom of God and all things shall be added according to that which is just.”³⁴⁵ Verse 24 commands Hyrum to “Build upon my rock,” alluding again to Matt. 16:18, progressing from the command in verse 16 to learn more about the “Rock,” and now to build upon it. In verse 25 Smith echoes phrases from Eph. 1:17, “the Spirit of revelation,” and Rev. 19:10, “the Spirit of prophecy,” to tell Hyrum to not deny either of them in the context of his younger brother’s revelation and prophecy.³⁴⁶ He is instead again told in verse 26 to “treasure up” these things, echoing Matt. 6:20. Verse 27 explains again that anyone with good desires should, echoing Rev. 14:15, “thrust in their sickles to reap.”

³⁴² The *Gospel Advocate*, printed in Buffalo, New York, published a piece on January 5, 1827 from the *Religious Enquirer* that started by quoting Mark 12:30, paraphrasing the verse this way: “...that we should *Love him with all the heart, might, mind, and strength*” (emphasis in original). Verses in LDS scripture that include this exact phrase or close variations are: 2 Ne. 25:29; Mosiah 2:11; Alma 39:13; Mor. 10:32; *Doctrine and Covenants* 4:2; 20:31 33:7; 59:5; and 98:47.

³⁴³ Cf. Exod. 14:14; Neh. 8:11; Job 13:5, 13.

³⁴⁴ As found in Matt. 6:33 and Luke 12:31, the phrase is, “and all these things shall be added unto you.”

³⁴⁵ Luke 12:31 says, “seek ye first the kingdom of God; and all these things shall be added unto you.” Matt. 6:3 is slightly different: “the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these...” This suggests that the source is more likely Luke 12:31, and less likely Matt. 6:3 but it is still unclear which one exactly is the precedent.

³⁴⁶ There is some evidence that it took Hyrum a while to accept the new religious movement of his younger brother. As previously noted in Seth Perry’s work, Cowdery had written a letter in June 1829 admonishing Hyrum to accept the new theological perspectives his younger brother was advancing. See Perry, *Bible Cultural and Authority in the Early United States*, 110–111; and Cowdery to Hyrum Smith, June 14, 1829, in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, Volume 2, 402–403.

The last three verses of this revelation are almost complete informal quotations. In verse 28 Smith echoes Jesus's title in Mark 1:1, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God," and then informally quotes John 8:12 to explain how Jesus is "the life and the light of the world." In verse 29 he alludes to John 1:11 about how he "came unto [his] own, and [his] own received [him] not." In verse 30 he echoes the Johannine exclamation again, "verily, verily I say unto you," and then informally quotes at length John 1:12 to proclaim, "that as many as receiveth me, them will I give power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on my name."

This dictation, given to Smith, Jr.'s older brother Hyrum at a crucial point in his own experience in seeking out true religion, was meant to function for Hyrum in a similar manner that *Doctrine and Covenants* 4 did for Smith, Sr. The parallels between the two texts are unmistakable, but the differences are of primary importance. First, the quotations from the Bible are extensive but also complete. It is justifiable to wonder how the respective audiences of these texts, Joseph Smith, Sr. and his son Hyrum Smith, might have understood and used their respective revelations. It is clear that Smith, Jr. was capable of quoting from many biblical sources from memory, but if these texts were meant primarily, in their original contexts, to be for Smith, Sr. and Hyrum, what was Smith, Sr. meant to think about his incomplete text? This question is problematized further by the fact that it was only updated and completed in written or printed form six years after its first dictation in the 1835 printing of the *Doctrine and Covenants*. It is likely that Smith, Sr. was as aware of the source of the language of the quotation in *Doctrine and Covenants* 4 as Smith, Jr. was, and knew the theme of the list of virtues found in 2 Pet. 1:5–7.

The relationship between Smith, Jr. and his father was informal enough that it was not completely necessary for him to present a polished version of the entire text of the

revelation to his father. By the next year, May 1829, however, the added context that Smith's dictated revelations were being taken more seriously as divine revelation coupled with his older brother who was still questioning to what extent he wanted to be involved in Mormonism, helped to shape a drastically more formal and biblically centered dictation for Hyrum than the one he had dictated for his father.

Revelation, May 1829-B [Doctrine and Covenants 12]³⁴⁷

Joseph Knight, Sr. had come to trust Smith, Jr. in the last few years of the 1820s after he had hired him as a day laborer and watched him work. During the process of translating the *Book of Mormon* Knight, Sr. would occasionally visit Smith and Cowdery and provide them with money, paper, and clothes to assist them in their work. During one of these visits Knight, Sr. wanted to know his role in publishing the *Book of Mormon* in the broader context of the new religious movement, so Smith dictated this revelation for him.

As noted for the previous section, *Doctrine and Covenants* 11, 12, and 14 share almost the exact same wording for verses 1–5. Verse 6 utilizes the familiar deictic interjection from John 4:35, “behold I say unto you,” and an altered version at the beginning of verse 7, “Behold I speak unto you.” The narrator finishes the revelation in the last two verses by echoing language in verse 8 from 1 Cor. 13:13, “faith, hope, and charity,” and 1 Cor. 9:25, “being temperate in all things.” Verse 9 informally quotes John 8:12, “I am the light and life of the world,” and, like other who had recently received revelation through Smith, reminds Knight, Sr. in closing to “give heed,” echoing Jer. 18:18, then he will be called to assist in moving forward the work.

Revelation, June 1829-A [Doctrine and Covenants 14]³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 55-57. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the Book of Commandments, which was typeset sometime during November 1–December 31, 1832.

Before working with Smith on the *Book of Mormon*, Cowdery had become acquainted with David Whitmer, a resident of Fayette, New York. They had both heard about Smith's claim that he found gold plates, so Cowdery told Whitmer prior to meeting Smith that he would go investigate and send back word. After Cowdery had become convinced that what Smith was doing was reliable he sent letters to Whitmer telling him about their work. The last letter Cowdery sent to Whitmer requested him to come to Harmony with a wagon and move them from there to Whitmer's family home in Fayette. After the move was completed Smith received a revelation for Whitmer similar in content and use of the Bible as the revelations he had received for his father, his brother Hyrum, Cowdery, and Knight, Sr.

As already noted in the previous section, *Doctrine and Covenants* 11, 12, and 14 share almost the exact wording for verses 1–5 of each revelation. Verse 6 utilizes some generic KJV language,³⁴⁹ and verse 7 commands Whitmer to keep the commandments and, echoing Matt. 10:22, “endure to the end” so that he can “have eternal life.” This latter phrase is found only in Matt. 19:16; John 3:15; 5:39; and 1 John 5:13. Verse 8 then informally quotes John 16:23, “that if you shall ask the Father in my name,” then echoes Matt. 21:22 by adding “believing,” and borrows the concept that someone can “receive the Holy Ghost” from John 20:22; Acts 2:38; 8:15, 19. The idea that the Holy Ghost “giveth utterance” is an allusion to Acts 2:4, and the verse ends by echoing Matt. 1:4, “the things of which you shall both hear and see.”

Verse 9 Informally quotes Jesus's title as “Jesus Christ the Son of the Living God” from Matt. 16:16 and John 6:69. The verse then uses the idea, found in a handful of verses in the

³⁴⁸ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 66-68. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the Book of Commandments, which was typeset sometime during November 1, 1832 and early 1833.

³⁴⁹ The phrase “keep my commandments” appears exactly thirteen times in the KJV (11 OT; 2 NT).

New Testament,³⁵⁰ that Jesus created the heavens and the earth, and calls him “a light which cannot be hid in darkness,” echoing Matt. 5:14. Verse 10 echoes language from Rom. 15:29 to describe “the fulness of” Jesus’s “gospel,” and then echoes Luke 6:35 to promise David Whitmer that if he follows the commandments in the revelation, “great shall be your reward.”

Revelation, June 1829-B [Doctrine and Covenants 18]³⁵¹

Smith dictated this revelation directed at himself, Cowdery, and David Whitmer together as the audience, given in the voice of God. Although they would not organize a quorum or ordain any apostles until 1835, this mid-1829 revelation instructed them to search for apostles to call into the leadership of the church. The revelation bears important resemblances to the book of Moroni, the last book in the *Book of Mormon*, which Smith and Cowdery had been working on in the weeks prior to this revelation before moving to the Whitmer farm in Fayette, New York. There are several important passages in this section that are dependent on biblical verses that have important implications for the question of Smith’s knowledge of the Bible in the spring of 1829.

The first three verses of this section remind Smith, Cowdery, and Whitmer that they know the “things which [they] have written are true,” so they are commanded to rely on them. The writings were presumably the *Book of Mormon* and the revelations that Smith dictated to them previously, and, according to this dictation, these texts would lay the groundwork for Smith and his associates to build a church. The end of verse 4 and the beginning of verse 5 informally quote Matt. 16:18, “concerning my church, my gospel, and my rock. Wherefore if you shall build up my church, and my gospel, and my rock, the gates of hell shall not prevail against you.” The Bible, along with Smith’s new texts, would act as

³⁵⁰ See John 1:3, 1 Cor. 8:6; Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:2.

³⁵¹ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 69-74. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the Book of Commandments, which was typeset sometime in early 1833.

authoritative material to direct them on how to organize God's church mentioned in Matt. 16:18.

Verse 8 briefly echoes a Johannine phrase, "marvel not," to suggest to Cowdery and Whitmer that they should hold back their surprise at Smith's callings and assignments.³⁵² Verse 9 informally quotes Acts 17:30 saying, "I command all men every where to repent," and then tells the three men that, "I speak unto you, even as unto Paul mine apostle, for you are called even with that same calling which he was called," alluding to and borrowing language found in Rom. 1:1 and 1 Cor. 1:1. To remind the group in verse 10 that "the worth of souls is great in the sight of God," a phrase only found in 2 Ne. 3:24, the narrator alludes in verse 11 to 1 Pet. 3:18 for how Jesus "suffered death in the flesh." Echoing language found in several New Testament passages, verse 12 then states that, "he hath risen again from the dead."³⁵³

Several verses later in verse 17, Smith alludes again to Matt. 16:18, and then in verse 18 echoes language from John 15:16 and 16:23, "Ask the Father in my name," and Matt. 21:22, "believing that you shall receive." If they do this then they will, "have the Holy Ghost which manifesteth all things," echoing John 14:26. In verse 19 Smith blends together language from 1 Cor. 13:2, 13, the former providing the frame, "have not...charity, you can do nothing," and the latter supplying the phrase, "faith, hope, and charity."³⁵⁴ The three are commanded to keep these things in mind and, in verse 20, to "Contend against no church, save it be the church of the devil."³⁵⁵

³⁵² See John 3:7; 5:28; 1 John 3:13.

³⁵³ Matt. 27:64; 28:7; Mark 9:9; John 2:22; 21:14.

³⁵⁴ This phrase appears also in Alma 7:24; Ether 12:28; Mor. 7:1, 44; 8:14; 10:20; *Doctrine and Covenants* 4:5; 6:19; 12:8.

³⁵⁵ The phrase "the church of the devil" is a loaded term in an early nineteenth century American context. In the *Book of Mormon*, for example, the "church of the devil" is the antithesis of the "church of the Lamb of God" (1 Ne. 14:10). It is clear that in the context of that chapter the "church of the devil" fits the role of the Catholic Church in Smith's updated American *heilsgeschichte*. In his 1726 book *Satan's Devices; or, the Political*

Verse 21 commands the three to “speak the truth in soberness,” echoing the words of Paul in Acts 26:25. Verse 22 then states, echoing language from Acts 2:38, that “as many as repent, and are baptized in my name, which is Jesus Christ,” and informally quotes the phrase found in Matt. 24:13 and Mark 13:13, “endure to the end, the same shall be saved.” The use of the book of Acts continues, as verse 23 informally quotes Acts 4:10, 12 by stating that “Jesus Christ is the name which is given of the Father, and there is none other name given whereby man can be saved.” The next verse, 24, builds on that by again echoing Acts 4:12 and stating that Jesus Christ is the name that all men will be called “at the last day,” echoing another phrase unique to Johannine literature.³⁵⁶

A few verses later verses 27 and 28 continue to use the book of Acts in commanding Smith, Cowdery, and Whitmer to call twelve apostles who would take upon themselves Jesus’s name “with full purpose of heart,” a phrase found in Acts 11:23.³⁵⁷ These apostles will follow the command, “to go into all the world to preach my gospel unto every creature,” informally quoting Mark 16:15. Verse 29 echoes the phrase, “And they are they which,” found in John 5:39 to describe how these apostles would “baptize in my name,” a concept found in a handful of New Testament verses.³⁵⁸ In verse 32 Smith informally quotes Rom. 15:13 for the phrase, “the power of the Holy Ghost,” describing the power that gives the three men authority to ordain others to the ministry. Jesus speaks to the future twelve apostles beginning in verse 31, and informally quotes 2 Cor. 12:9 to say that “my grace is

History of the Devil, Daniel Defoe made clear that he believed that the Catholic Church was not “a church of God” but instead “a church of the Devil.” See Daniel Defoe, *Satan’s Devices; or, the Political History of the Devil: Ancient and Modern. In Two Parts* (London: Printed for T. Kelly, 1819), 249. For anti-Catholicism in early America more broadly see Maura Jane Farrelly, *Anti-Catholicism in America, 1620–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); and Elizabeth Fenton, *Religious Liberties: Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Democracy in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³⁵⁶ John 6:39, 40, 44, 54; 11:24.

³⁵⁷ Verse 26 uses the couplet “unto the Gentile and unto Jew” reminiscent of Rom. 2:9, 10.

³⁵⁸ The idea that people are “baptized” “in” the “name” of Jesus is found exactly six times in the KJV (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5; 1 Cor. 1:13, 15).

sufficient for you,” and, echoing a phrase from Ps. 84:11 and Prov. 2:7, that they should “walk uprightly.”

Several verses later in verse 40 Jesus echoes John 15:16 and 16:23 again, saying that Smith, Cowdery, and Whitmer should worship “the Father in my name.” In verse 41 he commands them to “preach unto the world,” echoing Mark 16:15 as he had earlier in the revelation, before again informally quoting Acts 2:38 in the last half of verse 41 and the first half of verse 42, that they should preach, “you must repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ: For all men must repent and be baptized.” Although the section ends at verse 46, verse 44 is the last verse to clearly use a biblical text. Speaking broadly about the work the three men and the future twelve apostles will do, Jesus echoes Isa. 29:14 by stating that “by your hands I will work a marvelous work among the children of men.” I have noted several instances in the earliest revelations already that this phrase is used to describe the *Book of Mormon* in early Mormon texts.

*Revelation, June 1829-C [Doctrine and Covenants 15]³⁵⁹
and June 1829-D [Doctrine and Covenants 16]³⁶⁰*

Sections 15 and 16 are identical texts except for the names of the two recipients of the revelations, the brothers Peter and John Whitmer. For this reason I will examine the use of the Bible in these two documents together. In a way similar to how he had addressed Cowdery in section 6:22–25, Smith addressed the Whitmer brothers in the voice of Jesus and as fulfilling the previous desires and prayers they had privately sought out from God. These revelations are short, and the influence of the Bible on these two revelations is minimal. In

³⁵⁹ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 74-75. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the *Book of Commandments*, which was typeset sometime in early 1833.

³⁶⁰ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 75-76. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the *Book of Commandments*, which was typeset sometime in early 1833.

verse 2 the words “sharpness” and “power” are connected, and are found together in the KJV only in 2 Cor. 13:10. The connection and relationship between the two is not clear, although both texts, the revelations and 2 Corinthians 13, share the context of instruction. Besides this only the phrase at the end of verse 6 of both sections, “the kingdom of my father,” echoes a biblical precedent. In this case the language and idea are echoed from Matt. 26:29 to describe the kind of peace the Whitmer brothers have to look forward to in the next life if they assist in spreading the gospel and revelations that Smith was receiving.

Revelation, June 1829-E [Doctrine and Covenants 17]³⁶¹

After completing the work of the *Book of Mormon* Cowdery, Harris, and David Whitmer “teazed” Smith about wanting to be the three witnesses of the *Book of Mormon* mentioned in 2 Ne. 27:12.³⁶² Smith and Cowdery had come near the end of the dictation process, and after the teasing Smith agreed to pray about who would be the three witnesses. In answer, the revelation said that Cowdery, Harris, and Whitmer would be the witnesses, and described their roles going forward within the wider religious movement.

Due to the revelation’s content dealing with the project of producing the *Book of Mormon* and preparing to have it printed, the revelation engages primarily with the *Book of Mormon* until the second to last verse, verse 8. Prior to that, verse 1 alludes to the Brother of Jared going up a mountain in Ether 3:1. It then alludes to how he saw and spoke with God face to face in Ether 3:13–19. The last part of verse 1 alludes to the “directors” that were given to Lehi in 1 Ne. 16:10. The revelation attempts to make a clear connection between the objects Smith was said to have in his possession and their place in the *Book of Mormon* narrative. Verse 3 borrows language that appears in the Bible only in the New Testament but was

³⁶¹ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 82-85. The earliest extant version of this revelation was copied after November 25, 1834 in Revelation Book 2.

³⁶² MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 83.

often used to describe the production of the *Book of Mormon* that the witnesses would testify “by the power of God.”³⁶³

Later in the section verse 8 informally quotes Matt. 16:18, “the gates of hell shall not prevail against you,” and 2 Cor. 12:9, “my grace is sufficient for you.” The end of the world is then alluded to, particularly as found in 1 Thess. 4:17, that the audience of the revelation would “be lifted up at the last day.”

Revelation, ca. Summer 1829 [Doctrine and Covenants 19]³⁶⁴

The content of this revelation engages with biblical texts in a way that most of the previous revelations have not. Although its primary purpose seems to have been to convince Martin Harris at the right moment to mortgage all of his property for the cost of printing the *Book of Mormon*, the revelation is much more theologically charged and revisionary in its engagement with the Bible than most of the revelations that Smith dictated prior to it except section 7.

Beginning in verse 1 the voice of Jesus echoes the titles “Alpha and Omega,” used for him in the book of Revelation,³⁶⁵ and “Christ the Lord,” found only in Luke 2:11. In verse 2 Jesus states that he finished the will of the Father, that he “might subdue all things unto myself,” echoing Phil. 3:21. In verse 3 he echoes Matt. 28:18 that he has “all power,” so that “at the end of the world,” a phrase appearing in five New Testament verses,³⁶⁶ he can destroy Satan. Then, echoing Jude 1:6, at “the last great day of judgment,” Jesus will “judg[e] every man according to his works,” an informal quotation of Rev. 20:13.

³⁶³ The phrase appears thirteen times in the New Testament.

³⁶⁴ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 85-92. The earliest extant version of this revelation is found in the Book of Commandments, which was typeset sometime in early 1833.

³⁶⁵ Rev. 1:8, 11; 21:6; 22:13.

³⁶⁶ Matt. 13:39, 49; 24:3; 28:20; Heb. 9:26.

Verse 5 blends two different biblical phrases, “weeping and gnashing of teeth,”³⁶⁷ and “wailing and gnashing of teeth,”³⁶⁸ to describe how people will respond to the punishments they would receive at the end of the world. Echoing Matt. 25:41, the verse describes these people as “those who are found on my left hand.” This punishment becomes central to the section’s purpose, as verses 6 and 7 attempt to respond to the idea of “endless torment” and “eternal damnation.” Although the former seems to be formally quoting a biblical precedent it is found nowhere in the King James Bible, while the latter phrase is a formal quotation of Mark 3:29. This seems to be the source text this section is responding to and attempting to redefine.

Several verses later in verse 15 Smith echoed Isa. 11:4 to say in Jesus’s voice that Harris should repent, “lest I smite you by the rod of my mouth.” This is a strong warning to Harris, given a year after he lost the earlier manuscript of the *Book of Mormon*. He is also warned in verse 18 that his repentance is only possible because of Jesus’s suffering and death, which, alluding to Luke 22:44, caused him “to bleed at every pore.”³⁶⁹ The “cup” that Jesus drank from is also mentioned, alluding to either Matt. 26:42 or John 18:11.

Jesus commands Harris later in verse 22 to preach only repentance to those interested in the Mormon message, primarily because “they can not bear meat, but milk they must receive,” echoing 1 Cor. 3:2. Verse 25 informally quotes Exod. 20:17, commanding Harris

³⁶⁷ Matt. 8:12; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30; Luke 13:28.

³⁶⁸ Matt. 13:42, 50.

³⁶⁹ Many scholars have noted the likelihood that Luke 22:43–44 was added to the text of Luke 23 by the second century CE. Not only does the passage not appear in the earliest and best manuscripts of Luke 23, it does not cohere with the general theology of the gospel of Luke (e.g. the author of Luke purposefully edited out sections of his primary source, Mark, that mentioned Jesus distressed or in agony and wrote a portrayal of Jesus as calm, collected, and sure of his mission), and the two verses intrude on the surrounding literary structure of the passage. As Bart Ehrman has noted, chiasmus does not occur in the New Testament very often, so “This means that when a clear instance of its use does occur, one must do something with it...In this case, the chiasmus is nearly impossible to overlook.” All of this evidence together suggests that Luke 23:43–44 was added around the time when the verses begin to appear in the transmission history of this gospel: sometime in the second century CE. See Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Updated Edition; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 220–227.

