

Substitute Words in the 1835 and 1844 Editions of the Doctrine and Covenants

In preparation for the publication of the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, editors replaced some personal names, place names, and other words with substitute words, in order to obscure certain information from the public. Five revelations in the 1835 edition were revised in this way.¹ Two revelations published in the 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants but not previously included in the 1835 edition also contain substitute words.² Using Revelation Books 1 and 2, which often contain the earliest extant manuscript versions of revelations, it is possible to identify the original words that were replaced in the Doctrine and Covenants. In some cases, Revelation Books 1 and 2 also served as the immediate source texts for the typesetting of these revelations and bear the actual editing marks that instructed the typesetter, or the copyist who made clean copy for the typesetter, to insert the substitute words.

According to reminiscences of those close to JS, editors of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants wished to protect specific individuals and the church's business affairs—specifically the United Firm and the Literary Firm—from those antagonistic toward the church. Orson Pratt recalled that because of the great desire to print certain revelations notwithstanding the sensitive information they included, “it was concluded, through the suggestions of the Spirit, that by altering the *real* names given in the manuscripts, and substituting fictitious ones in their stead, they might thus safely appear in print without endangering the welfare of the individuals whose real names were contained therein.”³ At the time the Doctrine and Covenants was being prepared for publication, church leaders in Kirtland were deeply interested in ancient languages, including Hebrew. Some authors have seen a

1. Revelation, 1 Mar. 1832, in Doctrine and Covenants 75, 1835 ed. [D&C 78]; Revelation, 26 Apr. 1832, in Doctrine and Covenants 86, 1835 ed. [D&C 82]; Revelation, 15 Mar. 1833, in Doctrine and Covenants 93, 1835 ed. [D&C 92]; Revelation, 4 June 1833, in Doctrine and Covenants 96, 1835 ed. [D&C 96]; Revelation, 23 Apr. 1834, in Doctrine and Covenants 98, 1835 ed. [D&C 104]. These five revelations were reprinted (with the same substitute words used in the 1835 edition) in the 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.

2. Revelation, 24 Feb. 1834, in Doctrine and Covenants 101, 1844 ed. [D&C 103]; Revelation, 22 June 1834, in Doctrine and Covenants 102, 1844 ed. [D&C 105]. In contrast to the approach used for the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, editors of these two sections in the 1844 edition replaced only some of the personal names contained in the texts, leaving other personal names in their original form.

3. Orson Pratt, “Explanation of Substituted Names in the Covenants,” *The Seer*, Mar. 1854, 228; emphasis in original. Concerns about divulging sensitive information persisted into the 1840s and in at least one case were manifest outside of the context of publishing the revelations. Willard Richards, while copying a letter dated 25 June 1833 into the JS manuscript history in May 1843, replaced some names with substitute words. That portion of the history was printed with the substitute terms in the 15 February 1845 issue of *Times and Seasons*. (Richards, Journal, 20 May 1843; JS History, vol. A-1, 310–315; “History of Joseph Smith,” *Times and Seasons*, 15 Feb. 1845, 6:800–803.)

correlation between some of the substitute words and Hebrew; other scholars have pointed to the Mormons' experimentation with and expectation of the restoration of the pure language of Adam, suggesting some of the substitute words may have arisen from that pursuit.⁴ Though several early members later recalled interpretations or translations of many of the substitute words, an analysis of the meaning or origin of the words is beyond the scope of this volume.⁵

The two tables below identify all of the substitute words used in the 1835 and 1844 editions of the Doctrine and Covenants and the original antecedents to those substitute words. The first column of each table lists substitute words in alphabetical order. This column includes not only words that replaced personal or place names but also words (sometimes in English) that replaced common nouns. The second column of each table provides the name or other term that was replaced (that is, the antecedent), based on manuscript evidence. The third column gives the location of the substitute term in the 1835 or 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. Each section from the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants that is listed below is preceded by a section heading that contains at least one substitute word. Identical substitute words found in the headings and the main text are assumed to have the same antecedents. The fourth and fifth columns, which appear in the first table only, list the page number(s) in Revelation Book 1 or 2 where the antecedent appears. At times editors wrote the substitute words directly on the manuscript; other times, they marked with numerals or asterisks the words that should be replaced. The numerals and asterisks corresponded to now nonextant manuscripts that either listed substitute words or provided a copy of a revelation with the substitute words already incorporated. In cases where a substitute word actually appears on the manuscript page, an asterisk has been placed next to the page number(s) in the fourth or fifth column.

