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WALDEN AND THE BIBLE:
A STUDY IN INFLUENCE AND COMPOSITION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Larry Ray Long, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

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1976

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This study is dedicated to my wife and son, who have sacrificed much to enable me to complete my degree, and to my parents, who have supported and encouraged me from the beginning.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	Page ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	iii
VITA	iv
INTRODUCTION: AN INVALUABLE BOOK.	1
 Chapter	
I. THE FORM OF THE BIBLICAL USES	21
II. THE FUNCTION OF THE BIBLICAL USES	48
III. THE BIBLE AND THE COMPOSITION OF <u>WALDEN</u>	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	98
 APPENDICES	
A. THE BIBLICAL USES	101
B. THE BIBLICAL REFERENTS.	130
C. KEY WORD INDEX.	143

INTRODUCTION: AN INVALUABLE BOOK

Henry David Thoreau, in the "Sunday" chapter of A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, reveals his ambivalent attitude toward the Bible, especially toward the New Testament. His comments help characterize a man who had his name removed from the roll of the Concord church to insure that he would not be taxed to support an institution with which he disagreed.¹

The New Testament is an invaluable book, though I confess to having been slightly prejudiced against it in my very early days by the church and the Sabbath-school, so that it seemed, before I read it, to be the yellowest book in the catalogue. Yet I early escaped from their meshes. It was hard to get the commentaries out of one's head and taste its true flavor. I think that Pilgrim's Progress is the best sermon which has been preached from this text; almost all other sermons that I have heard, or heard of, have been but poor imitations of this. It would be a poor story to be prejudiced against the Life of Christ because the book has been edited by Christians. In fact, I love this book rarely, though it is a sort of castle in the air to me, which I am permitted to dream. Having come to it so recently and freshly, it has the greater charm, so that I cannot find any to talk with about it. I never read a novel, they have so little real life and thought in them. The reading which I love best is the scriptures of the several nations, though it happens that I am better acquainted with those of the Hindoos, the Chinese, and the Persians, than of the Hebrews, which I have come to last. Give me one of these bibles, and you have silenced me for a while. When I recover the use of my tongue, I am wont to worry my neighbors with the new sentences; but commonly they cannot see that there is any wit in them. Such has been my experience with the New Testament. I have not yet got to the crucifixion, I have read it over so many times. I should love dearly to read it aloud to my friends, some of whom are seriously inclined; it is so good, and I am sure that they have never heard it, it fits their case exactly, and we should enjoy it so much together,--but I instinctively despair of getting their ears. They soon show, by signs not to be mistaken, that it is inexpressibly wearisome to them. I do not mean

to imply that I am any better than my neighbors; for, alas! I know that I am only as good, though I love better books than they.²

Thoreau's ironic attitude toward the "religious" people in his audience is evident from this passage. He finds the New Testament "invaluable," while those whose "case" it fits "exactly" "have never heard it." He says he has himself only come to it last, after the oriental scriptures, although he is sure to have been exposed to it early in life. He adds, again ironically, that he had "not yet got to the crucifixion," suggesting his failure to appropriate that text into his philosophy. Moreover, Thoreau's respect for the New Testament is based on his love of "better books," a not so subtle implication that others, even those who seem to follow the Bible, really do not love it in the way they should--and certainly not in the way he does.

Thoreau next analyzes the "truth," the message, of the New Testament.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the universal favor with which the New Testament is outwardly received, and even the bigotry with which it is defended, there is no hospitality shown to, there is no appreciation of, the order of truth with which it deals. I know of no book that has so few readers. There is none so truly strange, and heretical, and unpopular. To Christians, no less than Greeks and Jews, it is foolishness and a stumbling-block. There are, indeed, severe things in it which no man should read aloud more than once. "Seek first the kingdom of heaven." "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth." "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Think of this, Yankees! "Verily, I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you." Think of repeating these things to a New England audience! thirdly, fourthly, fifteenthly, till there are three barrels of sermons! who, without cant, can read them aloud? Who, without cant, can hear them, and not go out of the meeting-house? They never were read, they never were heard. Let but one of these sentences be rightly read, from any pulpit in the land, and there would not be left one stone of that meeting-house upon another.³

In this passage Thoreau not only lists the New Testament verses most significant to him, but also repeatedly alludes to the New Testament sources. His emphasis is clearly on the power the New Testament has if it is properly understood--a condition that is seldom met. Four of the five verses he mentions have to do with the "economy" of a man's life. What does he seek? What does he gain? Where are his treasures? The "Yankees" in the audience, however, are unresponsive to the biblical answers to these questions. They do not avail themselves of the tremendous advantages of the book.

Despite these accolades, the New Testament also draws criticism from Thoreau. It simply does not reach men in the heart of their lives.

Yet the New Testament treats of man and man's so-called spiritual affairs too exclusively, and is too constantly moral and personal, to alone content me, who am not interested solely in man's religious or moral nature, or in man even . . . Absolutely speaking, Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you is by no means a golden rule, but the best of current silver. An honest man would have but little occasion for it. It is golden not to have any rule at all in such a case. . . . Christ was a sublime actor on the stage of the world. He knew what he was thinking of when he said, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." I draw near to him at such a time. Yet he taught mankind but imperfectly how to live; his thoughts were all directed toward another world. There is another kind of success than his. Even here we have a sort of living to get, and must buffet it somewhat longer. There are various tough problems yet to solve, and we must make shift to live, betwixt spirit and matter, such a human life as we can.⁴

In the remainder of the chapter Thoreau's attitude toward Christianity--as opposed to his attitude toward the New Testament--becomes more apparent. He says, "The church is a sort of hospital for men's souls, and as full of quackery as the hospital for their bodies." The preacher whose job is to convey the message of Christianity is--practically speaking--useless. "In dark places and dungeons the preacher's words

might perhaps strike root and grow, but not in broad daylight in any part of the world I know." Finally, Christianity fails to help man today. It is too other-worldly. "Christianity only hopes. It has hung its harp on the willows, and cannot sing a song in a strange land. It has dreamed a sad dream, and does not yet welcome the morning with joy."⁵ Even though Thoreau's own philosophy is one of hope (tempered with warning) he distrusts much of Christianity because it deals too exclusively with the future and avoids the present. At least, that is the practiced, if not the revealed, conception of Christianity. It is the Christianity he sees in the people. Thoreau's new "man," on the other hand, practices his philosophy and receives his rewards daily. Thus no matter how much respect Thoreau has for the message which lies behind the New Testament, he has little use for the empty lives evinced by most "Christians."

Three years later, in a journal entry dated January 31, 1852, Thoreau reiterated his regard for the New Testament, especially in contrast to the way others treated it.

I am repeatedly astonished by the coolness and obtuse bigotry with which some will appropriate the New Testament in conversation with you. It is as if they were to appropriate the sun and stand between you and it, because they understood that you had walked once by moonlight, though that was in the reflected light of the sun, which you could not get directly. I have seen two persons conversing at a tea-table, both lovers of the New Testament, each in his own way, the one a lover of all kindred expression of truth also; and yet the other appropriated the New Testament wholly to herself, and took it for granted, with singular or rather lamentable blindness and obtuseness, that the former neither knew nor cared anything about it. Horace Greeley found some fault with me to the world because I presumed to speak of the New Testament using my own words and thoughts, and challenged me to a controversy. The one thought I had was that it would give me real pleasure to know that he loved it as sincerely and enlightenedly as I did; but I feel that he did not care so much about it as I.⁶

Since he had already and would continue to "appropriate" the Bible for his own purposes, these comments are quite significant. Thoreau realized that there was a truth in the Scriptures which was not easily discovered. He was, however, confident that he could reveal this truth. To help him achieve that goal, he exploited the Bible as a key source for allusions, images, and verbal patterns which force the truth before the audience. This is true to some degree in all his writings, and even a cursory reading of Walden reveals the multitude of associations between the book and the Bible and suggests that a study of this aspect of his style and his techniques of composition would allow valuable insights into Thoreau as a writer. These insights are the goal of this study.

Early and late critics have touched on the relationship between Walden and the Bible, but the information gained is uneven and limited in scope. William Ellery Channing declared in his book Thoreau: The Poet-Naturalist that Thoreau had "a strong aversion to the Scribes and Pharisees" but that he wanted to know more about the Bible. In fact, his unfulfilled goals included "more reading . . . over Shakespeare and the Bible."⁷ Although this indicated Thoreau's interest in the Bible, suggesting it as a possible critical tool in an approach to his writing, only recently has a justification for a study of Thoreau and the Bible been offered. Walter Harding, in A Thoreau Handbook, writes

And finally, perhaps more than any other English work, the King James Bible exerted a profound influence on Thoreau's style. Although he often belittled his knowledge of the Scriptures and declared he was more familiar with the Oriental Bibles, his familiarity with the King James Bible is obvious on almost every page he wrote. His allusions to the Bible are frequent, and the word choice and sentence structure of the King James Bible are integral parts of his style.⁸

If the biblical influences are "integral" to Thoreau's style, they are worthy of attention. And since Harding offers no examples or data to support his assertions, a further investigation of the relationship between the Bible and Thoreau's works seems necessary. Later, in The Variorum "Walden,"⁹ which is in fact an annotated edition, Harding identifies several biblical influences in the text, but valid generalizations cannot be drawn from his limited study. His work, nevertheless, has offered a rationale to which other scholars have responded.

Four years after A Thoreau Handbook was published, Allison Ensor, who later made a study of Mark Twain's use of the Bible,¹⁰ followed up on Harding's remarks by offering what he called some "preliminary considerations" on Thoreau and the Bible.¹¹ Ensor reports that Thoreau owned seven Bibles and quotes Thoreau's comment from A Week that the New Testament "furnishes the most pregnant and practical texts."¹² Ensor concludes that Thoreau was turned against the Bible because it was not inspired, because he thought that each man must have his own real experiences, because it was too moral and personal, and because of the Hebrew illustrations. He finds thirty-one uses of the Bible in Walden and "Civil Disobedience," ten of which come from the Old Testament and twenty-one from the New. Half of the Old Testament references are to Genesis (with several of the others to Ecclesiastes), and most of the New Testament references are to the Gospels, especially Matthew; only two passages from I Corinthians are exceptions. Ensor suggests that Thoreau used the Bible to make comparisons with his own world and that he altered biblical passages sometimes for humor, sometimes to jolt the reader, and sometimes just unintentionally. These preliminary remarks are unfortunately

plagued by the same problem that undercuts other attempts in this sort of study--incomplete source materials which in turn lead to faulty generalizations. Ensor's implications that Thoreau was not familiar with Paul's writings and that he relied on Matthew's Gospel are based on insufficient evidence and are, in fact, wrong. The purpose of the article, however, was not to make generalizations but to offer a further invitation for a more complete study.

Joseph Moldenhauer's dissertation, The Rhetoric of "Walden," completed in 1964, considers Thoreau's allusions to the Bible in conjunction with his use of proverbs and familiar allusions. In doing so, Moldenhauer includes a total of eighty-six allusions in an appendix of common-places.¹³ Although he refers to most of the influences that Harding notes in The Variorum "Walden," Moldenhauer passes over some and, since his approach is more in terms of definable, borrowed units, he cannot be expected to pick up all of the verbal echoes and associations that Thoreau might have incorporated. His study, then, although clearly well-done and well documented, and one which will necessarily affect all studies of Thoreau's language--including this one--is not a comprehensive consideration of Thoreau and the Bible.

That comprehensive study seemed to be achieved in another dissertation completed in 1966, John Robert Burns' "Thoreau's Use of the Bible." This study includes five chapters which discuss such potentially important topics as Thoreau's use of biblical character and place names for statements on time, the purpose of life, and the futility of materialism; Thoreau's use of allusions for "potency" in his philosophical language; his ambivalent use of Scripture for comic and didactic effect; the

exploitation of the Bible and biblical influences in his imagery; and Thoreau's significant revisions while working from the Journal to the finished Walden. Following these chapters are three "glossaries" that cover (1) an index of biblical names, words, and topics which Thoreau used; (2) an index of the Scriptures related to the items in the first list; and (3) a list of passages from Thoreau juxtaposed with related passages from the Bible.

Burns' first success is in correcting one of Ensor's most fallacious "preliminary" statements. He effectively demonstrates that Thoreau's familiarity with the New Testament went beyond Matthew and the Gospels, since he uses II Corinthians 4:4, Hebrews 11, Hebrews 13:8, James 5:20, I Peter 1:17, and Revelation 2:8 all in Walden. His other achievements lie in his recognition of the key questions about Thoreau's use of the Bible: how often did he borrow from the Bible? what kinds of things did he borrow? why did he use them? how did he incorporate them into his works? and how did he organize and re-organize the writing in order to assimilate the borrowed materials?

Unfortunately, the shortcomings of Burns' work far outweigh his achievements. Of the five questions, he effectively answers only the second, and that is simply by listing a sampling of passages from Thoreau in the third glossary. The others he too often hurriedly skips over. In fact, the five chapters which purport to analyze all of Thoreau's writings result in only seventy-five pages of essay, and the chapter on revisions consists of just six pages which trace three examples from the Journal to the finished Walden. Clearly, an approach to the composition of Walden as significant as that through the Bible

requires a far more thorough consideration. Burns tries to do too much in too little space. Although a study need not be long in order to be effective, Burns' approach is just too broad for a comprehensive study in so few pages. Not only are the analyses cursory, but the glossaries are both incomplete and inefficient, rendering them nearly worthless as tools for further scholarship. Since not any one of the three is complete (although this is nowhere mentioned), all three must be culled in order to find a specific reference in any of Thoreau's writings or to develop a working list of uses in a single book. And, if the scholar searches through all three glossaries, he cannot be sure he has a comprehensive list (although, again, this is nowhere stated). In my unpublished master's thesis,¹⁴ I have found that Burns' study of four of Thoreau's essays is only about 30% complete. Another indication of the lack of comprehensiveness is his statement that there were "at least fifty [] references or allusions [] in Walden."¹⁵ Two years earlier, in a dissertation which Burns lists in his bibliography, Moldenhauer had clearly stated that he could identify "forty-nine" in the first half alone and "thirty-seven" in the remainder of Walden.¹⁶ And it must be remembered that Moldenhauer is including only those references he considers to be "commonplaces," while Burns adds numerous references to "God," "church," and "heaven." Typical of the kind of misfortune Burns' procedure can invite is his inclusion of the word "Solomon" from the "Economy" chapter of Walden.¹⁷ The context of the paragraph makes absolutely clear that "Solomon" was a laborer in a field, tentatively identified by Thoreau, and, if Burns wants merely to note the borrowing of a biblical name, he should also have picked up "Jonas," the second name Thoreau offers. He does not.

Although statistics cannot be expected to convey the significance of any study of this kind, they reveal Burns' incompleteness and suggest how this examination of Thoreau and the Bible relates to the others. Harding, in The Variorum "Walden," recognizes fifty-six uses of the Bible in Walden and Moldenhauer mentions eighty-seven. Burns, in what is supposedly the comprehensive study, mentions 126. He, however, omits forty-four of those discovered by Harding and Moldenhauer, so that, by conflating all three sources, the total reaches 170. My study uncovered eighty more in the text of Walden and another twenty in the Journal entries and the first version of Walden which preceded the finished text. (This does not include three more biblical references mentioned in Burns' study which cannot be located in the text.) Burns' work is, then, only 50% complete. The simple efficient use of the forty-four uses already identified by Harding and Moldenhauer would have boosted his comprehensiveness to nearly 70%. These omissions indicate that Burns did not know the Bible or his other sources well enough to effectively complete his study. Whatever generalizations and conclusions he reached must be carefully scrutinized in view of this remarkably high percentage of error.

Underlying these problems of utility and comprehensiveness is Burns' essential error in failing to formulate a precise definition of the "raw materials" he includes and his subsequent failure to fulfill the project he began. Early in the dissertation he mentions a total of "over 500 references, allusions to, or extracts from the Scriptures" and, in a footnote, adds, "This does not include similarities to Scriptural syntax, literary techniques and other obvious literary influences."¹⁸ Since

Thoreau often paraphrased his "extracts" from the Bible, "Scriptural syntax" is highly important in identifying the author's use of the Bible. And, if certain sentence structures are well-known and identifiable as coming from the Bible, especially those which can be associated with specific verses, then echoes of these syntactical arrangements seem clearly to be "uses" of the Bible, exactly what Burns purports to be studying. His failure to include these similarities is thus inexcusable. Finally, Burns' failure to identify all of the one-word "allusions" he chooses to include seriously detracts from his already nebulous definition. If the word "husbandman" is significant in one place, then it should be whenever it occurs. If each instance of the word is not significant, then this should be clarified. And since his net is set to include words like "God," he should locate each example. Burns fails to do both. An additional result of his loose definition is Burns' neglect to discuss effectively the forms of Thoreau's biblical uses. If he employs "references, allusions to and extracts from the Scriptures," then Thoreau must have established, possibly even unconsciously, some categories of form which would be quite significant in a study based on this material. Burns neglects to do this and leaves the reader to abstract his own categories from the treacherously incomplete third glossary of passages from Thoreau.

This then is the history of studies dealing with Thoreau and the Bible. My own contribution offers a more comprehensive list of Thoreau's biblical references and, therefore, overcomes several of the problems earlier studies have created. This study is, and purports to be only, an investigation of Thoreau's uses of the Bible in the composition of Walden. By limiting itself to the final form of Walden and two of its preliminary

stages, this study seeks to avoid the scattergun approach that committed Burns to such a vast bulk of source materials and that directly led to the incompleteness of his work. And, since the generalizations I form about Thoreau and the Bible are applied to his composition of Walden, this study avoids the cursory nature of Burns' essays. What he limits to six pages will be the subject of the entire third chapter of this study. In addition, to avoid the problem of inefficiency which plagued Burns, the procedures and results of this study are carefully delineated and reported in the essays and in the appendices which follow.

My procedure is simple. From the Princeton text of Walden, from the first version of Walden,¹⁹ and from passages later appearing in Walde, but first recorded in the Walden edition of the Journal that was written before the publication of Walden, I have culled every use of the Bible I could find. Having already pooled the findings of Harding, Moldenhauer, and Burns, I have had a list against which to double check myself and some definitions to follow. In fact, I have tried to utilize the non-definition from which Burns worked--not the disclaimer in the footnote mentioned above. I was, therefore, looking in my texts for each reflection of some part of the Bible. These "uses" include quotations, borrowings, paraphrases, and syntactical associations that can be identified with biblical passages. Although the most effective identifications are those in which a line from Thoreau is associated with a single verse, many of the included passages cannot be limited so concretely, since they suggest whole contexts or themes. The association, however, is clearly defined so that other scholars can accept or reject the identification.

This study also attempts to fulfill Burns' glossaries by comprehensively compiling the one word references that dominate his first index. This is done mainly to show his inadequacy in achieving his own purported goals and to present the numerous, often non-rhetorical, associations included among this group. (The difference in the quality of the uses I note and those noted by Burns is revealed in that nearly one half of his entries were one word references, while only one third of mine fall into that category even though I completed his list by finding more examples of the same words he mentions.) Finally, I have given considerable thought to the problem of making my raw materials and conclusions more easily accessible to others. Therefore, I have designed a series of appendices which present the findings of my basic research--the foundation for the generalizations presented in the essay portion of the study. In these appendices are included, in the order in which they appear in the finished text, all the uses of the Bible in Walden, with comments on their form and function and their Scriptural references. In addition, there are similar entries on all the uses in the first version and in the applicable passages in the Journal. Thus, the scholar will be able to locate, en masse, the raw materials which led to the conclusions in the arguments. Another appendix lists, in the order of the King James Bible, all the Scriptures associated with the uses employed in the Walden materials. From this list, the scholar is able to see the widespread use Thoreau made of the whole Bible, referring to forty-six of the sixty-six books and all but four in the New Testament. The final appendix is a key word index which allows the scholar to see, for example, how often and where Thoreau referred to "Solomon," "God," and "new wine

in old skins." This index is like the first glossary in Burns' dissertation but is superior in that, as was already indicated, it has more than twice as much material from Walden than has Burns' glossary.

From these appendices I have developed the content of the essays which follow this introduction. The first deals with the form of the biblical uses Thoreau incorporated into Walden, concentrating on the answer to one of the questions Burns failed to deal with effectively: how does Thoreau get matter from the Bible into his writing? The second essay discusses the function of the uses in their individual contexts and tries to answer the basic question: why does Thoreau use the Bible so many times in these pages? The final chapter analyzes the revisions, additions, and deletions Thoreau made in the biblical materials as Walden moved from journal entries to first version to finished text. This essay deals with form, function, and intent, as I try to follow the creation of one of America's greatest contributions to world literature.

Some general statements about the results of my research seem in order at this point. First, the total number of biblical uses is 273 in the Walden materials, of which 250 are found in the Princeton text. Ten more occur in both the first version text and the relevant Journal passages. (In addition, there are three entries which evidently arise from errors in Burns' glossaries, as I cannot discover them in the text.) Of these uses ninety-eight or roughly thirty-six percent occur in "Economy," although by bulk that chapter is only one fourth of the text. "Economy" is followed by "Higher Laws" with sixteen uses and "Where I Lived," "Reading," "Ponds," and "Spring" with fourteen each. When Walden

is divided in halves after "The Village," as Moldenhauer suggests,²⁰ the first section shows 158 of the 250 uses, or sixty-three percent of the total.

Altogether the 273 uses suggest 276 Scriptural references to 239 different biblical texts, with twenty texts used twice, four used three times, and one each used four and five different times. These two most popular texts are the Matthew 13 account of the parable of the sower, which is employed five times, and the second half of Matthew 5:45, " . . . for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." The inclination to use the parable of the sower occurs consistently in passages about farming or seeds. The suggestion is open that soil is not equally fertile and that the laborer should decide where to concentrate his endeavors. The passage from the fifth chapter of Matthew qualifies this by emphasizing that each individual is part of the universal and that Nature subsumes both rich and poor, both bean fields and prairies. In the second chapter more will be said about how these passages function in the overall "message" of Walden.

There are 255 Scriptural referents to the 250 uses found in the Princeton text. Of these, 119 occur in "Economy." The totals then drop rapidly down to nineteen in "Higher Laws," fifteen in "Spring," and, surprisingly, thirteen in "Former Inhabitants." Thus, although there are more biblical uses in other chapters--"Where I Lived" and "Reading," for example--"Former Inhabitants" has more identifiable referents than these. When the book is divided after "The Village," 172 of the referents occur in the first half and eighty-three in the second. These referents can be further analyzed according to their origin. Of the thirty-nine Old

Testament books, twenty-three are represented by at least one reference and a total of ninety-two references to the Old Testament occur in the total of 255. Ten of the sixteen Old Testament books omitted belong to the group often called the Minor Prophets, implying that Thoreau was less familiar with them. He does, however, use them in other writings²¹ and one has to ask whether the anti-materialism of the book of Amos was not, indeed, parallel to a great many of Thoreau's own doctrines. On the other hand, twenty-three of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament are noted in a total of 163 references. Thus, Thoreau shows a clear preference for the New Testament, suggesting both his and his audience's greater familiarity with the second portion of the Bible. And 106 of these New Testament references come from the Gospels, reinforcing Ensor's assertion that Thoreau relied heavily on those first four books. One of Moldenhauer's statements, however, is undercut by the findings of this analysis. He notes that the proportion of Old Testament to New Testament references is much higher, nearly one-to-one, in the section from Walden that follows "The Village" than the approximately two-to-one ratio of New to Old found in the first.²² My study reveals that more complete data shows the proportion to move in the opposite direction, as the Old Testament references drop from thirty-eight percent to thirty-three percent (from sixty-five of 172 in the first half to twenty-seven of eighty-three in the second). Moreover, the same ratio holds true when only the more positively identifiable referents are used. Certainly, these figures do not deny Moldenhauer's generalizations concerning the rhetorical function of the references, especially since his findings are based on the more easily identified "commonplaces." They do show, however, that Thoreau maintained a fairly consistent proportion of New

Testament to Old Testament references, approximately two-to-one, throughout Walden.