“that thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s wife,” and then several verses later in verse 29 Jesus, echoing Acts 13:32, commands him to “declare glad tidings,” and then, echoing Isa. 52:7, “publish it upon the mountains.” Harris is, according to verse 30, supposed to do this “with all humility,” echoing Acts 13:32. He is not to talk at all about “tenets,” only “repentance and faith on the Savior,” and, echoing in verse 31 a phrase found in several New Testament texts, “the remission of sins.”³⁷⁰ This remission comes in this verse “by baptism and by fire: yea, even the Holy Ghost,” echoing Matt. 3:11 and Luke 3:16.

Harris is again strongly warned in verse 33 of the negative consequences of not following the counsel he is receiving in the revelation, and is commanded to mortgage a part of his property for the publication of the *Book of Mormon* in verses 34–36. In verse 38 Jesus promises Harris, echoing Matt. 6:19, 20, that he would receive better blessings by following this commandment than if he “should obtain treasures of earth, and corruptibleness to the extent thereof.” The last use of biblical language in this section is an echo in verse 40 of either Matt. 23:16, 24 or Rom. 2:19, calling Harris “a blind guide” if he does not follow the counsel given him. Harris mortgaged his farm on August 25, 1829 to cover all of the costs of printing the book.³⁷¹

*Letter to Oliver Cowdery, 22 October 1829*³⁷²

In late 1829 Smith and Cowdery were separated geographically for a time, Smith in Harmony, Pennsylvania and Cowdery in Palmyra, New York overseeing the publication of the *Book of Mormon* at E. B. Grandin’s printing press. During this period the two men wrote

³⁷⁰ The idea of a “remission of sins” appears exactly eight times in the KJV (Matt. 26:28; Mark 1:4; Luke 1:77; 3:3; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 10:43; Rom. 3:25).

³⁷¹ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 95–96.

³⁷² MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 94–97. The earliest extant version of this revelation was copied ca. November 27, 1832–January 1833, and is found in Joseph Smith Letterbook 1, p. 9; handwriting of Frederick G. Williams; Joseph Smith Collection, Church History Library. Quoted in MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 94.

letters to one another, and Smith included a couple of brief echoes and parallels to biblical texts near the end of the letter. This is crucial context to counter balance the different genres of the extant literature of early Mormonism. In this context Smith was not dictating or writing in the voice of God but attempting to speak as himself with a friend.

Similar to sections fifteen and sixteen, the influence of the Bible on this letter is minimal, but in this case due mostly to the genre and setting of this document. Smith notifies Cowdery of his safe return home and the current situation of the acceptance of early Mormonism near Harmony. Smith states that people are excited that Smith and his associates obtained a copyright and want to purchase books. After telling Cowdery to give his best wishes to friends and family in Palmyra, and near the end of the letter, Smith echoes Ps. 58:11 and Matt. 10:41 to describe the “reward of the righteous.” A couple of lines later he alluded to Jesus’s second coming with the phrase “his coming,” which is found in only six verses in the New Testament in reference to Jesus’s second coming.³⁷³

*Revelation, ca. Early 1830*³⁷⁴

This revelation was directed at Cowdery, Hiram Page, Josiah Stowell, and Joseph Knight, Sr. It commanded them to travel to Kingston, Upper Canada, to obtain a Canadian copyright for the *Book of Mormon*, in part in hopes of generating funds for the work they were doing. The voice of God promised them in the revelation that they would be able to obtain the copyright and gain temporal and spiritual blessings from their labor. Some of those involved in the revelation and the trip to Canada would later state that the trip was done quietly and purposefully to exclude Martin Harris from further financial support from the

³⁷³ 1 Cor. 15:23; 2 Cor. 7:7; 1 Thess. 2:19; 2 Thess. 2:8; 2 Pet. 3:4; 1 John 2:28.

³⁷⁴ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 108-112. The earliest extant version of this revelation was copied ca. March 1831 in Revelation Book 1.

printing and selling of the book.³⁷⁵ The revelation is dependent on several specific biblical sources for its composition that provide authority and the divine voice to the command to travel several hundred miles for a copyright that could not be obtained.

At the beginning of the revelation Smith alludes to Isa. 42:5 and 45:18 in that God “Created the Heavens & the Earth.” He then alludes again to Cicero’s “Sword of Damocles,” as has happened in previous revelations and other early Mormon texts.³⁷⁶ A line later Smith has the voice of God echo Matt. 9:29 for the idea that he can deliver his disciples out of danger “according to their faith.” He then echoes a phrase found in several biblical texts, “walketh uprightly,”³⁷⁷ describing how the *Book of Mormon* would be protected by God against earth and Hell and keep it in Smith’s hands as long as he was righteous. The group of men that are about to go on the journey to Canada to secure the copyright of the *Book of Mormon* are told that what they have done thus far “is pleasing in my sight,” echoing 1 John 3:22. Smith dictated a parenthetical note after this phrase that read “(yea even all save M[ar]tin only.” This was edited to read in the manuscript, “(yea even all save ~~M[ar]tin only~~ it be one only).” Even though it had been almost two years since Harris had lost the manuscript of the *Book of Mormon* there was clearly still some remaining bad feelings between Smith and Harris.

Several lines later, Smith again employs the voice of God to say that their efforts would not be destroyed by “workers of iniquity,”³⁷⁸ but instead it would bring “their own destruction,” echoing 2 Pet. 3:16. If the disciples are able to secure the copyright “with an eye single to” God’s glory, echoing language in Matt. 6:22 and Luke 11:34, then they could bring

³⁷⁵ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 109.

³⁷⁶ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, Book 5:61–62, in MacKendrick and Howe, *Classics in Translation, Volume II: Latin Literature*, 174. See the discussion under *Doctrine and Covenants* 5:19 earlier in this chapter.

³⁷⁷ The phrase “walketh uprightly” appears exactly five times in the KJV (Ps. 15:2; Prov. 10:9; 15:21; 21:18; Micah 2:7).

³⁷⁸ the phrase “workers of iniquity” appears exactly twenty-one times in the KJV (20 OT; 1 NT).

souls to salvation. The next several lines echo the New Testament phrase “mine only begotten” twice,³⁷⁹ “after the manner of men” once,³⁸⁰ and the language, found only in Heb. 3:8, 15 and 4:7, that people in Canada might “harden not their hearts.” The use of the Bible ends in the last sentence when the Johannine phrase “mine only begotten” is again echoed to describe Jesus.

This text contrasts the group about to go to Canada to pursue the copyright of the *Book of Mormon* there with “workers of iniquity.” If these men follow this new scripturally mandated journey then they will have more blessings than they “are able to Bear.” In the broader context of the millennial expectations of these early Mormon followers it was crucial for them to do what they believed God had commanded them to do in order to be on his side and receive his blessings.³⁸¹ One might wonder how differently this revelation might have been received if at least one of the members of its target audience had known that only Canadian citizens could get copyright for a written work, that a copy of the publication had to be entered at Stationers Hall in London, or that copyright in Canada, mixed with the previous issues, was not enforced, making it so difficult to get copyright that from “1814 to 1835 no author or printer registered any books from the Canadian provinces.”³⁸²

*Articles and Covenants, ca. April 1830 [Doctrine and Covenants 20]*³⁸³

There are conflicting dates in the historical record for this section of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, due partially to its relationship with a document that Oliver Cowdery composed in

³⁷⁹ The phrase “mine only begotten” appears exactly four times in the KJV (John 3:16, 18; Heb. 11:17; 1 John 4:9).

³⁸⁰ Rom. 6:19; 1 Cor. 15:32; Gal. 3:15.

³⁸¹ On Mormon millennialism see Grant Underwood, *The Millennial World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1999).

³⁸² MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 110.

³⁸³ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 116-126. The earliest extant version of this revelation comes from a printed version in the *Painesville Telegraph* from April 19, 1831.

June 1829 with a similar title, “Articles of the Church of Christ.”³⁸⁴ Joseph Smith’s history dates this text to 1829,³⁸⁵ whereas John Whitmer dated it to April 1830 when he copied it into Revelation Book 1.³⁸⁶ It is possible that the difficulty in dating the text today was likewise present in early Mormon history because it was an ever-changing document.³⁸⁷ It is likely that Smith and Cowdery both saw the earlier “Articles of the Church of Christ” and the later “Articles and Covenants” as related in composition. Cowdery seems to have, since he expressed anger over some content that made its way into Smith’s version of the document that he believed needed to be removed.³⁸⁸ In any case, the document became a foundational text in early Mormonism for day-to-day governance and instruction and came together in the form examined in this chapter by early 1830.

In verse 1 Smith begins the dictation by echoing a phrase found in 1 John 4:2, 3 and 2 John 1:7 with the use of the phrase “the coming” of the “Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the flesh.” He then echoes 1 Tim. 2:7 in verse 2 for the language describing himself as being “ordained an apostle” of Jesus Christ. In verse 4 he echoes language from 1 Cor. 3:10 and 2 Thess. 1:12, that he and Cowdery had been ordained and called “according to the grace of God.” To end verse 4 Smith echoes several Pauline and Deutero-Pauline epistles to state that it is Jesus Christ “to whom be all glory both now and ever.”³⁸⁹ Verse 5 echoes several

³⁸⁴ See MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 368–374.

³⁸⁵ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 118.

³⁸⁶ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 117.

³⁸⁷ The Joseph Smith Papers editors note that the version they cite in the official publication shows signs that it is the earliest extant copy because the version in Revelation Book 1 incorporates “certain clarifications and...greater specificity” that was added to the document in the aftermath of organizing the new religion. See MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 119.

³⁸⁸ See Scott H. Faulring, “An Examination of the 1829 ‘Articles of the Church of Christ’ in Relation to Section 20 of the Doctrine and Covenants,” *BYU Studies* 43, No. 4 (2004): 68–69; and MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831*, 118.

³⁸⁹ The phrase “to whom be glory for ever/for ever and ever. Amen” appears exactly four times in the KJV (Rom. 11:36; Gal. 1:5; 2 Tim. 4:18; Heb. 13:21).

New Testament passages for the phrase “remission of sins,”³⁹⁰ and verse 7 echoes several texts throughout the King James Bible for the phrase “from on high” to describe divine inspiration.³⁹¹ Smith then informally quotes Rom. 15:29 to describe how the *Book of Mormon* “contains...the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ.” At the beginning of verse 12 he echoes Heb. 13:8 to state that God is “the same...forever.”

In verse 13 Smith echoes 1 Cor. 6:2 to argue that witnesses of the truthfulness of the *Book of Mormon*, including humans and angels, shall judge the world at its end, particularly those who reject the book. Verse 15 echoes Mark 16:14 that some readers of the *Book of Mormon* may go “to the hardness of heart in unbelief to their own condemnation” because, echoing Heb. 1:3 in verse 16, the “glorious Majesty on high” declared it. This description of the “Majesty on high” concludes with the Pauline doxology, “to whom be glory forever and ever—Amen,” found in Gal. 1:5; 2 Tim. 4:18; and Heb. 13:21.³⁹² It is the idea that God has made revelations to the elders of the new church that allows them, in verse 17, to “know,” like Dan. 2:28, “that there is a God in heaven” that is, echoing language found in the Psalms, “from everlasting to everlasting.”³⁹³

In verse 18 God’s power, wisdom, and understanding is highlighted by noting, in an informal quotation of Gen. 1:26–27, “that he created man male and female after his own image and in his own likeness created he them.” Smith explains in an apparent allusion in verse 19 to Exod. 34:14 (although the language of worshipping only God is found Matt. 4:10

³⁹⁰ The phrase “remission of sins” appears exactly eight times in the KJV (Matt. 26:28; Mark 1:4; Luke 1:77; 3:3; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 10:43; Rom. 3:25).

³⁹¹ The phrase “from on high” appears exactly six times in the KJV (Job 31:2; Isa. 24:18; 32:15; Jer. 25:30; Luke 1:78; 24:49).

³⁹² See the comments about this doxology in Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia Commentary Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 43. The doxology in *Doctrine and Covenants* 20:16 is more in line with Gal. 1:5 than with other examples of the same phrase in the New Testament, particularly when compared with Heb. 13:21. In that verse the glory is ascribed not to God the Father but to Jesus himself, while both *Doctrine and Covenants* 20:16 and Gal. 1:5 are only about God. See Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia Commentary Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 407–408.

³⁹³ See Ps. 90:2; 103:17; 106:48.

and Luke 4:8, not Exodus 34) that after humans were created God commanded them to “serve him the only being whom they should worship.” According to verse 20, it was the fact that humans transgressed “these holy laws,” to love and serve only God, that caused humans to become “sensual and devilish,” echoing James 3:15. This in turn caused Adam and Eve to “bec[o]me fallen,” alluding to Genesis 3. The fall of humankind necessitated a redeemer, as verse 21 explains that “the Almighty God gave his only begotten Son, as is written in those scriptures,” formally quoting John 3:16. Smith then alludes in verse 22 to the idea in Matt. 4:1; Mark 1:13; and Luke 4:2 that Jesus “suffered temptations” but did not follow them.

Continuing to formally quote the scriptures, Smith turns in verse 23 to the language found in 1 Cor. 15:4 “that [Jesus] was crucified and died and rose again the third day.” Quoting language found in Heb. 1:3; 10:12; and 12:2 in verse 24, Smith describes how after Jesus’s resurrection “he ascended into heaven to sit down on the right hand of the Father.” The idea that Jesus ascended to the Father is found in John 20:17 and Acts 1:9. Smith echoed the phrase “according to the will of the Father” at the end of verse 24 that is found in Gal. 1:4. In verse 25 he also used language and shared an idea reminiscent of Acts 19:4 to describe how those who “would believe and were baptized” and, echoing Matt. 10:22, “endured in faith to the end should be saved.” Smith states in verse 26 that this would apply to those who, echoing 1 John 4:2–3 and 2 John 1:7, “were before [i.e. lived before] he came in the flesh” that, echoing 2 Pet. 3:2, “believed in the words of the holy prophets” would be saved as well. According to Smith, still in verse 26, the prophets were “inspired,” echoing 2 Tim. 3:16, “by the gift of the Holy Ghost,” echoing Acts 2:38 and 10:45, to compose their writings. Jesus’s atonement would reconcile the people who followed this model prior to his own life as well as those who would come after.

In verse 27 Smith clarifies that it is those who believe “by the Holy Ghost which beareth record of the Father and of the Son,” informally quoting the Johannine Comma both prior to Jesus’s life in the first century CE and those who come after him that will be saved.³⁹⁴ In verse 28 Smith uses the language found in 2 Ne. 31:21 to state that the “Father and the Son, and the Holy Ghost is one God...without end.—Amen.” In verse 29 Smith again turns to the Jonannine literature, this time informally quoting 1 John 3:23, to state that the elders of the church “know that all men must repent and believe on the name of Jesus Christ.” They must also, echoing John 4:21, 23 “worship the Father in his name,” and, echoing Matt. 10:22, “endure in faith on his name to the end.” This is especially the case because, in verse 30, it is through “justification”³⁹⁵ brought on by “the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ” that they are saved. The latter terminology about Jesus’s grace is found ten times in the New Testament,³⁹⁶ and the last part of verse 30, the state that the idea justification through Jesus “is just and true” echoes Rev. 15:3.

In verse 31 Smith paralleled verse 30 in content and structure but replaced justification with sanctification, another prominent New Testament concept,³⁹⁷ and then added a clause at the end of the verse that says, informally quoting Mark 12:30 and Luke 10:27, this “is just and true to all those who love and serve God with all their might, minds, and strength.” This quotation is in a form that was standard in the early nineteenth century in quotations of Mark 12:30 and Luke 10:27.³⁹⁸ After conversion it is possible, in verse 32, for men to fall from grace away from “the living God,” a phrase found many times in the King James

³⁹⁴ Many texts throughout the *Book of Mormon* likewise quote or allude to this passage of 1 John. See, for example, 1 Ne. 12:18; 3 Ne. 11:32; 28:11; Ether 12:41, as well as Moses 1:24; 5:9; and 7:11.

³⁹⁵ The idea of “justification” through Jesus is found in Rom. 4:25; 5:16, 18.

³⁹⁶ Cf. Rom. 16:20, 24; 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 8:9; Gal. 6:18; Phil. 4:23; 1 Thess. 5:28; 2 Thess. 3:18; Phlm. 1:25; and Rev. 22:21.

³⁹⁷ Cf. 1 Cor. 1:30; 1 Thess. 4:3, 4; 2 Thess. 2:13; and 1 Pet. 1:2.

³⁹⁸ The *Gospel Advocate* (Buffalo, NY) published a piece on Jan. 5, 1827 from the *Religious Inquirer* (Hartford, CT) that started by quoting Mark 12:30 and then paraphrasing that verse this way: “that we should *Love him with all the heart, might, mind, and strength*” (Emphasis in the original).

Bible,³⁹⁹ so the members of the new organization are implored in verse 33 to, informally quoting a phrase in Mark 14:38 and Luke 22:46, “pray always, lest they enter into temptations.”

Verse 35 shifts to reflection on the previous passages, and Smith states that “we,” the new church, “know that these things are true and agreeable to the revelations of Jesus Christ.” More specifically, “these things” agree with those revelations that “was signified by his angel unto John,” alluding to Rev. 22:16. Smith further justifies the texts he is dictating and that the new church is accepting as divine revelation and new scripture by pre-emptively responding to the charge that he is going against the proscription in the Book of Revelation to not add anything to “the prophecy of this book.”⁴⁰⁰ Turning again to Smith’s text, he is “neither adding nor diminishing,” echoing language found in Deut. 4:2, “to the prophecy of this book,” alluding to Rev. 22:18. In verse 36 Smith states that it is God who has spoken the texts he has been dictating as new revelation and not himself, so “honor, power, and glory,” three words that appear together in the King James Bible only in Rev. 4:11 and 5:13, are to God and to no one else.

The majority of the rest of this text is administrative instruction for the new church, but there are a few remaining uses of the Bible. In instructing what to do for baptism, Smith states that whoever is humble and wants to be baptized needs to come “forth with a broken heart and a contrite spirit,” echoing a phrase only found in Ps. 34:18. After people are baptized they need, as verse 43 states, to be confirmed into “the church by the laying on of hands,” echoing the practice as it is found in Heb. 6:2. In verse 47 the priests of the church are instructed to “exhort them [members of the church] to pray vocally and in secret,” echoing Jesus’s Sermon on the Mount in Matt. 6:6. The priests are also supposed to help

³⁹⁹ The phrase “the living God” appears exactly thirty times in the KJV (15 OT; 15 NT).

⁴⁰⁰ Rev. 22:18.

ensure good relationships between members, including “no evil speaking” among them, echoing Eph. 4:31. In verse 60 Smith explains that elders, priests, teachers, and deacons are ordained and called “by the power of the Holy Ghost,” informally quoting Rom. 15:13. Verse 68 describes the duties of church members after baptism, and Smith mentions again “the laying on of the hands” to confirm members into the church.⁴⁰¹ The members of the church are instructed in verse 70 to bring their children to “the elders” to be blessed “before the church who are to lay hands on them in the name of the Lord,” echoing language found in James 5:14.

In the earliest manuscript copies of *Doctrine and Covenants* 20 the full prayers for baptism and the blessing of sacramental bread and wine were not included in the text. Instead, Smith, similar to what he did in section 4, left placeholders in the dictation by stating that “the manner of baptism & the manner of administering the sacrament are to be done as is written in the Book of Mormon.” The instructions for baptism found in 3 Ne. 11:23–28 and Mosiah 18:13, as well as the sacrament prayers found in Moroni 4–5, were later added to the text. The remaining verses, 80–84, are again mostly administrative in nature and language, but verse 80 echoes Gal. 6:1 to describe how anyone “transgressing, or being overtaken in fault” would “be dealt with according” to the scriptures. In verse 83 Smith instructs the church to, in the case of excommunicated members, expel them “so that their names may be blotted out,” echoing Ps. 109:13.

This section of the *Doctrine and Covenants* was crucial to the growth and organization of the early Mormon church. It provided instructions for local leaders in how to ordain men and give them priesthood authority. It explained how to perform baptism, who was allowed to baptize and be baptized, and how to confirm people into the church. It likewise explained

⁴⁰¹ In this form the phrase connects with Acts 8:18; 1 Thess. 4:14; and Heb. 62.

what to do with people who were causing trouble and how to expel them from the community.

This text also highlights, like many of the other dictated revelations Smith produced from 1828–1830, the extensive knowledge and ease with which Smith was able to take biblical language and create new texts. In this section only the parts of the text that described administrative concerns had a low amount of biblical language, and Smith was still able to fit many informal quotations, allusions, and echoes from different parts of the Bible into those sections. Composing the document was also a process, it did not happen in one sitting or one dictation. In its earlier forms Smith left out the full quotations of the sacrament and baptismal prayers and added them later for the convenience of the local leaders of the church. Smith actively used his knowledge of the Bible and compositional abilities to make *Doctrine and Covenants* 20 an effective tool for leaders and members in early Mormon history.

Revelation, 6 April 1830 [Doctrine and Covenants 21]⁴⁰²

This revelation was given the day Smith and a small handful of followers officially organized the Church of Christ. It details the central role that Smith would play in the new religious organization, how he would be the mouthpiece of God, a seer, translator, and apostle, and briefly describes Oliver Cowdery’s similar role in the new organization as well.

Verse 1 echoes Gal. 1:4 in saying that Smith’s calling in the new church is “through the will of God the Father,” and, borrowing from several other Pauline epistles and the book of Revelation, that it is through “the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ” that it is done.⁴⁰³ Verses 2 through 5 command the church to receive Smith’s words as if they came from God himself, and if they do it is said in verse 6 that, “the gait of Hell shall not prevail against you,”

⁴⁰² MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 126-130. The earliest extant version of this revelation was copied ca. March 1831 in Revelation Book 1.