4. See Zucker, "Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew," 48–50; Whittaker, "Substituted Names in the Published Revelations of Joseph Smith," 103–112; and Brown, "Joseph (Smith) in Egypt," 26–65.

5. See William W. Phelps, Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, to Brigham Young, Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, 10 Apr. 1854, Brigham Young, Office Files, CHL; George A. Smith, Discourse, 14 Nov. 1864, George D. Watt, Papers, CHL, as transcribed in Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People*, 581–582; and Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 16 Aug. 1873, 16:156. For a contemporary, non-Mormon perspective on the substitute names, see West, *Few Interesting Facts*, 6–14.

Key to column titles

Substitute Word: Word or phrase used in the 1835 or 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants that replaced a word or phrase found in manuscript versions of the revelation

Antecedent: Word or phrase found in manuscript versions that was replaced in the 1835 or 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants with a substitute word or phrase

1835: Section and verse number(s) where the substitute word or phrase appears in Doctrine and Covenants, 1835 edition, part 2. If the substitute word appears in a section heading rather than a numbered verse, this is noted.

1844: Section and verse number(s) where the substitute word or phrase appears in Doctrine and Covenants, 1844 edition, part 2

RB1: Pages in Revelation Book 1 where the antecedent term appears and where an editorially inserted substitute word may also appear

RB2: Pages in Revelation Book 2 where the antecedent term appears and where an editorially inserted substitute word may also appear

SUBSTITUTE WORD	ANTECEDENT	1835	RB1	RB2
Ahashdah	Newel K. Whitney	75:2 86:4 96:1 98:7	145* 128 195	60
Alam	Edward Partridge	86:4	128	
Cainhannoch	New York	98:13	198	
Enoch	Joseph Smith	75:section heading, 1–2 93:section heading 96:section heading 98:section heading	145*	Slip of paper between 60 and 61 ⁶
Gazelam	Joseph Smith	75:2 86:4 98:4, 8	145* 128 194–195	
Horah	John Whitmer	86:4	128	
inheritance	“farm”	98:4, 6, 8	194*–195	
Lane-shine-house	“printing office”	98:5	194	
Mahalaleel	Sidney Gilbert	86:4	128	
Mehemson	Martin Harris	86:4 98:4	128 194	

6. The text on this slip of paper uses substitute words but does not contain any antecedents.

SUBSTITUTE WORD	ANTECEDENT	1835	RB1	RB2
Olihah	Oliver Cowdery	86:4 98:5-6	128 194	
order	“firm”	75:2 93:1-2 96:1-2 98:1-3, 6-7, 9, 11-12	145* 192-198	55 61*
Ozondah	“store,” “mercantile establishment”	98:7	195	
Pelagoram	Sidney Rigdon	75:2 86:4 98:3	145* 128 193-194	
proclaiming	printing	98:4	194*	
Seth	Joseph ⁷	96:2		61*
Shalemanasseh	William W. Phelps	86:4	128	
Shederlaomach	Frederick G. Williams	93:1-2 98:5	194	55
Shinehah	Kirtland	86:4 96:section heading 98:3, 7, 9	128 194-195	Slip of paper between 60 and 61 ⁸
shinelah	“print”	98:10	196	
shinelane (possibly shine-lane)	“printing”	98:11	197	
Shule	“ashery”	98:7	195	
Son Ahman, the	Jesus Christ	75:4	146*	
Tahhanes	“Tanery”	98:3	193	
talents	“dollars”	98:12	197	
Zion	Israel	75:3	146*	
Zombre	John Johnson	96:2 98:4, 6	194	61*

SUBSTITUTE WORD	ANTECEDENT	1844
Baneemy	“mine elders”	102:8
Baurak Ale	Joseph Smith	101:4-6 102:5, 8

7. This is not JS, but Joseph of the Old Testament.

8. The text on this slip of paper uses substitute words but does not contain any antecedents.