It seems useful to close this chapter with some comments on the genetic study of literature, since Harding, Ensor, Moldenhauer, and Burns have already justified the study of Thoreau's use of the Bible. I think it would be presumptuous of me to offer a theoretical justification, as such, because the analysis of "pre-writing" materials has long been practiced. Some general comments, however, on what can and cannot be accomplished by this approach, are in order. The genetic critic watches the text develop from inception to publication, noting the revisions the author makes. He constantly look for patterns or tendencies which suggest that the author is gaining control and imposing order in the writing. From the bits of evidence gathered in the examinations, the critic hopes to induce what direction the author wants the work to take. It seems clear that writing is a dialectic process in which the writer makes many choices. In fact, each word, as it is selected and placed on the page, represents several choices. A series of these choices made in a single version of a work takes it in one direction. In another draft, perhaps the author revises and these choices establish a counter-current. The critic, who is constantly trying to remain objective, observes the thesis-antithesis movement and attempts to posit the synthesis, the author's intention for that particular work. Clearly, the genetic critic flirts with the intentional fallacy, the enemy of Wimsatt, Wellek, Warren, and other critics,²³ but what can and should save him is his approach from within the writing of the work itself. He is not superimposing an authorial statement or a biographical or psychological assumption, but is letting

the writing of the work speak for itself. He deals in facts: the author used this word, or theme, or style; it had this effect. Obviously, while the writing evolves through various drafts, the author's intentions may be shifting. But, in theory--and I think in practice--the critic can better define the final "effects" by having seen the false starts, the preliminary stages, and the next-to-last drafts that came before.

In this particular study, the emphasis is obviously on the effect of the Bible in the writing of Walden. I have watched Thoreau add, delete, and revise passages which contained echoes of the Bible, hoping to see patterns develop. With only a single approach in mind, I could better concentrate on these patterns. A series of deleted uses from passages copied from the Journal into the first version or a series of uses added or revised as he reworked the Journal or the first version forms for publication were evident. The patterns I uncovered are discussed in the third chapter, where I focus on Thoreau as creative artist, picking and sorting from his whole knowledge of the Bible in order to establish the rhetorical contexts best suited for his purposes in Walden.

NOTES

- 1 Joseph Wood Krutch, Henry David Thoreau (New York, 1948), p. 41.
- 2 Henry David Thoreau, The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, Walden edition (Boston, 1906), I, 72-73. All subsequent references to A Week, volume I, and to the Journal, which comprise volumes VII-XX but are numbered separately I-XIV, will be to this edition.
- 3 A Week, pp. 73-74.
- 4 A Week, p. 74.
- 5 A Week, pp. 77-78.
- 6 Journal, III, 256-57.
- 7 William Ellery Channing, Thoreau: The Poet-Naturalist, New ed. enlarged by F. B. Sanborn (Boston, 1902), pp. 328, 333.
- 8 Walter Harding, A Thoreau Handbook (New York, 1959), p. 106.
- 9 The Variorum "Walden", ed. and with notes and introduction by Walter Harding (New York, 1962).
- 10 Allison Ensor, Mark Twain and the Bible (Lexington, Ky., 1969).
- 11 Allison Ensor, "Thoreau and the Bible--Preliminary Considerations," Emerson Society Quarterly, 33 (1963), 65-70.
- 12 A Week, p. 142.
- 13 Joseph Moldenhauer, The Rhetoric of "Walden" (Ann Arbor, 1968), pp. 361-409. I count eighty-seven uses in the appendix as I include the proverb "as old as Adam" as a reference to Genesis.
- 14 "Biblical Allusions in Four Essays by Henry David Thoreau" (The Ohio State University, 1974). I tried to use Burns' study in an examination of "Walking," "Thomas Carlyle and His Works," "A Plea for Captain John Brown," and "Paradise (To Be) Regained." Burns, however, notes only forty-two of the 137 entries I record.
- 15 John Robert Burns, "Thoreau's Use of the Bible," Diss. Notre Dame 1966, p. 2.
- 16 Moldenhauer, Rhetoric, p. 246.

17 Henry David Thoreau, Walden, ed. J. Lyndon Shanley (Princeton, 1971), p. 18. Throughout this study the Princeton text will be used, since it is modern scholarship's best estimate of Thoreau's intentions.

18 Burns, p. 3.

19 See J. Lyndon Shanley, The Making of "Walden," with the Text of the First Version (Chicago, 1957).

20 Moldenhauer, Rhetoric, pp. 245-46.

21 Jonah is mentioned in A Week, p. 68, for example.

22 Moldenhauer, Rhetoric, p. 246.

23 See W. K. Wimsatt, "The Intentional Fallacy," in The Verbal Icon (Lexington, Ky., 1954), pp. 3-18; Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (New York, 1956), p. 148.

CHAPTER ONE: THE FORM OF THE BIBLICAL USES

While discussing the Scriptural commonplaces in Walden, Joseph Moldenhauer observes, "Unlike the proverbial materials . . . Thoreau's familiar Christian references do not yield easily to technical categorization. Pure quotation blends insensibly into slight modification; this in turn cannot be separated definitively from major modification; and major modification overlaps with paraphrase, verbal echo, and analogy of content or situation."¹ This statement suggests a duty and a meaningful, though admittedly treacherous, task which Moldenhauer shirks. Enough has already been seen to establish Thoreau's reliance on the Bible. The next question is how does he "use" the Bible? In what form does the Bible appear in his work? Moldenhauer's description renders the situation fairly and accurately, since the dividing lines between the "categories" are not well demarcated. If, however, in a color spectrum the line between red and orange "blends insensibly" into the two major colors, the viewer knows that red lies in one direction and orange in the other. Similarly, even if we have a hard time defining whether some uses fit more precisely into the category of associated phrases or paraphrases, we can nevertheless identify nearly a dozen different forms that Thoreau uses to incorporate biblical material into the text of Walden. My concern is not "definitively" to label each and every use,² but to suggest methods of reference that Thoreau employed while writing Walden.

Although quotation is one obvious way of exploiting a source in a piece of writing, in terms of how many references he makes to the Bible, Thoreau quotes surprisingly little of it. And, as Ensor notes, unlike his treatment of Oriental writings, Thoreau never introduces a quotation with, "The Bible says" ³ In fact, only one of the biblical quotations in Walden is set off by quotation marks. Thus, although Thoreau does copy word-for-word from some passages, he does not often call attention to this fact. It is true, as Moldenhauer insists, that "While Thoreau's references to mythology and literature are sometimes 'learned,' it may be assumed that all Biblical quotations and echoes would be reasonably apparent to the audience which Thoreau defines for his book." ⁴ Moreover, all five quotations I discovered in Walden are proverbial or, at least, aphoristic, so they could or might be readily called to mind. And functionally, they all come at the close of paragraphs to support, restate, or validate the arguments. All incorporate such minor variations as punctuation, tense, or wording changes, allowing them to better fit their new surroundings. For example, when Thoreau quotes from Ezekiel 18:2-4, he combines part of verse two with a passage from Matthew, with modifications, and then adds quotation marks around verses three and four. His version reads as follows:

What mean ye by saying the poor ye have always with you, or that the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?

"As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel."

"Behold all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth it shall die." (32-46, 47, 48) ⁵

The passage in Ezekiel is as follows:

What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die.

Why he punctuates the last two verses as separate paragraph quotations is unclear, but it is revealing to see how he has retained the opening phrase of verse two to create a tighter combination of the Old and New Testament passages.⁶ Similarly, "now" is omitted from the quoted portion of Ecclesiastes 12:1, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth," (207-363), while the verb tense changes and "then" is added to the end of I Corinthians 15:55. Thoreau writes, "O Death, where was thy sting? O Grave, where was thy victory, then?" (317-401), though Paul had written, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" The changes are necessary in his context. The fifth and final quotation is from an Old Testament proverb, quoted out of its original context. "For to him that is joined to all living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion" (Ecclesiastes 9:4). Thoreau uses only the last clause, omitting the introductory "for." A final, possibly meaningless though intriguing, characteristic is that four of the five quotations come from the Old Testament. I find no significance in this nor in the distribution of the quotations throughout the text.

Although Thoreau employs quotation as a secondary method of use, he borrows smaller units extensively. These borrowings can best be handled by first noting the borrowed phrases and then some borrowed individual words. Borrowed phrases, in this study, include phrases

which are obviously taken from the Bible, although the exact referent may be unclear. For example, phrases like "breath of life" (102-138), "according to his ability" (108-144), and "in like manner" (315-398) are all used several times in the Bible. Although it is impossible to relate them to single verses, the borrowed language affects the context of Thoreau's prose. And, although some may question if even Thoreau was conscious of the borrowing, the familiarity of the phrases makes them useful rhetorical devices. Since Thoreau was such a conscious craftsman,⁷ if even three of his words in succession seem to echo the Bible, the likelihood of coincidence is slight. The reference is probably planned. Other borrowed phrases are even more obvious. Phrases like ". . . eating locusts and wild honey" (52, 53-73), "the tower of Babel" (57-78), and "the parable of the sower" clearly allude to biblical passages. The last two examples also illustrate how a single phrase can recall a whole passage in Scripture as they suggest accounts in Genesis 11:1-9 and Matthew 13:18-23, respectively. Some borrowed phrases illustrate Thoreau's special techniques or interests, for example, the borrowed phrase "the apple of his eye" (41-60). There are five Old Testament sources for this proverbial expression.⁸ Another pair of phrases show Thoreau's wit as he plays a borrowing off against a variation. He suggests that men preach to others to "go about doing good" (a borrowing from Acts 10:38 which tells how Jesus "went about doing good"), while he recommends that men "set about being good" (73-102). The play on words is typical. Finally, borrowed phrases are modified or negated, as is the case with the phrase "fear and trembling." Thoreau writes of birds who came near him "without fear

and trembling" (226-291), although in their most familiar biblical setting, Phillippians 2:12, "fear and trembling" are desirable conditions.

One other significant generalization should be made about the borrowed phrases I note: only four of them can be definitely tied to Old Testament referents, while as many as eleven are more closely, or even uniquely, related to New Testament passages. This suggests that Thoreau was more familiar with the latter half of the Bible and expected the same from his audience. And, contrary to Moldenhauer's finding on commonplaces, all four of the phrases specifically borrowed from the Old Testament fall in the first half of Walden.⁹

Thoreau borrowed not only phrases, but also specific words. I arbitrarily define this category as those words which obviously have their source in the Bible. (A later category will deal with words associated with the Bible, but not tied so closely to it as these.) Again, these words do not necessarily demand an open Bible as their point of origin, but they are such key words in the Scriptures that their use immediately recalls biblical passages. Of course the obvious "borrowed" word is "God." It occurs as an isolated unit--i.e., not in a quotation or other extended form--twenty times in Walden. Clearly, no specific referents can be assigned to these uses, although other borrowed words do suggest Old or New Testament sources. The four uses of "Adam" point to the Old Testament, as do the two uses of "Solomon," "manna," and single references to "Eve" and "Nimrod." Other borrowed words, "evangelist," "the elect," and "Jesus Christ," indicate a New Testament background. One word, "sojourner," is a special problem in its two uses. The word is most closely related to

the Old Testament, with several references in that portion of the Bible. However, it also appears in the New Testament, and one use (37-56) clearly derives from a description of Abraham in Hebrews 11:9. "By faith he [Abraham] sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise." Thus, the highly connotative "sojourner" has both Old and New Testament ties. Other borrowed words present special problems. The "Solomon" and "Jonas" mentioned in "Economy" (18-29) are obviously not the Israelite king or the reluctant prophet of whale's belly fame. Their names, however, are derived from biblical personages, and Thoreau could just as easily have mentioned a Ralph or an Orestes working in that field. The biblical names pull more associations into the text. It should also be noted that several of the borrowed words suggest whole contexts in the Bible, ranging from one to several verses in length. "Nimrod" is scarcely mentioned in the Bible, but "Adam and Eve," "the elect," and "manna" recall whole chapters and lengthy narratives in Genesis, John's letters, and Exodus, respectively.

As Moldenhauer points out in the quotation that introduces this chapter, Thoreau quite often modifies the material he takes from the Bible. I have chosen to label these "modified" uses as paraphrases, which I in turn subdivide into two categories, open paraphrases and associated paraphrases. The names primarily suggest the degree of change incorporated during the movement from Scripture to Walden. A special division of the associated paraphrases, which involve the more dramatically altered uses, includes the inverted paraphrases, i.e.,

those that appear in forms which negate or contradict their sources, which add terms to the sources, or which alter the terms of their sources. Thus, some ninety uses occur under the five headings of open paraphrases, associated paraphrases, contradictory paraphrases, altered term paraphrases, and added term paraphrases. The paragraphs which follow define and illustrate each of these categories.

Open paraphrases are those closest to quotations. Usually each employs several borrowed words and phrases from its source, thus making that source readily identifiable. In fact, all five of the open paraphrases I noted in Walden had already been found by Harding, Moldenhauer, and Burns, though none had defined their form in this manner. Of the five, four have New Testament referents and three of those come from Matthew. All five occur in the first half of Walden, with four falling in "Economy." Even though I represent all five as open paraphrases, their forms, as compared to the referents, vary considerably. One is close to quotation. When Thoreau refers to Psalms 114:4 in "Sounds," he adds two words and changes the verb tense, altering "The mountains skipped like rams and the little hills like lambs" to "the mountains do indeed skip like rams and the little hills like lambs" (122-158). In other examples, however, more modifications are employed. Early in "Economy" Thoreau refers to Matthew 6:19,20 to describe "a fool's life." Fools are those, he writes, "employed, as it says in an old book, laying up treasures which moth and rust will corrupt and thieves break through and steal" (5-5). The referent is Christ's injunction from the Sermon on the Mount: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and

where thieves break through and steal; But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal." Similarly, when he combines a passage from Matthew 26:11 with one from Ezekiel, Thoreau inverts the word order and omits part of the verse. "For ye have the poor always with you, but me ye have not always," becomes "What mean ye by saying that the poor ye have always with you. . ." (32-46).

Modifications in I Peter 4:18 caused Burns to suggest James 5:20 as the referent. The use, "This is a charity that hides a multitude of sins" (77-107), found in "Economy," suggest several referents, although the passage from Peter's epistle, "And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves; for charity shall cover the multitude of sins," is most clearly associated with the context. The passage from James, "Let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins," might suggest a source from which Thoreau borrowed a phrase, but the association is neither clear nor necessary in this instance. The fifth example borders on the category of added term paraphrases.

Thoreau, after using phrases from Matthew 8:20, develops the humor by inserting his own ideas. Most men do not own shelters, he writes, "though the birds of the air have their nests and the foxes their holes, and the savages their wigwams. . ." (30-45). Since the allusion is clear and the addition follows the "use," this reference falls in the category of open paraphrases, where the referent of each use is clearly "an old book."

The referents of the large category of associated paraphrases are not always so easily defined, mainly because these uses are, by definition, modified. They are, as the name implies, uses which are associated with specific verses, i.e., are obvious plays on the verses, but which are not quotations. Usually the identification of the referent is based on the borrowing of key words which reveal the association. Often the initial association is reinforced by the syntax of the sentence or the theme of the context, since many times the context of the referent will inform the context of the use. Although inverted associated paraphrases are separated into three specific divisions, the "regular" associated paraphrases are still too numerous to be discussed individually. Several different techniques and characteristic strategies, however, need to be noticed, in order to reveal Thoreau's rich and varied maneuverings.

One special group of the associated paraphrases includes those that I have tautologically designated as "reworded paraphrases." In these uses the same idea found in the Scriptural referent is simply restated in different words. The meaning does not change and the use is not employed satirically. Into this category fall all four references to Matthew 5:45, "That ye may be children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." The assurance of the second part of this verse is rephrased on four occasions, three of them falling after the central chapter of Walden.

We might try our lives by a thousand simple tests; as, for instance, that the same sun which ripens my beans illumines at once a system of earths like ours. (10-13)

We are wont to forget that the sun looks on our cultivated fields and on the prairies and forests without distinction. They all reflect and absorb his rays alike. . . . (166-220)

Those same stars twinkle over other fields than these. (222-281)

The setting sun is reflected from the windows of the alms-house as brightly as from the rich man's abode; the snow melts before its door as easily in the spring. (328-417)

In the fifth reworded paraphrase, I Thessalonians 5:22, "Abstain from all appearance of evil," is rephrased, "It is best to avoid the beginnings of evil" (67-89).¹⁰ The form of the reworded paraphrase allows Thoreau to transfer acceptable concepts from the Bible, but in words which best fit his own contexts.

The other regular associated paraphrases are most easily grouped according to what best discovers the association between the use and its referent. These links include rephrasings, borrowings, contextual ties, syntax, and pure association. Each of these can be considered individually.

Rephrasing usually suggests that the use alters word order or makes significant changes in the wording which obscure, but do not destroy, the association between the use and its referent. In some instances short phrases are sufficient to uncover the use. "What demon possessed me. . ." (10-14) is a rephrasing of Luke 8:36, "They also which saw it told them by what means he that was possessed of the devils was healed," while "You may say the wisest thing you can old man,--you who have lived seventy years, not without honor of a king. . ." (10,11-14) recalls Psalms 90:10, "The days of our years are threescore years and ten. . ." and "the dark valley" (125-164) recalls Psalms 23:4, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death. . . ."

Other rephrasings are more difficult to identify. Moldenhauer notes the biblical sources for the proverb that is paraphrased in "Economy".¹¹ "With consummate skill he has set his trap with a hair spring to catch comfort and independence, and then, as he turned away, got his own leg into it" (33-50). Psalms 7:15, Psalms 9:15-16, and Proverbs 26:27 are all possible sources for this use. For example, Psalms 9:15-16 warns, "The heathen are sunk down in the pit that they made: in the net which they hid is their own foot taken. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth: the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands." Still others include thematic associations. While discussing Walden Pond, Thoreau suggests that the "brave man" who made the pond "rounded this water with his hand. . . ." He follows this statement with a bit of verse which contains these lines:

In the hollow of my hand
Are its water and its sand,
And its deepest resort
Lies high in my thought. (193-248)

Both of these are uses of the theme and rephrasings of Psalms 95:4-5, "In his hand are the deep places of the earth: the strength of the hills is his also. The sea is his, and he made it: and his hands formed the dry land."

Sometimes borrowed words or phrases indicate the associated paraphrase by recalling a single specific verse. For example, when Thoreau mentions "the age of Methuselah" (303-382) and "the only way" (11-15), he recalls passages in Genesis--"And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died" (5:27)--and John--"Jesus saith unto him, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me'" (14:6). Other borrowings are more

extensive. The phrase, "like keeping new wine in old bottles" (24-36), is sufficiently long to associate with Matthew 9:17, "Neither do men put new wine in old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish: but the put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved."¹² Similarly, a whole phrase is lifted from Psalms 50:10, "For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills." Thoreau uses the last six words in reference to the cattle train (121-158). He also writes of a "simple-minded pauper" "in proportion as he appeared to humble himself was he exalted" (151-200). Several of those words identify the source as Matthew 23:12, "And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted." However, some of the borrowings lead to more tenuous associations. John Robert Burns has identified the source of a sentence in "Economy" on the basis of just two borrowed words. He says that "I also have in mind that seemingly wealthy, but most terribly impoverished class of all, who have accumulated dross, but know not how to use it, or get rid of it, and thus have forged their own golden or silver fetters" (16-21) is a reference to "Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water" (Isaiah 1:22).¹³ Although that is clearly one of the least apparent connections in the list, if the borrowed words do--or did for the immediate audience--recall that verse, then the association is valid and worth noticing. And, when the theme of a given verse supports the theme of a sentence in Walden, even a loose association is easier to accept. For instance, Thoreau writes, "There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root. . ." (75-105).

He borrows only a couple of words from Matthew 3:10, but he precisely reiterates the theme of that verse. "And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." A final technique that results in associated paraphrases is the compressed borrowing. In these uses the terms of a source are altered so that a long verse is compressed into a short use in Walden. Thus, Isaiah 35:1, "The wilderness and the solitary places shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose," becomes a short clause, ". . .making the wilderness to blossom like a rose" (264-332).

At times borrowing and rephrasing appear in the same use. The sentence "He dwelt, as it were, in a tent in this world, and was either threading the valleys, or crossing the plains, or climbing the mountain tops" (37-56) is based on Hebrews 11:9, "By faith he [Abraham] sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise." By borrowing and rephrasing, Thoreau invites the reader to recall the source.

Many times a key phrase in Walden will call to mind a whole context in the Bible. Three lines from a poem Thoreau quotes in "Higher Laws," identified by Harding as coming from Donne's "To Sr Edward Herbert at Iulyers,"¹⁴ allude to the story about Christ and the Legion of devils. The lines barely refer to their source, but the connection is evident.

Else man not only is the herd of swine,
 But he's those devils too which did incline
 Them to a headlong rage, and made them worse.

The story is recorded in Matthew 8:28-34, Mark 5:1-20, and Luke 8:26-36.

Other associated paraphrases based on the use of a context include references to the ax lost through the ice (178-229)--which Paul Williams noted as an allusion to II Kings 6:1-7¹⁵--to a "brightness that no mortal can look. . .in the face" (73,74-102)--which recalls Moses' experience on Mount Sinai (Exodus 33 and 34)--and to the tower of Babel--the story in Genesis 11:1-9 which is used four times in various ways in the Walden materials (57-78, twice; 104-139; and 295-375). As was previously noted, some associations in this category may be quite tenuous. When, for instance, the reader recalls the story of Babel as he reads, "By such a pile we may hope to scale heaven at last" (104-139), the connection is not unclear but the association is not definite either. Still more loose an association is the one Harding suggests between a passage in "Economy" and the story of the rich young ruler found in Luke 18.¹⁶ Thoreau writes:

One young man of my acquaintance, who has inherited some acres, told me that he though he should live as I did, if he had the means. I would not have any one adopt my mode of living on any account; for, beside that before he has fairly learned it I may have found out another for myself. I desire that there may be as many different persons in the world as possible; but I would have each one be very careful to find out and pursue his own way, and not his father's or his mother's or his neighbor's instead. The youth may build or plant or sail, only let him not be hindered from doing that which he tells me he would like to do. It is by a mathematical point only that we are wise, as the sailor or the fugitive slave keeps the pole star in his eye; but that is sufficient guidance for all our life. We may not arrive at our port in a calculable period, but we would preserve the true course. (71-99)

The account in Luke is also about one who would follow:

And a certain ruler asked him, saying, Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, that is, God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery. Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother. And he said, All these have I kept from my youth up. Now when Jesus heard these things, he said unto him, Yet thou lackest one thing, sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me. And when he heard this, he was very sorrowful: for he was very rich. (Luke 18:18-23)

The parallelism is faint; nevertheless, the biblical reference seems to be a planned tactic when the two passages are compared. A similar parallelism can be seen between Thoreau's statement, "It [the town] sells milk, but it only builds larger barns with the money which is given for its milk" (108,110-145) and Luke 12:18, "And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and goods." Finally, Harding has identified one other association that merits attention. In Job 39:19-25, the writer describes a war horse with forceful images.

Hast thou given the horse strength? hast thou clothed his neck with thunder? Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? the glory of his nostrils is terrible. He paweth in the valley and rejoiceth in his strength: he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage: neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet. He said among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.