⁴⁰³ The phrase “the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ” appears exactly ten times in the KJV (Rom. 16:20, 24; 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 8:9; Gal. 6:18; Phil. 4:23; 1 Thess. 5:28; 2 Thess. 3:18; Phlm. 1:25; Rev. 22:21).

informally quoting Matt. 16:18. Verses 8 and 9 both echo the phrase “the remission of sins,”⁴⁰⁴ found in several New Testament passages, and verse 9 echoes 1 John 2:2 for the idea that “Jesus was Crucified by the Sins of the world,” and that it takes a “contrite heart” to receive his atonement, echoing Ps. 51:17.

This revelation focuses on the gifts, actions, and accomplishments of Smith as the mouthpiece of God for the newly established church. It is the will of God that the members of the new faith follow whatever Smith dictates as if it is actually God speaking directly to them. If they follow his words then God, citing several New Testament texts, promises to protect them from evil forces.

*Revelation, 16 April 1830 [Doctrine and Covenants 22]*⁴⁰⁵

This revelation was dictated ten days after Smith and a small group of his followers officially organized the new church and the previous two revelations had been dictated. In the earliest extant versions of the revelation the text is joined to the end of *Doctrine and Covenants* 20, and was likely originally seen as an appendix to that section meant to clarify the requirements of baptism for anyone who joined the new church. When the text was copied into Revelation Book 1 it was separated from *Doctrine and Covenants* 20, and is now disconnected from that section in the Mormon canon by having section 21 in between the two texts. It is a brief section compared to most of the others at only four verses in length.

Verse 1 echoes Heb. 8:13 to describe “old covenants,” and how they have been “done away,” the latter phrase echoing a sentiment found in several New Testament verses.⁴⁰⁶ For this reason it does not matter how many times a person had been baptized before the church

⁴⁰⁴ The idea of a “remission of sins” appears exactly eight times in the KJV (Matt. 26:28; Mark 1:4; Luke 1:77; 3:3; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 10:43; Rom. 3:25).

⁴⁰⁵ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 137-138. The earliest extant version of this revelation comes from a printed version in the *Painesville Telegraph* from April 19, 1831.

⁴⁰⁶ See 1 Cor. 13:10; 2 Cor. 3:7, 11, 14.

was organized, they need to be re-baptized in order to have a valid covenant with God. This is essential according to Smith, or else people would not be able to “enter in at the strait gait,” alluding to a phrase in Matt. 7:13 and Luke 13:24. The end of verse 2 and beginning of verse 3 also echo Heb. 6:1 and 9:14, calling these actions “dead works.” The audience of the revelation, which is more broad than most of the previous revelations, are admonished to “enter...in at the gate,” alluding again to the phrase in Matt. 7:13 and Luke 13:24.

With each new dictation Smith highlighted his ability to compose new scriptural texts in a prophetic divine voice. Here he presents several New Testament phrases that invite the new members, or potential new members, of his church to view their required entrance into the faith through baptism like early Christians were supposed to view the covenants of the Hebrew Bible under Paul’s instructions. Anything else they had done prior to being a part of Mormonism was an old covenant and had to be fully renewed because those experiences were now “dead works.” Mormonism itself was a new covenant that moved away from and built upon Christianity just like Christianity in its earliest years was supposed to be a new covenant away from Judaism.

Revelation, April 1830-A, B, C, D, and E [Doctrine and Covenants 23]⁴⁰⁷

This section was originally five separate revelations for people close to Joseph Smith. Each of them wanted to know the roles they would play in the church organization, newly organized only a few days prior to the dictation of these texts. The texts themselves are brief, and because of that there is only a small handful of biblical phrases throughout all of section 23.

⁴⁰⁷ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers, Documents, Volume 1: July 1828-June 1831*, 130-136. The earliest extant version of this revelation was copied ca. March 1831 in Revelation Book 1.

Verse 1 echoes language found in Mark 14:38 and Luke 22:46, warning Cowdery to “beware of pride lest thou shouldest enter into temptation.” Verse 3 tells Hyrum Smith that “thy heart is opened & thy tongue loosed,” echoing language from Mark 7:35 and Luke 1:64. The revelations for Samuel Smith (verse 4) and Joseph Smith, Sr. (verse 5) are almost word for word the same and do not incorporate any clear biblical language. Instead, they instruct both of the men to exhort and strengthen the church. Verse 6 tells Joseph Knight, Sr. that he “must take up thy Cross,” echoing several New Testament texts.⁴⁰⁸ He is then commanded to “pray vocally before the World as well as in Secret,” echoing Matt. 6:6. The section ends by alluding to 1 Tim. 5:18, telling Knight, Sr. that he may “Receive the reward of the Labourer.”

All of these dictations work together to fit the leading men of the new faith in the context of the new church. None are allowed, except Smith and Cowdery, to preach to or exhort non-members of the faith just yet. They are still experiencing a time when they need to prepare and listen to the new revelations Smith is dictating to the small community. Within these texts he was providing biblically infused language and instructions for them to engage with at this early stage of Mormonism’s development.

Conclusion

After a close reading and comparison of Smith’s earliest revelations with their biblical sources it becomes apparent that Smith was much more familiar with the Bible during the years 1828–1830 than has often been acknowledged. By far the most common biblical texts that Smith utilized throughout these revelations were Matthew 4; 6:20; 21:22; Isaiah 29; several verses in John 1; and John 4:35. Smith was most comfortable with the language and

⁴⁰⁸ Matt. 16:24; Mark 8:34; 10:21; Luke 9:23.

ideas of the Johannine corpus, particularly the first chapter of the gospel of John, since he often quotes almost full verses and lengthy phrases from that chapter alone.

In descending order Smith's most used books of the Bible in his dictations between 1828–1830 outside of the *Book of Mormon* are the following: Matthew; John; Hebrews; Revelation; 1 Corinthians; Isaiah and Acts (same number of uses between the two); Ephesians and 2 Peter (same); Jeremiah and Luke (same); Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Psalms, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 John (same); Joshua, Job, Daniel, Micah, Zephaniah, Titus, Philippians, and Jude (same). In total, Smith used language at least once from thirty-three of the sixty-six books of the King James Bible.

Smith was also capable of incorporating language unique to the *Book of Mormon* into his revelations as well; as I showed for several of the dictated texts, particularly section 10 for example. This shows that the *Book of Mormon* is closely related to these early revelations, especially when you do a close reading of section 7 and its biblical sources. This section is important in its own right for how it engages with John 21:20–23, but also for the implications it has for understanding the composition of Alma 45 and 3 Nephi 28. I have shown that this section influenced the way that Smith composed 3 Nephi 28 due to his new understanding and interpretation of John 21.

While Smith did have little education compared to today's standards and expectations, it is clear upon a closer examination of the texts he alone dictated to his scribes that he had an even more applicable education for composing new religious texts. He grew up in a world where the Bible was integral to daily life in a way that would be incredibly difficult for anyone to replicate today. He and his contemporaries read books, especially the Bible, as a necessity of life, as Gilmore's study has previously shown. This type of background and education was much more conducive for Smith to produce the kind of religious literature

that he did. Noting that how Smith was situated in geographical and social contexts does not entirely explain how or why Smith composed new religious literature, found followers, and made his texts available in print as new scripture, since few of his contemporaries were producing hundreds of pages of new religious literature. But, it does go a long way toward showing that Smith was capable of completing such a feat and that scholars can trace the ways that Smith composed his texts. The material and literary record that he left behind supports the assertion that he was able to take biblical language and ideas and incorporate them into new and sacred literary creations.

CHAPTER 4

REWRITING EDEN WITH THE
BOOK OF MORMON

Joseph Smith, Jr. was born in Vermont in 1805, a time during the early American republic's history when the new nation was still going through the difficulty of developing a national identity.⁴⁰⁹ During his youth the country witnessed drastic changes between the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson and although the Smith family of Smith's childhood was never unified in church attendance they took religion seriously.⁴¹⁰ Growing up in between the Great Awakening and the Second Great Awakening meant that the Smith family thought often about their personal and family's relationship and standing with God. It would not be until the institutionalization of Mormonism in the 1830s that the family would come altogether under one religion. As Richard Bushman has noted, "if there was a personal motive for Joseph Smith Jr.'s revelations, it was to satisfy his family's religious want and, above all, to meet the need of his oft-defeated, unmoored father."⁴¹¹ Whether or not that was a part of Smith's motivation, his creation of a new religion accomplished the goal of bringing the family together.

Smith family tradition had long held the belief that an important seer or prophet would be born into the family. Initially, Smith's parents identified his older brother Alvin as the one that would likely fulfill this role, but he died before the family prophecy could ever

⁴⁰⁹ See Stephanie Kermes, *Creating an American Identity: New England, 1789–1825* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴¹⁰ Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph Smith, Jr.'s mother, eventually joined a Presbyterian church while her husband drifted away from institutional religion. See Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 25–26.

⁴¹¹ Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 26–27.

materialize.⁴¹² Smith recognized the important role his older brother played in these family expectations, since he claimed in September 1823 that an angel had instructed him to bring Alvin with him when he returned in a year in order to be eligible to remove the golden plates from the ground—the ancient record supposed to contain the text of the *Book of Mormon* in a reformed Egyptian script—but Alvin got sick and died that November.⁴¹³ The role was left for Smith to fill himself. He would visit the place where he met the angel almost once a year every September 22 (excluding 1825) until he was able to finally take them in 1827.⁴¹⁴ He would not begin dictating the text of the *Book of Mormon* for several more months.

According to Smith and several of his family members and friends that were present at the earliest stages of his work on the *Book of Mormon*, he took more out of the ground than simply a collection of metal plates.⁴¹⁵ He presented to his earliest audiences along with the plates a pair of spectacles and other items that would assist him in his process of dictating the text to a series of scribes. In reality, Smith would mainly depend on one of the seer stones he had used in his work as a treasure digger and town seer. His treasure digging had gotten him into trouble with local law enforcement only two years prior to his work on the

⁴¹² See D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Revised and enlarged edition; Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 158–159; and Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 55. According to a statement made by Joseph Smith, Jr.’s cousin George A. Smith in 1857, their grandfather Asael Smith was not surprised when Joseph Smith, Jr. produced the *Book of Mormon* because “he knew that something would turn up in his family that would revolutionize the world.” George A. Smith, “Joseph Smith’s Family—Details of George A. Smith’s own Experience, etc.,” *Journal of Discourses Delivered by President Brigham Young, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others, Vol. V.* (Liverpool: Edited and Published by Asa Calkin, 1858), 102.

⁴¹³ Bushman describes how stories about this circulated in 1827. Cf. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 54. Quinn more accurately makes clear that these were not just stories but accurate remembrances from a handful of individuals who all reported that Smith, Jr. was instructed by the angel to bring his brother Alvin the next year to get the plates. Cf. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 158–161.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 162.

⁴¹⁵ For contemporary accounts of the spectacles that Smith claimed to have found with the plates see Larry E. Morris, *A Documentary History of the Book of Mormon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 78–79, 183–184, 196, 311, 404. For the sword of Laban see Morris, *A Documentary History of the Book of Mormon*, 218, 381. For the Liahona see Morris, *A Documentary History of the Book of Mormon*, 113, 381.

Book of Mormon with Martin Harris in 1828. Smith would place a chocolate colored seer stone in a white stove top hat, and then dictate the text for hours.⁴¹⁶

By the summer of 1828 Smith had dictated a lengthy manuscript to his scribe and benefactor, Martin Harris. Harris owned a large farm on the north end of Palmyra, New York, about an hour walk away from the Smith family farm on the south end of Palmyra. Harris's wife, Lucy, did not appreciate the time or money that Harris was investing into the project, and several other family members and friends were similarly uncomfortable with the thought that he was being conned out of his money by a known treasure digger. In order to alleviate these tensions in the family Harris convinced Smith to allow him to take the manuscript home and promised to only show it to a select group of individuals. In the process the manuscript was lost, damaging Smith's and Harris's relationship and forcing Smith to suspend the project for several months. Although he would dictate a few pages to his wife Emma and other family members during the winter of 1828–1829, the project would not pick up again in earnest until the arrival of a distant cousin, Oliver Cowdery, in April 1829.⁴¹⁷ Cowdery had come to the area to teach in the place of his brother, who was unable to carry out his teaching contract with the school. He and Smith began working together on the *Book of Mormon* on April 7 where Smith, Emma, and Samuel had left off, and completed the project by July 1, 1829.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ See John W. Welch, "The Miraculous Translation of the Book of Mormon," in John W. Welch and Erick B. Carlson, eds., *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press and Deseret Book, 2005), 77–117.

⁴¹⁷ Cowdery was Lucy Mack Smith's third cousin. See Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 578, nt. 51.

⁴¹⁸ David Whitmer claimed that the latter part of the dictation of the *Book of Mormon*, which occurred at his father's house, lasted exactly one month from June 1 to July 1, 1829. See Lyndon W. Cook, *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness* (Orem: Grandin Book Company, 1991), 62.

Two significant developments in the region were occurring while Smith worked on the initial manuscript of the *Book of Mormon*, often referred to as the Book of Lehi,⁴¹⁹ in 1828 and the extant *Book of Mormon* in 1829: the rise of anti-Masonry and the Second Great Awakening. Anti-Masonry is often invoked in the secondary literature as crucial early nineteenth century context for understanding the composition of the *Book of Mormon*.⁴²⁰ Statements made by Martin Harris that it was an “anti-Masonick Bible” soon after the book’s publication support this idea,⁴²¹ as well as statements made by other contemporaries. One newspaper, reprinting a short article from the *Geauga Gazette*, noted that, “The Mormon Bible is Antimasonic, and it is a singular truth that every one of its followers, so far as we are able to ascertain, are antimasons.”⁴²² What is not often noted is the connection of the rhetoric of anti-Masonry with the broader discourse about secret societies from the founding of the United States to the 1820s. I will briefly highlight further below how anti-Masonry is not the only important context to consider when analyzing the composition of both the *Book of Mormon* and the *Book of Moses*. The broader movement against secret societies and its literature in early America provides that crucial context, especially in a post-French Revolution world where anti-Jacobinism played such a major role in the formation of early American national identity.

⁴¹⁹ See Don Bradley, “American Proto-Zionism and the “Book of Lehi”: Recontextualizing the Rise of Mormonism” (Master’s Thesis; Logan: Utah State University, 2018), 101–175.

⁴²⁰ Massimo Introvigne, “Freemasonry and New Religious Movements,” in Henrik Bogdan and Jan A.M. Snoek, eds., *Handbook of Freemasonry* (Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion, Vol. 8; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 308–309; and Dan Vogel, “Mormonism’s ‘Anti-Masonick Bible,’” *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, Vol. 9 (1989): 17–30.

⁴²¹ In an interview with the *Geauga Gazette* Martin Harris stated that the *Book of Mormon* was an “anti-Masonick” Bible. Cf. *Geauga Gazette*, March 15, 1831; and Dan Vogel, “Mormonism’s ‘Anti-Masonick Bible,’” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, Vol. 9 (1989): 17–30.

⁴²² “Antimasonic Religion,” *The Ohio Star* (March 24, 1831).

The Book of Mormon

The *Book of Mormon* relates a thousand year history of a group that emigrated from Jerusalem to the New World ca. 600 BCE. Upon arrival and the death of the patriarch of the family, a visionary prophet named Lehi that led his wife, children, and the family a man named Ishmael away from their homeland, the group splits into two factions who then create separate nations. The two groups, the Nephites (the fair skinned protagonists) and Lamanites (the dark skinned opponents of the Nephites), are constantly battling each other throughout the history, culminating in the eventual annihilation of the Nephites ca. 400 CE.

A “pride cycle” is a crucial aspect to the rise and fall of the either righteous or wicked Nephites, depending on where you are at in the narrative,⁴²³ but even more central to the major narrative arc of the book is the idea that since the beginning of time Satan, the “father of all lies,” has been instructing corrupt or wicked individuals like Cain to know “secret combination(s)” in order to gain financially, politically, get revenge, or make people miserable like himself.⁴²⁴ Satan “did plot with Cain, that if he would murder his brother Abel, it should not be known unto the world. And he did plot with Cain and his followers, from that time forth.”⁴²⁵ It is precisely these satanic methods that the main secret society in the *Book of Mormon*, the Gadianton Robbers, causes the most anarchic violence against the Nephite civilization.

Eventually, the civilization collapses because of secret combinations and the ongoing pride cycle detailed throughout the book. Although the Nephites had been provided with numerous prophetic figures among their group, and Jesus had even visited them after his

⁴²³ Grant Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 114.

⁴²⁴ The phrase “secret combination(s)” appears eighteen times in the *Book of Mormon*, and the phrase “the combinations of the devil” appears once.

⁴²⁵ Helaman 6:27. Quotations of the *Book of Mormon* in this chapter are from the 1830 edition. I include the current chapter and verse system used by the Utah-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for ease of reference.

resurrection, their pride and complacency destroy the possibility of the continuance of their civilization by the end of the story. In the end a lone Nephite wanderer named Moroni, the same individual Smith would later claim was the angel that led him to the plates, finishes the record and deposits the plates in the ground.

The Book of Moses

After the publication of the *Book of Mormon* in March 1830 and the organization of the church in early April, Smith dictated to Oliver Cowdery a new revelation on the Pentateuch in June as an introduction to a larger revisionary project meant to correct the entire Bible and prepare a new manuscript for publication.⁴²⁶ Although the exact date of the dictation of Moses 1 is unknown, it is likely that it took place between June 13 and 25, 1830.⁴²⁷ Smith worked on the text that would later become the *Book of Moses* from that time until February 1831.⁴²⁸ He continued working on the original manuscript, now designated Old Testament 1 (OT1), until stopping at Genesis 24:41 on March 7, 1831.⁴²⁹ It is only the material up to Genesis 6 on OT1 that this chapter will be examining.

Over the years some scholars have doubted that Moses 1 initially had any connection to Smith's revision of the Bible, thinking that since Moses 1 was called a "revelation" in the earliest manuscripts that it was something altogether separate in form and purpose from the

⁴²⁶ Scott H. Faulring, Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts* (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 2004), 63.

⁴²⁷ See Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents, Volume V* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2003), 433. Vogel notes that both Matthews and Quinn think that the dates June 23–30 are a better fit, but I agree with him that Smith would have been too busy during those dates to have been able to focus on dictating Moses 1.

⁴²⁸ The *Book of Moses* is a revision of Genesis only up to chapter six. See Faulring, Jackson, and Matthews, eds., *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts*, 63–64; and Michael Hubbard MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Documents, Volume 1: July 1828–June 1831* (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2013), 150–156.

⁴²⁹ MacKay, et al, eds., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Documents, Volume 1*, 275.

Bible revision.⁴³⁰ Some have even thought that Moses 1 was originally dictated and written on a manuscript that is no longer extant and then later copied onto OT1. Recently, Thomas Wayment has extended and built upon this argument in his essay, “Intertextuality and the Purpose of Joseph Smith’s New Translation of the Bible.”⁴³¹ I find this argument to be unlikely, and view OT1 as the first recording of all the material that later came to be known as the *Book of Moses*.⁴³²

*Eden in the Book of Mormon and
the Book of Moses*

Although the book of Genesis includes two separate accounts of creation written at different times by different authors centuries after the life of Moses, Joseph Smith and his contemporaries read the creation accounts in Genesis 1 and 2 as consistent and written by Moses himself. This comes through clearly in Smith’s additions to Gen. 2:5. Recognizing that this section of the beginning of Genesis has literary seams—seemingly irreconcilable issues, for example, in assuming that a single author would describe the creation of the world

⁴³⁰ See, for example, Royal Skousen, “The Earliest Textual Sources for Joseph Smith’s ‘New Translation’ of the King James Bible,” *FARMS Review* 17/2 (2005): 460.

⁴³¹ Thomas A. Wayment, “Intertextuality and the Purpose of Joseph Smith’s New Translation of the Bible,” in Mark Ashurst-McGee, Robin Scott Jensen, and Sharalyn D. Howcroft, eds., *Foundational Texts of Mormonism: Examining Major Early Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 74–100.

⁴³² Wayment’s essay is written in two parts, the first of which argues that Moses 1 was written on a now lost manuscript before it was copied onto OT1. The second part argues that Smith Christianized the Old Testament in his revisions of the Bible. I agree with the second part of the essay, but do not find the argument or the evidence in part one persuasive. For example, on page 84 of his essay Wayment argues that the scribe made a visual copying error when copying Moses 1 from its original manuscript to OT1. According to Wayment the scribe mistakenly saw “them” on the original manuscript, wrote that word into the sentence on OT1, then realized that word was wrong and crossed it out and wrote the correct “thee” next to it. The problem is the manuscript clearly reads “theee,” not “them,” as Wayment notes the accurate transcription from Faulring, Jackson, and Matthews in footnote 21 on the same page. On the line above the error and over three words to the left from “~~theee~~,” you find an example of the scribe’s handwriting for “them.” After the “e” the handwriting arcs vertically to make the first upward hook of the “m,” and the letter has three rounded upward hooks. The example of the error is not similar to the real example of “them” at all. After the initial “e” in the error Wayment describes, there are only two upward hooks, not three. Unlike the curved and unconnected hook, these two upward hooks are looped exactly like two cursive letter e’s. Some of the other textual examples that Wayment provides in support of his argument are similarly problematic, making it difficult to accept the idea that Moses 1 was originally dictated on a separate manuscript page from OT1.

in Genesis 1 and then state at the beginning of Gen. 2:5 that nothing had been created—Smith provided additional material to the text to smooth it over and diminish the issues in the text European scholars had been describing for several decades as problematic by the time Smith was doing his revisionary work.

Even if Smith never directly encountered the writings of European scholars he, like other early Americans, would have been made aware of some of the contours of this scholarship through reading copies of the Bible with notes and commentary from various eighteenth and early nineteenth century British and American scholars. As outlined in chapter two, broad generalizations of the contemporary critical scholarship in Europe acted as a sounding board, among other things, in identity formation in early America. For Smith, the general outline of the criticisms of the Bible, deemed “atheistic” and “heathen” by many of his pious American contemporaries, played an important role in his revisionary project. He would utilize a hermeneutic that sought, like scholars of the previous three hundred years before him, to get back to the earliest version of the text, but headed in the opposite direction by adding to and revising the text in order to smooth over and correct the issues that had crept into it over the centuries. Rather than assisting those interested in getting back to the earliest forms of the text Smith complicated the transmission history of the Bible by adding to it material not found on any biblical manuscripts rather than by returning to the earliest manuscripts to see what had changed over the millennia.

Like some of his contemporaries, Smith believed that Genesis 1 gave an account of the spiritual creation, and Genesis 2 an account of the physical.⁴³³ Accordingly, he added two

⁴³³ See Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of President Edwards, in Eight Volumes, Volume VIII* (Leeds: Printed by Edward Baines, 1811), 312; and Thomas Broughton, *The Age of Christian Reason: Being a Refutation of the Theological and Political Principles of Thomas Paine, M. Volney, and the Whole Class of Political Naturalists; whether Atheists or Deists* (London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, 1820), 147; and John Bellamy, *The Holy Bible, Newly Translated from the Original Hebrew: with Notes, Critical and Explanatory* (London: Printed for the Translator, 1818), 13.

and a half sentences to Gen. 2:5 in Moses 3:5 so that it reads, “I the Lord God cre-| -ated all things of which I have spoken spiritually before they were| naturally upon the face of the Earth.” God “had cre-| -ated all the children of men & not yet a man to till the ground.” Contrary to the way the text of the King James Bible portrays creation, according to Smith’s revision men did exist prior to Gen. 2:5, just not in physical form yet, “for in| Heaven created I them & there was not yet flesh upon the Earth neith| th[er] in the water neither in the air.”

With the addition of these two and a half sentences Smith attempted to reconcile one of the more serious arguments against Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in the nineteenth century. If his additions could be understood as restoring the text to its Mosaic purity, then there might be a viable argument against the idea that there are breaks in the text that mark distinctions in authorship and sources. The breaks are not indications of the seams between multiple sources but places where text had been removed and needed fixing. The text itself is not fundamentally broken since the inspired hand of Moses wrote it, Smith just needed to fix it and restore it to the same ideal state it was in when Moses first wrote the books under divine inspiration. The restored text makes explicit the dual spiritual and physical natures and the unity of the two chapters Smith read into Genesis 1 and 2.

As dozens of cases throughout Smith’s revision of the Bible highlight, Smith, like other early nineteenth century Americans, read the Bible harmonistically. Since the Bible was the word of God it could have no functional errors, enabling Smith to recognize the problems inherent in the transmission history of the Bible but also believe in a perfect or idealized form of the text. It was to this form that Smith sought to restore the Bible. Unlike most other early American Protestants, though, Smith harmonized the Bible not simply by reading

it through a specific theological lens but by actualizing that reading by adding it to the text of the Bible itself.

Smith believed that the Bible was the word of God but he did not believe that meant it was the only word of God or that God had stopped giving his word. The text of the *Book of Mormon* was also given that holy appellation, as well as the revelations that he had dictated to his scribes up to 1830 and the ones he would dictate in the remaining years of his life. The addition of these extra texts to the “word of God” meant the introduction of more passages that would need to be harmonized with one another and the Bible, especially because the *Book of Mormon* interpreted certain sections of the Bible in ways dissonant with traditional readings of the received text or cited versions of passages of the Bible that simply were not in the text itself.

In particular, although the entirety of the *Book of Mormon* relies on a version of Eden that includes Cain making oaths with Satan, clarifying a major literary issue that has perplexed readers for millennia, there is nothing in the text-critical history of Genesis 3–4 to suggest this relationship. It is simply unknown why the author of Gen. 2:4b–4:26 decided to depict God as accepting Abel’s offering and rejecting Cain’s. On the other hand, there are clear examples in the political literature of the early republic, particularly in the wake of the French Revolution and the demonization of Thomas Paine and Jacobinism, that provide important context to the stories about “secret combinations” among the Gadianton Robbers and the Jaredites of the *Book of Mormon*. These religio-political motifs provided explanatory power for Smith’s need to describe the way that civilizations can collapse, an integral aspect of the two main narrative arcs in the *Book of Mormon*.

Once this version of Eden and the expulsion from the garden were cited throughout the *Book of Mormon* Smith recognized the need to edit the version of Eden in the *Book of Mormon*

into the biblical text of Genesis 2–4. Smith understood either consciously or subconsciously after the *Book of Mormon* had been published that readers of the book would constantly be given a depiction of Eden and Cain’s murder of his brother Abel that was simply not in the biblical record. Only a few months after the publication of the *Book of Mormon* Smith would revise the story of Eden in Genesis to incorporate the specific version of Eden found in the *Book of Mormon*.

At points throughout the narrative of the *Book of Mormon* Smith brought together Isaiah 14, Revelation 12, and Genesis 3 in order to understand the identity of the serpent that “beguiles” Eve.⁴³⁴ This serpent convinces her to not only eat the forbidden fruit herself but to also persuade Adam to eat it as well. In 2 Ne. 2:17 Lehi, the grandfather of all Nephites and Lamanites, explains that he is convinced by “the things which I have read...that an angel of God, according to that which is written, had fallen from Heaven.” This angel turned devil from Revelation 12 became miserable and, in verse 18, wanted to make everyone else miserable as well. In order to do that he convinced Adam and Eve to eat the forbidden fruit, which in turn caused them to be expelled from the garden in verse 19.

In 2 Ne. 2:22–24 Lehi argues that if Adam and Eve had not fallen and been expelled from Eden they would not have had children and would have “remained in the same state which they were, after they were created; and they must have remained forever, and had no end...they would have had no children...they would have remained in a state of innocence, having no joy, for they knew no misery: doing no good, for they knew no sin.” In an

⁴³⁴ These three chapters were routinely brought together to form a depiction of Satan in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, see Daniel Defoe, *The Political History of the Devil* (Sixth Edition; London: Printed for W. Strahan, J. and F. Rivington, W. Nicoll, and S. Bladon, 1770), 34–35; and Thomas C. Upham, *Jahn’s Biblical Archaeology* (Andover: Published by Flagg and Gould, 1823), 226.

exclamation in verse 25 that has had great influence in the reception history of the *Book of Mormon*,⁴³⁵ Lehi states, “Adam fell, that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy.”

In his revision of Genesis Smith transfers this focus on joy and the possibility of never having children from the voice of Lehi to the mouths of Adam and Eve. After Adam and Eve had been expelled from the garden they came to the same theological conclusion as Lehi about their experience in Moses 5:10–11. For Adam the fall was a positive event in verse 10 because his “eyes are open,” echoing Gen. 3:5 and 7, and that he can now “have joy” “in this life.” Exactly like Lehi, Adam reads the ability to have joy into the experience of the fall. They are no longer innocent and are now able to know joy and pain.

In the next verse, Moses 5:11, Eve picks up on Lehi’s rhetoric at the point where Adam left off. Eve heard Adam’s exclamation about joy and then said, “were it not for|our transgression we should never had seed & should never had kn-|-own good & evil & the joy of our redemption.” Eve’s response encapsulates the structure and terminology of Lehi’s statement, moving from the idea of not having children if they had stayed in the garden to the idea that they could only have joy after being expelled from Eden. Eve’s comment that “we should never had seed” parallels Lehi’s “they would have had no children” perfectly, following the shift from third person in Lehi’s statement to second person in Eve’s. The suggestion found in the *Book of Mormon* that children and joy are the most important effects of Adam and Eve’s expulsion from the garden is not found in the text of Genesis, but after Smith revised Genesis 1–6 he edited this specific interpretation of Eden into it.

The rewriting of the Eden narrative and expulsion from the garden in the *Book of Mormon* goes beyond the story of Adam and Eve. All throughout the *Book of Mormon* Smith alluded to

⁴³⁵ For example, the “LDS Scripture Citation Index” lists 126 uses of 2 Ne. 2:25 in speeches by LDS general authorities from the present back to Joseph Smith. This only includes a small group of men at the hierarchy, and does not include the influence on the general population of Mormonism. See scriptures.byu.edu (Last accessed 3/24/2019).

the idea that “secret combinations” pose a threat to society and have been the downfall of many past civilizations. This concept is dependent on unique early American mistrust of secret societies and political and social radicalism in the wake of the French Revolution based on a particular reading of Cain’s action of murdering his brother Abel. In the *Book of Mormon* this interpretation of the Cain and Abel story is seen most clearly in a passage in the book of Ether.

Ether is a small addition to the text of the *Book of Mormon* that follows a narrative outside the thousand-year history of the battles between the Nephites and Lamanites. Heightening the disconnect between history and the story of the *Book of Mormon*, this group came to the New World soon after the confusion of languages at the Tower of Babel described in Genesis 11. The narrative describes how a man named Jared and his brother, only known in the book as the brother of Jared, leave the Near East, build boats, and cross the oceans to the western hemisphere. Once settled, the family creates great civilizations that end up fighting and killing each other just like the Nephites and Lamanites. Most significant for this study is the idea in Ether that “secret combinations” bring the downfall of civilizations, particularly beginning with the daughter of Jared, a different Jared than the one previously mentioned, in Ether 8.

The allusions to the Cain and Abel story in Ether 8:15 warn about the potential evil power of secret combinations, and says in part: “And Akish did administer unto them the oaths which was given by them of old, who also sought power, which had been handed down even from Cain, who was a murderer from the beginning.” Smith’s revision of the Bible alludes to *Book of Mormon* verses like Ether 8:15 when Smith has the Lord say in Moses 5:25 to Cain, “it shall be said in times to come that these abominations was had from|cain for he rejected the greater counsel which was had from God.” The warning found in Ether

represents an important turning point in a small narrative arc in the book that will lead to the destruction of the Jaredite nation.

In this narrative a wicked prince named Jared usurps his father's throne and places the king in jail. His brothers, angry at his actions, fight against him and destroy his army. The kingdom is returned to the rightful king and Jared's life is spared, but he is sad that the kingdom was taken from him. His daughter approaches him with a plan where she will dance for the man named Akish, who she believed would want to ask her father to allow him to marry her after the dance. This would allow Jared to request "the head of...the king" in return.⁴³⁶ His daughter asks the rhetorical question, assuming that he had read at least an early version of the book of Genesis, "Hath he [her father] not read the record which our fathers brought across the great deep? Behold, is there not an account concerning them of old, that they by their secret plans did obtain kingdoms and great glory?" Jared's daughter learned how to be cunning and devise a plan to take back power by reading similar stories in a presumed early version of the Cain and Abel episode.

Later in verse 15 she explains that these oaths or secret plans had been handed down since Cain. Smith retrojects this unique rewriting of Cain and Abel into the *Book of Mormon* narrative at a time around the Babylonian exile when a group of lost Israelites might have had some of the five books of Moses like that in the *Book of Mormon*. Taking it further, he places at least the beginning stories of Genesis into the hands of a group in the new world that had been disconnected from the ancient Near East since the Tower of Babel, which Smith's contemporaries would have dated to sometime in the third millennium BCE. The secret oaths and combinations that Jared's daughter introduces to Akish create an

⁴³⁶ Ether 8:10. There are obvious connections between this story and the New Testament story of Herodias working through her daughter's dancing for her husband Herod to have John the Baptist killed. Cf. Matthew 14 and Mark 6. The idea in Moses 5:50 that someone would scheme and kill for "the oath's sake" is found only in Matt. 14:9 and Mark 6:26.

underground society of murderers and assassins willing to kill for power, money, and the society and oaths they are a part of, but the desire for power sometimes overrides loyalty to members of the secret group. Akish, Jared's new son-in-law, later kills his father-in-law in order to take the throne, and violence in the kingdom eventually brings not only its downfall but also the end of the Jaredite civilization itself. All that is left of their society by the time the *Book of Mormon* people find them are bones, ruins, rusted metal swords, breastplates, and twenty-four plates of gold that have writing on them.⁴³⁷

The Jaredites are described this way in the *Book of Mormon* in order to focus on the perceived potential negative outcomes in the early United States of allowing secret societies to become normative within western civilization. The new American republic had to be especially wary of groups like the Jacobins or Masons, where the organization might attempt to overthrow the government in the name of anarchy or democracy or the potential of a member of a secret society murdering anyone in or out of the group who might attempt to reveal the group's secret oaths and covenants.⁴³⁸ Early Americans viewed both the Jacobins and the Masons as having the potential to do each respectively.

Another similar example of this rewriting of the Cain and Abel story is found in the book of Helaman in the *Book of Mormon*. The secret society in the Nephite and Lamanite histories comparable to Akish and the daughter of Jared in Ether is called the Gadianton robbers. By the time the reader of the *Book of Mormon* makes it to Helaman this group of

⁴³⁷ Mosiah 8:8–11.

⁴³⁸ The prime example of a secret group murdering a person because of the secret oaths or covenants the group practices is the popular case in the late 1820s of the disappearance of William Morgan. Previously a Mason, Morgan planned on publishing an exposé of Masonry and its secrets, and soon after finding a publisher disappeared in 1826 under mysterious circumstances. It was believed widely by Americans in the early republic as a clear case of the Masons in New York killing to protect their oaths, brotherhood, and secret rituals. It emboldened Americans of the 1820s and 1830s against Masonry, and reminded them of their fear of secret societies. Anti-Masonic political parties and newspapers sprang up all over the United States, and Masons had to go in hiding for several years due to the danger of their lodges and temples being destroyed by a mob. See William Preston Vaughn, *The Antimasonic Party in the United States, 1826–1843* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 1–9.

robbers has already caused major problems for the Nephite civilization. According to the author of the *Book of Mormon*, the origin of those problems goes back to the expulsion from the Garden of Eden and Satan's plotting with Cain to kill Abel. Again, there is no description of Cain plotting with any entity in Genesis 4 to kill his brother Abel, but in Smith's revision of the story we find this plotting added to the text of Genesis in Moses 5:28–33, 38–39.

In this passage Satan makes Cain swear by his throat to enter into a covenant with him, and to get his brothers, presumably other children of Adam and Eve besides Abel,⁴³⁹ to also swear to not tell the secret or else they will die. If Cain agrees to do this then Satan swears to “deliver thy brother Abel|into thine hands.” Later in Moses 5:33, Cain glories after he kills Abel because, as he says, “I am free|surely the flocks of my brother falleth into my hands.” Smith revises the text of Genesis to include the plotting between Cain and Satan alluded to in Hel. 6:27, in a way that connects with anti-Jacobin sentiments. Smiths has Cain say that he is “free” after he murders Abel, an idea steeped in the rhetoric against democracy, Jacobinism, and the French Revolution. Cain is free because his brother can no longer hold him back from the bounty of the flocks he now claims as his own. Just like the Jacobin of “Barruel Amended,” it is the fact that Abel had possessions and the support of the divine government that Cain allowed pride to turn to envy and hate, which led to his killing Abel.

A further connection between the two texts is the idea in Hel. 6:27 that part of the purpose of the plotting between Cain and Satan was that Cain's actions would be hidden from the world. In Moses 5:39 Cain laments that his actions “are|not hid from the Lord.”

⁴³⁹ According to Thomas Scott, a popular late eighteenth and early nineteenth century commentator on the Bible, “Adam and Eve had very many more children than are mentioned in this brief narrative; which was principally intended to record a few important particulars, and to trace the history, from the beginning to the time of Moses.” In *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, According to the Authorized Version; with Explanatory Notes, Practical Observations, and Copious Marginal References, by Thomas Scott, Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks, Vol. I.* (Boston: Published by Samuel T. Armstrong, 1824), 46.

Apparently, Cain only thought about hiding his secrets from other human beings and did not consider how God would still know about his plotting with Satan to murder his brother Abel. This version of the Cain and Abel story was a clear warning to any secret society that thought their wrongdoings would go unpunished; even if they got away with murder, like in the case of William Morgan, God would be just as aware of what the Masons or other secret societies did as he was of Cain killing Abel.

A passage in Ether 10:33 also alludes to the actions “of the ancients,” i.e. Cain, Lamech, and others who began the secret oaths with Satan. In this verse, only two chapters after the story about Jared and his daughter, a group of robbers appear in the Jaredite land that “administered oaths after the manner of the ancients.” Similar wording used to describe the actions taken by Cain is found in Smith’s revision in Moses 5:49. There the text says that Lamech became a “Master Mahon of that great secret which was administered unto Cain | by Satan.” The *Book of Mormon* alludes to secret oaths and combinations that had been around since Cain, using similar terminology and filling in the exact same gaps in the biblical record as Smith would add to the text of the Bible only months after the publication of the *Book of Mormon*.

As noted in chapter two, this closely follows an early American interpretation of the history of Jacobinism originally published as a book review series. In this series the reviewer argues that while the author of the several volume history of Jacobinism highlighted significant episodes in the background of the society, they had failed to fully contextualize the real historical origins of the movement. First, Jacobinism began, according to the reviewer, not in France in the late eighteenth century but in the war in heaven before the world was created. Satan had been banished from heaven due to his attempt to overthrow God’s power, divine government, and plan of salvation, in the process convincing a full third

of heaven to follow him. Second, Jacobinism continued in Satan's work to bring about the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. Satan's use of the serpent to convince Eve, out of the presence of her husband who might have known better according to the reviewer, to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil was only the second anarchic act in a string of Jacobinic events.

The third, in some ways the culmination of the other two, is when Satan influenced Cain to murder Abel either out of jealousy or the desire to take his belongings. Smith included all three of these major "Jacobinic" acts in his revision of Genesis, as well as being alluded to in various parts of the *Book of Mormon*. It is possible, due to the widespread negative views against secret societies in the early republic, that Smith caught onto a popular understanding of the origins of "secret combinations" and used that as a major building block in his textual productions. It is likely that he did not encounter the series of book review essays published in 1799, but the extent of the connections between the review series and Smith's religious literary productions should not go ignored. The review offers essential context in order to understand the historical, cultural, literary, and political contexts of Smith's literary productions during the late 1820s and early 1830s.

Smith as Author of All Additions to Genesis

Besides the preceding connections between the shared version of Eden in the *Book of Mormon* and the *Book of Moses*, there are other indications throughout Smith's revision of Genesis 1–6 that support the argument that Smith was the author of the revisions and the additions he made to the text.⁴⁴⁰ I will provide close readings of the composition of both

⁴⁴⁰ I have made my own transcripts of the earliest manuscripts of Smith's revision of Genesis 1–6 from high-resolution images at the Church History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah, as well as from the images in

Moses 1 and 7, the most significant additions to Genesis 1–6 outside of the changes made to the stories about Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel. As I will show below, these new compositions are based on specific language, concepts, and literary structures from New Testament texts. The dependence of these two chapters on the New Testament is of primary concern if scholars are going to understand how Smith’s additions to the text of Genesis were written.

Visions of Moses, June 1830 [Moses 1]

In the first section of Smith’s revision, now known as Moses 1 in the Mormon canon, Moses is “caught up into an exceeding high Mountain & he saw God face to face.”⁴⁴¹ The revelation has God showing Moses his creation of the earth and stating that if a man was to see all of the creations of God he would not “afterwards remain in the flesh.”⁴⁴² Moses is overpowered by the glory of God after the vision, and falls over because he has lost his strength. Satan visits Moses and commands him to worship Satan. Moses defies him and gets him to leave by invoking Jesus’s name. God’s glory then visits Moses again and they further discuss the creation of the world. The last several lines of the revelation, verses 40–42, act as a bridge between the revelation and the beginning of Gen. 1:1.

Smith sets Moses 1 in the same context as Matthew 4 by informally quoting in verse 1 the phrase “caught up into an exceeding high Mountain,” from Matt. 4:8. In verse 2 he states that Moses “saw God face to face,” echoing Gen. 32:30. In verse 3 Smith echoes Heb. 7:3 by having the voice of God state that “I am without beginning of days or end of years,” and then in verse 4 he echoes the phrase “thou art my Son,” found in several texts in the KJV.⁴⁴³ Smith echoes the Johannine phrase “mine only begotten” twice in verse 6, and then

Scott H. Faulring and Kent P. Jackson, eds., *Joseph Smith’s Translation of the Bible: Electronic Library* CD-ROM (Provo: BYU Press, 2011).

⁴⁴¹ Moses 1:1.

⁴⁴² Moses 1:5.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Ps. 2:7; Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5.

informally quotes another Johannine phrase to say that Jesus “is full of grace & truth,” and, echoing Isa. 44:6, that “there is none other God beside me.”

Jumping to verse 12, Smith echoes Matt. 4:1–3 when “Satan came tempting him,” and throughout this section utilizes phrases from Matthew 4. In verses 12 and 13 he informally quotes Matt. 4:6, 9 by having Satan say to Moses “worship me,” and having Moses call himself “a Son of God” and as being “in the similitude of his only begotten,” again utilizing language from John 1. Smith has Moses respond to Satan after he commands him to worship Satan with the same biblical verse that Jesus uses in Matt. 4:10, that he has been commanded to “Worship God for him only shalt thou serve.” In fact, that wording follows Matt. 4:10 rather than the biblical text Matt. 4:10 is quoting. Informally quoting Matt. 4:10 again, Smith has Moses say “Get thee hence Satan.” Smith then has Moses allude to Exod. 3:2–4, when “he called unto me out of the burning bush,” and until the end of verse 21 has him repeat “Depart hence Satan,” “only begotten,” and “worship me,” several more times. It is only at the end of verse 21 when Moses commands Satan to leave “in the name of Jesus Christ” that he does so.