Harding notes the similarities between this passage and Thoreau's description of the "iron horse."¹⁷

When I hear the iron horse make the hills echo with his snort like thunder, shaking the earth with his feet, and breathing fire and smoke from his nostrils, (what kind of winged horse

or fiery dragon they will put into the new Mythology I don't know,) it seems as if the earth had got a race now worthy to inhabit it. (116-153)

Again, the highly tenuous associations are dependent on the reader's knowledge of the word choice and imagery of the Bible. These highly associative uses often may be overlooked, but they reward the close reader by adding richness and subtlety to the prose.

Equally rich and subtle are the associated paraphrases based on syntactical parallels. The connections between these references and their sources are quite loose, but the uses are quite effective in Thoreau's prose. When he writes of the flavor of huckleberries, "There is but one way to obtain it, yet few take that way" (173-224), a few words, the context, and, mainly, the syntax recall Matthew 7:14, "Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." The arrangement of the words reminds the reader of the setting of another group of words that were arranged similarly. Likewise, parallel structure ties "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Matthew 11:28) with Thoreau's comment on having "chairs enough to seat all the weary and heavy laden" (115-152). His "buying and selling, and spending their lives like serfs" (208-263) follows the pattern of James 4:13, "Go to now, ye that say, To day or to morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain." And, when he writes, "The day advanced as if to light some work of mine; it was morning, and lo, now it is evening, and nothing memorable is accomplished" (112-147), Thoreau ironically parallels a phrase echoed throughout the first chapter of Genesis: ". . .and the evening and

the morning were the first day" (1:5).

By borrowing, by rephrasing, and by exploiting contextual, thematic, or syntactical relationships, Thoreau creates associated paraphrases of various Scriptures. Few of these follow the original rigidly, but neither do they disagree or alter the form and meaning too dramatically. However, one large category of associated paraphrases, the inverted ones, make wholesale changes in their referents. This group, including the negated or contradictory paraphrases, the paraphrases with altered terms, and those with added terms, show Thoreau's ability to utilize sources that seem inappropriate or hostile to his purposes in such a way as to enhance his meaning. Clearly the meaning of each of these uses requires careful attention since they are often used ironically. While more will be said about their functions in the next chapter, the discussion in the following paragraphs will indicate how often Thoreau subverted the biblical prose or purposes to his own intentions.

One category of inverted paraphrases includes the contradictory or negated paraphrases. This group, consisting of only four uses in the Walden materials, includes those which contradict or negate specific biblical statements. They often are used ironically since the negation is usually grammatical, while in reality Thoreau is defending the Bible against detractors or those who have imposed their own strictures or interpretations on biblical statements. The form may vary from simple negation to contradiction to reversal of terms. In Genesis 3:19, God issues his stern judgment on the fallen Adam. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out

of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Thoreau negates that judgment by declaring, "It is not necessary that a man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow unless he sweats easier than I do" (71-98). The negation is not absolute, but relative since Thoreau did earn his keep, even if that was simpler task for him than for some. On a similar theme, though much later in Walden, Thoreau again uses an inverted paraphrase, and again speaks relatively, not absolutely. He writes, "He that does not eat need not work" (223-283). On the literal level, the understood qualifier is "much," which would follow both "eat" and "work," although the radical declaration was typical for Thoreau. The statement recalls, though in a much altered form, II Thessalonians 3:10, "For even when we were with you this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." By reversing the order, Thoreau ironically emphasizes his stance. Similarly, when he contradicts biblical statements, the result is emphasis. Christ performed a miracle by telling a sick man to "Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house" (Matthew 9:6). Thoreau argues that the complex modern society will not allow this to happen. "It would surpass the powers of a well man nowadays to take up his bed and walk, and I should certainly advise a sick one to lay down his bed and run" (66,67-88). And, although I Corinthians 15:33 clearly states that "evil communications corrupt good manners," Thoreau charges, "Our manners have been corrupted by communication with the saints" (78-109). In all four of these uses, familiar statements have been contradicted, encouraging the reader to withhold his judgment until he has considered the new context.

At times an inverted paraphrase results from the alteration of the terms of the source. In this category fall uses in which one or more terms are changed or in which several terms are compressed, resulting in a modification of the impact of the source. A single changed term results in new associations. When Thoreau writes, "Walden was dead and is alive again" (311-392), the reader is forced to recall "For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found" (Luke 15:24) or "These things sayeth the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive" (Revelation 2:8). Or, when he writes of Irishmen shouting, "Is not this railraod which we build a good thing?" (54-75), the reader remembers Daniel 4:30, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built. . . ." Other substitutions obscure the association but result in syntactical parallels that are both humorous and satiric. For example, Thoreau's comment on his fellow citizens, "It would be easier for them to hobble to town with a broken leg than with a broken pantaloons" (22-35), echoes Matthew 19:24, "And again I say unto ycu, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Finally, the alterations sometimes result from a compression of terms that leads to dramatic changes in the import of the source. For example, Thoreau compresses three well-known verses from Matthew (7:3-5) into a short phrase. The passage states

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considereth not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye: and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

Thoreau's use is condensed considerably. He says that the "common

course" for a boy is unfortunate since he is sent to "professors" "to discover new satellites to Neptun and not detect the motes in his eyes. . . ." Notice that the "motes" are in the observer's eyes, not in those of the observed. This is a small change, but one which works to influence the audience. Regardless, the altered terms do not obscure the reference to Matthew.

The third, and final, group of inverted paraphrases includes those with added terms. The additions, which are usually humorous or ironic, facilitate the assimilation of the use into Thoreau's context. Often the additions direct satire or irony toward specific persons or ideas. By adding a word or a phrase to a Scriptural borrowing, Thoreau creates a reference on his own terms. Thus, Christ's pleas to ". . . let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth" (Matthew 6:3) and to "resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" (Matthew 5:39), appear in Walden in new forms.

If you are ever betrayed into any of these philanthropies, do not let your left hand know what your right hand does, for it is not worth knowing. (78-108; my italics)

As I walked over the long causeway made for the railroad through the meadows, I encountered many a blustering and nipping wind, for nowhere has it freer play; and when the frost had smitten me on one cheek, heathen as I was, I turned to it the other also. (266-336; my italics)

The additions, indicated by italics, add humor and direct ironic attacks against the hypocritical society. Other additions draw on the context of the source for new meaning, as when Thoreau speaks of "hunters as well as fishers of men" (212-269). And, although most of the additions function rhetorically, the use of Matthew 7:35 in connection with a hawk which was merely "a mote in heaven's eye" (159-209) directs no humor or

additional irony. However, the addition works quite well imaginatively. If any one category of uses allows Thoreau the freedom to exploit the Bible for his best purposes, it is the associated paraphrases. By selective borrowing and rephrasing and selective compression, contradiction, alteration, or addition, Thoreau controls the nature, the extent, the tone, and the effect of each use as it appears in his writing. A close study of just this aspect of his artistry increases the reader's respect for Thoreau's care and skill with language.

Two final categories of uses remain to be discussed, associated words and associated phrases. They are simply words and phrases which sound as if they are references to the Bible, whether they are or not. Some associated words are used in the Bible, but they do not carry the significant connotations of borrowed words. For example, "heaven" or some form of the word appears twenty-five times in the Walden material; however, its force is much less than that of "God," so it is designated as an associated word. Similarly, the other most commonly used associated words have biblical origins, if not sources, but do not have the significance of borrowed words. They include "Christian" or "Christianity" and "Bible" (six appearances each), "devil" (five appearances), and "divine" or "divinity" (eleven appearances). The associated phrases include some fifty expletives ("Good Lord," "Thank Heaven," "Thank God"), thematic parallels ("road of life," "hollow in a rock for shelter," "send the light"), and sermonistic constructs ("labor of my hands," "against the last day," and "translated before his time"). These phrases, like the associated words, help to maintain a biblical tone, even if no specific passage is alluded to.

One involved form remains. By combining two or more of the uses listed above, Thoreau creates a new form of biblical reference which I choose to call a portmanteau use. That he at times interweaves two or more verses is not a new discovery. Moldenhauer has noted that Thoreau "splices" verses from Matthew and Ezekiel and verses from two different chapters in Matthew in separate instances in Walden.¹⁸ Moldenhauer has not, however, developed what I think are the full implications of these portmanteau constructs. Not only are the disparate sources tied together, but they also retain meaning from their various contexts which function in the newly created Thoreauvian contexts. Just as the individual associated paraphrases afford Thoreau opportunity for exciting and innovative creation, so do these even more intriguing constructs in which two associated paraphrases or an associated paraphrase and another use are joined. In the new form, one or the other may work ironically or each may reinforce the other or they may both reiterate a similar theme. Complex functions, some of which are plotted in the next chapter, develop from these unions, but formally the patterns are not so difficult. The two that Moldenhauer notes are combinations of an open paraphrase and a quotation and of two associated paraphrases. In the first, Matthew 26:11 is joined with Ezekiel 18:2 to form Thoreau's sentence: "What mean ye by saying that the poor ye have always with you, or that the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (32-46). The sources are as follows:

For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always.

What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?

Notice that the integration of the two is made more effective by introducing the sentence with a phrase from Ezekiel, followed by a part of the Gospel verse, and they by concluding with the remainder of the verse from Ezekiel. This wrapping-around effect makes the sentence so smooth that a less knowledgeable reader might think it was a quotation from a single source, as are the two one verse paragraphs which follow the portmanteau. Moldenhauer also found the combination of Matthew 7:14 and 19:24 ("Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth into life," and "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God," respectively) which became a single sentence. "I think that the man is at a dead set who has got through a knot hole or gateway where his sledge load of furniture cannot follow him" (66-88). The elements of this combination are obviously more associative than those in the previous example. Other portmanteaus combine Old and New Testament sources, as does the first mentioned by Moldenhauer. Matthew 6:28-29 and Daniel 5:27 come together in Thoreau's own evaluation of his lifestyle: "This was sheer idleness to my fellow-townsmen, no doubt; but if the birds and flowers had tried me by their standards, I should not have been found wanting" (112-147). And Thoreau's description of the fish on the ice of Walden Pond, "Easily, with a few convulsive quirks, they give up their watery ghosts, like a mortal translated before his time to the thin air of heaven" (285-362), suggests both Matthew 27:50, "Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost," and the "translation" of the Old Testament characters Enoch or Elijah. Another portmanteau relies on the effect of a borrowed word to set a tone that the other element reinforces. When he

writes that "the man whose horse trots a mile in a minute . . . is not an evangelist, nor does he come round eating locusts and wild honey" (52,53-73), Thoreau builds irony on the meaning of "evangelist" and the story of John the Baptist, one of his archetypes for reformer-hero characters. Still another combination sounds like a Thoreauvian proverb, though in reality there are biblical origins for both elements. "Not that food which entereth into the mouth defileth a man, but the appetite with which it is eaten" (218-275). The first part paraphrases Matthew 15:11 and the second is associated with Titus 1:15. Finally, one port-manteau use develops from three New Testament verses. Thoreau describes the Indians as those "who. . . did not care how they were done by, who loved their enemies after a new fashion, and came very near freely forgiving them all they did" (75-104). The statement echoes the Golden Rule, Christ's command to "Love your enemies" (Matthew 5:44), and Christ's plea on the cross, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34). These three associated paraphrases compressed into a single use illustrate the extent to which biblical sources can be integrated in "non-religious" prose. Unobtrusive, yet certainly lying behind the sentence, the Bible is the mine from which Thoreau extracts images and symbols.

These illustrations clarify both the bulk of material which Thoreau used from the Bible and the diverse techniques he employed to use it. Not restricting himself to quotation or relying on open acceptance of the Bible in order to exploit its power over his audience, Thoreau instead molded the elements he chose from the source materials into forms which

most efficiently and artistically expressed his thoughts. The process is so complete, so fulfilled, that the biblical uses are neither obtrusive nor superimposed. They are integral.

NOTES

¹ Joseph Moldenhauer, The Rhetoric of "Walden" (Ann Arbor, 1967), p. 245.

² The category names are suggestive of the definitions I try to firmly establish in the essay. They are, however, somewhat arbitrarily chosen, and, I have sometimes thought it would be less confusing to use symbols instead of names. Moldenhauer, in "The Rhetorical Function of Proverbs in Walden," Journal of American Folklore, 80 (April, 1967), 151-59, fully outlines the changes Thoreau makes in proverbs. Moldenhauer mentions some categories which influenced those that I use in this study, although he does not deal with biblical materials in the article.

³ Allison Ensor, "Thoreau and the Bible--Preliminary Considerations," Emerson Society Quarterly, 33 (1963), 67.

⁴ Moldenhauer, Rhetoric, pp. 244-45.

⁵ All uses are identified by means of their location in the Princeton text. The first number is the page number and the second is the paragraph number. The two markers always will be separated by a hyphen and set off parenthetically.

⁶ See the final paragraphs of this chapter for a fuller discussion of this "portmanteau" form.

⁷ See Chapter Three.

⁸ This is a commonplace that Moldenhauer overlooks in his study.

⁹ Moldenhauer, Rhetoric, p. 246. See above, p. 16.

¹⁰ Of the five reworded paraphrases, Harding and Moldenhauer have previously identified the second and Moldenhauer the fourth; the remaining three are identified here for the first time.

¹¹ Moldenhauer, Rhetoric, pp. 372-73.

¹² Throughout this study usually I refer to Matthew alone as a source for verses found in more than one Gospel. At times, however, I use the others if their version more closely parallels Thoreau's. In the appendices all referents are listed with each source.

- 13 John Robert Burns, "Thoreau's Use of the Bible," Diss. Notre Dame 1966, p. 165.
- 14 Walter Harding, The Variorum "Walden" (New York, 1962), p. 304.
- 15 Paul O. Williams, "The Borrowed Axe--A Biblical Echo in Walden?" Thoreau Society Bulletin, No. 83 (1963), p. 2.
- 16 Harding, The Variorum "Walden", p. 281.
- 17 Harding, The Variorum "Walden", p. 290.
- 18 Moldenhauer, Rhetoric, p. 243.

CHAPTER TWO: THE FUNCTION OF THE BIBLICAL USES

"If I were to preach at all in this strain"

Recently Lawrence Buell has explored the relationship between the writings of the American Transcendentalists and the sermon.¹ Although a brief description certainly over simplifies this masterly work, a short summary is necessary to convey the gist of Buell's thesis. He sees Transcendentalism as a reaction to Unitarianism at a time when an aesthetic sensibility had arisen which appreciated the sermon as an art form and respected scripture as one of the highest forms of writing. Adding to the timeliness of the situation was the Unitarian tendency to vary from the traditional Puritan sermonic structure. The Transcendentalists, most of whom were quite involved in religious affairs at some point in their lives, adopted and adapted the sermon as their genre, although their creations were as various as the characters who made up the Transcendentalists. The fellowship included Jones Very, a poet who thought he was the New Messiah,² and James Freeman Clarke, who stayed within the Unitarian establishment. And, of course, there were Emerson and Thoreau. Buell points out that there are close parallels between some of Emerson's sermons and such lectures as "Self-Reliance," and "Compensation," and that the four uses of Nature were outlined in a sermon six years before he published his best known work.³ Thoreau, says Buell, also assumes "the homiletical role" and at times offers a "true

jeremiad."⁴ In other words, for these writers the lyceum rivaled the church, the lecture platform displaced the pulpit, and the essay superseded the sermon.

Although Buell's book is the fullest analysis of the Transcendentalists' style from this point of view, his is by no means the first. For instance, such earlier writers as Perry Miller and R. W. B. Lewis view the movement as essentially a religious one.⁵ And, Lewis says that Walden in particular fits the "preaching tradition" of New England.

Thoreau liked to pretend that his book was a purely personal act of private communion. But that was part of his rhetoric, and Walden is a profoundly rhetorical book, emerging unmistakably from the long New England preaching tradition; though here the trumpet call announces the best imaginable news rather than apocalyptic warnings. . . . Thoreau prescribes the following cure: the total renunciation of the traditional, the conventional, the socially acceptable, the well-worn paths of conduct, and the total immersion in nature.⁶

Even though there seem to be plenty of "warnings" in Walden, the emphasis of Lewis' statement is both clear and true. Thoreau was like a Puritan minister speaking from the pulpit. His text was grounded in the Bible, even if, as Lewis continues, his attitude toward it was not aligned with that of the Puritan clergy:

The Bible (Thoreau referred to it simply as "an old book") was the finest poem which had ever been written; it was the same in substance as Homeric or Hindu mythology, but it was richer in metaphor. The Bible spoke more sharply to the human condition. This was why Thoreau, like Whitman, could employ the most traditional of religious phrases and invest them with an unexpected and dynamic new life.⁷

Writing, then, from an established tradition--if not in the established tradition--Thoreau employed the "traditional phrases" in his own way. He was a preacher. He was an evangelist.

In his general discussion of the rhetoric of the Transcendentalists, Joseph Moldenhauer reveals more fully why these authors and, especially, Thoreau would employ sermonic techniques and identify so fully with that form. He calls Transcendental discourse "intuitive," and adds that "argumentative movement is more an organic (or musical) interplay of motifs than a deliberate progression of ideas from evidence to hypothesis or from premise to conclusion." The weight of the meaning is carried by "metaphor and aphorism." There is no "convincing by reasoned demonstration." Instead, the assertions require a different response:

Such pronouncements solicit an emotional response, an assent of attitude rather than of rational judgment; they persuade by inviting the audience to share the speaker's own special vision and values. When paraphrased in a discursive vocabulary, Transcendental concepts usually degenerate into triteness or obscurity. But charged with the personality of the oracular speaker, and invested in symbolic language, they take on dimension and resonance.⁸

Clearly, then the parallels with the sermon do not always include the point-by-point, firstly to fifteenthly, orderly demonstration of the Puritans. Instead, the Transcendental rhetoric shares the confidence and authority of a minister of The Word, and the language exploits pre-established symbols. Like the oracles of old, the Transcendentalist had a message to convey. He offered "his eyes and his insights to other men, inviting them to participate with him in the 'currents of the Universal Being.' It is this quality of original apprehension, of the private intuition publicly expressed, which characterizes the best of Transcendental writing."⁹ While the writing of many of the Transcendentalists seems to be solipsistic, in view of their position as mediators another interpretation is possible. As Moldenhauer states, "He [the Transcendental author] uses his own identity as an ideal

representative of other selves: his poetic utterance is prophetic at the same time as it is private."¹⁰ Specifically in reference to Thoreau, Moldenhauer speaks of his appropriating "the authority of a Biblical prophet" and Buell simply calls Thoreau "a prophet."¹¹ In addition, it should be remembered that many of Thoreau's essays were developed from lectures, and Moldenhauer states, "In all probability, the profoundly rhetorical character of Thoreau's prose, its tone of address and appeal, owes more to the preliminary lecture stages of his works than to any single literary influence."¹² Thus, the lyceum was a surrogate pulpit, and what Thoreau learned there he could exploit in his essays and books where the audience was not limited by what could be perceived and retained from one hearing.

In the same sentence in which he writes of Thoreau's use of the prophet's authority, Moldenhauer compares Thoreau to Carlyle, "appropriating" the language of John Holloway. Like Carlyle, Thoreau draws "upon 'the associations and on the whole cosmic outlook of the Bible.'"¹³ This comparison is quite apropos, since Thoreau in his review, "Thomas Carlyle and His Works," calls Carlyle "this preacher" and refers to his words in Past and Present as "a cutting cimeter." He has "the earnestness of a prophet" and, Thoreau concludes, "His writings are a gospel to the young of this generation; they will hear his manly, brotherly speech with responsive joy, and press forward to older or newer gospels."¹⁴ Moreover, Thoreau employs several biblical uses to reinforce these contentions. In his opinion, Carlyle had some claim to the role of prophet and, as critics have suggested,¹⁵ what Thoreau wrote about others often applied to his own works. In addition, in "Walking," a favorite

lecture published posthumously, Thoreau writes of a cockerel in a climactic paragraph:

Unless our philosophy hears the cock crow in every barn-yard within our horizon, it is belated. That sound commonly reminds us that we are growing rusty and antique in our employments and habits of thought. His philosophy comes down to a more recent time than ours. There is something suggested by it that is a newer testament,--the gospel according to this moment. He has not fallen astern; he has got up early and kept up early, and to be where he is is to be in season, in the foremost rank of time. It is an expression of the health and soundness of Nature, a brag for all the world,--healthiness as of a spring burst forth, a new fountain of the Muses, to celebrate this last instant of time.¹⁶

Since the cockerel was one of Thoreau's favorite birds,¹⁷ and since the philosophy of the bird paraphrases Thoreau's own ideas, then it is not hard to see Thoreau acknowledging his own claim as the author of a "newer testament." And Burns has noted that Moses and John the Baptist are among Thoreau's favorite characters and models from the Bible. They were both prophets.

If Thoreau is seen as a "preacher" or "prophet," and if he believes, as Ensor mentions, that the Bible offers the "most pregnant and practical texts,"¹⁹ then what is the text for Walden? Joseph Wood Krutch effectively answers this question.

Thoreau could hardly have failed to be aware of the fact that the sermon which he spent his whole life preaching was on a text from that Bible, a book he professed to believe too exclusively emphasized, if not exactly overrated. "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" That was the warning he issued not only to those who refused to live simply but also to those who, however simply they might live, were blind and deaf to the delights and the lessons of nature.²⁰

Even allowing for Krutch's enthusiasm, the kernel of truth is unmistakable. Ironically, the verse Krutch mentions, Matthew 16:26, is not quoted, alluded to, or used in Walden, although verses 24 and 25 are

used by Thoreau.²¹ I, nevertheless, agree with Krutch's choice of text and I would go on to say that Walden in some ways parallels the typical sermon structure. Even if Thoreau took the liberty of omitting his main text, there are plenty of clues to the central message. The first chapter is entitled "Economy," and Thoreau certainly interprets that term in a broad sense. Moreover, one of the key biblical uses in the chapter is an open paraphrase of Matthew 6:19-20, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal." Krutch says, "Indeed the first chapter of Walden is built around the fact that most men spend their lives laying up treasures where moth and rust will corrupt--'as it says in an old book.'"²² With words like "economy" and "treasure" suggesting "profit" and "return," the first chapter can then be seen as the "doctrine" section of the sermon in which the message of the text is explicated. The remainder of the book, which supposedly records Thoreau's life at the Pond, a life which contrasts with that of the quietly desperate, would then fulfill the application section of the sermon. Thoreau applies the text to his own life, showing how he can live by true economy. Like Jonah, Moses, and John the Baptist, his own life fulfilled the prophecies he spoke. He lived his vision. In addition, the structure of Walden is not unlike that of the book of the prophet Isaiah which begins with a prophetic section and defers the account of his call until chapter six, for like the prophet, Thoreau reveals his doctrine and then, in "Where I Lived," begins the story of his life at the Pond.

It should be clear that Thoreau certainly did not accept all of the Christian doctrine nor did he merely re-define a complete system of symbols. Neither did he know or accept the whole of the Oriental mysticism and philosophy that also colored his writings. Instead, the Scriptures were a part of his milieu; he was both eclectic and selective in his use of the ideas and language he found in that milieu. He uses some, rejects others, and alters some to bring them more in line with his own philosophies. As Ensor suggests, to Thoreau the Bible was just another product of the Oversoul operative in him.²³ He used its commonality for his own advantage. These assertions oppose a statement Lewis makes in his discussion of Transcendental language.