Moses 1:22 ends the structural dependence in Moses 1 on Matthew 4, but there are more examples of influence from the New Testament in the first twenty-two verses that must be examined, as well as the influence of the New Testament on verses 24–42. There are also many verbal connections between Moses 1 and the *Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants* that I will briefly mention. I will only provide close readings of the most obvious intertextual connections between Moses 1 and the King James Bible, *Book of Mormon*, and *Doctrine and Covenants*.

Going back to the beginning of the chapter, Moses 1:3 has God saying he is, “without beginning of days or end of years,” a clear echo of the language and specific idea behind Heb.

7:3. Moses 1:4 uses the phrase, “the work- | -manship of mine hands,” language found in the Mormon canon only in Jacob 4:9; 7:36, 37, and 40; and D&C 29:25. Beginning in Moses 1:6 the phrase “only begotten” is echoed eight times throughout Moses 1 and the phrase only appears in the first and third chapters of the gospel of John, in Heb. 11, and 1 John 4.⁴⁴⁴ Moses 1:6 then informally quotes John 1:14, for the phrase and idea that Jesus is “full of grace & truth,”⁴⁴⁵ and shares the phrase “all things are present” to God with D&C 38:2.

Moses 1:9 has the phrase “marveled & wondered,” the two words are coupled together elsewhere in the Mormon canon only in 3 Ne. 11:1 and 15:2. Moses 1:10 shares the phrase, “for the space of many hours” with 1 Ne. 8:8; Hel. 14:21, 26; and 3 Ne. 10:1, and 2. Moses 1:14 echoes the phrase, “the natural man,” found in the King James Bible only in 1 Cor. 2:14, to describe how Moses did not have to be “transfigured” in order to be in Satan’s presence, a term used only in the King James Bible to describe Jesus in Matt. 17:2 and Mark 9:2. Moses 1:21 informally quotes Acts 16:18 for the phrase, “In the name of Jesus Christ” when Moses commands Satan to depart, and Moses 1:24 echoes 1 John 5:66–67 for the language and idea that “the Holy Ghost...beareth record of the Father & the Son.”

Moses 1:32 alludes to John 1:1–3 for the idea that Jesus is “the word” that created the world. The verse ends informally quoting John 1:14 again for the idea that Jesus is “full of grace & truth,” and Moses 1:34 echoes 1 Cor. 15:45 in describing Adam as “the first man.” Rev. 21:1 is echoed in both Moses 1:35 and 38 to describe how “as one Earth shall pass away & the Heaven...so shall another come.” Moses 1:40 looks forward to the attribution of Mosaic authorship of the creation accounts found in the Torah. The end of Moses 1:41 shares the phrase “as many as shall believe” with 2 Ne. 30:7 and 3 Ne. 9:17 and the

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. John 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; Heb. 11:17; 1 John 4:9.

⁴⁴⁵ See Nicholas J. Frederick, “Line Within Line: An Intertextual Analysis of Mormon Scripture and the Prologue of the Gospel of John” (PhD Dissertation; Claremont Graduate University, 2013), 336.

command at the end of Moses 1 shares a sentiment found in some of Smith's earliest revelations, the refrain to "shew them [the writings being dictated by Smith] not unto any except them that believe."⁴⁴⁶

The entire chapter of Moses 1 is dependent on the New Testament, knows late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century oral versions of several New Testament texts, and was dictated by Joseph Smith to his scribes in the middle of 1830 soon after the publication of the *Book of Mormon*. It likewise shares several phrases that are unique in the Mormon canon to the *Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and Smith's revision of Genesis in the *Book of Moses*. All of this indicates that this chapter not only originated with Smith's dictation of the text, but that he composed the chapter and utilized his knowledge of the Bible and his experience growing up in a biblically saturated, sermonic culture where the King James Bible informed everyday life in order to create a new scriptural text.

"Extract of the Prophecy of Enoch," ca. December 1, 1830 [Moses 6:24–7:69]

One of the more controversial and widely discussed aspects of Smith's revision of Genesis 1–6 is the addition of material between Genesis 5:21 and 22. In all he added just over five thousand words between these verses, comprising almost seven full dictated pages of OT1.⁴⁴⁷ This massive addition to Genesis expands on the character of Enoch, portraying him as an evangelical prophetic figure similar to Jonah or Paul. He is commanded by God to prophesy to the people and to tell them to repent.⁴⁴⁸ He is also told about how the children of Adam "have saught their own counsils in the dark and in their own abominations have they devised murder" and "foresworn ~~th~~ themselves and by their oaths they have eat un- | -to

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. D&C 10:34, 35.

⁴⁴⁷ This covers most of pages 12–19 in OT1.

⁴⁴⁸ Moses 6:27.

themselves death.”⁴⁴⁹ Enoch is commissioned to go and preach the Christian gospel and get the people to “choose...a God who made you.”⁴⁵⁰ Enoch has grown from the description in Genesis 5 of being a humble ancient Israelite patriarch that walked with God to a travelling, preaching, pre-Jesus Christian prophet as well as a military leader and city builder.⁴⁵¹ He converts multitudes and sees in vision future wars and the life, death, and second coming of Jesus,⁴⁵² and leads his city in righteousness in a way that it is not only Enoch who walks with God as in the biblical account, but the entire city is taken up to God to await the time of the Rapture.⁴⁵³

The way that Smith used the King James Bible as a source for composing Moses 1 is similarly found in Moses 7, although this chapter does not seem to be as dependent for its structure on a biblical precursor as the first half of Moses 1. It is related, however, to 1 Ne. 10–14 and the Book of Revelation in that it utilizes apocalyptic language and narrative motifs throughout. This chapter also shares a large number of linguistic connections to Smith’s other textual productions in the *Book of Mormon*, *Doctrine and Covenants*, and *Pearl of Great Price*. I will briefly describe these literary connections.

In Moses 7:1 the phrase “many have believed & became the sons of God” echoes John 1:12. Those who did not believe died and “are looking forth with fear in torment,” language borrowed from 1 John 4:18 and Rev. 18:10, 15. They look forth “for the firey indignation,” a

⁴⁴⁹ Moses 6:29.

⁴⁵⁰ Moses 6:33.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Moses 7: 13, 19.

⁴⁵² Moses 7:54–67.

⁴⁵³ Cf. the description in Moses 7:62–65, especially the following from vv. 62–63, OT1 p. 19: “...a place which I shall prepare an holy City that my people may gird up their loins and be looking fourth for the time of my coming for there shall be my tabernacle and it shall be called Zion a New Jerusalem and the Lord said unto Enoch then shalt thou and all thy City meet them there and we will receive them unto our bosom and they shall see us and we will fall upon their necks and they shall fall upon our necks and we will kiss each other.” It is noteworthy that in the book of Genesis the only city named Enoch is the one founded by Cain after murdering Abel. Cf. Gen. 4:17.

phrase echoed from Heb. 10:27, “of the wrath of God to be poured out upon them,” language found only in Rev. 14:10 and 16:1. The entire phrase can be found in Alma 40:14.

The name Mahujah in Moses 7:2 likely comes from Gen. 4:18, “And unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat Lamech.” In Moses 7:4 Enoch sees the Lord, “and...he stood before my face and he talked with me even as a man talketh one with another face to face,” echoing Exodus 33:11 and the description of Moses speaking with God. Moses 7:10 informally quotes Malachi 4:6, stating that Enoch was commanded to tell people to, “repent lest I shall come and smite them with a curse and they die.” The next verse informally quotes Jesus’ final command to his disciples in the gospel of Matthew, retrojecting that command to Enoch to, “baptise in the name of the father and ^{of} the Son.” The last half of verse 11 informally quotes John 1:14, noting that the Son is, “full of grace and truth,” and echoes 1 John 5:7 by stating that the Holy Ghost, “beareth record of the father and the Son.”

Moses 7:18 informally quotes Acts 4:32 to describe how the people of Zion, “were of one heart and one mind,” following eighteenth and nineteenth century oral shifts by swapping out soul for mind when quoting this verse.⁴⁵⁴ In describing how Zion “was taken up into heaven” in verse 21, Smith echoes the description of Jesus being taken up to heaven after his resurrection in Acts 1:11. Verse 24 echoes Isa. 6:1 in describing how Enoch “was high and lifted ^{up},” and then informally quotes John 1:18 by stating that Enoch was “even in the bosom of the father.” The title “the Son of man” appears several times throughout Moses 7, all falling back on a phrase referencing Jesus that appears eighty-three times in the KJV, all in the New Testament.

⁴⁵⁴ See Matthew Hole, *Practical Discourses on all the Parts and Offices of the Liturgy of the Church of England* (4 vols.; London: Printed by J. D. for W. Taylor, 1714), 136, 394; and “Letter from a Privy Counsellor on his Lady’s Death,” *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. 81, Part 2 (October 1811): 315.

One of the most significant uses of the Bible in Moses 7 starts in verse 25. Rev. 20:1 depicts the future binding of Satan for a thousand years. There, John sees “an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.” In Moses 7:25 Enoch sees “Angles decending out of heaven,” and in verse 26 sees “Satan and he [Satan] had a great € chain in his hand.” The tables have turned in Enoch’s vision as compared to John’s, where prior to his binding in Revelation 20 Satan has the chain and power over the earth. In Enoch’s vision Satan’s chain, “vailed the whole face of the earth with darkness and he looked up and laughed and his Angles rejoiced.” Smith also retrojects the events of 2 Cor. 12:2 and 1 Thess. 4:17, known commonly as “the Rapture,” into this version of the Enochic past by stating that many of Enoch’s converts “were caught up by the powers of heaven into Zion.”

Moses 7:38 alludes to 1 Pet. 3:19 by stating that those who “perish in the floods...will [be] shut...up ~~an~~ a prison have I prepared for them.” This New Testament verse is again alluded to in Moses 7:57, which also informally quotes Acts 7:55 and 56 to describe how those spirits in prison “came fourth and stood on the right hand of God,” but that, echoing 2 Pet. 2:4, “the remainder ~~wa~~ ^{^was} ~~were~~ reserved in chains of darkness untill the Judgement of the great day.” That final phrase, “Judgement of the great day,” is found only in Jude 1:6.

Similar to 3 Nephi’s dependence on the gospel of Matthew to describe atmospheric shifts and geographic destruction at the time of Jesus’ death,⁴⁵⁵ Moses 7:61 echoes Matt. 24:29 in describing how in the last days, “the heavens shall be darkened...and the heavens shall shake and also the earth and great tribulations shall be among the children of men.” Smith then echoes Rev. 20:8 in Moses 7:62 by borrowing the phrase “the four quarters of the earth” to describe where God’s elect reside, and Rev. 3:12 and 21:2 for the idea that

⁴⁵⁵ For a description of some of these literary connections see B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon* (ed. Brigham D. Madsen; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

there would be a “New Jerusalem.” Verse 65 then echoes Rev. 20:2, 4, and 6 by describing how in the last days a thousand year period would be set aside for peace. Verse 66 echoes Ezek. 26:18 to describe how the sea would be troubled, and then informally quotes Luke 21:26 to state that just before that time, “mens hearts [would be] failing them looking ~~fourth~~^{forth} with fear.”

This summary of the dependence of Moses 7, including the earlier analysis of Moses 1, on the King James Bible is necessarily brief and not exhaustive. To be able to analyze the entirety of the dependence of these two chapters on the KJV would fill too many pages. The purpose of summarizing this influence is to highlight how through literary and historical-critical analysis a lot can be learned about the author of these chapters. First, the author is thoroughly familiar with the New Testament and heavily utilized the gospels of Matthew and John and the book of Revelation to compose both of these chapters. Second, the language and concepts of the New Testament texts outlined above affected how the author of Moses 1 and 7 composed these chapters. The author knew the New Testament well. The chapters are inserted into Genesis 1–6 and do not originally belong there. They impose a Christocentric theological perspective on the source text, and reflect the development of Christian theology millennia after the original authorship of Genesis 1–6.

These chapters were added to the text of Genesis 1–6 by Smith. He dictated them to his scribes, and through a close reading I have been able to show briefly the depth and breadth of their dependence on New Testament thought and some of their connections to the other texts produced by Smith. This analysis provides evidence that Smith was able to construct new religious literature by utilizing the theological constructs he grew up believing to be normative within his early American Christian context. He brought together numerous passages from the Bible that he was familiar with through his own reading of that text, his

attending church and hearing sermons, and his visiting some of the revival preaching in the area that he grew up.

Smith seems to have enjoyed the ambiguity of the term translation when applied to his scriptural productions, and at least in the case of the *Book of Mormon*, whether one believes this applies to the entirety of the text or just the title page, Smith wanted to suggest that he was actually translating from one ancient language into his modern vernacular. In any case, when Smith applied the term “translation” to his work on the Bible it is clear that scholars need to consider Smith’s additions to the text as modern expansions to an ancient source. As far as literary and historical-critical analysis is concerned, it is doubtful that there is any other way to understand the influence of the King James Bible on Moses 1 and 7 except that their author knew the canonized King James Bible and inhabited the world of nineteenth century America.

Conclusion

Joseph Smith, Jr. dictated the extant text of the *Book of Mormon* during the spring of 1829. During that process he alluded to a version of the Eden narrative of Genesis 2–4 that is not located in the text of Genesis. This version, an account of Eden that focused on the necessity of the fall of Adam and Eve so that humans could have joy and Adam and Eve could have offspring, included also a unique story about the origins of secret societies. Satan inspired “secret combinations” when he tempted Cain with his brother Abel’s flocks and plotted with him to murder his brother in order to get his property. The idea that Satan had inspired secret oaths and societies was not unique to the *Book of Mormon*, but can also be found in the literature of the early American republic.

After the publication of the *Book of Mormon* the following year in March 1830, Smith began a large revisionary project on the Bible in June that would continue until mid-1833 when Smith and his associates claimed at the time to have completed the project. At the beginning of the project and beginning with Genesis, Smith began to edit the version of Eden found in the *Book of Mormon* into the text of Genesis itself. This would have provided, if it had been published in full during the 1830s, a version of the Bible for readers of the *Book of Mormon* that presented the same story of Eden as they encountered throughout the pages of the *Book of Mormon*. For some of the *Book of Mormon*'s earliest readers it was possible to get a taste of what this restored Bible would have entailed if they were subscribers to the earliest periodicals of Mormonism. Parts of Smith's Bible revision were published in a few of these periodicals during Smith's lifetime.

Whether Smith consciously or subconsciously edited the version of Eden as found in the *Book of Mormon* into the text of Genesis is probably impossible to prove. The point of this chapter has been to show that whether or not Smith purposefully edited this version into the Bible to ease the dissonance between the two texts the simple fact is that his additions and revisions to the Bible made the Eden narrative in the KJV read harmonistically with the *Book of Mormon* once he was done editing the text of Genesis 1–6. The added voices of Adam and Eve in his revision of the Bible are synonymous with Lehi's voice in 2 Nephi 2, and the depictions of the secret societies in Helaman and Ether find their way into the text of Genesis 4 as well. Where there was no "plotting" between Cain and Satan before Smith edited the biblical text, you have a full narrative explaining why Cain's offering was rejected (i.e. he made the offering at the instruction of Satan, not God) and how Cain and Satan came up with a plan to get rid of Abel quietly. These additions to Genesis do not hearken back to an early version of the textual history of the book but rather evince specific historical

developments in Christian theology leading up to the nineteenth century.⁴⁵⁶ This is not a case of the *Book of Mormon* using as its source text an ur-text of Genesis on the Brass Plates and, independently from the *Book of Mormon* Smith restoring Genesis to its former condition. Instead, both texts build upon the English version of Genesis and share the same source in the person that dictated both: Joseph Smith, Jr.

It has been viewed as adequate historical work in previous secondary literature to connect the *Book of Mormon* description of secret combinations and murders with the American anti-Masonic movement of the late 1820s. While that context is able to explain many of the ideas and many of the linguistic connections between the *Book of Mormon* and the *Book of Moses*, it does not adequately explain aspects of these texts like the idea that the origins of secret societies goes back to the war in heaven, the fall of Adam and Eve, and Cain's decision to kill Abel. It likewise does not describe the message at the heart of the *Book of Mormon*: secret societies lead to the destruction of civilizations, and the young American nation needed to be aware of that danger according to anti-Jacobin writers. For this part of the *Book of Mormon* and the *Book of Moses* it is necessary to move from the negative reactions to Masonry in the 1820s back in time to American reactions against the French Revolution in the 1790s. It is this movement that provided the intellectual landscape to the anti-Masonic movement, its language, motifs, and literary and political networks.

Before Americans collectively understood the phrase “secret combinations” as an allusion to Freemasonry, conservative American patriots had been fighting against a mostly imaginary enemy that in reality had been an open and public social and political club in France in the wake of the French Revolution. A series of myths were built up around the

⁴⁵⁶ Noel B. Reynolds, “The Brass Plates Version of Genesis,” in John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also by Faith, Volume 2: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday 27 March 1990* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1990), 136-173.

Jacobins that centered on all of the very worst of the acts of revolutionaries like Robespierre. Fear of a populist uprising that could destroy the hard earned unity of the early republic fueled the development of early American political action against secret societies. By the late 1820s anti-Masons were well equipped to organize a strong movement against their perceived enemies, Freemasons.

Since Smith grew up in the center of this political fighting, and was working on his dictation of the *Book of Mormon* in the middle of it, it is understandable that he would pick up on the broader language and motifs of American angst against these groups in a narrative that he would author. The narrative would describe the destruction of a thousand year old civilization as based on the development and success of a secret society inspired by Satan in the same way that he inspired Cain to kill Abel and taught him the ancient, satanic methods of murdering to get gain, revenge, or to simply cause anarchic chaos. This message from the *Book of Mormon* against allowing secret societies to take hold of civilizations was a warning and a message from Smith to his contemporary Americans to not allow the same thing that happened to the destroyed ancient white race to befall contemporary America. Once that message was securely placed in the narrative context of the *Book of Mormon*, this narrative's foundations, the first several chapters of Genesis, needed to support this argument as well. After Smith completed editing Genesis the Eden narrative could then support the allusions to Eden in the *Book of Mormon*.

CONCLUSION

The European Renaissance of the fourteenth century and the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth led to the growth of the serious study of the ancient world and the Bible. Through the engagement with early sources and the push toward studying the past through lenses not dictated by traditional or institutional sources of knowledge induced scholars and intellectuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to rethink the chronological history of the world, the age of the earth, and the relationship of different tribes and nations around the world to one another and, ultimately, to the Bible.

Leading scholars from the end of the seventeenth century onwards began reject the idea that the world was only six thousand years old, began to question the legitimacy of the assumption that the Bible could function as the foundational document upon which a nation or state could hold its citizens responsible at the same time the Bible was influencing the development of new political structures and legislation, and began to reject the idea that the Bible was infallible and that all its statements were a priori true.

The authority of the Bible at the state or national level was called into question, but for many people this meant the need to turn to the Bible for personal direction. Spinoza could argue convincingly that the Dutch Republic should not be held hostage to specific theological interpretations of a small ecclesiastical ruling class while at the same time the seventeenth century became, in a tangible way, the “century of the Bible.” Although Spinoza’s contemporaries found many of the specific claims he made in the *Tractatus Theologico Politico* blasphemous, they could not help seeing the utility of Spinoza’s point that when a different ecclesiastical body was in power they dictated, according to their political

needs, wants, or desires, exactly how the Bible was applied in legal terms, something that is only a positive thing if it is your group that is in power.

The specific arguments Spinoza, Hobbes, La Peyrère, Leclerc, and others made about the authorship of the separate books of the Bible also helped to generate new discourses and networks of academic inquiry. Scholars intensely studied variants between extant manuscripts of the books of the Bible, the neighboring nation-states of Israel in the ancient Near East, and began to explore systematically what the text of the Bible itself could tell post-Reformation enlightenment thinkers about its history. These changes in the relationship between early modern Europeans and the Bible created a series of historical arguments then deemed by many ecclesiastical bodies as heretical. Moses was no longer the sole divinely inspired author of the Pentateuch, or at the very least of Genesis 1 through the end of Exodus 2.

As time went on the Bible started to become irrelevant not only for the establishment of the laws of European nations, but also irrelevant on a personal and national bases. It was this shift that worried ecclesiastical leaders in Europe and the colonies in North America by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and most of the church and community leaders in the English speaking world did their best to slow the spread of these ideas. Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards were both unique in that they not only responded to the heretical arguments head on, but in some cases they adopted the arguments or the naturalistic or rational methods that undergirded the arguments themselves. As Michael J. Lee has recently shown, the adoption of these methods was not widespread in the United States until the early nineteenth century, but it was the defenders of the Bible who adopted these methods that accidentally drove the erosion of the Bible's authority.

It was in this context that the children of the early national period were learning how to read and write through memorizing lengthy passages of the Bible, hymns, catechisms, or classical literature. Biblical criticism, especially as it related to the writings of Thomas Paine, was crucial to identity formation during this period. For most Protestant Americans the heretical opinions or beliefs of Paine and continental European biblical scholars acted as a defining image of what not to be. For others, the arguments made by Paine and these scholars provided reasons to reject institutional religion and become a Unitarian, a Universalist, or a Seeker, waiting for God to reveal more eternal truth to the world.

For early Americans of all backgrounds and beliefs within the broad spectrum of Christianity—which most early Americans found themselves in—the Garden of Eden played a major role in defining one’s identity. It informed one’s position with God as a fallen and sinful human being. It provided a lense to see the vast expanse and seemingly infinite possibilities of the American landscape, or it provided terrifying images of a post-lapsarian struggle with the untamed wilderness. The Eden narrative helped to explain the origins of secret societies, murder, and the real or potential breakdown of civilization, or the hope to return to an Edenic state and this time not fail to live up to the commands of God. In numerous and varied ways the Eden myth provided fertile source material for the development in the early American republic of personal, regional, and national identity. The Bible played a more crucial role in this development than it is often given credit for, and, even though it has been recognized far and wide as a major influence in American as compared European thought of the last few centuries, the exact nature of that influence has not been given the attention it deserves.

The influence and prevalence of the Bible in early America—in educational practices, political debates, social interactions and expectations, and in language and thought—all

affected millions of average early Americans on a daily basis. It is in this kind of world that a religious reformer like Joseph Smith could thrive. It is also within this world that Smith was schooled by an educational pedagogy focused on the text of the Bible, and it is exactly that training that provided him and contemporary students with the words and language of the King James Bible. Average students at common schools and Sunday schools memorized large quantities of biblical verses by today's standards, text that was meant to fill idle minds with moral thoughts and keep the minds centered on one's relationship with God. While Smith was unique in dictating lengthy new compositions to his scribes, it was far from unique in the early nineteenth century to dictate lengthy texts. It was a part of the experience of every student in early America to memorize and dictate texts to the teacher and the classmates. Whether or not Smith had some of his compositions memorized, it is clear that the way he learned to read and write during his years in common schools assisted in his abilities to dictate texts to a scribe. The analysis in chapter three makes it clear that Smith put to use his biblical education by dictating new religious literature.

In chapter four I focus on the literary and textual connections between the version of Eden in the *Book of Mormon* and in Smith's revision of Genesis 1–6 in the *Book of Moses*. Smith felt the need to harmonize the *Book of Mormon* and the Bible soon after the former's publication, and to do so it was necessary to add to Genesis a narrative about Cain making an oath with Satan to kill Abel and learn great secrets, the exact story that *Book of Mormon* characters alluded to throughout the text. Likewise, Adam and Eve could offer an exegesis on their experience with the Fall. Like Lehi's approach to the Fall, Adam, and particularly Eve, say that the Fall is a good thing. Without it they could not have had joy and they could not have fulfilled God's commandment to multiply and have children.

In my analysis I offered new potential areas of exploration for future scholarly work. While Masonic and anti-Masonic themes in Mormonism have provided fruitful ground for academic inquiry into the *Book of Mormon*, the Nauvoo period of Mormon history and the development of the Mormon temple endowment, and Mormon culture since then, extending the connections to the much broader historical and cultural contexts in the early national period highlights the potential scholarship that could be explored with these wider cultural networks in the early Mormon experience. Anti-Jacobinism fueled the negative response to Tom Paine, and, although most scholars are aware of the importance of Tom Paine's influence on deism in early America and on Smith's own family, very few scholars of Mormon history shown any signs of being aware of the movement against that influence.⁴⁵⁷ Anti-Jacobin literature enjoyed a long-lasting literary presence well after the French revolution because early Americans continued to be afraid of a populist uprising—based on groups that met in secret and made oaths to bring down current forms of government and make successful people as miserable as themselves—that would destroy the new nation.

Without this added historical setting many aspects of the *Book of Mormon* and the *Book of Moses* would be much more difficult to understand and explain. Anti-Jacobin literature is an area that should be mined for more literary, historical, and theological comparisons with Mormon texts. This thesis only offers a few of the more obvious and significant connections that could be made; many more are only waiting to be discovered.

In this thesis I have not attempted to offer a model for understanding how Joseph Smith, Jr. composed the *Book of Mormon*, that would be a much larger and very different project. Rather, I have attempted to explain the political, literary, and historical contexts at the heart

⁴⁵⁷ One recent exception, although not applied to Mormon history, is Benjamin E. Park, *American Nationalisms: Imagining Union in the Age of Revolutions, 1783–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 71–73.

of the version of Eden that Smith accepted and offered to his readers as the biblical account, and the way that he composed his additions to the text of Genesis 1–6. This version of Eden was a central component of the *Book of Mormon*, and important enough to Smith that he edited it into the Bible. I have also attempted to provide a thoroughly interdisciplinary approach to the question of how to explain the similarities of the Eden narratives in the *Book of Mormon* and the *Book of Moses*, and have highlighted the ways that Smith utilized literary structures in New Testament texts to compose his additions to Genesis.

I have approached the question as both a historian and a literary critic. In the past the best historical work on Mormon history has failed to account for the centrality of Mormon literature on the development of the religion and its adherents. On the other hand, there have been many informative literary approaches to Mormon texts that have most often eschewed questions of history and have not been careful about incorporating rigorous methodology, especially when grappling with the influence of the New Testament on the composition of Mormon scripture. For many this subfield in American religious history has seemed to be mired in polemics for far too long and, because of that, has been viewed as an untouchable academic area. I hope that this study, along with several others that will be in print soon,⁴⁵⁸ will do much to change that impression and invite other scholars to explore this important subfield of early American national history.

⁴⁵⁸ See especially Elizabeth Fenton and Jared Hickman, eds., *Americanist Approaches to The Book of Mormon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

APPENDIX:
A TRANSCRIPTION OF OLD TESTAMENT 1

[Page 1; Chapter 1]

A Revelation given to Joseph the Revelator June 1830

[1] The words of God which he ^{gave}^{spake} unto Moses at a time | when Moses was caught up into an exceeding high Mountain [2] & he saw | God face to face & he talked with him & the glory of God was upon Mo- | -ses therefore Moses could endure his presence [3] & God spake unto Mo- | -ses saying Behold I I am the Lord God Almighty & endless is | my name for I am without beginning of days or end of years & is this not | endless [4] & behold thou art my Son Wherefore look & I will shew thee the work- | -manship of mine hands but not all for my works are without end & also my wo- | [-r]ds for they never cease [5] wherefore no man can behold all my works except he | behold ^{all} my glory & no man can behold all my glory & afterwards remain in the | flesh [6] & I have a work for thee Moses my Son & thou art in similitude to ~~my~~^{mine} | only begotten & mine only begotten is & shall be for he is full of grace & truth bu[t] | there is none other God beside me & all things are present with me for I know | them all [7] And now behold this one thing I shew unto thee Moses my | son for thou art in the world & now I shew it thee [8] And it came to | pass that Moses looked & beheld the world upon which he was created & | [as] Moses beheld the wor{d/l}d & the ends thereof & all the children of men which | was & which was created of the same he greatly marvelled & wondered [9] & | the presence of God withdrew from Moses that his glory was not upon | Moses & Moses was left unto himself & as he was left unto himself | he fell unto the Earth<,> [10] And it came to pass, that it was for the space | of many hours before Moses did again receive his natural strength | [lik]e unto man, & he saith unto himself ~~no~~ Now for this once I know that | [m]an is nothing, which thing I never had supposed<,> [11] but now mine eyes, | mine own eyes but not mine eyes for mine eyes could not have beheld for I shou[-] | -ld have withered & died in his presence but his glory was upon me & I be- | -held his face for I was transfigured before him [12] And now it came to | pass that when Moses had said these words<,> behold<,> Satan came tempting | him saying<,> Moses<,> Son of man<,> worship me<,> [13] And it came to pass that | Moses looked upon Satan & saith<,> Who art thou for behold<,> I am a | Son of God in the similitude of his only begotten<,> & where is thy glory that I | should worship thee<,> [14] for<,> behold<,> I could not look upon God except his ⁴⁵⁹ | glory should come upon me<,> & I were transfigured before him but I ca[n] | look upon thee in the natural man<,> if not so surely [15] blessed be the name | of my God for his Spirit hath not ~~d-d~~ altogether withdrawn from m[e] | or else where is thy glory for it is blackness unto me & I can Judge betw- | -een thee & God for God said unto me Worship God for him only shalt | thou serve [16] Get thee hence Satan deceive me not for God said unto me | Thou art after the similitude of mine only begotten [17] & he also gave unto | [m]e commandment when he called unto me out of the burning bush saying | [c]all upon God in the name of mine only begotten & worship me [18] And again | Moses saith I will not cease to call upon God I have other things to | inquire of him for his glory has been upon me & it is glory unto me wherefore | ~~&~~ I can judge

⁴⁵⁹ There are a couple of ink lines after "his." It is possible that the scribe thought there would be room for including "glory" on the line and started the circle of the g, then crossed it out with what looks like the tip of an arrow pointing left.

bet{w/w}ixt him & thee depart hence Satan [19] And now when Mose[s] | [h]ad said these words Satan cried with a loud [voice &] went upon the Ear[th] [Page 2] – & commaded saying I am the only begotten worship me [20] And it came | to pass that Moses began to fear exceedingly & as he began to fear he | saw the bitterness of Hell Nevertheless calling upon God he received stren- | -gth & he commanded saying & Depart hence Satan for this one God only | will I worship which is the God of glory [21] & now Satan began to tremble | & the Earth shook & Moses receiving strength called upon God saying | In the name of Jesus Christ depart hence Satan [22] And it came to pass that | satan cried with a loud voice with weeping & wailing & gnashing of teeth | & departed hence yea from the presence of Moses that he beheld him not | [23] And now of this ~~thing~~^{thing} Moses bore record but because of wickedness it is | not had among the children of men [24]⁴⁶⁰ And it came to pass that when | Satan had departed from the presence of Moses he lifted up his | eyes unto Heaven being filled with the Holy Ghost which beareth | record of the Father & the Son [25] & calling upon the name of God he beheld | again his glory for it was upon him & he heard a voice saying Blessed | art thou Moses for I the Almighty have chosen thee & thou shalt | be made stronger than the many waters for they shall obey thy comman[d] | even as if thou wert God [26] & lo I am with you even to the end of thy days | for thou shalt deliver my people from bondage even Israel my chose[n] | [27] And it came to pass as the voice was still speaking he cast his eyes & [he] | beheld the Earth yea even all all the face of it & there was not a particl[e] | [o]f it which he did not behold discerning it by the Spirit of God [28] & he be- | -held also the inhabitants thereof & there was not a soul which h[e] beheld | not & he discerned them by the Spirit of God & their numbers were grea[t] | even as numberless as the sand upon the sea shore [29] & he beheld many lands | & each land was called Earth & there were inhabitants upon the face there | -of [30] And it came to pass that Moses called upon God saying tell me I pray | thee why these things are so & by what thou madest them [31] & behold the glory | of God was upon Moses that Moses stood in the presence of God & he talk[ed] | with him face to face & the Lord God said unto Moses For mine own | purpose have I made these things here is wisdom & it remaineth in me | [32] & by the word of my power have I created them which is mine only be- | -gotten Son full of grace & truth [33] & worlds without number have I cre- | -ated & I also created them for mine own purpose & by the same [I] | created them which is mine only begotten [34] & the first man of all men | have I called Adam which is many [35] but only an account of this | Earth & the inhabitants thereof give I unto you for behold there are | many worlds which have passed away by the word of my power [&] | there are many also which now stand & numberless are they unto man bu[t] | all things are numbered unto me for they are mine & I know them | [36] And it came to pass that Moses spake unto the Lord saying Be merciful | [u]nto thy servant O God & tell me concerning this Earth & the inhabitants | [ther]eof & also the H[eavens &] then thy servant will be content [Page 3]⁴⁶¹ [37] And the Lord God spake unto Moses saying the Heavens there are many | & they cannot be numbered unto man but they are numbered unto | me for they are mine [38] & as one Earth shall pass away & the Heavens there | -of even so shall another come And there is no end to my works neither my | words [39] for behold this is my work to my glory to the immortality & the | eternal life of man [40] And now Moses my Son I will speak unto you concer- | -ning this Earth upon which thou standest

⁴⁶⁰ The amount of ink changes dramatically on line 11 and gets much lighter for the rest of the page, either indicating a change of scribe or at least a break in time from the text that was written before. Since the scribe is Cowdery it is likely the latter.

⁴⁶¹ The number “3” is barely visible at the top right hand corner of this page.

& thou shalt write the things wh- | -ich I shall speak [41] & in a day when the children of men shall esteem my | words as nought & take many of them from the Book which thou shalt write | behold I will raise up another like unto ~~these~~ thee & they shall be had | again among the Children of men among even as many as shall believe | [42] These words was spoken unto Moses in the mount the name of which | shall not be known among the Children of men And now they are | also spoken unto you shew them not unto any except them that believe ^{^Amen}

A Revelation given to the Elders of the Church of Christ
On the first Book of Moses ~~given to Joseph the Seer~~

Chapter First—————

[Chapter 2]

[1] And it came to pass that the Lord spake unto Moses saying Behold | [I] reveal unto you concerning this Heaven & this Earth write the words | which I speak I am the beginning & the end the Almighty God by mine | only begotten I created these things yea in the beginning I created the | Heaven & the Earth upon which thou standest [2] & the Earth was without | form & void & I caused darkness to come up upon the face of the deep | & my Spirit moved upon the face of the waters for I am God [3] & I God | said Let there be light & there was light [4] & I God saw the light & the | light was good & I God divided the light from the darkness [5] & I God call | -ed the light day & the darkness I called night & this I done by the ~~wo~~ | Word of my power & it was done as I spake & the evening & the morning were | the first day [6] And again I God said let there be a firmament in the ~~midst~~ ^{^midst} | of the waters & it was so even as I spake And I said Let it divide the wa- | -ters from the waters & it was done [7] & I God made the firmament & divide[d] | the waters yea the great waters under the firmament from the waters | which were above the firmament & it was so even as I spake [8] And I God | called the firmament Heaven & the evening & the morning were the second | day [9] And I God said Let the waters under the Heaven be gathered to- | -gether unto one place & it was so & I God said Let there be dry land [&] | it was so [10] & I God called the dry land Earth & the gathering together ^{^of} the | waters called I ^{^the} Seas & I God saw that all things which I had ma[de] | were good [11] & I God said Let the Earth bring forth grass the herb yield | ing seed the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind & the tree yielding | fruit whose seed should be in itself ~~after~~ upon the Earth & it was so even as | I spake [12] & the Earth brought forth grass every herb yielding seed after his | kind & the tree yielding fruit whose f seed should be in itself after it[s] | kind——[Page 4]⁴⁶² And I God saw that all things which I had made were good [13] & the eve- | -ning & the morning were the third day [14] And I God said Let there be lig- | -hts in the firmament of the Heaven to divide the day from the night & | let them be for signs & for seasons & for days & for years [15] & let them | be for lights in the firmament of the Heaven to give light upon | the Earth & it was so [16] & I God made two great lights the greater | light to rule the day & the lesser light to rule the night & the grea- | -ter light was the Sun & the lesser light was the moon & the stars | also was made even according to my word [17] & I God set them in | the firmament of the Heaven to give light upon the Earth [18] & the | Sun to rule over the day &

⁴⁶² The number “4” is written in the top left corner of this page.

the moon to rule over the night & to |divide the light from the darkness & I God saw that all things |which I made were good [19] & the evening & the morning were the fourth |day [20] & I God said Let the waters bring forth abundantly the move-|-ing creature that hath life & fowl which may fly above the Earth in |the open firmament of Heaven [21] & I God created great whales & ev-|-ery living creature that moveth which the waters brought forth |abundantly after their kind & every winged fowl after his kind & |[^] God saw that all things which I had created were good [22] & I God |blessed them saying be fruitful & multiply & fill the waters in the |Seas & let fowl multiply in the Earth [23] & the evening & the morning |were the fifth day [24] & I God said Let the Earth bring forth the |living creature after his kind cattle & creeping thing & beast ^{^of the earth} after |his kind & it was so [25] & I God made the beast of the Earth after his |kind & cattle after their kind & every thing which creepth upon the Ear-|-th after his kind & I God saw that all these things were good [26] & I God |said unto mine only begotten which was with me from the begin-|-ning Let us make man in our image after our likeness & it was s[o] |& I God said Let them have dominion over the fish of the Sea & over |the fowl of the air & over the cattle & over all the Earth & over every |creeping thing that creepeth upon the Earth [27] So I God created man |in mine own image in the image of mine only begotten created |I him male & feemale created [I]⁴⁶³ them [28] & I God blessed them |& I God said unto them Be fruitful & multiply & replenish the Earth |& subdue it & have dominion over the fish of the Sea & over the fowl |of the air & over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth [29] & I God |said unto man Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed wh-|-ich is upon the face of all the Earth & every tree in the which shall be the |fruit of a tree yielding seed to you it shall be for meat [30] & to every beast |of the Earth & to every fowl of the air & to every thing that creepeth upon |the Earth wherein I grant life there shall be given every clean herb [Page 5] for meat & it was so even as I spake [31] & I God saw every thing that |I had made & behold all things which I had made were ~~very~~^{very} |good & the evening & the morning were the sixth day————

[Chapter 3]

[1] Thus the Heaven & the Earth were finished & all the host of them [2] & |on the seventh day I God ended my work & all things which I had |made & I rested on the seventh day from all my work & all things wh-|-ich I had made were finished & I saw that they were good [3] & I God |blessed the seventh day & sanctified it because that in it I had res-|-ted from all my work which I God had created & made [4] And now |behold I say unto you that these are the generations of the Heaven & of |the Earth when they were created in the day that I the Lord God made |the Heaven & the Earth [5] & every plant of the field before it was in the |Earth & every herb of the field before it grew for I the Lord God crea-|-ted all things of which I have spoken spiritually before they were |naturally upon the face of the Earth for I the Lord God had not |caused it to rain upon the face of the earth & I the Lord God had cre-|-ated all the children of men & not yet a man to till the ground for in |Heaven created I them & there was not yet flesh upon the Earth neith~~th~~ |th[er] in the water neither in the air [6] but I the Lord God spake & there |went up a f mist from the Earth & watered the whole face of the ground | [7] & I the Lord God formed~~ed~~ Man from the dust of the ground & brea-|-thed into his nostrils the breath of life & man became a living |soul the first flesh upon the Earth the first man also nevertheless |all things were before created but spiritually

⁴⁶³ The I has a large inkblot over the majority of the letter.

were they created | [&] made according to my word [8] & I the Lord God planted a garden | eastward in Eden & there I put them man whom I had formed | [9] & out of the ground made I the Lord God to grow every tree natura | -lly that is pleasant to the sight of man & man could behold it & | they became also a living soul for it was ~~spirituall~~ spiritual in | the day that I created it for it remaineth in the sphere which I | created it yea even all things which I prepared for the use of | man & man saw that it was good for food & I the Lord God | placed the tree of life also in the midst of the garden & also the tree | of knowledge of good & evil [10] & a River went out of Eden to water | the garden & from thence it was parted & became into four heads | [11] & I the Lord God called the name of the ^{^first} Pison & it compasseth the | whole land of Havilah where there were created much gold [12] & the gold | of that land was good & there was bdellium & the Onyx stone [13] & the | name of the second River was called Gihon the same was it that | compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia [14] & the name of the third River | was Hiddekel that was it which goeth towards the east of Assyr- | ia & the fourth River was Euphrates [15] & I the Lord God took the | man & put him into the garden of Eden & to dress it & to keep it | [16] & I the Lord God commanded the man saying Of every tree of the | garden thou mayest freely eat [17] but of the tree of the [Page 6] ⁴⁶⁴ knowledge of good & evil thou shalt not eat of it nevertheless | thou mayest chose for thyself for it is given unto thee but remember | that I forbid it for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely | die [18] And I the Lord God said unto mine only begotten that it was | not good that the man should be alone Wherefore I will mak a help | meet for him [19] & out of the ground I the Lord God formed every beast of | the field & every fowl of the air & commanded that they should be brou- | ght unto Adam to see what he would call them & they were also living souls | & it was breathed into them the breath of life & whatsoever Adam called | every living creature that was the name thereof [20] & Adam gave names to all | cattle & to the fowl of the air & to every beast of the field but for Adam | there was not found a help meet for him [21] & I the Lord God caused a | deep slee[p] ⁴⁶⁵ to fall upon Adam & he slept & I took one of his ribs & clo- | -sed up the flesh in the stead thereof [22] & the rib which I the Lord God had | taken from man made I a woman & brought her unto the man [23] & | Adam said this I know now is bone of my bones & flesh of my flesh | she shall be called woman because she was taken out of man | [24] therefore shall a man leave his father & his mother & shall cleave | unto his wife & they shall be one flesh [25] & they were both naked the ma[n] | & his wife & were not ashamed. [Chapter 4:1] And I the Lord God spake unto Moses | saying that Satan whom thou hast commanded in the name of mine on- | -ly begotten is the same which was from the beginning & he came before | me saying Behold I send me I will be thy Son & I will redeem all | mankind that one soul shall not be lost & surely I will do it [2] Wherefore | give me thine honour But behold my beloved Son which was my bel[ov-] | -ed & chosen from the beginning saith unto me Father thy will be done & the | glory be thine forever [3] Wherefore because that Satan rebelled against me | & sought to destroy the agency of man which I the Lord God had given him | & also that I should give unto him mine own power by the power of mine | only begotten I caused that he should be cast down [4] & he became Satan | yea even the Devil the father of all lies to deceive & to blind | men & to lead them captive at his will even as many as would not | hearken unto my voice [5] & now the serpant was more subtle than | any beast of the field which I the Lord God had made [6] & Satan | put it into the heart of the serpant for he had drew away many after | him & he sought also to beguile

⁴⁶⁴ The number "6" is written on the top left corner of this page.