It is not surprising that transcendentalism was Puritanism turned upside down, as a number of critics have pointed out; historically, it could hardly have been anything else. Transcendentalism drew on the vocabularies of European romanticism and Oriental mysticism; but the only available local vocabulary was the one that the hopeful were so anxious to escape from, and a very effective way to discredit its inherited meaning was to serve it up in an unfamiliar context.²⁴

Later he adds that Thoreau used "the familiar spiritual phrases" by "lowering and secularizing" them, with the "intention of salvaging the human race from the religious vocabulary to which (he felt) it had given rise."²⁵ Although there is merit in both these statements, I heartily concur with Moldenhauer's statement that Lewis "overstates his case" in the first quotation and, like Moldenhauer, I "cannot subscribe" to the second.²⁶ Lewis has misplaced the emphasis. Although Thoreau wanted to overcome the meaninglessness of rhetorical religion, he knew the problem lay not in the language but in the life. He intended to "salvage" the human race from hypocrisy and from vanity. As Emerson suggested in the "Language" section of Nature, the language is fine if man learns and lives

the root meanings. Lewis overlooks, or understates, the fact that Thoreau, Emerson, and Whitman used the biblical language because they were sensitive to its artistic possibilities. The language had meaning if the people could get to it. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

In a passage which Moldenhauer calls "the whole rationale of Thoreau's rhetoric,"²⁷ Thoreau explains his attitude toward language and writing.

A fact truly and absolutely stated is taken out of the region of common sense and acquires a mythologic or universal significance. Say it and have done with it. Express it without expressing yourself. See not with the eye of science, which is barren, nor of youthful poetry which is impotent. But taste the world and digest it. It would seem as if things got said but rarely and by chance. As you see, so at length will you say. When facts are seen superficially, they are seen as they lie in relation to certain institutions, perchance. But I would have them expressed as more deeply seen, with deeper references; so that the hearer or reader cannot recognize them or apprehend their significance from the platform of common life, but it will be necessary that he be in a sense translated in order to understand them. . . As all things are significant, so all words should be significant. It is a fault which attaches to the speaker, to speak flippantly or superficially of anything. Of what use are words which do not move the hearer,--are not oracular and fateful? A style in which the matter is all in all, and the manner nothing at all.²⁸

Thoreau wants words that cut through to the roots of meaning, which present truth and obscure themselves as vehicles. But, what vehicles they must be. The words must be "oracular"--"If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God" (I Peter 4:11) and the hearer must be translated to understand them. The language here suggests Thoreau's ability to imply more than even the already weighty words seem, at first glance, to convey. Moldenhauer summarizes by saying,

The rhetorical principle and the rhetorical motive which control Thoreau's use of proverbs, Biblical quotations, and familiar allusions in Walden parallel those behind his puns and paradoxes. In all these stylistic devices, Thoreau

uses a verbal convention of his audience in order to assert differences between their experience (upon which the convention is founded) and his own more meaningful experience.²⁹

Here is the theme of text and application again. Implicitly Thoreau says, "You know my text, but you have not seen it applied until you look at my life." Burns takes a similar stance from a little different perspective. "He [Thoreau] was able to speak to them in a language of their own--a language made effective by the use of the Scriptural references, phrases, allusions, and imagery which they glibly used but the true meaning of which they knew so little." And, Burns later adds, "The realization that the Bible was familiar to all classes of his day made Thoreau draw heavily, yet selectively, upon Scripture. He knew what today's psychologists teach: that one pays closer attention to material which is familiar."³⁰ The audience paid attention then because it was their own language, and Thoreau's changes forced them to pay even closer attention. The result was a new awareness, what Thoreau calls "waking moments."³¹ Moluehauer summarizes the functions the uses perform by stating that Thoreau "characteristically espouses Christian ethics, dramatizing them in his own activities." However, this reveals a discrepancy between Thoreau's life and the lives of his audience who only give "lip-service" to the principles of the Gospel.

For this reason, Thoreau places allusions in contexts which make them newly and vitally relevant to the experience of his audience. The neighbor is required to recognize that his most sacrosanct institution contains messages drastically at odds with his own complacency or quiet desperation. The narrator's Biblical citations, particularly those from the Gospels, make radical statements under the guise of familiar truisms. They serve to dignify Thoreauvian values while demeaning those of the audience.

Moldenhauer adds,

Such references, even when they are turned to an orthodox sense constitute a strong semblance of propriety. Moreover, they surround the narrator with an atmosphere of indisputable authority and help to define him as the "Wise Young Man" to whom the audience might look for guidance. Identifying himself in this manner with Christ and the Prophets, Thoreau assumes the religious leadership which his society finds neither in its own Old Man nor even in a formal familiarity with Scripture.³²

The biblical uses then work on two levels, one apparent or manifest and the other latent. They seem to suggest "propriety" and authority, but, because of Thoreau's skill in creating his own contexts, they force "radical" ideas before the audience. Earlier in the book, Moldenhauer states that hyperbole in Transcendental writing adds persuasion in two ways. First, "it thwarted the habitual responses on the level of the Understanding; further, it invited imaginative assent, or sudden shocked collaboration, on the level of the Reason."³³ Clearly the biblical uses in Thoreau's contexts work similarly. They prevent a hasty, thoughtless reading and they allow the audience to imaginatively realize Thoreau's message. The second operative level, the Reason, is, of course, the more important in the Transcendental scheme of things.³⁴

Other writers who have touched on the function of the Bible in Thoreau's writings concur in the main with Moldenhauer's conclusions. Ensor concludes that the uses are employed to support Thoreau's ideas, to jolt the reader, and to add humor.³⁵ Burns adds that Thoreau "rarely quotes its [the Bible's] contents dogmatically; rather, he finds therein reinforcements for his own views, qualifications and insinuations and he modified Scriptural references accordingly."³⁶ The key word here is "reinforcements." Thoreau was his own general, and made his own battle plans, but he recruited capable aids from several likely sources.

Buell's images, as he discusses this topic, are telling. "Religious language clearly interests Thoreau more as grist for his mill than for its original denotations; but he also feels the need for a religious connotation to add impact to his message," and "In Thoreau, religious terminology, when it appears, is usually divorced from its traditional contexts and used in startlingly innovative ways, not so much for its own sake as for a motif, for the purposes of atmosphere, wit, satire, or spiritualization of the subject and sometimes all four at once."³⁷ The Bible is refined by Thoreau and it certainly works in all four ways Buell mentions. However, "divorced" is a little strong, I think, for the relationship between the original contexts of the uses and those Thoreau creates. "Legally separated" might be a better term, since, as I will later expand, Thoreau often expects the readers to remember those traditional contexts.

As one further refinement of his discussion of the rhetorical functions of the biblical uses Moldenhauer divides Walden into halves and suggests that there is a difference between the way the Bible is used in the two sections. In the first half, he finds more allusions used negatively and in social contexts (sections "in which there is specific address to the audience, and those in which the narrator ruminates on the mores and values of his townsmen"³⁸), while in the second he finds more allusions used positively or neutrally and very few used socially. This variance, he posits, parallels Thoreau's "changing relationship with his audience." "In the early chapters, his rhetorical strategy is that of reproach, satire, and invective; in the later chapters, he takes the audience to himself with playful, or

genial, or warm, hortatory rhetorical gestures."³⁹ In terms of Walden's sermon structure, this suggests the distinction between the early pages of "doctrine," in which the emphasis is on the valueless treasures and economy of the people, and the later sections of "application," where Thoreau's words come alive in his own experience. The jeremiad becomes the invitation. The "woes" are followed by the heavenly vision.

In his masterly study "The Two Beginnings of Walden: A Distinction of Styles,"⁴⁰ Thomas Woodson also posits a dichotomy of styles epitomized by the variation between that of the journal entry and that of the lecture form which eventually combine in Walden. Woodson thoroughly and efficiently analyzes the two styles and suggests other polarities: "private and public, personal and social, narrative and expository, Walden-directed and Concord-directed, synthetic and analytic, and mythopoeic and rhetorical." All of these seem to me to be subsumed by the sermonic associations of Walden, since they are effectively the same contrasts I find between the vision and the vision presented, the inspiration and the prophecy. Moreover, Woodson's terminology of "a new mythology" seems no more applicable than Thoreau's "newer testament." And the dual function of "Conclusion," which both "concludes and begins," is certainly paralleled by the invitation of a prophet to share his vision or to have your own. Finally, when Woodson suggests that Thoreau's "satiric honesty" follows an "Augustan tradition" and that "Thoreau applies the same ethical and aesthetic standards to himself and to his private experience that he does to his Concord audience," he fails to see another relevant parallel. Woodson writes, "Towards

the end of the chapter he says: "I never dreamed of any enormity greater than I have committed. I never knew and never shall know, a worse man than myself." This is reminiscent of Pope's verse epistles and moral essays as well as of Huck Finn's reflection on murders.⁴¹ It is, however, also "reminiscent" of Paul's statement, "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief" (I Timothy 1:15). Thus, Thoreau shares his self-deprecation with a poet, a fictional character, and a preacher. Adding these biblical associations to Woodson's already fruitful thesis enhances the value of his insights. Thoreau sought not only a new mythology, but a new prophecy as well.

As another distinction between the way Old and New Testament references are used, Moldenhauer finds that Old Testament allusions are "casual and brief," that they more often appear in "non-social contexts," and that they "do not often express strong judgments, either negative or affirmative."

The New Testament allusions have a far greater rhetorical importance in Walden: they are usually longer than the others, as well as more numerous; they characteristically serve in passages of overt address, or in passages which deal with the limitations of society and its institutions. They are subject to more drastic modifications, ironic twists, and contextual revitalizations, and they usually perform persuasive functions, either of criticism or of affirmation. Because of its mysticism and its keen ethical concern, the New Testament is more compatible than the Old with Thoreau's preoccupations in Walden, and consequently it is put to more deliberate persuasive uses.⁴²

Not only do the "mysticism" and the "ethical concern" of the New Testament make it more compatible with Thoreau's ideas, but the relationship between the audience and the two divisions of the Bible is also subtly and crucially different. Thoreau exploits this difference.

Thoreau's contemporaries were absolutely aware that they were living in the Christian dispensation, that the New Testament was a "newer" revelation that fulfilled the Old, just as Christ fulfilled the Messianic expectation. After all, even if the whole Bible was inspired, the Old Testament was just their "school master to bring [them] unto Christ, that [they] might be justified by faith" (Galatians 3:24). A "tabernacle" was just a "tent" to Thoreau (37-56) and the spiritual Israel of this dispensation, as they were so haughtily aware, were called "the elect." Thus, Thoreau can use Adam and Methuselah and Babel for short, symbolic statements on time, age and wisdom, and ambition, but his most thorough analysis and his most effective rhetorical exploitations develop from New Testament references.

In the abstract of his dissertation, Burns summarizes his findings, and helps to summarize the conclusions of the several studies which deal with the function of Thoreau's biblical uses, by saying, "For him [Thoreau], Biblical references seem to be functional toward a double impact: technically, such allusions render his style more effectual because they invested it with authority and poetic vigor; philosophically, the manipulation of Biblical expression aided him in touching men's hearts and minds through effective argument so that he could 'communicate' the 'wealth' he possessed."⁴³ Behind his rhetoric here, Burns suggests the uses function for authority, to attract the audience, to support Thoreau's assertions, and to undermine accepted attitudes. Moreover, he suggests an additional function that is quite as important as any of those previously mentioned: to invest his writings with "poetic vigor" or "poetic intensity" as

he also calls it.⁴⁴ As these terms imply, the biblical uses allow Thoreau to say a good deal in just a few words. He can suggest a whole context by simply naming a place or an event. In a passage from his Journal written on August 22, 1851, Thoreau describes a similar style which he looked for in other writers.

It is the fault of some excellent writers--DeQuincey's first impressions on seeing London suggest it to me--that they express themselves with too great fullness and detail. . . . Their sentences are not concentrated and nutty. Sentences which suggest far more than they say, which have an atmosphere about them, which do not merely report an old, but make a new, impression; sentences which suggest as many things and are as durable as a Roman aqueduct; to frame these, that is the art of writing. Sentences which are expensive, towards which so many volumes, so much life, went; which lie like boulders on the page, up and down and across, which contain the seed of other sentences, not mere repetition, but creation; which a man might sell his grounds and castle to build. If DeQuincey had suggested each of his pages in a sentence and passed on, it would have been far more excellent writing.⁴⁵

Thoreau's ideas are easily understood. The successful writer condenses his ideas into their most effectively compact form. This form, suggestive of boulders or building stones, allows the reader to reconstruct the full shape of the writer's ideas. Therefore, the writer is forced to carefully select and present his materials so that, in what is in effect the final act of creation, the reader will not be led astray. Failure to plan or to control eventually results in a misled reader. The process is not unlike that which the reader of any highly allusive work follows. The Rape of the Lock, Absalom and Achitophel, The Beggar's Opera, and from a much later period, parts of Joyce's Ulysses all encourage the reader to go outside the work for material which informs the writing. Thoreau, then, though not unique in using this quality, is quite successful in exploiting it. Channing had an early awareness of this

aspect of Thoreau's writing.

His two books, "Walden" and the "Week," are so excellent and generally read, that a commendation of their easy, graceful, yet vigorous style and matter is superfluous. Singular traits run through his writing. His sentences will bear study; meanings appear not detected at the first glance, subtle hints which the writer himself may not have foreseen. It is a good English style, growing out of choice reading and familiarity with the classic writers with the originality adding a piquant humor and unstudied felicities of diction. He was not in the least degree an imitator of any writer, old or new, and with little of his times or their opinions in his books.⁴⁶

This is a perceptive analysis, and certainly the sentences which contain biblical allusions will bear study. They contain "subtle hints" which are vital to a full understanding of Thoreau's controlled creation in Walden. Channing goes on to suggest that Thoreau may not have "foreseen" some of the "hints" his writings contain. Although I certainly do not believe that Thoreau was omniscient or that he fully realized all of the implications created by his numerous references to the Bible, I do argue that such full exploitation, such controlled use and presentation, such skillful manipulation of forms could come only from a conscious and calculated attempt to embellish his writings in one more way. He was building his own Roman aqueducts.

Each of the uses found in the appendices at the end of this study functions in the creation of an authoritative tone which attracts and persuades the audience. Some, however, function more specifically to support Thoreauvian assertions. A borrowed word suffices for a complex statement when Thoreau says that he often watched from a cliff or a tree for something to fall that he might catch, even if what he caught dissolved "manna-wise. . .in the sun" (18-26). The associations of manna are vital to this passage. Manna was the life-sustaining food

of the Israelites in the desert and its perishability forced them to gather it daily, each family according to its need. Thoreau is also describing a life-sustaining daily activity. Likewise, to support the validity of "what he lived for," Thoreau closes the second chapter of Walden with the familiar passage about wedging "our feet downward through the mud and slush of opinion" until we come to Reality. This passage is followed by the sentence, "If you stand right fronting and face to face to a fact, you will see the sun glimmer on both its surfaces, as if it were a cimeter, and feel its sweet edge dividing you through the heart and marrow; and so will you happily conclude your mortal career" (98-132). The reference is to Hebrews 4:12, "For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart," and the audience, intellectually if not spiritually, must have appreciated the power of the word of God. Thoreau implies that a fact, truly seen, was equally powerful. Such an assertion would necessitate careful consideration by his audience.

Thoreau also exploits the biblical uses for humor. Unlike Burns I do not think "It is surprising the number of times that Thoreau employs Scripture to achieve a humorous effect."⁴⁷ The humor helped to win over the audience and to couch some harsh criticisms. The examples are too numerous to list, but a few convey the idea. Thoreau posits that on the "spring morning" when Adam and Eve were expelled from Eden, Walden Pond might have been "covered with myriads of ducks and geese, which had not heard of the fall" (179-231). The allusion

to Genesis 3 is clear and there is humor in the unaware animals. But more seriously, Walden is being set apart from sin. The whole paragraph, in fact, is about Walden's purity. Thoreau also creates humor by altering biblical references, such as when he changes II Thessalonians 3:10 "if any would not work, neither should he eat," into "He that does not eat need not work" (223-283). In the Bible, those who did not work were "walking disorderly," but Thoreau indicates a different fact: he did not need to work much because he did not eat much. Paul's dictum did not quite apply in his case. Thoreau also creates humor by changing the context and adding terms to a biblical reference. He writes, "When the frost had smitten me on one cheek, heathen as I was, I turned to it the other also" (266-336) and the audience immediately recalls Matthew 5:39, "But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." By substituting a natural "enemy" for the one Christ had in mind and by inserting the self-pronounced judgment on himself, Thoreau adds humor and vivacity to his description. But, there is also the implied question--in view of the harsh attacks of "Economy"--seeking to know how many in the audience followed Christ's directive even that far. Finally, the humor might be the wrapping that covers a biting criticism, as when Thoreau asserts, "It would be easier for them [acquaintances] to hobble to town with a broken leg than with a broken pantaloons" (22-35). Of course, the exaggeration and the imagery are humorous by themselves. But when the association with Matthew 19:24, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God," is seen, the powerful irony

of the statement becomes clear. His "acquaintances," the audience, are like that unfortunate rich man--and the camel. They cannot make it. The smile turns to a grimace when the impact of the reference hits home. That is "poetic intensity."

These last uses recall Ensor's notion of the jolting effect of some of the references. Clearly the humor and the jolt often occur simultaneously as in Thoreau's negated paraphrase, "It is not necessary that a man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow, unless he sweats easier than I do" (71-98). Burns suggests the radical statement of the first part of this sentence is made acceptable by the "redeeming" humor of the second.⁴⁸ Thoreau's presumption at contradicting a direct judgment of God is mitigated by the humor. Nevertheless, the audacity wakes up the audience. Similarly, he twists Christ's statement to the man sick of palsy, "Arise, take up thy bed, and walk" (John 5:8), by saying, "It would surpass the powers of a well man nowadays to take up his bed and walk, and I should certainly advise a sick one to lay down his bed and run" (66,67-88). This is humorous since there is a good deal of difference between a pallet and an oak bedstead with a headboard. But the difference is the point. Society is too complex, and the miracle would be to escape that society and its accouterments. Less humorous and more direct are Thoreau's attacks on hunting parsons, who are closer to a good "shepherd's dog" than "being the Good Shepherd" (213-270) and on the society in general which is "determined not to live by faith if we can avoid it" (11-15). Since the audience knows that "the just shall live by faith" (Hebrews 10:38), this last is pretty harsh. Society is going directly against God's command. The "we" here allows Thoreau to

suggest that he has learned how to not "avoid" it. He lives "by faith," though certainly one different from that in Hebrews.

Since the portmanteau allusions combine a variety of functions as well as a variety of forms, they deserve separate mention. An analysis of a few of them re-emphasizes the creativity Thoreau displays throughout the book. In one, a truism and a proverb are combined to show that truisms and proverbs--and generally accepted statements--are not necessarily correct. "What mean ye by saying that the poor he have always with you, or that the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (32-46) combines verses from Matthew 26:11 and Ezekiel 18:2. The proverb is effectively undercut by the quotation of Ezekiel 18:3-4 which immediately follows the portmanteau use. The New Testament reference, however, takes the audience back to its context, where Christ overrides its authority by stating " . . . but me ye have not always." In its context, then, the truism was proven to be insufficient. Thoreau wants the audience to recall this context since his paragraph encourages the audience to stop accepting the idea that they must accrue "superfluous property."

Another portmanteau also attacks the superfluities of society, especially its desire for speed. Thoreau writes, "After all, the man whose horse trots a mile in a minute does not carry the most important messages; he is not an evangelist, nor does he come round eating locusts and wild honey" (52,53-73). Too often the speed of delivery is more important than the message itself. Seldom is the jockey one who brings a gospel or good news--the root meaning of "evangelist"--or a John the Baptist. Thoreau seems especially to appreciate John because he

spoke and lived the same message--a rare combination.

Later, in a rare triple portmanteau, Thoreau levies an attack on Christian missionaries that recalls the unexpurgated English first edition of Typee. Thoreau says the Jesuits were "balked" by certain Indians who, while being burned at the stake, "suggested new modes of torture to their tormentors."

Being superior to physical suffering, it sometimes chanced that they were superior to any consolation which the missionaries could offer; and the law to do as you would be done by fell with less persuasiveness on the ears of those, who, for their part, did not care how they were done by, who loved their enemies after a new fashion, and came very near freely forgiving them all they did. (75-104)

The references in this sentences are as follows:

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets. (Matthew 7:12)

Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you. (Matthew 5:44)

Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. (Luke 23:34)

Thus, it was the Indians, and not the missionaries, who appropriated the Golden Rule, one of Christ's most demanding teachings, and one of his seven sayings from the cross. There is little doubt that the Indians were more "Christ-like" than the Christians in Thoreau's mind. The allusions here offer as strong a statement as would a heavy tirade.

Even more effective and especially more subtle is the use Thoreau makes from his combination of Matthew 6:26-28 and Daniel 5:27, "Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns. . . . Consider the lilies of the field, how they

grow, they toil not, neither do they spin," and "TEKEL, Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting," respectively. His sentence climaxes a paragraph in which he describes his lifestyle. Contrary to the expectations of society, he did not worry about accomplishing "anything." "This," he writes, "was sheer idleness to my fellow-townsmen, no doubt; but if the birds and flowers had tried me by their standard, I should not have been found wanting" (112-147). Burns, the only previous writer to notice the use, found only the reference from Daniel. Admittedly, one can read the sentence and consider the first part to be just another of Thoreau's allusions to nature. The second part would, nevertheless, recall the context of Daniel, chapter five, which recounts the great feast during which Belshazzar desecrated the golden vessels from the temple and the fingers wrote on the wall. Daniel's interpretation of one part of the writing was that Belshazzar was "weighed in the balances and. . . found wanting." Unlike him, Thoreau would measure up--or weigh up. However, without a recognition of the reference in the first part of the sentence, the standard which Thoreau met is unknown. Once the allusion is seen, his criteria are obvious. Like the birds and the flowers, he does not work, toil, or spin. Moreover, as Christ himself said and as the audience were certainly aware, God takes care of them. In fact, "Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these" (verse 29). Thoreau is, then, following the concepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and, when his "fellow-townsmen" criticize his idleness, they are implicitly criticizing Christ. Subtle and controlled, this use shows the heights to which Thoreau's exploitation

of the Bible can rise.

One final portmanteau use underscores a key theme in Walden, the saving powers of nature. In "The Pond in Winter" Thoreau writes extendedly of the pickerel of Walden; those "fabulous fish," whose "dazzling and transparent beauty" makes them "small Waldens in the animal kingdom." Describing them "on the ice, or in the well which the fisherman cuts in the ice," he writes, "Easily with a few convulsive quirks, they give up their watery ghosts, like a mortal translated before his time to the thin air of heaven" (285-362). First, the whimsical Thoreauvian humor of this passage, even in view of the references to Christ's death, "Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost" (Matthew 27:50), and to the "translation" of Enoch (Hebrews 11:5) and Elijah (II Kings 2:11), cannot be denied. But the seriousness of the allusion is too easily overlooked. The pickerel replace Christ, and, in turn, represent Walden. This use of the fish, an early symbol of Christianity, recalls a number of other references in which Walden seems to represent Christ, or, at least, pristine purity. For example, "Walden was dead and is alive again" (311-392), and "Perhaps on that spring morning when Adam and Eve were driven out of Eden Walden Pond was already in existence. . ." (179-231).⁴⁹ Thus, the whimsical comment on the pickerel, is, in fact, one element in a whole motif developed throughout Walden.

If Walden is seen as a quasi-sermon and Thoreau as a prophet of his own "newer testament," then the functions of the biblical uses in the book are more readily discerned. They help Thoreau's audience identify with Walden and they endow it with a tone of authority. Moreover,

the biblical references help him define his ideas and, when used in his creative forms, often they help him to attack the very people who supposedly follow the Bible. Thus, Thoreau's use of the Bible contributes invaluablely both to the content and the presentation of his message. Knowing his audience, Thoreau exploits a shared "vision," the Bible, to present his own version of truth.

NOTES

¹ Lawrence Buell, Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973).

² Buell, p. 5.

³ Buell, pp. 123-24.

⁴ Buell, p. 122.

⁵ See, for example, Perry Miller, "Introduction," The Transcendentalists: An Anthology (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

⁶ R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago, 1955), p. 21.

⁷ Lewis, pp. 22-23.

⁸ Joseph Moldenhauer, The Rhetoric of "Walden" (Ann Arbor, 1967), p. 21.

⁹ Moldenhauer, p. 22.

¹⁰ Moldenhauer, pp. 27-28.

¹¹ Moldenhauer, p. 249; Buell, p. 121.

¹² Moldenhauer, p. 53.

¹³ John Holloway, The Victorian Sage: Studies in Argument (London, 1953), p. 26; quoted by Moldenhauer, p. 249.

¹⁴ "Thomas Carlyle and His Works" in Thoreau: The Major Essays, ed. Jeffrey Duncan (New York, 1972), pp. 88-89.

¹⁵ See Sherman Paul, The Shores of America: Thoreau's Inward Exploration (Urbana, 1958), p. 207.

¹⁶ Henry David Thoreau, The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, Walden edition (Boston, 1906), V, 246.

¹⁷ See Walden, ed. J. Lyndon Shanley (Princeton, 1971), pp. 127-28. All references from the text of Walden come from this edition.

18 John Robert Burns, "Thoreau's Use of the Bible," Diss. Notre Dame 1966, p. 2.

19 Henry David Thoreau, The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, Walden edition (Boston, 1906), I. 142. All subsequent references to A Week, which is volume I, and to the Journal, which comprise volumes VII-XX, will be to this edition.

20 Joseph Wood Krutch, Henry David Thoreau (New York, 1948), p. 193.

21 See uses (171-222) and (221-278). Thoreau quotes verse 26 in A Week (p. 73), as was noted in Chapter One.

22 Krutch, p. 193.

23 Allison Ensor, "Thoreau and the Bible--Preliminary Considerations," Emerson Society Quarterly, 33 (1963), 69.

24 Lewis, p. 23.

25 Lewis, p. 43.

26 Moldenhauer, p. 241.

27 Moldenhauer, p. 40.

28 Journal, IX, 85-86.

29 Moldenhauer, p. 195.

30 Burns, pp. 9, 20.

31 Walden, p. 324. See Moldenhauer, p. 44.

32 Moldenhauer, pp. 240-42.

33 Moldenhauer, pp. 39-40.

34 See, for example, Buell, pp. 4-5, 55ff.

35 Ensor, pp. 68-69.

36 Burns, p. 18.

37 Buell, pp. 121-22.

38 Moldenhauer, p. 216.

39 Moldenhauer, pp. 245-46.

40 Thomas Woodson, "The Two Beginnings of Walden: A Distinction of Styles," ELH, 35(1968), 440-73.

- 41 Woodson, p. 459.
- 42 Moldenhauer, pp. 246-47.
- 43 Thoreau Society Bulletin, No. 109 (1966), p. 8.
- 44 Burns, p. 69.
- 45 Journal, II, 418-19.
- 46 William Ellery Channing, Thoreau: The Poet-Naturalist, new ed. enlarged by F. B. Sanborn (Boston, 1902), p. 38.
- 47 Burns, p. 39.
- 48 Burns, p. 30.
- 49 For a fuller analysis of this use, see Burns, pp. 66-68.

CHAPTER THREE: THE BIBLE AND THE COMPOSITION OF WALDEN

As he took over his raw material, Thoreau broke it up, changed it in detail, developed it, and finally ordered it so that he might offer his hearers and readers, not the immediate, random, and intermittent notes of a journal, but a reflected-on and consciously shaped re-creation of his experience.¹

J. Lyndon Shanley's comment on the composition of Walden suggests a basic idea about Thoreau as a writer, an idea that is the foundation of this chapter: Thoreau was a careful writer, constantly striving for control. He was not a Mark Twain who dashed off hundreds of words and then had to literally force himself--or be forced--to go back and revise. Instead Thoreau labored over his writing, taking "infinite pains at all points."² Not that he enjoyed the process, as an entry from his Journal of December 27, 1853, warrants:

I wish that I could buy at the shops some kind of india-rubber that would rule out at once all that in my writing which it not costs me so many perusals, so many months if not years, and so much reluctance, to erase.³

But, even if he did not like the task, he performed it. Moldenhauer, seeking to impress this same point, calls Thoreau "one of the most painstaking of American writers," one who "practiced, polished, and revised unceasingly" and quotes Krutch, who notes that even the "home-liness" is "deliberately striven for, not something which expressed instinctively Thoreau's nature," and Harding, who points out that the lecturer Thoreau weighted "every single word and phrase, searching for the precise word, le mot juste."⁴ It is this determined, dogged

effort to communicate successfully that led to seven distinct "versions" of Walden, the seven layers of revision that Shanley notes in his edition of the "first" version.⁵

The thesis of Shanley's whole argument is that, while the first version is not a "scale model" of Walden since parts of the book are quite unequally represented, the 1846 version has the "essential nature" of the finished work. Shanley chooses the good organic metaphors of the child growing to be a man and the sapling growing into the towering oak to describe the growth of Walden. Though only half as long, and though passing through several intermediate stages, the first version carries the genes of the finished text. Shanley finds both the spirit and the style of 1854 in the 1846 version, although the spirit is "not so strongly developed" and the style is "not so finished." In fact, the final version has "more of every element." Thoreau adds much of the description of his surroundings in "The Ponds," much about his "Winter Visitors," and the entire "Conclusion." In addition, Shanley says he adds much of "the learning" through quotations and open references. Of fifty such items in the first half of Walden, Shanley finds only seven in the first version. Shanley argues, however, that some aspects of the first version are superior to the final changes Thoreau included in 1854. For example, he suggests that in "Where I Lived" Thoreau's description of the house and in "Baker Farm" the advice of his "Good Genius" have "greater spontaneity and immediacy" in the 1846 version. His conclusion is that "Thoreau inevitably sacrificed some liveliness and directness as he developed his lectures into a book which would give a fuller account of his experience."⁶

Although Shanley's work with the manuscripts was obviously broader than the concerns of this study, his conclusions are generally verified by the biblical uses. Certainly, the figures he mentions are far too small, as has been earlier established. Moreover, all of Thoreau's writings portray the "essential nature" of Walden, if "essential" is defined broadly enough. Clearly, the 1846 version is less polished and has a jerky, staccato rhythm that the published text does not. The difference lies, as Shanley declares, in the many painstaking revisions that Thoreau makes. The epigraph of the chapter summarizes Shanley's findings on how Thoreau deals with the Journal material as he works them into Walden. He also says, "Thoreau polished his sentences and paragraphs to achieve the clarity, force, and rhythm of the published version" and continues by speaking of "the growth" and "the reshaping" which determined the form of the book. He later contends that Thoreau revised "sometimes for greater clarity and force, sometimes for greater coherence and unity, and sometimes for new depth or breadth."⁷ Another editor addresses the question of revision from a different perspective.

In the elaborate revisions. . .there are few examples of changes of phrase, compared with the instances of insertion or excision. Apparently Thoreau was more likely to be satisfied with the phraseology of individual sentences than with their arrangement in paragraphs or their final inclusion or exclusion. . . . Stated summarily. . .much is omitted, but little changed.⁸

To these specific statements, this more specific study of a certain kind of revisions relates. It is a check on their validity.

The biblical uses in the Walden materials include a considerable body of writing. Not only are there a total of 271 uses, but, in addition, over sixty appear in both the first version and the finished

text, over twenty appear in both the Journal and the finished text and ten appear in the Journal, the first version, and the published text. Interestingly, only one use (166-220), appears in a journal entry and in the first version but not in the 1854 version. These statistics show that, like the remainder of Walden, some biblical uses were subject to Thoreau's eraser and some were late additions. The types of revisions involving the biblical uses suggest why Thoreau makes the changes. In addition to those in which the contexts are changed by additions or omissions and those which are expanded or altered, twenty-two uses are omitted, eleven of which are dropped after the first version. Moreover, sixty-three uses are added after the first version to the paragraphs which appear in that text. In other words, Thoreau removes eleven of the eighty-three uses in the first version and then nearly doubles the number remaining. Though these figures belie the seven-to-fifty ratio Shanley presents, they do represent only the alterations in the biblical uses. They also show conclusively that Thoreau was intent on at least maintaining the rate of biblical usage from the first version. This is not to suggest that he counted the number of omissions and additions, but that he consciously tried to exploit the potential of the Bible for his text. Since almost two hundred more uses appear in the published text than in the first version, Thoreau more than tripled the amount of biblical material while only doubling the size of the text. This suggests that the sermonic parallels developed more after than before the first version, and this seems accurate. Not only do the uses mushroom, but the vast number of associated words and phrases which influence the tone are late additions. Moreover, the "Conclusion"

with its combined visionary and rhetorical modes, the prophet inviting the people to join him, is added after the first version. A closer look at specific revisions which involve biblical uses shows how Thoreau controlled the direction of the work, developing the stance and the rhetoric of the prophet and preacher.

Some notice should first be given the uses which are carried over from the first version or the Journal but are changed in the published text. Two of these illustrate Thoreau's ability to use biblical material to direct his ironic attacks, and define his ideas. In an undated entry from an early Journal Thoreau writes,

And here, too, on winter days, while yet is cold January, and snow and ice lie thick, comes the prudent, foreseeing landlord or housekeeper (anticipating thirst) from the village to get ice to cool his summer drink,--a grateful beverage if he should live, if time should endure so long. How few so wise, so industrious, to lay up treasures which neither rust nor melt, "to cool their summer drink" one day!⁹

A specific action suggests a philosophical response by Thoreau. Man, in general, is seldom wise enough to gather real "treasures." When the use (294-373) is included in Walden, however, both its form and its purpose are altered.

While yet it is cold January, and the snow and ice are thick and solid, the prudent landlord comes from the village to get ice to cool his summer drink; impressively, even pathetically wise, to foresee the heat and thirst of July now in January, --wearing a thick coat and mittens! When so many things are not provided for. It may be that he lays up no treasures in this world which will cool his summer drink in the next. (294-373).

Here, the attack is directed at someone, the "pathetically wise" and "prudent landlord" who comes for ice in "coat and mittens" because he fears a hot July, when implicitly he fails to prepare for the heat of Hell. Surrounded by words exuding irony, the biblical use becomes an

ironic attack instead of a generalized lament.

Early in "Economy" Thoreau suggests that man and nature are largely compatible. If a man has minimal shelter and clothing, and is satisfied, he can exist and prosper. Thoreau writes, "When he has obtained those things which are necessary to life, there is another alternative than to obtain the superfluities; and that is, to adventure on life now, his vacation from humbler toil having commenced. The soil, it appears, is suited to the seed, for it has sent its radicle downward, and it may now send its shoot upward also with confidence" (15-20). These lines recall the parable of the sower (Matthew 13:3-52), because of their imagery and because the parable has been and will be used four other times in Walden. Moreover, the allusion helps define Thoreau's meaning here since, in the parable only the seed falling on good soil could grow upwards "with confidence." The seed which fell on the path, or on rocks, or in thistles could make some tentative downward movements, but was doomed not to grow. Similarly, a man can easily, Thoreau asserts, obtain his necessities and then start really living. Much of this contextual richness is lost in the first version where the sentence simply states, "The soil, it seems, is suited to the seed, and it may germinate at length" (FV, p. 112). Clearly, the revision helps to define Thoreau's concept of man's necessities for being "alive."

The evidence interpolated from the uses that Thoreau omits more conclusively illustrates the development of Walden. These omissions represent uses that Thoreau considered for inclusion, either by employing them in Journal entries or in the first version, but in the end rejected. Why he rejected them I can only surmise. But, the effect the omission has

on the specific passages, I can establish. And, from these effects, Thoreau's rationale may be tentatively posited--at least in some instances. There is a whole group of uses in the Journal and first version whose omission from the final text is hard to rationalize. If they seem superfluous, then so do a similar group of additions. If they seem redundant, then again so do several of the additions. This group, made up mainly of associated words and phrases and divided almost precisely between Journal entries and first version material, was thus omitted because it did not suit Thoreau's purpose. The omission of single words like "Christ" (215,216-272), "Heaven" (218-275), or "divine" (89,90-124) do not seem so unlikely as the omission of such musings as, "What if all ponds were shallow? Would it not react on the minds of men? If there were no physical deeps. I thank God that he made this pond deep and pure for a symbol" (287-363). This seems to be the kind of material that Thoreau developed in Walden; however, in this particular instance, he chose not to do it.

Other omissions are less problematical. When Thoreau writes of his experiments in bread making, he speaks with near reverence of his home-baked bread. "They were a real cereal fruit which I ripened, and they had to my sense a fragrance like that of other noble fruits, which I kept in as long as possible by wrapping them in cloths" (62-84). However, in the first version the sentence was different: "They have to my senses a fragrance like manna--a real cereal fruit which I ripened--which I kept in as long as possible by wrapping them in cloths" (FV-131). The use is dropped, mainly because "manna" has already been used (18-25) in a much more significant manner. To repeat it here would dilute its

effectiveness and muddy its meaning in another, more telling, context. Therefore, Thoreau removed the use to maintain his control.

Thoreau also removes parts of the context of some uses, in one instance, to help highlight the use itself. In his discussion of philanthropy late in "Economy," he writes that unconscious and ruperfluous "goodness" is best. "This is a charity that hides a multitude of sins" (77-107). In the first version, the sentence reads, "This is consolation and that charity that hides a multitude of sins" (FV-135). The use is delayed in the sentence and the play on I Peter 4:8 is lost to a great degree. Moreover, the simple pun on charity--meaning benevolence or love--is also concealed. In revision, Thoreau decides to highlight a biblical use that helps define his idea and reinforce his argument.

Far and away the most interesting of the omissions are those that fail in the general process of "toning down" that Thoreau performed. This process, especially apparent in the movement from the Journal to the finished text, is basically a move to render the writing more acceptable to the audience. When Shanley writes that Thoreau sacrificed "liveliness," he could well have been speaking of the passages excluded in this category. Whether Thoreau called it liveliness, humor, sarcasm, exuberance, or ironic attack, he got rid of plenty before he finished Walden. Some was simply humor or sarcasm. "When I first got a cinder in my eye I suspected that I was not going to heaven" (92-127; omitted from the "Where I Lived" discussion of the internal improvements) and "One would have to think twice before he accepted heaven on such terms [forever]" (323-408) are good examples. So is describing a sermon as "a postponed affair. . .from thirdly to fifteenthly" (Journal, I, p. 362).

It is probably more significant when Thoreau drops a phrase from certain key uses. In order to highlight the allusion and to remove the ironic humor, Thoreau revised the original version--". . . though birds of the air have their nests, and woodchucks and foxes their holes. . ."

(Journal, I, 388)--of his use of Matthew 8:20 to a more parallel form (30-45). Even Thoreau's love of woodchucks could not force him to

destory the ironic attack already inherent in his use of the reference.

The humor is not effective at this point. Similarly, the early combination of Roman and Christian in "Better if they had been born in the open pasture

and suckled by a wolf, that they might have seen with clearer eyes what field they were called to labor in" (5-4) is a good deal more acceptable than the original journal form which followed "wolf" with "or perhaps

cradled in a manger" (Journal, I, p. 428). Although Thoreau later

associated Christ with Indians and, especially, with Walden itself,

this is too early in the book for such rank heresy. In fact, the change was made in the first version (FV-106-197). Later Thoreau removes

some potential sarcasm when he edits a journal entry on clothing. The

revision reads, "But if my jacket and trousers, my hat and shoes are fit to worship God in, they will do; will they not?" (23-36). The original

ended more archly. "If my jacket and trousers, my boots and shoes, are fit to worship God in, they will do. Won't they, Deacon Spaulding?"

(Journal, I, 244). The effect of direct address is certainly to attack the real or fictional Brother Spaulding and, by implication, all deacons who worry about jackets more than justification. Although a good deal

of "Economy" is satiric and rhetorically "negative," as Moldenhauer shows, the sarcasm of this pot shot is curtailed. There is a certain high

seriousness or earnestness that precludes this use.

At least one clever use of the Bible just is not effective, and Thoreau avoids the use. In his journal Thoreau writes, "The earth I tread on is not a dead, inert mass. It is a body, has a spirit, and to whatever particle of that spirit is in me. She is not dead, but sleepeth" (Journal, III, 165). This passage, clearly in line with the living earth section of "Spring" (308,309-287), and coming only a couple of pages before "Walden was dead and is alive again" (311-392), recalls the raising of Jairus' daughter after everyone had given up hope. It seems that in dropping this use Thoreau avoids the comparison between the earth and the girl to later build up an association that works as a more effective symbol, an association between Walden and Christ. The one may be heretical, but it is far more fruitful for the overall purposes of Walden. Exuberance is curtailed once again.

Obviously Thoreau writes things in the privacy of his Journal that are not in line with the tone of Walden. This is especially true of some of the satiric attacks he made against society in passages that later appeared in revised form in the book. In one of the uses, the attack is not so severe, but it does not fit in the context of Walden where the material is included. In the Journal Thoreau writes, "To name two ponds bottomless when both of them have a bottom. Verily men choose darkness rather than light" (II, 68), while in Walden he writes, "I have visited two such Bottomless Ponds on one walk in this neighborhood." The ironically generalized attack on the blindness of mankind is omitted, largely because, at this point in the book ("The Ponds in Winter"), Thoreau is reciting his own vision, and does not wish to dwell on other men. He is about to plumb the depths of Walden and he does not want to disturb the tone.

Another rejected attack is even more vicious. In a journal passage that later became a part of "House-Warming," Thoreau writes about how men make a much bigger issue of warming their houses than do the animals over their shelters. He concludes, "It was man's invention to box up some air and warm it, make that his bed, and in this live and move and have his being still, and breathe as in a congenial climate or summer, without taking to his bed" (Journal, VI, 96). Among other changes, in Walden Thoreau omits the phrase "in this live and move and have his being," a use of Acts 17:28, "For in him God we live, and move, and have our being. . . ." The excised attack lies in the comparison between Paul's declaration that God allows men to live and in Thoreau's statement that men find their living in warm houses. Telling a man that he relies on a house instead of God is certainly not a charge to be made lightly. Thoreau chose to omit this ironic reference when he finished Walden.

Finally, Thoreau decided not to imply that Concord was a town of fools. That is the implication of a use omitted from "Reading." In a Journal passage that is revised and included in his discussion of Concord's cultural accomplishments (108,110-145), Thoreau writes,

It is not that the town cannot well afford to buy these things, but it is unaspiring and ignorant of its own wants. It sells milk, but it only builds larger barns with the money which it gets for its milk. (Journal, III, 26)

To build "greater" barns was the desire of the rich man in the parable in Luke 12. After he had decided to "take his ease, eat, drink, and be merry" God spoke. "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided" (verses 19 and 20). By association the whole town of Concord were the

fools because they chose to build barns and not libraries. Again, however, Thoreau chooses to include the basic ideas of this passage without the harsh irony.

Thus, the omission of certain biblical uses basically allowed Thoreau to control the delineation of his argument and the appeal his prose had for his audience. By excluding superfluous or redundant uses and by being especially careful to limit the sarcastic and ironic attacks to strategic and effective situations, Thoreau had opportunity to purposefully exploit the positive qualities of the biblical uses.

What was Thoreau seeking when he so dramatically increased the number of biblical uses during the composition of Walden? A specific tone throughout the work, for one thing. It is certainly unlikely that anyone as careful with his writing and as conscious of his words as Thoreau was could inadvertently choose so many words that allow, encourage, even force the reader to hear biblical overtones. Thoreau exploited the uses to make the work more believable, more authoritative, more trustworthy. Single words like "heaven" (37-55) or "mansions" (10-13) added late in the writing are often keys to the overall tone of the work because of their connotations or emotional impact, especially in specific contexts. "Mansions," for instance, recalls Christ's statement that "In my Father's house are many mansions" (John 14:2). To anyone familiar with the rhetoric of the Bible the mention of the word forces him to pause to consider that context. Thoreau's mention of the "various mansions of the universe" makes his writing seem theologically sound and authoritative. Similarly, "distant land," (3,4-2), appearing twice in the second paragraph of "Economy," works well with "sojourner" (3-1) which appears, as

another late addition, in the previous paragraph. Such phrases as "the road of life" (5-4), "savings their souls" (33-49), and "the breath of life itself" (102-138) conjure up scenes as diverse as the Sermon on the Mount and the creation of man when God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" (Genesis 2:7). The positive persuasive power of this language goes a long way toward mitigating any adverse effects or irony or satire.

In addition to being persuasive, the uses contribute to the power of the writing through the authority they invest solely by their recognizability. Thus, some added uses make Thoreau's ideas, arguments, and descriptions particularly appealing by giving them a ring of authority. Significantly, in "Higher Laws" Thoreau leads the reader through a devious argument to a biblical use on the question of whether parents should allow their sons to hunt. He writes that "I have answered, yes, --remembering that it was one of the best parts of my education,--make them hunters, though sportsmen only at first, if possible, mighty hunters at last, so that they shall not find game large enough for them in this or any vegetable wilderness,--hunters as well as fishers of men" (212-269). Answering a simple question took Thoreau back to his youth, back to Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord" (Genesis 10:9), and on to Christ's promise to his disciples, "I will make you to become fishers of men" (Mark 1:17). Thoreau's response has the authority of Christ backing it up, especially since four of the disciples were already fishermen when Christ called them. If they could become spiritual fishermen, then possibly Thoreau's plan might work for his "disciples."

Authority is also gained, though on a different level, through the use of two Old Testament passages in Thoreau's survey of the former

inhabitants of the area around Walden Pond. In the entry describing the late Hugh Quill's home, Thoreau writes, "There lay his old clothes curled up by habit, as if it were himself, upon his raised plank bed. His pipe lay broken on the hearth; and scattered about were soiled cards--king of diamonds, hearts, spades--on the floor" (Journal, I, 417). When he revises this description for publication Thoreau adds a fitting symbol from Ecclesiastes. "His pipe lay broken on the hearth, instead of a bowl broken at the fountain." Thoreau humorously adds, "The last could never have been the symbol of his death, for he confesses to me that, though he had heard of Brister's Spring, he had never seen it . . ." (262-329). In the referent, Ecclesiastes 12:6-7, the symbolism is clear:

Or ever silver cord be loosed or the golden bowl be broken,
or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel
broken at the cistern. Then shall the dust return to the
earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who
gave it.

By even half-mockingly referring to this passage, Thoreau adds a ring of authority to his description. He participates in the common symbolism for death. Similarly, three paragraphs later Thoreau ponders why "the basket, stable-broom, mat-making, corn-parching, linen-spinning, and pottery business" did not thrive, "making the wilderness to blossom like the rose" (264-332). The reference, which like the last one is altered a good deal in Thoreau's paraphrase, is to Isaiah 35:1, "The wilderness shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose." Again Thoreau's comment gains authority through its participation in the familiar.

Thoreau contributes more definition to his ideas and symbols by means of other added uses. Because the Bible and Thoreau both teach anti-materialism and a new life, Thoreau utilizes many references to enhance

the power of his thought. For example, I have previously noted how the description of the pickerel, "Easily with a few convulsive quirks, they give up their watery ghosts like a mortal translated before his time to the thin air of heaven" (285-362), creates associations with Christ, Elijah, and Enoch. Significantly, in the journal entry from which this portmanteau derives, the second portion is omitted and the first ended with: "diluted," not "watery" ghosts (IV, 476-77). I think Thoreau is attempting humor in this passage, but in the more earnest context of Walden, he sees the advantage of a biblical use that will define his ideas on the salvation that nature can afford. Therefore, he tones down the humor, although the whimsy is quite evident, and adds a clear and effective biblical echo.