⁴⁶⁵ The p has a large inkblot covering it.

~~Eve~~ Eve for he knew not the mind of| God Wherefore he thought to destroy the world [7] yea & he said unto|the woman yea hath God said ye shall not eat of every tree of the|garden & he spake by the mouth of the Serpant [9] but of the fruit of the|tree which thou beholdest in the midst of the garden God hath|said Ye shall not eat of it neither shall ye touch it lest ye die [11] for God|doth know that in the day ye eat thereof then your eyes shall be opened|& ye shall be as Gods knowing good & evil [12] & when the woman saw that|the tree was good for food & that it became pleasant to the eyes|[&] a tree to be desired to make her wise she took of the fruit thereof [Page 7] & did eat & gave also unto her husband with her & he did eat [13] & the|eyes of them both were opened & they knew that they had been naked|& they sewed fig leaves together & made themselves aprons [14] & they|heard the voice of the Lord God ^{^as they were} walking in the garden in the cool of|of the day & Adam & his wife hid themselves from the presence|of I the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden [15] & I the Lord God,|called unto Adam & said unto him Where goest thou [16] & he said I hear[d]|thy voice in the garden & I was afraid because I beheld that I was na-|ked & I hid myself [17] & I the Lord God said unto Adam Who told|thee that thou wast naked hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I com-|-manded thee that thou shouldst not eat if so thou shouldst surely|die [18] & the man said the woman whom thou gavest me & ~~saidest~~ ^{^commanded that she should} rema-|-in with ~~thee~~ ^{^me} she gave me of the ^{^fruit of the} tree & I did eat [19] & I the Lord God|said unto the woman What is this thing which thou hast done the woman|said the serpant beguiled me & I did eat [20] & the ^{^I} ^{^the} Lord God said|unto the serpant Because thou hast done this thou shalt be cursed|above all cattle & above every beast of the field upon thy belly shal[t]|thou go & dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life [21] & I will put enmit[y]|between thee & the woman between thy seed & her seed it shall bruise|thy head & thou shalt bruise his heel [22] unto the woman I said I will|greatly multiply thy sorrow & thy consception in sorrow thou shalt bring|forth children & thy desire shall be to thy husband & he shall rule over|thee [23] & unto Adam I the Lord God said because thou hast heark-|-ened unto the voice of thy wife & hast eaten of the ^{^fruit of the} tree of which I|commanded thee saying tho shalt not eat of it cursed shall be the|ground for thy sake in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of|thy life [24] thorns also & thistles shall it bring forth to thee & thou shalt|eat the hearb of the field [25] by⁴⁶⁶ the swe^{^a}t of thy face shalt thou eat bre-|-ad until thou shalt return unto the ground for thou shalt surely die|for out of it wast thou taken for dust thou wast & unto dust shalt|thou return [26] And Adam called his wifes name Eve because she wa[s]|the mother of all living for thus have I the Lord God called the first of|all women which are many [28] And I the Lord God said unto mine only|begotten Behold the man is become as one of us to know good & evil & now|lest he put forth his hand & partake also of the tree of life & eat & live for|-|ever [29] therefore I the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to til[|]the ground from whence he was taken [30] for as I the Lord God liveth even so|my word cannot return void for as they go forth out of my mouth they|must be fulfilled [31] so I drove out the man & I placed at the east of the|garden of Eden Cherubims & a flaming sword which turned every way to ~~ke~~|keep the way of the tree of life [32] & those are the words which I spake|unto my servant Moses & they are true even as I ^{live} ^{^will} & I have|spoken them unto you see thou show them unto no man ~~except~~ until|I command you ~~Amen~~ ^{^except they that believe Amen}

[Page 8; Chapter 5]⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ This word has been written over with heavy ink on top of the original writing.

⁴⁶⁷ The number "8" is written in the top left corner of this page.

Chapter 2 _____ A Revelation concerning Adam | after he had been driven out of the garden of Eden [1] for after that he | had been driven out he began to till the Earth & to have dominion | over all the beasts of the field & to eat his bread by the sweat of the | brow as the Lord had commanded him & Eve also his wife did | labour with him [2] & he knew her & she bear unto him sons & daughters | & ^{^they began} to multiply & to replenish the Earth [3] & from that time forth the | Sons & daughters of Adam began to divide two & two in the land & | to till the land & to tend flocks & they also begat sons & daughters [4] & | Adam called upon the name of the Lord & Eve also his wife & they heard | the voice of the Lord from the way towards the garden of Eden speaking | unto them & they saw him not for they were shut out from his presence | [5] & he gave unto them commandment that they should worship the | Lord their God & should offer the firstlings of their flocks for an offer | -ing unto the Lord & Adam was obedient unto the commandments of the Lord | [6] & after many days an angel ^{^of the Lord} appeared unto Adam saying why dost thoy offer | sacrifices unto the Lord & Adam said unto him I know not save the Lord | commanded me [7] & then the angel spake saying this thing is a similitud[e] | of the sacrifice of the only begotten of the Father which is full of grace & truth | [8] wherefore thou shalt do all that thou doest in the name of the Son & thou | shalt repent & call upon God in the name of the Son forever more [9] & in that day | the Holy Ghost fell upon Adam which bore record of the Father & the Son | [sa]ying I am Jesus Christ from the beginning henceforth & forever that as | thou hast fallen thou mayest be redeemed & all mankind even as ma[n]y as | will [10] & in that day Adam blessed God & was filled & began to prophesy conce | rning all the families of the Earth saying Blessed be the name of God for my | transgression for in this life I shall have joy & again in my flesh I shall see | God [11] & Eve his wife heard all these things & was glad saying were it not for | our transgression we should never had seed & should never had kn- | own good & evil & the joy of our redemption & the eternal life which God giveth | unto all the obedient [12] & Adam & Eve blessed the name of God & they made all | things known unto their sons & their ~~daye~~ daughters [13] & Satan came also among | them saying I am also a Son of God ~~he~~ & he commanded them saying ~~Bel~~ Believe it not & they believed it not & loved Satan ~~more~~ ^{^more} than God & men | began from that time forth to be carnal sensual & divilish [14] & the Lord God | called upon men by the Holy Ghost every where & commanded them | that they should repent [15] & as many as believed in the Son & repented of | their sins should be saved & as many as believed not & repented not should | be damned & the words went forth out of the mouth of God in a firm decree | Wherefore they must be fulfilled [16] & Adam ceased not to call upon God & | Eve also his wife & Adam knew Eve his wife & she conceived & bear Cain | & said I have gotten a man from the Lord wherefore he may not reject | his words but behold also cain hearkened not saying Who is the Lord | that I should know him [17] & she again conceived & bear his brother Abel | [&] Abel hearkened unto the voice of the Lord & Abel was a ~~k~~ keeper of shee[p] [Page 9]⁴⁶⁸ but cain was a tiller of the ground [18] & he loved Satan more than God | & Satan commanded him saying make an offering unto the Lord [19] And in pro- | -cess of time it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an | offering unto the Lord [20] & Abel he also brought of the firstlings of his flock | & of the fat thereof & the Lord had re[^]spect unto Abel & to his offering [21] but | unto Cain & to his offering he had not respect now Satan knew this ^{^&} it pleased | him & Cain was very wroth & his countenance fell [22] & the Lord said unto Cain | why art thou wroth why is thy countenance ^{^fallen} [23] if thou doest well shalt thou | not be ~~excep~~ accepted & if thou doest not well sin lieth at the door & Satan | desireth

⁴⁶⁸ The number "9" is written on the top right corner of this page.

to have thee & except thou shalt hearken unto my commandments | I will deliver thee up & it shall be unto thee according to his desire & thou | shalt rule over him [24] for from this time forth thou shalt be the father of his | lies thou shalt be called perdition for thou wast also before the world | [25] & it shall be said in times to come that these abominations was had from | cain for he rejected the greater counsel which was had from God & this | is a cursing which I will put upon thee except thou repent [26] & Cain was | wroth & listened not any more to the ~~w~~ voice of the Lord neither to Abel | his brother who walked in holiness before the Lord [27] & Adam also & his wife | mourned before the Lord because of cain & his brethren [28] And it came to pass | that Cain took one of his brothers daughters to wife & they loved Satan | more than God [29] & satan saith unto Cain swear unto me by thy throat & if thou tell | it thou shalt die & swear thy brethren by their heads & by the living God | that they tell it not for if they tell it they shall surely die & this that | thy father may not know it & this day I will deliver thy brother Abel | into thine hands [30] & Satan ~~sw~~^{swore} unto cain that he would do according to | his commands & all these things were done in secret [31] & cain saith truly I am | Mahon the master of this great secret that I may murder & get gain | Wherefore Cain was called master Mahon & he gloried in his wicked- | -ness [32] & cain went into the field & Cain talked with Abel his brother & it came | to pass that while they were in the field that cain rose up against Abel his | brother & slew him [33] & cain gloried in that which he had done saying I am | free surely the flocks of my brother falleth into my hands

[34] And the Lord said unto Cain where is Abel thy brother & he said I know | not am I ~~thy~~ my brothers keeper [35] & he said what hast thou done the voice of | thy brothers blood cries unto me from the ground [36] & now thou shalt be curse[d] | from the Earth which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brothers blood | from thy hand [37] when thou tillest the ground it shall not henceforth yield | unto thee her strength a fugitive & a vagabond shalt thou be in the Earth [38] & | Cain said unto the Lord Satan tempted me because of my brothers flock & | I was wroth also for his offering thou didst except & not mine my pun- | -ishment is greater than I can bear [39] Behold thou hast driven me out thi[s] | day from the face of the Earth & from thy face shall I be hid & I shall be | a fugitive & a vagabond in the Earth & it shall come to pass ~~that~~ every one | that findeth me shall slay me because of mine oath for these things are | not hid from the Lord [40] & the Lord said unto him Therefore whosoever | slayeth Cain vengeance shall be taken on him seven fold & the Lord se[t] | a mark upon cain lest any finding him should kill him [41] & cain went [Page 10]⁴⁶⁹ out from the presence of the Lord & his wife & many of his brethren & dwelt in | the land of Nod on the east of Eden [42] & cain knew his wife & [she] conceived & bear | Enoch & he also begat many Sons & daughters & he builded a city & he called the | name of the city after the name of his son Enoch [43] & unto Enoch was born Irad | & other sons & daughters & Irad begat Mehujael & other sons & daughters

1830⁴⁷⁰xxxx⁴⁷¹October 21st 1830

& Mahujael begat Mathusael & other sons & daughters & Mathusael begat Lame | =h [44] & Lamech took unto himself two wives the Name of one ~~was~~^{was}^{being} Adah & the name | of the

⁴⁶⁹ The number "10" is barely visible on the top left hand side of this page.

⁴⁷⁰ "1830" was added before the insertion of "October 21st 1830" and the ensuing text. The two dates are basically on the same line, but are separated here because it seems to have been intended by the separation of time between the two inscriptions.

⁴⁷¹ There are 8 marks on this part of the page.

other Zillah [45] & Adah bear Jabal he was the father of such as dwell in |Tents & they were keepers of Cattel & his Brothers name was Jubal who was |the Father of all such as handle the harp & Organ [46] & Zillah she also bear Tubal |Cain {i/a}n instructor of evry artificer in brass & Iron & the sister of Tubal |Cain was called Namah [47] & Lamech said unto his wives Adah & Zillah hear |my voice ye wives of Lamech hearken unto my speach for I have slain a |man to my wounding & a young man to my hurt [48] If Cain shall be |avenged seven fold truly Lamech shall be seventy & seven fold [49] for Lamech having |entered into a covenant with satan after the manner of Cain wherein he beca= |me Master Mahon Master of that great secret which was administered unto Cain |by Satan & Irad the son of ~~Tubal Cain~~ Enoch having known their seecret began |to reveal it unto the sons of Adam [50] wherefore Lamech being angry slew him |not like unto Cain his brother abel for the sake of getting gain but he slew |him for the oaths sake [51] for from the days of Cain there was a secret combin- |ation & their works were in the dark & they knew evry man his brother.

November 30th 1830 —————

[52] Wherefore the Lord cursed Lamech & his house & all they that had |covenanted with Satan for they kept not the commandments of God |& it displeased God & he ministered not unto them & their works |were abominations & began to spread among all the sons of men |& it was among the sons of men [53] & among the daughters of men |these things were not spoken because that Lamech had spoken the |secret unto his wives & they Rebelled against him & declared these |things abroad & had not compassion X⁴⁷² [54] wherefore Lamech was dispised |& cast out & came not among the sons of men lest he should |die [55] & thus the works of darkness began to prevail among all |the sons of men [56] & God cursed the Earth with a sore curse & |was angry with the wicked with all the sons of men whom |he had made [57] for they would not hearken unto his voice nor |believe on his only begotten son even him which he declared |should come in the maridian of time which was prepared from |before the foundation of the world [58] & thus the Gospel began to be |preached from the begining being declared by Holy Angels |sent forth from the presence of God & by his own voice & |by the Gift of the Holy Ghost [59] & thus all things were confir= |med & the Gospel preached & a decree sent forth that it should |be in the World until the end thereof & thus it was amen — | [Chapter 6:1] & Adam hearkened unto the voice of God & called upon his Sons |for to repent [2] & Adam knew his wife again & she bear ~~his~~ a [Page 11]⁴⁷³ Son & he called his name Seth & Adam glorified the name |of God for he said God hath appointed me an other seed in |stead of Able whom Cain slew [3] & God revealed himself unto |seth & he rebelled not but offered an exceptable sacrifice |like unto his brother Abel & to him also was born a son |& he called his name Enos [4] & then began these men to call |upon the name of the Lord & the Lord blessed them [5] & a book |of remembrance was kept in the which was recorded in the |Language of Adam for it was given unto as many as called |upon God to write with the finger of inspiration [6] & by them their |children were taught to read & write having a language whic |h was pure & undefiled [7] now this was in the begining which |shall be in the end of the world [8] now this Prophecy Adam |spake as he was mooved upon : & a genealogy was kept of the |Children of God & this was the Book of the generations of Adam |saying ~~that~~⁴⁷⁴ in the day that God created man in the likeness |of God made he him [9] in the image of his own body male & |female created he them & blessed them & called their name Ada |am in the day ^{^when} they

⁴⁷² And "X" was apparently inserted later.

⁴⁷³ On this page the number "11" is actually visible on the top right corner.

⁴⁷⁴ "That" was erased and then crossed out.

were created & became living souls in|the Land upon the footstool of God [10] & Adam lived an 130|years & begat a son in his own likeness & ~~in~~^{after} his ~~own~~ image|& called his name seth [11] & the days ~~after~~ of Adam after he had|begotten seth were 800^{^870} years & he begat many sons & daugh-|ters [12] & all the days that Adam lived were 930^{^1000} years & he|died [13] Seth lived an 105 years & he begat Enos & prophe{d/cied} in|all his days & taught Enos in the ways of God wherefore Enos|Prophecied also [14] & ~~all the days of Seth were a~~ lived after he|begat Enos & 807^{^876} years & begat many sons & daughters [15] & the children|of men were numerous upon all the face of the land & in the|=se days Satan had great dominion among men & raged in|their hearts & from thence forth came wars & blood sheds|& a mans hand was against his own brother in administering|death because of secret works seeking for Power [16] & all the|days of seth were 942^{^981} years & he died [17] & Enos & the residue|of the People of God came out from the Land which was called|Shulon & dwelt in a Land of Promise which he called after|his own son whom he had named Cainan ^{^whom he begat when he was 90 years old. v} [18] & Enos lived|after he begat his son Cainan 815^{^850} years & begat many sons &|daughters & all the days of Enos were {905/940^{^940} years & he died & thus it was amen

Dec 1st

[19] And Cainan lived 70^{^117} years and begat Mahalaleel and Cain-|-an lived after he begat Mahalaleel 840 and begat sons and|daughters [Page 12]⁴⁷⁵ And €all the days of Cainan were ~~nine hundred and~~^{^957} ~~ten~~^{^fifty seven} years|and he died, [20] and Mahalaleel lived ~~sixty and five~~^{^115} years and be-|-got Jared, and Mahalaleel lived after he begot Jared 830 years|and begot sons and daughters, and all the days of Mahalaleel|were 895^{^945} and he died [21] and Jared lived a hundred and sixty|and two years and begat Enoch and Jared lived after he|begat Enoch eight hundred years and begat sons and daughters|and Jared taught Enoch in all the ways of God [22] and this is the gene-|-alogy of the sons of God which was the sons of Adam with whom|God himself conversed [23] and they were preachers of righteousness|and spake and prophesied and called upon all men every where|to repent and faith was taught unto the children of men [24] and|it came to pass that all the days of Jared were nine hundred|sixty and two years and he died [25] and Enoch lived sixty and five|yyear and begat Methuselah [26] and it came to pass that Enoch|journeyed in the land among the people and as he journeyed the spirit|of God decended out of heaven and abode upon him [27] and he heard a voice|from heaven saying Enoch my son prophecy unto this people and say|unto them repent for thus saith the Lord I am angry with this people|and my fierse anger is kindled against them for their hearts have|waxed hard and their ears are dull of hearing and their eyes cannot|see a far off [28] and for these many generations even since the day †|that I created them have they gone a stray and have denied me and|have saught their own councils in the dark and in their own abo-|-minations have they devised murder and have not kept the com-|-mandment ~~that~~^{^which} I gave unto their father Adam [29] whereef fore they|have foresworn ~~th~~ themselves and by their oaths they have eat un-|-to themselves death and an hell I have prepared for them if|they repent not [30] and this is a decree which I have sent forth in the|begining of the world from mine own mouth from the foundation|thereof and by the mouths of my servants thy fathers have I dec-|-reed it even as it shall be sent forth in the world unto the|end thereof [31] And when Enoch had heard these words he bowed himself|to the earth before the Lord and spake before the Lord saying why is it|that I have found favour in thy sight and am but a lad and all|the people hate me for I am slow of speech wherefore am I thy ser-|-vant [32] and the Lord said unto

⁴⁷⁵ The number "12" is written on the top left corner of this page.

Enoch go forth and do as I have com- | -manded thee and no man shall pierce thee open thy mouth | and it shall be filled I will give thee utterance for all flesh | is in my hands and I will do as seemeth me good [33] say unto this | people choose ye this day a God⁴⁷⁶ who made you [34] behold my spirit | is upon you wherefore all thy words will I justify and the | mountains [Page 13]⁴⁷⁷ shall flee before you and the ~~r~~ rivers shall turn from their | course and thou shalt abide in me and I in you therefore | walk with me [35] and the Lord spake unto Enoch and said | unto him anointt thine eyes with clay and wash them and thou | shalt see and he did so [36] and he beheld the spirits that God had | created and he beheld also things which were not ~~presant~~^{^visible} and | from thenceforth came the saying abroad in the land a seer | hath the Lord raised up unto his people [37] and it came to pass | that Enoch went forth in the land among the people standing | upon the hills and the h[^]igh places and cried with a loud voice | testifying against their works and all men were offended ~~with him~~ | because of him [38] and they came forth to hear him upon the high | places saying unto the tent keepers ta[^]rry thou here and keep the | tents while we go yonder to behold the seer for he prophesieth and | there is a stange thing in the land a wild man hath come amon- | -g us [39] and it came to pass when they heard him no man laid | their hands on him for fear came on all them that heard him for he | walked with God [40] and there came a man unto him whose name was | Mah{i/u}jah and said unto him tells us plainly who thou art an[d] | from whence thou came [41] and he saith unto them I came out from th[e] | land of Cainan the land of my fathers a land of righteousness | unto this day and my father taught me in all the ways of God | [42] and it came to pass as I journeyed from the land of Cainan by the | sea east I beheld a vision and lo the heavens I ~~s~~ saw and the | Lord spake with me and gave me commandment wherefore | for this cause to keep the commandment I speak [^]forth these words | [43] and Enoch continued his speech saying the Lord which spake | with me the same is the God of heaven and he is my God an[d] | your God and ye are my brethren and why council ye your selves | and deny the God of heaven [44] the heavens hath he mad the earth | is his footstool and the ~~f~~oundation thereof is his behold he laid it | and host of men hath he brought in upon the face thereof [45] and | death hath come upon our fathers nevertheless we know them | and cannot deny and even the first of all we know even Adam | [46] for a book of remembrance we have written among us according | to the patern given by the finger of God and it is given in our own | language [47] and as Enoch spake forth the words of God the people | trembled and could not stand before his presence [48] and he saith | unto them because that Adam fell we are and by his ~~f~~efall came | death and we are made partakers of misery and wo [49] behold satan | hath come among the children of men and tempteth them to wor- | -ship him and ~~h~~ men have ~~e~~become carnal~~t~~ sensual and dev- | -ilish and are shut out from the presence of God [50] but God | hath made known unto ~~our~~^{^my} fathers that all men must repent | [51] and he called upon our father Adam by his own voice saying | I am God I made the world and men before they were [52] and he | [a]lso said unto him if thou wilt turn unto me and hearken [Page 14]⁴⁷⁸

^The Plan of Salvation⁴⁷⁹

unto my voice & believe & repent of all their transgressions & | be baptized even by water in the name of mine only begotten | son which is full of grace & truth which is Jesus Christ

⁴⁷⁶ “God” was written over an erased “god.”