Thoreau also clarifies his concept of man's materialism by adding to and altering the context of another biblical use he has already decided to employ. The key allusion in "Economy" must be the one to Matthew 6:19-20. Its original version in the Journal has this form: "Men labor under a mistake; they are laying up treasures which moth and rust will corrupt and thieves break through and steal" (I, 427). By the first version Thoreau is more vigorous in his attack and the context is expanded.

But men labor under a mistake. The better part of the man is soon plowed into the soil for compost. By an apparent fate, soon called necessity, they are employed, as it says in an old book, laying up treasures which moth and rust will corrupt and thieves break through and steal. It is a fool's life, as they will find when they get to the end of it. (FV-107)

The ironical attack is plain and the addition of the phrase "an apparent fate, soon called necessity" helps highlight it. In the published

version Thoreau has changed this phrase to "a seeming fate, commonly called necessity" and warned that men will be aware of their "fool's life" "when they get to the end of it, if not before" (5-5). Because of their commonly accepted false "fate," men practice the very materialism that Christ denounced. In other words, they have perverted Christ's decree so that they are forced to lead sinful lives. Materialism, Thoreau implies, is contingent on the individual, not a universal disease. He has another way, salvation through Walden.

In another context Thoreau defines the association of society and evil by referring to the story of Christ casting the demons out of the man and allowing them to enter the hogs. Thoreau is lonely like the loon, the pond itself, and God. But, implicitly, those in society are like the devil who "is far from being alone; he sees a great deal of company; he is legion" (137-182). "Legion" was the name given by the many demons in the story. Society, the devil, and the demons coalesce into an arch enemy for Thoreau, God, the loon, and Walden Pond.

Other late additions to the list of biblical uses reinforce ideas that Thoreau has previously expressed. One of these is a favorite expression of Thoreau's; another forms a portmanteau we have already examined. The portmanteau is the combination of Matthew 26:11 and Ezekiel 18:1-2 that falls at the end of the paragraph urging men that they can change their way of life (32-46). The late addition is the section from Matthew, " . . . the poor ye have always with you," which reinforces Thoreau's contention that truisms are not fated to be true. In fact, the whole portmanteau, not just the part from Matthew, appears in a position in the paragraph to restate and reinforce Thoreau's argument.

Similarly, in the first version, Thoreau's "good genius" tells him to "grow wild according to thy nature like these ferns & brakes which endeavor not to become English hay. Let the thunder rumble in thy own tongue--what if it brings rain to farmers' crops in season that is not its errand to thee. Take shelter under the cloud while they flee to carts & sheds . . ." (FV-189). In the published version this is much revised and the familiar quotation, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth" (Ecclesiastes 12:1) is added. The Old Testament reference reinforces the tone and the content of the passage by suggesting that to go fishing or, to be close to nature, is to become close to the Creator and by urging a youthful, spontaneous response from all the audience, no matter how old they are. Both of these uses which act to reinforce Thoreauvian contentions are near quotations, and this suggests that he recognizes the power the Bible has to influence acceptance of his ideas. In order not to obscure the source, Thoreau does little to change the borrowed material.

Although Thoreau seeks to curtail the exuberance of the Journal passages which later appear in Walden by omitting certain uses or by changing their contexts, he also adds another group of uses that can best be described as exhibiting the same exuberance or exaggeration. Many of the examples of late additions already mentioned share the humor and flair that Thoreau wants to employ. They also evidence his control, since he strategically places them where they benefit him most. One that I have not mentioned illustrates Thoreau's technical genius as an allusion maker. Near the end of "Economy" is a section which the Princeton text headlines "Philanthropy." Thoreau discusses what it really means to do

benevolent deeds. After mentioning some reforms that he considers less than useful, Thoreau concludes, "If you should ever be betrayed into any of these philanthropies, do not let your left hand know what your right hand does, for it is not worth knowing" (78-108). The irony of being "betrayed" into philanthropic acts is self-evident. But the real bite--and beauty--of this attack lies in the context of the source. Thoreau openly refers to Matthew 6:3, "But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right had doeth." This verse is from the section in the Sermon on the Mount where Christ attacks the hypocrisy of religion practiced to be seen of men.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. (verses 1-2)

In effect then, Thoreau is saying the "philanthropies" that men practice are hypocritical and self-serving, not benevolent acts of kindness. By turning Christ's most famous sermon against society, he marvelously undercuts their pretensions. The vigor, the confidence of "for it is not worth knowing" exemplifies the delightful exaggeration Thoreau loves to weigh against his opponents.

Overstatement also plays a part in the success of another use, this one aimed at re-defining "life." Thoreau writes, "To be awake is to be alive. I have never met a man who was quite awake. How could I have looked him in the face" (90-124). In the first version, the idea stops with the first sentence. Missing is the effective paradox of never seeing a man "who was quite awake" and the exuberance of the last sentence. This last sentence recalls the Old Testament story of Moses

receiving the law from God on Mount Sinai and then having been so close to the glory of God that he needed to wear a veil in order for the people to look on him (Exodus 33 and 34). This analogy is apropos. If a man is really awake, really alive in Thoreau's sense, then it is like he has been in God's presence. No man can look on him.

Probably the best example of this group of additions, however, is the use which climaxes "Spring" and to a great degree captures Thoreau at his positive peak. In the first version the paragraph is really the end of a narrative and not particularly moving. "Besides this I got a rare mess of golden and silver, and bright cupreous fishes--which looked like a string of jewels--This spring ramble was very invigorating and purgative of wintry fumes and dumps" (FV-207). In the published version, joie de vivre fairly punctuates the paragraph.

Beside this I got a rare mess of golden and silver and bright cupreous fishes, which looked like a string of jewels. Ah! I have penetrated to those meadows on the morning of many a first spring day, jumping from hummock to hummock, from willow root to willow root, when the wild river valley and the woods were bathed in so pure and bright a light as would have waked the dead, if they had been slumbering in their graves, as some suppose. There needs no stronger proof of immortality. All things must live in such a light. O Death, where was thy sting? O Grave, where was thy victory, then? (317-401)

In six sentences Thoreau moved from a fishing trip to a self-defined second coming, complete with shining glory, in the process destroying the idea of a mortality that allows people to sleep in the grave. The heresy is lost in the exultation and the exaltation of Spring, of nature renewing herself. Here, if anywhere, Thoreau's ability to choose a biblical allusion that adds to the theme and captures the tone and quality of the passage is obvious. The referent, I Corinthians 15:55,

climaxes Paul's description of Christ's second coming, a description which resulted from the question, "How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?" (verse 35). Thus, Thoreau maintains several aspects of the old context in the new one he creates, but most of all he maintains and exploits the joy of the second coming.

The final category of added uses includes those which increase or direct the ironic attack which Thoreau unleashes in Walden. Several of the examples already mentioned have illustrated this group, but a closer look at some specific examples shows how the allusions function in the onslaught. A New Testament reference serves as the center of an ironic jibe at the life style of those who live by "buying and selling, and spending their lives like serfs" (208-263). Not only is there open irony in calling these mercantile people "serfs," but also subtle acid in the use of James 4:13-15.

Go to now, ye that say, To day or to morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain: Whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this, or that.

Thus, these people, who lack "enterprise and faith," have in fact turned from God and have ignored His control over their destinies. The supposedly respectable society is not so respectable and Thoreau, the self-proclaimed "heathen," is responsible for exposing them. Similarly, Thoreau turns I Corinthians 15:33 against those who would be wont to turn it against him. Instead of Paul's declaration that "evil communications corrupt good manners," Thoreau suggests, "Our manners have been corrupted by communication with the saints" (78-109). The so-called "holy ones" are the ones who have ruined the manners of the people. Their example

is misleading, and, in the end, damning. Thoreau, "heathen" that he was, offers an alternative to their "evil communications."

The portmanteau use which describes the man with the fast horse, saying, "he is not an evangelist, nor does he come round eating locusts and wild honey" (52,53-73), illustrates how the positive values of the Scriptural referents are denied those whom Thoreau attacks. Here, the swift messenger is not one who brings "good news" or "a gospel"; nor is he like John the Baptist who emphasized his message through a life-style of denial and dedication. In Thoreau's eyes, those in society had neither the message nor the life-style, neither the form nor the content which would help them really live.

The ironic humor of comparing the man with the fastest horse to a biblical hero is typical of other humorous, yet ironic uses of the Bible. This technique is exemplified by Thoreau's manipulation of Matthew 19:24, "And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." In Walden the associated paraphrase takes this form: "It would be easier for them to hobble to town with a broken leg than with a broken pantaloons" (22-35). The humor comes from both the ludicrous exaggeration and from the beautifully allusive technique which suggests a comparison between those who seek sartorial splendor and those who fail to find heavenly splendor because of their concentration on wealth. Here again, though not mentioned, the underlying theme of earthly versus spiritual treasures reappears. By means of careful and controlled use of the Bible, Thoreau attains an effective combination of humor and authority in his ironic attack on the misguided society.

All four of these last illustrations, as well as the additions mentioned earlier, show how Thoreau employed more and more of the Bible in the composition of Walden. Although he was self-critical and removed those uses which seemed to obscure his meaning or to alienate his audience, he tripled the number of biblical uses between the first and the published versions. Many of these additions exemplify his search for control in definition, in humor, in authority, and in attack. Overall, these biblical uses helped confirm Walden as the vision of a prophet who was exhorting his society to reform and inviting them to join him in his "waking moments."

NOTES

¹ J. Lyndon Shanley, The Making of "Walden" with the Text of the First Version (Chicago, 1957), p. 23. All references to the first version of Walden will be noted parenthetically, by means of the symbol "FV" and the page number, in the text.

² Shanley, p. 34.

³ Henry David Thoreau, The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, Walden edition (Boston, 1906), VI, p. 30; quoted by Shanley, p. 34. Some later references are noted parenthetically in the text. All are to this edition.

⁴ Joseph Moldenhauer, The Rhetoric of "Walden" (Ann Arbor, 1968), pp. 33, 37, 55; Joseph Wood Krutch, Henry David Thoreau (New York, 1948), p. 263; Walter Harding, "The Influence of Thoreau's Lecturing upon his Writing," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 60 (1956), 78.

⁵ Shanley, pp. 4-5.

⁶ Shanley, pp. 6, 7, 25, 26, 65-66.

⁷ Shanley, pp. 5, 37.

⁸ Bartholow V. Crawford, "Introduction," Henry David Thoreau: Representative Selections, American Writers Series (New York, 1934), pp. xlix-1.

⁹ Journal, I, 423-24.

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APPENDIX A: THE BIBLICAL USES

This appendix offers a complete list of the biblical uses found in the Walden materials and is the source for most of the evidence presented in the preceding essays. The uses are listed in the order in which they appear in the Princeton Walden edited by J. Lyndon Shanley (1971) and are identified by page and paragraph numbers keyed to that edition. For those uses which appeared in journal entries or in the first version of the text but not in the published text, identification numbers are enclosed in square brackets. If the use can be identified with specific Scriptural referents, these, including all that apply, are given next. Then, those uses which have forms in journal entries or in the first version are identified by page numbers from the volumes of the Journal in the Walden edition of The Writings of Henry David Thoreau (Boston, 1906), noted by the symbol "J" and from the first version text published in J. Lyndon Shanley's The Making of "Walden," with the Text of the First Version (Chicago, 1957), noted by the symbol "FV". Credit is then given for the uses identified by Harding (H), Moldenhauer (M), and Burns (B). The forms of the uses are next listed according to the following symbols: associated words, AW; associated phrases, AP; borrowed words, BW; borrowed phrases, BP; quotations, Q; associated paraphrases, APP; reworded paraphrases, RW; negated or contradictory paraphrases, NP; open paraphrases, PP; paraphrases with added terms, AT; paraphrases with changed terms, CT; portmanteaus, PT. Finally, the functions of the uses are identified.

To avoid repetition, since all the uses contribute to the tone of authority and earnestness, I do not mention either of these functions. Any relevant comments on the use conclude the note.

- 3-1 "the labor of my hands": Psalms 128:2; Haggai 2:17; I Corinthians 4:11,12; Ephesians 4:28--AP
- 3-1 "sojourner": Leviticus 25:23; I Chronicles 29:15; Psalms 39:12; Ezekiel 20:38; Acts 7:6; I Peter 1:17; Hebrews 11:9--B--BW--
This word adds a good deal of "poetic intensity," especially in terms of the Hebrews reference concerning Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.
- 3,4-2 "distant land": AW--This use recalls the "sojourner" concept of the previous paragraph.
- 5-4 "what field they were called to labor in": Matthew 13:18-50; John 4:31-38--FV, 106-107; J, I, 428--M--AP--The omission of the phrase, "or perhaps cradled in a manger," from the context of this sentence between the Journal and the first version makes it an interesting example of Thoreau's careful editing during composition.
- 5-4 "the road of life": Psalms 16:11; Psalms 27:11; Proverbs 2:19; Proverbs 5:6; Proverbs 10:17; Proverbs 15:24--J, I, 428--B--AP--This use recalls several other biblical references to "reads," "ways," and "paths," making operative a common biblical theme.
- 5-5 "employed, as it says in an old book, laying up treasures which moth and rust will corrupt and thieves break through and steal": Matthew 6:19,20--FV, 107; J, I, 427--M, H, B--PP--Probably the

key use in the "Economy" chapter, this reference informs the audience of Thoreau's idea of "economy" and directs the ironic attack.

- 6-6 "We should feed and clothe him gratuitously sometimes, and recruit him with our cordials, before we judge of him":
Matthew 25:31-46; Matthew 7:1-2--AP
- 7-7 "lay up something": Matthew 6:19,20; II Kings 20:17; Luke 12:21--FV, 108--B--BP--This use recalls the previous use of the verses from Matthew and reinforces the seriousness of Thoreau's charge.
- 7-8 "divinity": FV, 108--B--AW
- 7-8 "divinity": FV, 108; J, I, 427-28--AW
- 7-8 "divine": FV, 108; J, I, 427-28--AW
- [7-8] "birthright": Genesis 25:31; Hebrews 12:16--J, I, 427-28--AW--In a paragraph that was much revised as it moved through three versions, this use was dropped even before the first version.
- 8-8 "against the last day": II Timothy 1:12; Romans 2:5; II Peter 3:7--AP--This is a good example of Thoreau's increasing the irony of an attack by means of a Scriptural allusion. The contrast between "toilet cushions" in his context and Paul's confession of faith in Timothy is devastating.
- 8-10 "what is the chief end of man": FV, 108--H, M--AP--Along with the word "catechism," this phrase suggests biblical overtones. It has been identified by Harding and Moldenhauer as the first question in the Shorter Westminster Catechism of

1647. They also note that it appeared in the New England Primer.

- 9-10 "the wisest man": I Kings 10:23--AP--This phrase suggests Solomon, who is mentioned later on the same page.
- 9-12 "Solomon": BW--This is just one example of Thoreau's borrowing biblical material from another author, in this instance, Evelyn. Although this suggests that other, unidentified, sources may stand between Walden and some of the biblical uses, it does nothing to destroy their function in Thoreau's text nor to imply that he did not realize their original source.
- 10-12 "as old as Adam": FV, 109--M, B--BW--Moldenhauer does not note this as a biblical use, but traces its proverbial background. Burns mentions it in his topical index.
- 10-13 "the same sun which ripens my beans illumines at once a system of earths like ours": Matthew 5:45; Job 25:3--FV, 109--RW--this is one of four uses that Thoreau makes of the text from Matthew 5:45. He seems to be emphasizing that all men have an equal relationship with nature, or at least the potential for such a relationship.
- 10-13 "mansions": John 14:2--M--AW--This is a good example of a reference added after the first version which increases the authority of Thoreau's contentions.
- 10-14 "repent": J, II, 137--B--AW
- 10-14 "demon possessed me": Luke 8:36--J, II, 137--APP
- 10,11-14 "you who have lived seventy years": Psalms 90:10--J, II, 137--H--APP
- 11-15 "determined not to live by faith": Hebrews 10:38--FV, 110--

- M, B--NP--This use exemplifies Thoreau's use of contradiction or negation to direct an attack against hypocrisy or smugness. Burns identifies the use with Hebrews 11, the faith chapter of the Bible, but I think Moldenhauer's suggestion of Hebrews 10:38 is more acceptable.
- 11-15 "the only way": John 14:6--FV, 110--APP
- 14-19 "Of a life of luxury the fruit is luxury": Proverbs 11:30; Matthew 7:16-20--FV, 112--M--AP--This use introduces another good biblical theme, good fruit versus evil fruit.
- 15-20 "The soil, it appears, is suited to the seed, for it has sent its radicle downward, and it may now send its shoot upward also with confidence": Matthew 13:3-52--FV, 112--AP--The expansion of the second half of this use after it appeared in the first version suggests Thoreau's attempt to exploit and clarify the Scriptural association.
- 15-20 "heavens": FV, 112--B--AW
- 16-21 "heaven or hell": FV, 112--AP
- 16-21 "most terribly impoverished class of all, who have accumulated dross, but know not how to use it, or get rid of it, and thus have forged their own golden or silver fetters": Isaiah 1:22--FV, 112--B--APP
- 18-26 "manna-wise": Exodus 16:14, 15, 21--J, I, 435--H, M, B--BW--This is an extremely good example of a biblical use that informs the context of Thoreau's prose.
- 18-29 "Solomon": FV, 114; J, I, 435--B--BW--This borrowed word does not function rhetorically and by including it Burns commits an

- error of judgment. If "Solomon" is significant, so is the "Jonas" which follows, although he does not include it. Both are biblical names, but neither refers to a biblical character.
- 18-29 "Jonas": FV, 114; J, I, 435--BW--"Jonas" is the Greek form of the Hebrew "Jonah."
- 20-33 "to buy and sell and keep the accounts": James 4:13-15--FV, 115--APP--The irreligion of the Yankee capitalists are exposed by this use.
- 21-35 "the opinions of men": FV, 116--AP--This is a good example of a typical sermonic construct, the sort of phrase that a preacher would put in opposition to "the commands of God," for example.
- 22-35 "It would be easier for them to hobble to town with a broken leg than with a broken pantaloons": Matthew 19:24; Mark 10:25; Luke 18:25--APP--Here, bits of phrases and syntactical patterns suggest a tenuous association that levels a biting attack in the context.
- 23-36 "worship God": J, I, 244--B--BW--Before this use was included in the finished text, Thoreau curtailed the ironic attack by altering the following sentence, "Won't they, Deacon Spaulding?"
- 23-36 "a new man": Ephesians 4:24; Colossians 3:10--B--BP--The New Testament connotations of this use reverberate in the context of "Economy." Thoreau is also demanding a "New creation," a re-vitalized person.
- 24-36 "keeping new wine in old bottles": Matthew 9:17; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37, 38--FV, 117--H, M, B--APP--Borrowing Christ's statement reinforces Thoreau's credibility.

- 28-42 "Adam and Eve, according to the fable, wore the bower before other clothes": Genesis 3:7--FV, 119--H, M, B--BW--Some borrowed words and an ironic comment function here to recall a whole context from Genesis.
- 28-43 "a hollow is a reck for shelter": AP--This is another sermonic construct that recalls Christ as a shelter and as a solid rock.
- 30-45 "though the birds of the air have their nests, and the foxes their holes": Matthew 8:20--FV, 119; J, I, 388--H, M, B--PP--Thoreau uses this reference to reinforce his argument, and to insure that his audience saw the seriousness of his point, he removed the flippancy inclusion of "woodchucks" before the first version.
- 32-46 "What mean ye by saying that the poor ye have always with you, or that the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?": Matthew 26:11; Ezekiel 18:2; Jeremiah 31:29--J, III, 301--H, M, B--PT--These uses restate and confirm Thoreau's argument throughout the paragraph. Only the quotation from Ezekiel occurs in the Journal, as the paraphrase from the New Testament that reinforces the thought of the other use is a later addition.
- 32-47,48 "'As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel.'
- 'Behold all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth it shall die': Ezekiel 18:3-4--J, III, 301--H, M. B--Q--In

conjunction with the previous use, these quotations reaffirm Thoreau's contention that proverbs or truisms can be wrong.

33-49 "saving their souls": Hebrews 10:39; James 1:21; James 5:20; I Peter 1:9--AP

33-50 "he has set his trap. . .and. . .got his own leg into it": Psalms 7:15; Psalms 9:15-16; Proverbs 26:27--FV, 121--M--APP

33-50 "heavenly": AW

34-51 "only death will set them free": Romans 6:7; John 8:32; John 8:36; Galatians 5:1--AP--Thoreau plays on the various ways of obtaining truth mentioned in the New Testament, through Christ, through the truth, through death to sins.

[34,35-53] "the church": J, III, 295--AW--This use is omitted from the lists of the accomplishments of civilization included in "Economy."

36-54 "heaven": B--AW

37-55 "heaven": AW

37-56 "sojourner": Hebrews 11:9--FV, 121; J, I, 367--BW--This use, overlooked by the other studies, re-introduces the theme presented in the first paragraph of the book. Its source is verified by the next use.

37-56 "He dwelt, as it were, in a tent in this world": Hebrews 11:9--FV, 121; J, I, 367--APP

37-56 "heaven": B--AW

37-56 "Christianity": B--AW

37-56 "mansion": John 14:2--AW--The tremendous irony of this use relies on the distinction between Christ's mention of mansions

in another world and Thoreau's comment on mansions in this world and tombs in the next.

- 39-57 "the Lord's blessing": Proverbs 10:22--AP
- 41-60 "the apple of his eye": Deuteronomy 32:10; Psalms 17:8; Proverbs 7:2; Lamentations 2:18; Zechariah 2:8--BP--This is a commonplace that Moldenhauer overlooked..
- 48-67 "bibles": B--AW
- 49-72 "chaff which I find it difficult to separate from my wheat": Jeremiah 23:28; Matthew 3:12; Luke 3:17--H, M, B--AP
- 50-72 "devil's": AW
- 51-72 "not detect the motes in his eyes": Matthew 7:3-5; Luke 6:41-42--H, M, B--CT--Interestingly, Thoreau changes the motes from the eyes of the one observed to those of the observer. Thus, though the attack remains, the degree is lessened.
- 52-73 "devil": F, 127--B--AW--Since this "devil" is "exacting compound interest," the use adds humor to the prose.
- 52,53-73 "he is not an evangelist, nor does he come round eating locusts and wild honey": Matthew 3:4, Mark 1:6--H, M, B--PT--Thoreau combines a borrowed word and a borrowed phrase in order to emphasize that speed and accomplishments are empty unless there is a message or a meaning behind them. The root meaning of "evangelist" and the story of John the Baptist greatly increase the effectiveness of this use.
- 54-75 "'is not this railroad which we built a good thing': Daniel 4:30--B--APP--The irony of this statement lies in the

contrast between the speakers in the two contexts: Nebuchadnezzar in the Bible and "a million Irishmen" in Walden.

- 57-78 "One piece of good sense would be more memorable than a monument as high as the moon": Genesis 11:1-9--J, IV, 454--M--APP--This is a highly associative identification; however, the next use helps to confirm Moldenhauer's conjecture on its source.

[57-78] "The tower of Babel has been a good deal laughed at. It was just as sensible an undertaking as the Pyramids, which, because they were completed and have stood to this day, are admired.": Genesis 11:1-9--J, III, 454--BP--This use confirms that Thoreau had the tower of Babel in mind in the previous one. Thoreau, iconoclast of the first order, sees the usually scorned tower of Babel on the same level as the Pyramids.