⁴⁷⁷ The number “13 was written on both the right and left corners at the top of this page.

⁴⁷⁸ The number “14” is written in the top left corner of this page.

⁴⁷⁹ This heading has a big oval drawn around it in ink, separating it from the rest of the text.

the|only name which shall be given under Heaven whereby|salvation shall come unto the Children of men & ye shall ask|all things in his name & what^{^sover} ye shall ask it shall be given [53]|& our father Adam spake unto the Lord & said why is it that men|must repent & be baptzed by water & the Lord said unto Adam|behold I have forgiven thee thy transgressions in the garden of Eden|[54] hence came the saying abroad among the People that Christ hath|atoned for original guilt wherein the sins of the Parents cannot|be answered upon the heads of the Children for they are whole from|the foundation of the world [55] & the Lord spake unto Adam saying|as^{^in} thy^{^as} Chi much as thy Children are conseived in sin evenso|when they begin to grow up sin conseiveth in their hearts &|they taste the bitter that they may know to prise the good [56] & it is|given unto them to know good from eavel wherefore they are|agents unto themselves & I have given ~~an~~ unto you another law &|commandment [57] wherefore teach it unto your children that all|men evry where must repent for they can in no wise inher=⁼it the kingdom of God for no unclean thing can dwell there or|dwell in his presence for in the language of Adam man of|holyness is his name & the name of his only begotten is the|son^{^son} of man even Jesus Christ a righteous Judge which shall ~~come~~|come [58] I give unto you a commandment to teach these things|freely unto your children saying [59] that ^{^in} as ~~were~~^{^as} much as they were born into the|world by the fall which bringeth death by water & ^{^blood}& the spirit|which I have made & so become of dust a living soul even|so ye must be born again of water & the spirit & cleansed by|blood eeven the blood of mine only begotten into the mysteries of|the kingdom of Heaven that ye may be sanctified from all sin &|enjoy the words of eternal life in this world & eternal life in|the world to come even immortal glory [60] for by the water ye keep|the commandment by the spirit ye are Justified & by the blood|ye are Sanctified [61] that in you is given the record of Heaven the|comfrorter the Peacable things of immortal glory the truth of all|things that which quickeneth all things which maketh alive all things|that which knoweth all things & hath all power according to wisdom|mercy thruth ^{^justice} ^{^+} [62] Judgement|& now behold I say unto you this is the|plan of salvation unto all men the blood of mine only begotten which|shall come in the maridian of time [63] & behold all things has its likeness|& all things are created & made to bear record of me ~~thi~~^{^both} things which|are temporal & things which are spiritual things which are in th Heavens|above & things which are on the Earth & ^{^+} things which are in the Earth|& things which are under the Earth both above & beneath all things|[bea]r record of me [64] & it came to pass when the Lord had spoken with [Page 15]⁴⁸⁰ Adam our father that Adam cried unto the Lord & he was caught|away by the spirit of the Lord & was carried down into the water|& was laid under the water & was brought forth out of the water [65] &|thus he was baptized & the spirit of god decended upon him & thus|he was born of the spirit & became quickened in the inner man|[66] & he heard a voice out of Heaven saying thou art baptized with|fire & with the Holy Ghost this is the record of the father & the Son|from henceforth & forever [67] & thou art after the order of him who|was without beginning of days or end of years from all eternity|to all eternity [68] behold thou art one in me a son of God & thus may|all become my sons amen. [⁴⁸¹Chapter 7:1] & it came to pass that Enoch contin|=ued his speech saying behold our father Adam taught these things|& many have believed & become the sons of God & many have believed|not & have perished in their sins & are looking forth with fear in|torment for the firey indignation of the wrath of God to be

⁴⁸⁰ The number "15" is written in the top right corner of this page.

⁴⁸¹ This bracket and the period after "amen" were inserted later.

poured|out upon them [⁴⁸² 2] and from that time ~~fourth~~^{forth} Enck began to proph|=ecy saying unto the people, that as I was journing and stood in|the place Mahujah and I cried unto the Lord there came a|voice out of heaven saying turn ye and get ye upon the Mount|Simeon [3] and it came to pass that I turned and went upon the|mount ~~as~~ and as I stood upon the Mount I beheld the heavens|open and I was clothed upon with glory [4] and I saw the Lord|he stood before my face and he talked with me even as a man|talketh one with another face to face and he saith unto me|look and I will shew unto thee the world for the space|of many genarations ~~#~~ [5] and it came to pass ^{^that} I beheld in the|vally of Shum and lo! a great people which dwelt in tents|which were the people of Shum [6] and again the Lord said unto|me look and I looked towards the North and I beheld the|people of Canaan which dwelt in tents [7] and the Lord said|into me prophecy and I prophecied saying behold the people|of Canaan which are num^{^e}rous shall go ~~fourth~~^{forth} in battle|array against the people of Shum and shall slay them that|they shall utterly be destroyed and the people of Canaan|shall divide themselves in the land and the land shall be|barren and unfruitfull and none other people shall dwell|there but the people of Canaan [8] for behold the Lord shall|curse the land with much heat and the barrenness|thereof shall go ~~fourth~~^{forth} forever and there was a blackness|come upon all the Children of Canaan that they were dis|=pised among all people [9] and it came to pass the Lord said|unto me look and I look,d and I beheld the land of Sharon|and the land of Enoch and the land of Omner and the land|of ~~H~~Henri and the land of Shem and the land of Haner and|the land of Hanannah and all the inhabitants thereof|[10] and the Lord said unto me go ~~fourth~~^{forth} to this people and say|[u]nto them repent lest I shall come out and smite them with a [Page 16]⁴⁸³ curse and they die [11] and he gave unto me a commandment tha[t]|I should baptise in the name of the father and ^{^of} the Son which is|full of grace and truth and the Holy Gohst which beareth record of|the father and the Son [12] and it came to pass that Enoch continu|=ed to call upon all the people ~~save~~ save it were the people of|Canaan to repent [13] and so great was the faith of Enoch that|he led the people of God and their enemies came to battle aga|=inst them and he spake the word of the Lord and the earth trem|=bled and the Mountains fled even according to his command|and the rivers of watter were turned ^{^out} of their course and the|roar of the Lions was heard out of the wilderness and all nations|feared greatly so powerfull was the word of Enoch and so great was|the power of the language which God had given him, [14] there also|came ~~out~~^{up} a land out of the depths of the sea and so gre|=at ~~f~~ was the fear of the enemies of the people of God that they fled|and stood afar off and went upon the land which came up out|of the dephts of the sea [15] and the ~~G~~ Giants of the land also sto|=od afar off ^{^and} there ~~wa~~ went forth a curse upon all the people|which fought against ^{^God} [16] and from that time forth there was wars|and bloodsheds among them but the Lord came and ~~d~~ dwelt|with his people and they dwelt in righteousness [17] the fear of|the Lord was upon all nations so great was the glory of|the Lord which ^{^was} upon his people and the Lord blessed the la[nd]|and they ^{^were} blessed upon the ^{^Mountaines} and upon the high places and did f[^]ourish|[18] and the Lord called his people Zion because they were of one heart|and of one mind and dwelt in righteousness and there was no poor|among them [19] and Enoch continued his preaching in righteousness|[un]to the people of God and it came to pass in his days that he|bult a City that was called the City of holyness even Zion|[20] and it came to pass that Enoch talked with the Lord and he|said

⁴⁸² This bracket was inserted later.

⁴⁸³ The number "16" was written in the upper left corner of this page. It was placed there after the text on the page was written.

unto the Lord surely Zion shall dwell in safety forever but|the Lord said unto Enoch Zion
 hath I blessed ~~and it came to pass~~|but the residue of the people have I cursed [21] and it
 came to pass that|the Lord shewed unto Enoch all the inhabitants of the earth and|he
 beheld and lo! Zion in process of time was taken up into heaven|and the Lord said unto
 Ench behold mine abode forever [22] and Enoch|also beheld the residue of the people
 which were the sons of Adam|and they were a mixture of all the seed of Adam save it
 were|the seed of Cain for the seed of Cain were black and had not place|among them [23]
 and after that Zion was taken up into heaven Enoch|beheld and lo all the nations of the
 earth ~~h~~ were before him [24] and|there came generation upon generation and Ench was
 high and|lifted ^{up} even in the bosom of the father and the Son of man and|behold the
 powers of satan was upon all the face of the earth ~~and~~|[25] and he saw Angles decending
 out of heaven and he heard a loud|voice saying wo wo be unto the inhabtants of the earth
 [26] and|he beheld Satan and he had a great € chain in his hand and|it vail,d the whole face
 of the earth with darkness and he|looked up and laughed and his Angles rejoiced [27] and
 Enoch beheld|Angles decending out of heaven bearing testimony of the father|and son and
 the Holy Ghost fell on many and they were cau|=ght up by the powers of heaven into Zion
 [28] and it came to|pass that the € God of heaven looked upon the residue of the
 people|[a]nd he wept and Enock bore record of it [Page 17] saying how is it the heavens
 weep and shed fourth her tears|as the rain upon the Mountains [29] and Enock said unto
 the heavens|how is it that thou canst weep seeing thou art holy|and from all eternity to all
 eternity [30] and were it possable|that man could number the particles of the earth yea
 and|millions of earths like this it ~~wou~~ would not be a begining|to the number of thy
 creations and thy curtains are stretch,d|out still and yet thou art there and thy bosom is there
 and|also thou art just thou art mercifull and kind forever [31] thou|hast taken Zion to ~~thy~~
 thine own bosom from all thy creations|from all eternity to all eternity and naught but peace
 justi|=ce and truth is the habitation of thy throne and mercy shall|go before thy face and
 have no end how is it that thou|cansts weep [32] the Lord said unto Enoch behold these thy
 brea|=theren they are the workmanship of mine own hands and I|gave unto them their
 knowledge in the day I created them|and in the garden of Eden gave I unto man his agency
 [33] and|unto thy breatheren have I said and also gave commandment that|they should love
 one another and that they should chose me their|father but behold they are without
 effectation and they hate their|own blood [34] and the fire of mine indignation is kindled
 against|them and in my hot displeasure will I send in the floods upon them|for my ~~first~~^{fiere}
 anger is kindled against them [35] behold I am God man|of holiness is my name man of
 Council is my name and end|=less and eternal is my name also [36] wherefore I can stretch
~~fourth~~^{forth}|~~my~~^{mine} hands and hold all the creations which I have made and|mine eye can
 pierce them also and among all the workman|-ship of mine hand there has not been so great
 wickedness as|among thy breatheren [37] but behold their sins shall be upon the|heads of
 their fathers Satan shall be their father and misary shall|be their doom and the whole
 heavens shall weep over them even|all the workmanship of mine hands wherefore should
 not the|heavens weep seeing these shall suffer [38] but behold these|which thine eyes are
 upon shall perish in the floods and beho[ld]|I will shut them up ~~an~~ a prison have I prepared
 for them [39] and|that which I have chosen hath pleadd before my face wherefor[e]|he
 suffereth for their sins inasmuch as they will repent in|the day that my chosen shall return
 unto me and until|that day they shall be in torment [40] wherefore for this shall|the heaven
 weep yea and all the workmanship of ~~thine~~^{mine} han[ds]| [41] and it came to pass that the
 Lord spake unto Enoch and told|Enck all the doings of the children of men wherefore
 Enoc[h]|knew and looked upon their wickedness and their misary|and wept and stretched

forth his arms ^{& his heart swelled} wide as eternity and | his bowels yearned and all eternity shook
 [42] and Enck saw | Noah also and his family that the posterity of all the sons of | ~~Adam~~^{Noah}
 should be saved with a temporal salvation [43] wherefore he | saw that Noah built an Ark.
 and the Lord smiled upon i[t] | and held it in his own hand but upon the residue of the
 wicke[d] | came the floods and swallowed them up [Page 18]⁴⁸⁴ [44] and as Enck saw thus he
 had bitterness of soul and wept over | his bretheren and said unto the heavens I will refuse to
 be com|=forted but the Lord said unto Enoch lift up your heart and | be glad and look [45]
 and it came to pass that Enoch looked and | from Noah he beheld all the families of the
 earth and he ~~eried~~ cried | unto the Lord saying when shall the day of the Lord come
 when | shall the blood of the righteous be shed that all they that mourn | may be sanctified
 and have eternal ^{life} [46] and the Lord said it shall be | in the meridiem of time in the days of
 wickedness and vengeance [47] and | behold Enoch saw the day of the coming of the son of
 man even in | the flesh and ~~it~~^{his he soul} s rejoiced saying the righteous is lifted up and the | Lamb
 is slain from the foundation of the world and through faith | I am in the bosom of the father
 and behold Zion is with me | [48] and it came to pass that Enoch ~~to~~ look,d upon the earth
 and | he heard a voice from the bowels thereof saying wo wo is me the | mother of men I am
 pained I am weary because of the wickedness | of my children when shall I rest and be
 cleans,d from the ~~wicked|=ness wh~~ filthiness which has gone forth out of me when will
 my | creator sanctify me that I may rest and righteousness for a season | abide upon my face
 [49] and when Enoch heard the earth mourn he | wept and cried unto the Lord saying O
 Lord wilt thou not have | compassion upon the earth wilt thou not bless the children of
 Noah | [50] and it came to pass that Enoch continued his cry unto the Lord | saying I ask thee
 O Lord in the name of thy only begotten even | Jesus Christ that thou wilt have mercy upon
 Noah and his seed | that the earth might never more be covered by the froods [51] and the
 Lord | could not withold and he covenented with Noah and swore unto him | with an oath
 that he would stay the floods that he would call upon | the children of Noah [52] and he sent
 fourth an unalterable decree that | a ~~remm~~^{remment} of his seed should always be found among
 all nations | while the earth should stand [53] and the Lord said blessed is him
 through | whose seed Messiah should come for he saith I am Massiah the | king of Zion the
 rock of heaven ~~broa~~ which is broad as ~~et~~ eternity | and whoso cometh in at the gate and
 climbeth up by me shall | never fall wherefore blessed are they of which I have spoken for
 the[y] | shall come forth with songs of everlasting joy [54] and it came to pass | that Enock
 cried unto the Lord saying when the Son of man com |=eth in the flesh shall the earth rest I
 pray thee shew me these things | [55] and the Lord said unto Enoch look and ^{he} looked and
 beheld the Son | of man lifted up ^{on} ~~on~~ the cross after the manner of men [56] and he | heard
 a loud voice and the heavens were vail,d and all the | creation of God mourned and the earth
 groan,d and the rocks were | rent and the saints arose and was crowned at the right hand
 of | the son of man with crowns of glory [57] and as many of the spirits as | were in prison
 came fourth and stood on the right hand of God | and the remainder ~~wa~~^{was} ~~were~~ reserved in
 chaines of darkness untill the | Judgement of the great day [58] and again Enoch wept and
 cried unto | the Lord ^{again} saying when shall the earth rest [59] and Enoch beheld | the son of
^{man} ascend up unto the father and he call,d unto the Lord | saying wilt thou not come again
 upon the earth for inasmuch | as thou art God and I know the and thou hast sworn unto
 me | and commanded me that I should ask in the name of thine only | begotten thou hast
 made me and given unto me a right to thy | throne and not of myself but through thine own

⁴⁸⁴ The number "18" was added after the text was written on the page. It is in between the first and second line on the top left hand side of the page.

grace wherefore | I ask thee if thou wilt not come again on the earth [60] and the [Page 19]⁴⁸⁵
 Lord said unto Enoch as I live even so will I come in | the last days in the days of wickedness
 and vengeance to fulfill the | oath which I have made unto you concerning the children of
 Noah | [61] and the day shall come that the earth shall rest but before that | day the heavens
 shall be darkened and ^a veil of darkness shall cover the | earth and the heavens shall shake
 and also the earth and great tribulati| =ons shall be among the children of men but my
 people will I preserve [62] and | righteousness will I send down out of heaven and truth will I
 send fourth out | of the earth to bear testimony of mine only begotten his resurrection from
 the | dead yea and also the resurrection of all men and righteousness and truth | will I cause to
 sweep the earth as with the flood to gether out mine | own elect from the four quarters of the
 earth unto a place which I | shall prepare an holy City that my people may gird up their
 loins | and be looking fourth for the time of my coming for there shall | be my tabernicle and
 it shall be called Zion a New Jerusalem [63] and | the Lord said unto Enoch then shalt thou
 and all thy City meet | them there and we will receive them unto our bosom and they shall
~~us~~ see | us and we will fall upon their necks and they shall fall upon our | necks and we will kiss
 each other [64] and there shall be mine abode and | it shall be Zion which shall come fourth
 out of all the creations | which I have made and for the space of a thousand years shall the
 earth | [res]t [65] and it came to pass that Enoch saw the days of the coming of | the son of
 man in the last days to dwell on the earth in righteousness for | the space of a thousand years
 [66] but before that ^{day} he saw great tribulation | among the wicked and he also saw the sea
 that it was troubled and | mens hearts failing them looking ~~fourth~~^{fourth} with fear for the
 judgements | of the Almighty God ~~upon the wicked~~ which should come upon the | wicked
 [67] and the Lord shewed Enoch all things even unto the end of the | world and he saw the
 day of the righteous the hour of their redemption | and received a fullness of joy [68] and all
 the days of Zion in the days of | Enoch were three Hundred and Sixty five years [69] and
 Enoch and all his | people walked with God and he dwelt in the midst of Zion | and it came
 to pass that Zion was not for God received it up into his | own bosom and from thence went
~~fourth~~^{fourth} the saying Zion is fled.]⁴⁸⁶ | [Chapter 8:1] [&] the ^{all} the days of Enoch were 4 430 years [2] and it
 came to pass that Mathusalah the son of Ench was not | taken that the covenents of the Lord
 might be fulfilled which he | made to Enoch for he truly covenented with Enoch that
 Noa[h] | should ^{come} by the fruit of his loines [3] and it came to pass that Ma| =thusalah
 prophecied that from his loins should spring all the | kingdoms of the earth (from Noah) and
 he took glory unto himself | [4] and there came fourth a great famine into the land and the
 Lor[d] | cursed the earth with a sore curse and many of the inhabitants | thereof died [5] and it
 came to pass that Mathusalah lived ~~an hundred~~^{218 years} | ~~eighty and seven years~~ and begat
 Lamach [6] and Mathuselah lived | after he begat Lamach seven Hundred eighty and two
 years and | begat sons and daughters [7] and all the days of Mathusalah were | ~~nine Hundred~~
~~Sixty and nine~~¹⁰⁰⁰ years and he died [8] and Lamach | lived an Hundred eighty and two years
 and begat a son [9] and he | called his ~~N~~ name Noah saying this son shall comfort us
 concerning | our work and toil of our hands because of the ground which [Page 20]⁴⁸⁷ the ²⁰
 Lord hath curs,d [10] and Lamach lived after he begat Noah five | Hundred ninety and five
 years and begat sons and daughters [11] and all | the days of Lamach were seven Hundred

⁴⁸⁵ The number "19" is written on the top right hand side of this page. It was added after the text was written on the page.

⁴⁸⁶ This bracket was inserted later.

⁴⁸⁷ The number "20" was inserted in between "the" and "Lord" on the top left hand side of this page.

seventy and seven years and he died. [12] And Noah was five Hundred years old and Noah begat shem Ham and Japheth

Chapter 6th

[13] And it came to pass that Noah and his sons hearkened unto the Lord and gave heed and they were called the sons of God [14] and when these men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them that the sons of men saw that their daughters were fair they took them wives even as they chose [15] and the Lord said unto Noah the daughters of thy sons have sold themselves for behold mine anger is kindled against the sons of men for they will not hearken to my voice [16] and it came to pass that Noah prophesied and taught the things of God even as it was in the beginning [17] and the Lord said unto Noah my spirit shall not always strive with man for he shall know that all flesh shall die yet his days shall be an Hundred and Twenty years and if men do not repent I will send in the floods upon them [18] and in those days there were giants on the earth and they sought Noah to take away his life but the Lord was with Noah and the power of the Lord was upon him [19] and the Lord ordained Noah after his own order and commanded him that he should ^{go} fourth and declare his Gospel unto the children of men even as it was given unto Enoch [20] and it came to pass that Noah called upon men that they should repent but they hearkened not unto his words [21] and also after that they had heard him they came up before him saying behold we are the sons of God have we not taken unto ourselves the daughters of men and are we not ~~eating~~ eating and drinking and marring and given in marriage and our wives bear unto us children and the same are mighty men which are like unto them of old men of great renown ~~the~~ and they hearken, d not unto the words of Noah [22] and God saw that the wickedness of man had become great in the earth and every man was lifted up in the immagination of the thoughts of his heart being only evil continually [23] ~~an~~ And it came to pass that Noah continued his preaching unto the people saying hearken and give heed unto my words [24] ^{believe} and repent of your sins and be Baptised in the name of Jesus christ the Son of God even as our fathers did and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost that ye may have all things made manifest and if you do not do this the floods will come in upon you nevertheless they hearkened not [25] and it repented Noah and his heart was pained that the Lord had made man on the earth and it greived him at his heart [26] and the Lord said I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth. both man, and beast, and the creeping things, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth Noah that I have created them and that I have made them and he hath called upon me and they have sought his life [27] but Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord and Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations and Noah walked with God and also his three sons Shem Ham and Japheth. [28] the earth was corrupt before God and the earth was filled with violence [29] and God looked upon the earth and behold it was corrupt for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth [29] and God said unto Noah the end of all flesh is come before me for the earth is filled with violence through them and behold I will [Page 21] destroy them from off the earth...

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