- 58-78 "Christianity": J, IV, 153--B--AW

[62-84] "manna": Exodus 16:14, 15, 21--FV, 131--EW--Thoreau omits his second mention of manna between the first and final versions of the text. Probably this was done to avoid detracting from the highly successful associations of the previous use (18-26).

- 63-86 "thank Heaven": B--AP

- 65-88 "Thank God": B--AP

- 65-88 "light of heaven": AP

- 66-88 "that man is at a dead set who has got through a knot hole or gateway where his sledge load of furniture cannot follow him": Matthew 7:14; Matthew 19:24; Mark 10:25; Luke 18:25--M--PT--This portmanteau of two associated paraphrases functions to

reinforce Thoreau's argument.

[] Burns notes a use of Luke 19:14 on page 74 of the Walden edition Walden (Vol. II). I have not been able to locate the use.

- 77,67-88 "It would surpass the powers of a well man nowadays to take up his bed and walk, and I should certainly advise a sick one to lay down his bed and run": Matthew 9:6; Mark 2:9; John 5:8--H, M, B--NP--Thoreau attacks the complexity of modern society by playing on Christ's statement.
- 67-89 "It is best to avoid the beginnings of evil.": I Thessalonians 5:22--FV, 185--RW--Thoreau's statement gains authenticity because of the echo of Paul's command.
- 69-95 "'outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace'": M, B--AP--Moldenhauer identifies the source of this phrase as The Book of Common Prayer, with the definition also appearing in Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language (1883 edition) and the 1852 edition of Noah Webster's Dictionary.
- 69-95 "Heaven": B--AW
- 69-95 "biblical": B--AW
- 69-96 "devil": FV, 132--AW
- 70-96 "heaven": J, II, 320--B--AW
- 71-98 "It is not necessary that a man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow, unless he sweats easier than I do": Genesis 3:19--M, B--NP--Thoreau's alteration of the text draws attention to his idea, adds humor, and ironically attacks the modern society.
- 71-99 "One young man. . .the true course": Luke 18:18ff--FV, 133--

H, M--APP--Harding makes this highly associative identification in which the parallels in the two contexts work to add authority to Thoreau's stance and to undercut his young friend.

72-101 "devil": FV, 133-34--B--AW.

72-101 "Heaven": FV, 134--B--AW

73-102 "with kindness aforethought go about doing good": Acts 10:38--FV, 134--BP--This use works in conjunction with the next as Thoreau makes a humorous play on the biblical referent in order to define his idea of goodness.

73-102 "If I were to preach at all in this strain, I should say rather, Set about being good.": Acts 10:38--FV, 134--BP--Thoreau clearly puts the emphasis on "being," and not "doing," good.

73,74-102 "such brightness that no mortal can look h^{im} in the face": Exodus 33 and 34--FV, 134--APP--This use positively reinforces Thoreau's statement by recalling the effects of God's glory on Moses.

[74-103] "I would not preach to men. . .to feed the hungry & clothe the naked": Matthew 25:31-46; James 2:14-17--FV, 135--NP--Thoreau omits this use in his revisions of the first version.

74-103 "A man is not a good man to me because he will feed me if I should be starving, or warm me if I should be freezing, or pull me out of a ditch if I should ever fall into one.": Matthew 25:31-46; James 2:14-17; Matthew 15:14; Luke 6:39--FV, 135--NP--Quite parallel to the previous use, this one emphasizes the Thoreauvian definition of goodness.

75-104 "[the Indians] did not care how they were done by, who loved

their enemies after a new fashion, and came very near freely forgiving them all they did": Luke 6:31; Matthew 7:12; Matthew 5:44; Luke 23:34; John 13:34--H, M, B--PT--These three associated paraphrases join to make the Indians more Christ-like than the missionaries.

75-105 "There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root": Matthew 3:10; Luke 3:9--APP--
The changes in language help conceal a use that works well to support Thoreau's statement of futility.

76-105 "a tenth part of your income in charity": Genesis 28:22--
B--AP

76-106 "Christian heroes": B--AP

77-107 "a charity that hides a multitude of sins": I Peter 4:8; Proverbs 10:12; James 5:20--FV, 135--H, M, B--PP--This open paraphrase reinforces Thoreau's statement.

77-107 "send the light": II Corinthians 4:4--B--AP

77-107 "a pain in his bowels even,--for that is the seat of sympathy":
H--APP

[] Burns lists Genesis 11:4 as a reference from the Walden edition of Walden, p. 86. I have not located this use.

78-108 "God": B--BW

78-108 "do not let your left hand know what your right hand does, for it is not worth knowing": Matthew 6:3--H, M, B--AT--
Thoreau achieves a humorous attack by adding his own judgment to Christ's words from the Sermon on the Mount.

78-108 "Rescue the drowning and tie your shoestrings": AP--These words recall typical hymnal phrases like "rescue the perishing."

- 78-109 "Our manners have been corrupted by communication with the saints": I Corinthians 15:33--H, M--NP--Thoreau twists Paul's words in order to ironically attack hypocrisy and to draw attention to the attack.
- 78-109 "a melodious cursing God and enduring him forever": H, M--AP--Moldenhauer calls this a parody of "to glorify God and to enjoy him forever," from the Westminster Shorter Catechism.
- 78-109 "prophets and redeemers": AP
- 78-109 "God": BW
- 80-111 "took his word for his deed": I John 3:18; Colossians 3:17; Luke 24:19; Acts 7:22; Romans 15:18--AP
- 86-121 "heaven": AW
- 87-121 "heaven's own mint": AW
- 89-124 "the darkness bear its fruit, and prove itself to be good, no less than the light": Ephesians 5:11--NP
- 89-124 "a descending and darkening way": Psalms 119:105--AP--Thoreau turns the usual goal of man, a lighted way, into an unusual in this use. Those who follow this way are against both God's and Thoreau's plans.
- [89,90-124] "divine": FV, 140--AW--This use was omitted from the finished text.
- 90-124 "How could I have looked him in the face?": Ecclesiastes 8:1; Exodus 33 and 34--FV, 140--B--AP--This use was added after the first version and certainly increases the power and vitality of Thoreau's paragraph.
- 91-126 "whether it [life] is of the devil or of God, and have

somewhat hastily concluded that it is the chief end of man here to "glorify God and enjoy him forever": FV, 141--H, M, B--AP--Moldenhauer identifies the source of this phrase as the Westminster Shorter Catechism.

92-127 "heaven": FV, 142--B--AW

[92-127] "When I first got a cinder in my eye I suspected I was not going to heaven": FV, 142--AP--Thoreau omitted this playful attack on the "internal improvements" of America. He was clearly interested in removing the exuberance that was even more common in the Journal.

95-130 "Sunday is the fit conclusion of an ill-spent week": Genesi--J, I, 362--H--AP--Harding, p. 286, says, "According to Genesis, Sabbath is the last day of the week, rather than the first as in the modern calendar. The Seventh-Day Adventists were active in calling attention to this in Thoreau's time." Thoreau, however, was contradicting the Christian concept of Sunday as the first day of the week. Instead of starting the week on a good note, Thoreau indicates that Sunday is a poor way to end a bad experience.

96-131 "vision": FV, 155--B--AW

97-131 "before Adam": FV, 155--B--BW

97-131 "God": FV, 155--B--BW

97-131 "divine": FV, 155--AW

[97-131] "Maker . . . God": FV, 155--BW--These references are also omitted between the first and the final versions of Walden.

98-132 "If you stand right fronting and face to face to a fact, you will see the sun glimmer on both its surfaces, as if it were

a cimenter, and feel its sweet edge dividing you through the heart and marrow, and so you will happily conclude your mortal career": Hebrews 4:12--FV, 157--APP--By association, a truly faced fact will share in the power of the word of God.

99-134 "divinity . . . divinity": FV, 146--AW

101-136 "we must be born again": John 3:3--J, I, 369--H, M--BP--
This use is added to the Journal before the first version to emphasize the importance of the "reserved and select expression."

[101-136] "divine": FV, 147--AW--This was omitted after the first version, possibly because the previous use was added.

102-138 "the breath of life itself": Genesis 2:7; Genesis 6:17;
Genesis 7:15; Genesis 7:22--BP

103,104-139 "Scriptures . . . Bibles": H, B--AW

104-139 "By such a pile we may hope to scale heaven at last": Genesis 11:1-9--H, M, B--APP--Another reference to the story of the tower of Babel and again Thoreau throws positive connotations on the example.

104-141 "one good book, the Bible": B--AW--Thoreau gets humor from calling the most sacred of all books--at least that would be the statement of most of his audience--"one good book."

106-142 "Bibles": AW

106-142 "Scriptures": B--AW

106-142 "Bibles": B--AW

106-142 "Hebrews": B--AW

108-144 "according to his ability": Leviticus 27:8; Matthew 25:15;
Acts 11:29--FV, 151--BP

- 108-144 "second birth": John 3:3--FV, 151--H--APP--This use reinforces the significance of the hired man's experience-- and ironically undercuts it.
- 108-144 "Jesus Christ": FV, 151--B--BW
- 108-144 "church": FV, 151--B--AW
- [108,110-145] "It sells milk, but it only builds larger barns with the money which it gets for its milk": Luke 12:18--J, III, 26--APP--Thoreau unleashes a heavy attack here by comparing the town to the rich fool in Christ's parable. The use was omitted, however, before the first version.
- 112-147 "it was morning, and lo, now it is evening, and nothing memorable is accomplished": Genesis 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31--FV, 152--B--APP--By echoing the language of Genesis, Thoreau associates his days with the days of creation.
- 112-147 "if the birds and flowers had tried me by their standard, I should not have been found wanting": Matthew 6:26-28; Daniel 5:27--FV, 153--B--PT--Though Burns locates the borrowed phrase from Daniel, I was the first to note the paraphrase of Matthew. This use clarifies what Thoreau's "standard" is and adds significance and acceptability to his position.
- 115-152 "all the weary and heavy laden": Matthew 11:28--FV, 158, 159--H, M, B--APP--This use adds irony through the contrast between Christ's invitation to the "heavy laden" and Thoreau's mention of chairs for the "heavy laden."
- 116-153 "when I hear the iron horse": Job 39:19-25--FV, 159--H, M--APP--Harding identifies the tenuous relationship between this use and its referent.

- 116-154 "heaven": AW
- 118-155 "prophesied, once for all": Jude 3--APP--The echo here is even more clear to the student of Greek who realizes that the word "once" in the King James Bible actually means "once for all." Thoreau knew Greek and owned a Greek New Testament.
- 121-158 "the cattle of a thousand hills": Psalms 50:10--H, M, B--APP
- 121-158 "The air is filled with the bleating of calves and sheep and the hustling of oxen": I Samuel 15:14--APP--This use increases the ironic attack, since the biblical setting is a confrontation between Samuel and Saul after the latter has disobeyed God's command.
- 122-158 "the mountains do indeed skip like rams and the little hills like lambs": Psalms 114:4--H, M, B--PP
- [123-160] "church": J, III, 67--AW--This is another use omitted from a journal entry that is revised for later versions.
- 125-164 "the dark valley": Psalms 23:4--J, IV, 191--M--APP--Moldenhauer notes that this use recalls both the biblical "valley of the shadow of death" and Dante's Inferno.
- 126-166 "the wine has lost its flavor": Matthew 5:13--J, I, 379--M--APP--Thoreau adds humor to an already humorous passage by means of the paraphrase from Matthew.
- 131-170 "Christianity": FV, 164--B--AW
- 134-174 "Heaven": B--AW
- 137-182 "devils . . . angels": FV, 168--AW
- 137-182 "God": FV, 168--B--BW
- 137-182 "the devil . . . is legion": Mark 5:8-9; Luke 8:30--FV, 168--

H, M, B--APP--Although the three other studies identify this use from the Gospels, none notices that it is a late addition coming after the first version. Thoreau intensifies his irony by associating "company" and the devil.

[137-182] "Heaven . . . Hell . . . Heaven": FV, 168--AW--These words are dropped after the first version.

[138-184] "God is my father & my friend--men are my brothers--but nature is my mother & my sister": Matthew 23:8-9--FV, 169--APP--Thoreau also drops this use, possibly because it is too blatant for his purposes.

147-196 "live out his threescore years and ten a child": Psalms 90:10--FV, 171--H, M, B--AT--Thoreau adds a typical paradox to this use in order to increase the humor.

149-198 "Good Lord": B--AP

151-200 "Lord . . . Lord . . . Lord's will": J, III, 198-99--AW

151-200 "in proportion as he appeared so humble himself was he exalted": Matthew 23:12-13--H, M, B--APP--The parallel with Christ's statement reinforces Thoreau's attitude toward the simple minded pauper and adds authority to his remarks.

152-201 "Christian": AW

153-202 "God": B--BW

155-204 "Heaven": FV, 177--B--AW

156-207 "throw dust upon their heads": Job 2:12; Joshua 7:6; Revelation 18:19--FV, 178--H, M--AP

159-207 "like a mote in the eye, or in heaven's eye": Matthew 7:3-5; Luke 6:41-42--FV, 180--M--APP

162-214 "work in fields . . . to serve a parable-maker one day":

Matthew 13--FV, 181--M--APP--A few words here allow Thoreau to incorporate a whole context, at least the parable of the sower if not the whole of Matthew 13 as Moldenhauer suggests.

164-218 "productions . . . for the most part broadcast and floating in the air, had taken root and grown in him": Matthew 13:1-8, 18-23--FV, 182--M--APP--Again, a short reference draws in an entire biblical context.

166-220 "the sun looks on our cultivated fields and on the prairies and forests without distinction. They all reflect and absorb his rays alike": Matthew 5:45--FV, 184--H, M--RW

166-220 "husbandman": B--AW

[166-220] "husbandman": FV, 184; J, I, 401--AW--In the published text this word is changed to "farmer," probably because the previous use was added.

166-220 "husbandman": FV, 184; J, I, 401--AW

166-220 "sacrificing . . . not only this first but his last fruits also": Numbers 18:12; II Chronicles 31:5; Nehemiah 10:35, 37, 39--M, B--AP--This phrase was added after the first version.

[167-221] "shook the dust of labor from my feet & clothes":

Matthew 10:14; Mark 6:11; Luke 9:5; Acts 13:51--FV, 184--BP

171-222 "Not till we are lost, in other words, not till we have lost the world, do we begin to find ourselves": Matthew 10:39; Matthew 16:25; Mark 8:35; Luke 9:24; Luke 17:33--J, V, 62-64--M--APP--Thoreau adds this use to the first phrase which comes from a journal entry. He is purposefully incorporating Christ's

words to strengthen his attack on materialism and to gain authority for his own philosophy.

173-224 "There is but one way to obtain it, yet few take that way":

Matthew 7:14--M--APP--Again, Christ's words are used to reinforce Thoreau's philosophy.

178-229 "I tossed my axe . . . ": II Kings 6:1-7--FV, 188--M--APP--

In a brief note, which Moldenhauer mentions, Paul O. Williams suggests the association between Thoreau's experience and the biblical account ("The Borrowed Axe--A Biblical Echo in Walden?" Thoreau Society Bulletin, No. 83 [1963], p. 2).

179-231 "when Adam and Eve were driven out of Eden": Genesis 3--FV, 188--M, B--APP

179-231 "the fall": FV, 188--AW

179-231 "heaven": FV, 188--AW

193-248 "in whom there is no guile": John 1:47; Psalms 32:2--H, M, B--APP--I agree with both Harding and Moldenhauer who suggest the New Testament referent. Burns chooses the lesser known passage from Psalms.

193-248 "He rounded this water with his hand": Psalms 95:4-5--M--APP

193-248 "God and Heaven": B--BW

193-248 "In the hollow of my hand / are its water and its sand": Psalms 95:4-5--J, II, 57-58--M, B--APP--These lines are added after those recorded in the Journal. Both of the references to Psalms 95 add authority and reinforce Thoreau's philosophy.

194-249 "God's": BW

194-250 "God forbid": BP

- 196-252 "God": B--BW
- 196-252 "God": BW
- 200-257 "Heaven": B--AW
- 201-258 "forbidden fruits": Genesis 2-3--M--APP
- 202-259 "the elect": Colossians 3:12--BW
- 207-263 "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth": Ecclesiastes 12:1-2--H, M, B--Q--This use positively reinforces Thoreau's concept of an acceptable life-style.
- 208-263 "buying and selling, and spending their lives like serfs": James 4:13-15--APP--Another well-directed ironic thrust, this use depends on syntax as well as borrowings to discover its referent.
- 212-269 "mighty hunters at last": Genesis 10:9--M--APP--Thoreau uses a well-known biblical character to gain authority.
- [] Another use, this one of Matthew 8:31, which Burns notes in the Walden edition of Walden, page 234, not located.
- 212-269 "hunters as well as fishers of men": Matthew 4:19; Mark 1:17--H, M, B--AT--Thoreau works this use into the text by altering its context.
- 213-270 "a good shepherd's dog, but . . . far from being the Good Shepherd": John 10:14--M, B--AT--This use unleashes a bitter attack on the "hunting parsons," who are closer to animals than to Christ. Those who would be shepherds become collies.
- 213-270 "heaven": AW
- [] 215, 216-272 [] "Christ": J, II, 390--BW
- [] 218-275 [] "Heaven": J, IV, 219--AW

- 218-275 "Not that food which entereth into the mouth defileth a man, but the appetite with which it is eaten": Matthew 15:1-11; Mark 7:1-22; Titus 1:15--H, M--PT--Thoreau combines an associated paraphrase with an associated phrase.
- 219-277 "God": B--BW
- 220-277 "God": BW
- 220-277 "divine": B--AW
- 220-277 "divine": AW
- 220-277 "Else man not only is the herd of swine, / But he's those devils too which did incline / Them to a headlong rage, and made them worse": Matthew 8:28-34; Mark 5:1-20; Luke 8:26-36--H--APP-- Here Thoreau again borrows biblical material through an intermediary source (which Harding identifies as Donne's "To Sr Edward Herbert at Iulyers").
- 220-278 "The impure can neither stand nor sit with purity": Psalms 1:1--AP
- 220-278 "How shall a man know if he is chaste?": AP
- 221-278 "Christian": B--AW
- 221-278 "if you deny yourself no more": Matthew 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23--APP--Thoreau turns Christ's statement against those who supposedly follow Him.
- 221-280 "every man is the builder of a temple, called his body, to the god he worships": I Corinthians 3:16; I Corinthians 6:19--H, M--APP--The borrowed language reinforces Thoreau's declaration. Here he affirms Paul's statement.
- 222-281 "These same stars twinkle over other fields than these":

Matthew 5:45--RW

- 223-283 "He that does not eat need not work": II Thessalonians 3:10--
NP--Thoreau's qualification of the Scripture draws attention
to his argument, forcing the audience to slow down and think.
- 223-283 "I wonder how much they have reaped": Galatians 6:7-9; Matthew
6:26-28--M--AP--Moldenhauer traces this as a proverbial
construct.
- 224-286 "heaven": B--AW
- 226-291 "without fear and trembling": Ephesians 6:5, Philippians 2:12;
II Corinthians 7:15--M--BP
- 230-293 "for God's sake": AP
- 239-300 "In these days of fatted cattle": Luke 15:23, 27, 30; Genesis
41:4, 20--M--AP--This use presents a warning, if the Genesis
referent is considered. Although the people are living in
prosperity now, there are "lean" days ahead.
- 239-300 "God": B--BW
- 241-304 "Babylon": B--AW
- 241-304 "my bricks had been in a chimney before, though I did not read
the name of Nebuchadnezzar on them": Daniel 3:8-27; Daniel
5:5-28--H, M--AP--Although Harding and Moldenhauer mention
these stories about Nebuchadnezzar and his son, they overlook
the fact that it might just be a reference to the best known
king of Babylon. Although the reference to the fiery furnace
is possible, the other--to the handwriting on the wall--is
not at all likely.
- 249-311 "How much more interesting an event is that man's supper who has

just been forth in the snow to hunt, nay, you might say, steal, the fuel to cook it with! His bread and meat are sweet": Proverbs 9:17--J, III, 308--H, M--APP

[253,254-317] "It was his invention to box up some air and warm it, make that his bed, and in this live and move and have his being still, and breathe as in a congenial climate or summer, without taking to his bed": Acts 17:28--J, VI, 96--APP--
The irony of this attack lies in the contrast between those who rely on God and those who rely on bedrooms.

259-325 "Sabbath": B--AW

260-326 "turn that threatened last and universal [fire] into another flood": Revelation 8; Genesis 7--M--If not a reference to a specific source, the language here is clearly eschatological.

261-326 "thank Heaven": AW

261-328 "road of the potter's clay and wheel in Scripture": Isaiah 64:8; Jeremiah 18:1-6; Romans 9:21--FV, 196--M--APP--Jeremiah may be the most likely source for this use, since that is the only mention of the potter's wheel in the Bible.

262-329 "His pipe lay broken on the hearth, instead of a bowl broken at the fountain": Ecclesiastes 12:6-7--J, I, 417--H, M, B--CT--Thoreau adds the use after the journal entry. It whimsically clarifies the scene since it participates in the biblical symbols of death.

264-332 "making the wilderness to blossom like the rose": Isaiah 35:1--FV, 198--H, M, B--AP--This is another late addition that adds authority and strengthens Thoreau's position.

- 266-336 "when the frost had smitten me on one cheek, heathen as I was, I turned to it the other also": Matthew 5:39--H, M, B--AT--Thoreau changes the context of the biblical source and adds a sardonic self-judgment. The use levels an attack on those who do not follow Christ's command even this far.
- 267-337 "church": AW
- 268-339 "God": BW
- 269-339 "the image engraven in men's bodies, the God of whom they are but defaced and leaning monuments": Genesis 1:27--B--APP
- 269-339 "Enter ye that have leisure and a quiet mind, who earnestly seek the right road": Matthew 7:13-14--APP
- 269-339 "the same yesterday, and tomorrow": Hebrews 13⁸--B--APP
- 269-339 "put the world behind us": Luke 4:8--M--APP--The "world" and "Satan" are associated through this use.
- 270-342 "the Visitor": AW
- 280-353 "one gaunt Nimrod": Genesis 10:9--H, M, B--BW
- 283-359 "Heaven": B--AW
- 285-362 "Easily, with a few convulsive quirks, they give up their watery ghosts, like a mortal translated before his time to the thin air of heaven": Matthew 27:50; Colossians 1:13; Genesis 49:33; Hebrews 11:5; II Kings 2:11--J, IV, 476-77--M, B--PT--These combined associated paraphrases work to strengthen the associations between Christ and nature, in this instance, the fish.

[285-363] "Verily men choose darkness rather than light": John 3:19--

J, II, 68--APP--This use was dropped when the context was changed in the finished text. The implied attack was not effective in the new setting.

[287-363] "I thank God that he made this pond deep and pure for a symbol": J, III, 232--AP--I can find no specific reason for the omission of this sentence.

294-373 "he lays up no treasure in this world which will cool his summer drink in the next": Matthew 6:19, 20--J, I, 423-24--
H, M, B--APP--Thoreau changes this humorous and ironic attack so that it is much more directed in the finished text than in the journal entry.

295-375 "an obelisk designed to pierce the clouds": Genesis 11:1-9--
M--APP

297-377 "the parable of the sower": Matthew 13:18-23--FV, 201--
H, M, B--APP

303-382 "if he should live to the age of Methuselah": Genesis 5:27--
H, M, B--APP

306-385 "Artist": B--AW

307-386 "What is man but a mass of thawing clay?": Job 10:9; Job 13:12; Job 33:6--H, M--AP

308-387 "Maker": B--AW

[308, 209-387] "She is not dead, but sleepeth": Matthew 9:24;
Mark 5:39; Luke 8:52--J, III, 165--APP--Thoreau drops this use because it obscures other associations between Christ and Walden and because it seems of questionable taste.

309-387 "plastic like clay in the hands of the potter": Jeremiah

18:6--J, VI, 100--H, M--APP

- 311-392 "Walden was dead and is alive again": Luke 15:24; Revelation 2:8--H, M, B--CT--Probably the most important of the uses in the second half of the book, this paraphrase makes clear the association between Christ and Walden and emphasizes the "new life" connected with Walden. Like Christ, Walden has a resurrection.
- 314-397 "In a pleasant spring morning all men's sins are forgiven": Matthew 12:31; Mark 3:28, 29--J, II, 81--NP--This use, which contradicts biblical doctrine, exemplifies the exaggeration that Thoreau uses to attract attention and emphasizes the high regard he has for nature.
- 314-397 "While such a sun holds out to burn, the vilest sinner may return": H, M--AP--Harding identifies the source of these words as a hymn by Isaac Watts, "And while the lamp holds out to burn, / The vilest sinner may return."
- 315-397 "entered into the joy of his Lord": Matthew 25:21, 23--H, M, B--APP
- 315-397 "God": B--BW
- 315-397 "the pardon which he freely offers to all": AP
- 315-398 "In like manner": Mark 13:29--B--BP
- 317-400 "its father in the heavens?": Matthew 5:48; Matthew 6:9; Luke 11:2--FV, 207--M--BP
- 317-401 "O Death, where was thy sting? O Grave, where was thy victory, then?": I Corinthians 15:55--H, M, B--Q--Thoreau employs this reference to reinforce his views on immortality and on renewed life.

320-405 "Heaven": B--AW

322-406 "God": BW

[323-408] "One would think twice before he accepted heaven on such terms. A ticket to Heaven must include tickets to Limbo, Purgatory, and Hell": J, III, 215--AW

325, 326-413 "A living dog is better than a dead lion": Ecclesiastes 9:4--H, M, B--Q--The two contexts work together to emphasize Thoreau's point: be all you can. Optimism is the key.

327-415 "old cities and dynasties had passed away": Revelation 21:4--BP

328-417 "The setting sun is reflected from the windows of the almshouse as brightly as from the rich man's abode": Matthew 5:45--J, II, 74--M--RW

328-417 "God": B--BW

330-418 "God": B--BW

330-418 "God": B--BW

331-419 "an older, a newer, and purer wine, of a more glorious vintage": Matthew 9:17; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37--M--APP

331-420 "Christian": B--AW

331-420 "Adam": B, BW

331-420 "divine": AW

333-423 "The sun is but a morning star": Revelation 2:8--B--BP--
This use of an eschatological reference to Christ is a good way to end the book. It looks forward optimistically.

APPENDIX B: THE BIBLICAL REFERENCES

This appendix provides a complete list of the biblical referents which Harding in The Variorum "Walden" (New York, 1962), Moldenhauer in The Rhetoric of "Walden" (Ann Arbor, 1968), Burns in "Thoreau's Use of the Bible" (Diss. Notre Dame, 1966), and I have identified with the Walden materials. The Scriptures are listed in the order of the King James Bible and the included page and paragraph numbers help locate the use in the Princeton text, or, more directly, in Appendix A. The symbol "MsW" is employed to place the Scriptures which Burns notes in the Walden edition of Walden, but which I cannot discover.

REFERENCE	LOCATION
<u>Genesis</u>	
<u>[Genesis]</u>	95-130
1:5,8,13,19,23,31	112-147
1:27	269-339
Chap. 2-3	201-258
2:7	102-138
3:7	28-42
3:19	71-98
3:24	179-231
5:27	303-382
6:17	102-138

Chap. 7	260-325
7:15	102-138
7:22	102-138
10:9	212-269
10:9	280-353
11:1-9	57-78
11:1-9	57-78
11:1-9	295-375
11:4	MsW 86
11:4	104-139
25:31ff	7-8
28:22	76-105
41:4,20	239-300
49:33	285-362
<u>Exodus</u>	
16:14,15,21	18-26
16:14,15,21	62-84
20:38	3-1
Chap. 33 & 34	73,74-102
Chap. 33 & 34	90-124
<u>Leviticus</u>	
25:23	3-1
27:8	108-144
<u>Numbers</u>	
18:12	166-220
<u>Deuteronomy</u>	
32:10	41-60

Joshua

7:6 156-207

I Samuel

15:14 121-158

I Kings

10:23 9-10

II Kings

2:11 285-362

6:1-7 178-229

20:17 7-7

I Chronicles

29:15 3-1

31:5 166-220

Nehemiah

10:35,37,39 166-220

Job

2:12 156-207

10:9 307-386

13:12 307-386

25:3 10-13

33:6 307-386

39:19-25 116-153

Psalms

1:1 220-278

7:15 33-50

9:15,16 33-50

16:11 5-4

17:8	41-60
23:4	125-164
27:11	5-4
32:2	193-248
39:12	3-1
50:10	121-158
90:10	10,11-14
90:10	147-196
95:4-5	193-248
95:4-5	193-248
114:4	122-158
119:105	89-124
128:2	3-1

Proverbs

2:19	5-4
5:6	5-4
7:2	41-60
9:17	249-311
10:12	77-107
10:17	5-4
10:22	39-57
11:30	14-19
15:24	5-4
26:27	33-50

Ecclesiastes

8:1	90-124
9:4	325,326-413

12:1-2 207-263

12:6-7 262-329

Song of Solomon

5:4 77-107

Isaiah

1:22 16:21

35:1 264-332

39:6 7-7

64:8 261-328

Jeremiah

18:1-6 261-328

18:6 309-387

23:28 49-72

31:29 32-46

Lamentations

2:18 41-60

Ezekiel

18:1-2 32-46

18:3-4 32-47, 48

Daniel

3:8-27 241-304

4:30 54-75

5:5-28 241-304

5:27 112-147

Haggai

2:17 3-1

Zechariah

2:8 41-60

Matthew

3:4 52,53-73

3:10 75-105

3:12 49-72

4:19 212-269

5:4 75-104

5:8,9 137-182

5:13 126-166

5:39 266-336

5:45 10-13

5:45 166-220

5:45 222-281

5:45 328-417

5:48 317-400

6:3 78-108

6:9 317-400

6:19,20 5-5

6:19,20 7-7

6:19,20 294-373

6:26-28 112-147

6:26-28 223-283

7:1-2 6-6

7:3-5 51-72

7:3-5 159-209

7:12	75-104
7:13-14	269-339
7:14	66-88
7:14	173-224
7:16-20	14-19
8:20	30-45
8:28-34	220-277
8:31	MsW p. 239
9:6	66,67-88
9:17	24-36
9:17	331-419
9:24	308,309-387
10:14	167-221
10:39	171-222
11:28	115-152
12:31	314-397
Chap. 13	162-214
13:1-8,18-23	164-218
13:3-52	15-20
13:18-23	297-377
13:18-50	5-4
15:11	218-275
15:14	74-103
15:17-20	218-275
16:24	221-278
16:25	171-222
19:24	22-35

19:24	66-88
23:8,9	138-184
23:12,13	151-200
25:15	108-144
25:21,23	315-397
25:31-46	6-6
25:31-46	74-103
25:31-46	74-103
26:11	32-46
27:50	285-362

Mark

1:6	52,53-73
1:17	212-269
2:9-11	66,67-88
2:22	24-36
2:22	331-419
3:28,29	314-397
5:1-20	220-277
5:39	308,309-387
6:11	167-221
7:1-22	218-275
8:34	221-278
8:35	171-222
10:25	22-35
10:25	66-88
13:29	315-398

Luke

3:9	75-105
3:17	49-72
4:8	269-339
5:37	331-419
5:37,38	24-36
6:31	75-104
6:39	74-103
6:41-42	51-72
6:41-42	159-209
8:26-36	220-277
8:30	137-182
8:36	10-14
8:52	308,309-387
9:5	167-221
9:23	221-278
9:24	171-222
11:2	317-400
12:18	108,110-145
12:21	7-7
15:23,27,30	239-300
15:24	311-392
17:33	171-222
18:18ff	71-99
18:25	22-35
18:25	66-88

19:14 MsW p. 74

23:34 75-104

24:19 80-111

John

1:47 193-248

3:3 101-136

3:3 108-144

3:19 285-363

4:31-38 5-4

5:8 66,67-88

5:11,12 66,67-88

8:32 34-51

8:36 34-51

10:11,14 213-270

13:34 75-104

14:2 10:13

14:2 37-56

14:6 11-15

Acts

7-6 3-1

7:22 80-111

10:38 73-102

10:38 73-102

11:29 108-144

13:51 167-221

17:28 253,254-317

Romans

2:5	8-8
3:24	315-397
6:7	34-51
9:21	261-328
15:18	80-111

I Corinthians

3:16,17	221-280
4:11,12	3-1
6:19	221-280
15:33	78-109
15:55	317-401

II Corinthians

4:4	77-107
7:15	226-291

Galatians

5:1	34-51
6:7-9	223-283

Ephesians

4:24	23-36
4:28	3-1
5:11	89-124
6:5	226-291

Philippians

2:12	226-291
------	---------

Colossians

1:13	285-362
------	---------

3:10	23-36
3:12	202-259
3:17	80-111

I Thessalonians

5:22	67-89
------	-------

II Thessalonians

3:10	223-283
------	---------

II Timothy

1:12	8-8
------	-----

Titus

1:15	218-275
------	---------

Hebrews

4:12	98-132
10:38	11-15
10:39	33-49
11:5	285-362
11:9	3-1
11:9	37-56
11:9	37-56
12:16	7-8
13:8	269-339

James

1:21	33-49
2:14-17	74-103
2:14-17	74-103
4:13-15	20-33
4:13-15	208-263

5:20 33-49

5:20 77-107

I Peter

1:7 3-1

1:9 33-49

4:8 77-107

II Peter

3:7 8-8

3:12 260-325

I John

3:18 80-111

Jude

verse 3 118-155

Revelation

2:8 311-392

2:28 333-423

Chap. 8 260-325

18:19 156-207

21:4 327-415

APPENDIX C: KEY WORD INDEX

This appendix is, in essence, a key word index to all of the uses found in Appendix A and to many of the Scriptures referred to in Appendix B. Its purpose is to allow the reader to locate specific uses ("sweat of his brow") or certain key words ("God," "manna," and "labor"). The arrangement is strictly alphabetical and there is a limited amount of cross-indexing to facilitate the location of some uses. For example, (75-105) is listed separately under "evil," "root," and "axe."

Abstain from all appearance of evil: cf....67-89

Adam

Adam...10-12

Adam and Eve...28-42

Adam...97-131

Adam and Eve...179-231

Adam...331-420

according to his ability...108-144

alive

Walden was dead and is alive again...311-392

angel's

not the blue devils, but the blue angels...137-182

apple

the apple of his eye...41-60

Arise, take up thy bed: cf....66, 67-88

Artist...306-385

Avoid the beginnings of evil...67-89

axe

the axe is laid unto the root: cf....75-105

account of an axe in the pond...178-229

Babel

cf....57-78

tower of Babel...[57-78]

cf....104-139

cf....295-375

Babylon

cf....54-75

Babylon...241-304

balance

weighed in the balance and art found wanting: cf....112-147

barns

larger barns...[108, 110-145]

beam

cf....51-72

cf....159-209

bed

take up his bed...66, 67-88

behind

put the world behind us...269-339

being

in this live and move and have his being...[253, 254-317]

Bible

bibles...48-67

Scriptures...Bibles...103, 104-139

one good book, the Bible...104-141

Bibles...106-142

Bibles...106-142

biblical

biblical...69-95

birds

the birds of the air...30-45

the birds...112-147

birth

second birth...108-144

birthright...[7-8]

bleating

the bleating of calves and sheep...121-158

blossom

making the wilderness to blossom like the rose...264-332

body

every man is the builder of a temple called his body...221-280

book

as it says in an old book...5-5

one good book, the Bible...104-141

born

must be born again...101-136

born again: cf....108-144

bottles

like keeping new wine in old bottles...24-36

bowels

a pain in his bowels...77-107

bowl

a bowl broken at the fountain...262-329

bread

His bread and meat are sweet...249-311

breath

breath of life itself...102-138

brightness

his is of such brightness...73, 74-102

broadcast

for the most part broadcast...164-218

brothers

men are my brothers...138-184

brow

by the sweat of his brow...71-98

buy

to buy and sell and keep the accounts...20-33

buying and selling, and spending their lives like serfs...208-263

calf

fatted calf

cf....239-300

camel

cf....22-35

cf....66-88

cattle

the cattle of a thousand hills...121-158

days of fatted cattle...239-300

chaff which I find it difficult to separate from my wheat...49-72

charity

This is a charity that hides...77-107

chaste

How shall a man know if he is chaste...220-278

cheek

when the frost had smitten me on one cheek...266-336

Christ

Christ...[215, 216-272]

Christian

Christian heroes...76-106

Christian...152-201

Christian...221-278

Christian...331-420

Christianity...37-56

Christianity...58-78

Christianity...131-170

church

church...[34, 35-53]

church...108-144

church...[123-160]

church...267-337

cimeter

both its surfaces as if it were a cimeter...98-132

clay

read of the potter's clay and wheel in Scripture...261-328

What is man but a mass of thawing clay...307-386

plastic like clay in the hands of the potter...309-387

clothe the naked...[74-103]

clouds

an obelisk designed to pierce the clouds...295-375

communication with the saints...78-109

cord

the silver cord be loosed

cf....262-329

cover

charity shall cover the multitude of sins

cf....77-107

Creator

Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth...207-263

cursing

cursing of God...78-109

darkness bear its fruit...89-124

Verily men choose darkness rather than light...[285-363]

day

against the last day...8-8

the first day: cf....112-147

dead

She is not dead, but sleepeth...[308, 309-387]

Walden was dead and is alive again...311-392

death

only death will set them free...34-51

O Death, where was thy sting...317-401

deed

took his word for his deed...80-111

defileth

Not that food which entereth into the mouth defileth a man..218-275

demon

demon possessed me...10-14

deny

if you deny yourself no more...221-278

desert

the desert shall rejoice: cf....264-332

devil

devil's...50-72

devil...52-73

devil...69-96.

devil...72-101

the devil...is legion...137-182

not the blue devils, but the blue angels...137-182

devils...220-277

ditch

pull me out of a ditch...74-103

divine

divine...7-8

divine.../89, 90-124/

divine...97-131

divine.../101-136/

divine...220-277

divine...220-277

divine...331-420

divinity

divinity...7-8

divinity...7-8

divinity...divinity...99-134

dog

A living dog is better than a dead lion...325, 326-413

done

how they were done by...75-104

dress

who have accumulated dress...16-21

dust

throw dust upon their heads...156-207

shook the dust of labor from my feet.../167-221/

dwelt

He dwelt, as it were, in a tent...37-56

earn

earn his living...71-98

easier

It would be easier for them to hobble...22-35

eat

He that does not eat need not work...223-283

the elect...202-259

Elijah

cf....285-362

Elisha

cf....178-229

end

chief end of man...8-10

enduring him forever...78-109

enemies

loved their enemies...75-104

enjoy him forever...91-126

cf....78-109

Enoch

cf....285-362

Enter ye that have leisure and a quiet mind...269-339

evangelist...52, 53-73

Eve

Adam and Eve...28-42

Adam and Eve...179-231

evening

now it is evening...112-147

evil

Avoid the beginnings of evil...67-89

a thousand hacking at the branches of evil...75-105

exalted

as he appeared to humble himself was he exalted...151-200

eyes

not detect the motes in his eyes...51-72

like a mote in the eye, or in heaven's eye...159-209

fable

according to the fable...28-42

face

no mortal can look him in the face...73, 74-102

How could I have looked him in the face...90-124

faith

live by faith...11-15

the fall...179-231

father

as the soul of the father...32-48

the fathers have eaten sour grapes...32-46

God is my father...[138-184]

its father in the heavens...317-400

fatted

days of fatted cattle...239-300

fear

without fear or trembling...226-291

feed and clothe him...6-6

to feed the hungry...[74-103]

feed me if I should be starving...74-103

few take that way...173-224

field they were called to labor in...5-4

work in fields...162-214

fiery furnace: cf....241-304

fig leaves: cf....28-42

find

we begin to find ourselves...171-222

fire: cf....260-325

fishers

hunters as well as fishers of men...212-269

flavor

the wine has lost its flavor...126-166

flood...260-325

flowers had tried me by their standard...112-147

forever

Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today and forever: cf....269-339

forgiven

all men's sins are forgiven...314-397

forgiving

forgiving them all they did...75-104

fountain

a bowl broken at the fountain...262-329

fowls of the air

cf....112-147

foxes

the foxes their holes...30-45

free

only death will set them free...34-51

fruit

the fruit is luxury...14-19

darkness bear its fruit...89-124

not only his first but his last fruits...166-220

wild forbidden fruits...201-258

gate

strait is the gate: cf....173-224

ghost

they give up their watery ghosts...285-362

glorify God: cf....78-109

to glorify God...91-126

God

worship God...23-36

Thank God...65-88

God...78-108

God...78-109

God...97-131

Maker...God...[97-131]

God...137-182

God is my father...[138-184]

God...153-202

God and Heaven...193-248

God's...194-249

God forbid...194-250

God...196-252

God...196-252

God...219-277

God...220-277

the temple of God

cf....221-280

for God's sake...230-293

God...239-300

God...268-339

the God of whom they are but defaced and leaning monuments...269-339

I thank God...[287-363]

God...315-397

God...322-406

God...328-417

God...330-418

God...330-418

Golden Rule

cf....75-104

good

is not this railroad which we built a good thing...54-75

go about doing good...73-102

Set about being good...73-102

grapes

the fathers have eaten sour grapes...32-46

grace

an inward and spiritual grace..69-95

Grave

O Grave, where was they victory, then...317-401

guile

in whom there was no guile...193-248

hands

labor of my hands...3-1

do not let your left hand know...78-108

He rounded this water with his hand...193-248

In the hollow of my hand...193-248

heart

dividing you through the heart...98-132

heathen

if you are not purer than the heathen...221-278

heathen as I was...266-336

Heaven

heavens...15-20

heaven or hell...16-21

heavenly...33-50

heaven...36-54

heaven...37-55

heaven...37-56

thank Heaven...64-86

Heaven...69-95

heaven...70-96

Heaven...72-101

heaven...86-121

heaven's...87-121

heaven...92-127

heaven...[92-127]

heaven...116-154

Heaven...134-174

Heaven...Hell...Heaven...[137-182]

Heaven...155-204

heaven...179-231

God and Heaven...193-248

Heaven...200-257

heaven...213-270

Heaven...[218-275]

heaven...224-286

thank Heaven...261-326

Heaven...283-359

its father in the heavens...317-400

Heaven...320-405

heaven...Hell...[323-408]

Hebrews...106-142

hell

heaven or hell...16-21

Heaven...Hell...Heaven...[137-182]

heaven...Hell...[323-408]

hides

a charity that hides...77-107

hills

the cattle of a thousand hills...121-158

the little hills [skip]like lambs...122-158

hollow

a hollow in a rock for shelter...28-43

In the hollow of my hand...193-248

honey

come round eating locusts and wild honey...52, 53-73

horse

the iron horse...116-153

humble

as he appeared to humble himself was he exalted...151-200

hunters

mighty hunters at last...234-269

husbandman...166-220

husbandman...166-220

husbandman...166-220

image

the image engraven in men's bodies...269-339

Israel

to use this proverb in Israel...32-47

Jesus Christ...108-144

John the Baptist: cf....52, 53-73

Jonas...18-29

joy

he has entered into the joy of his Lord...315-397

judge

before we judge of him...6-6

kine

fatted kine: cf....239-300

labor

labor of my hands...3-1

field they were called to labor in...5-4

all ye that labor and are heavy laden...115-152

shook the dust of labor from my feet...167-221

laden

weary and heavy laden...115-152

lambs

the little hills skip like lambs...122-153

land

distant land...3, 4-2

lay

lay up something...7-7

lay his head: cf....30-45

laying up treasures...5-5

he lays up no treasure...294-373

leg

got his own leg into it...33-50

Legion

cf....10-14

the devil...is legion...137-182

cf....220-277

life

road of life...5-4

light of heaven...65-88

send light...77-107

good, no less than the light...89-124

Verily men choose darkness rather than light...[285-363]

lilies

consider the lilies of the field: cf....112-147

lion

A living dog is better than a dead lion...325, 326-413

live

in this live and move and have his being...[253, 254-317]

locusts

come round eating locusts and wild honey...52, 53-73

Lord

the Lord's blessing...39-57

Good Lord...149-198

Lord...Lord...Lord's will...151-200

he has entered into the joy of his Lord...315-397

lose his life: cf....171-222

lost

not till we have lost the world...171-222

love

loved their enemies...75-104

Maker...308-387

man

the wisest man...9-10

one young man...71-99

manna

manna-wise...18-26

manna...[62-84]

manner

In like manner...315-398

manners

Our manners have been corrupted...78-109

mansion...37-56

mansions...10-13

marrow

dividing you through the heart and marrow...98-132

Methuselah...303-382

monument

a monument as high as the moon...57-78

moon

a monument as high as the moon...57-78

morning

it was morning...112-147

motes

not detect the motes in his eyes...51-72

like a mote in the eye, or in heaven's eye...159-209

moth

treasures which moth and rust will corrupt...5-5

mountains

the mountains do indeed skip...122-158

mouth

Not that food which entereth into the mouth defileth a man...218-275

move

in this live and move and have his being...[253, 254-317]

narrow is the way: cf....173-224

Nebuchadnezzar...241-304

new

a new man...23-36

newer

an older, a newer, and purer wine...331-419

Nimrod

cf....212-269

Nimrod...280-353

obelisk

an obelisk designed to pierce the clouds...295-375

older

an older, a newer, and purer wine...331-419

once

prophesied, once for all...118-155

opinions

the opinions of men...21-35

oxen

hustling of oxen...121-158

parable

to serve a parable-maker one day...162-214

parable of the sower

cf....15-20

cf....162-214

cf....164-218

the parable of the sower...297-377

pardon

accept the pardon which he freely offers...315-397

passed

old cities and dynasties had passed away...327-415

pile

by such a pile...104-139

pitcher

the pitcher be broken at the fountain

cf....262-329

poor

the poor ye have always with you...32-46

possessed

demon possessed me...10-14

potter

read of the potter's clay and wheel in Scripture...261-328

like clay in the hands of the potter...309-387

proverb

not have occasion any more to use this proverb...32-47

preach

If I were to preach at all...73-102

I would not preach to men...74-103

prophesied

prophesied, once for all...118-155

prophets...78-109

purser

if you are not purser than the heathen...221-278

purity

neither stand nor sit with purity...220-278

radicle

it has sent its radicle downward...15-20

rams

the mountains do indeed skip like rams...122-158

road

road of life...5-4

who earnestly seek the right road...269-339

reap

neither do they reap: cf....112-147

I wonder how much they have reaped...223-283

redeemers...78-109

Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth...207-263

repent...10-14

Rescue the drowning...78-108

rock

a hollow in a rock for shelter...28-43

root

one who is striking at the root...75-105

had taken root and grown in him...164-218

rose

making the wilderness to blossom like the rose...264-332

rounded

He rounded this water with his hand...193-248

ruler

the rich young ruler: cf....71-99

rust

treasures which moth and rust will corrupt...5-5

Sabbath...259-325

sacrificing...not only his first but his last fruits...166-220

saints

communication with the saints...78-109

salt

the salt lost his savour: cf....126-166

Satan

Get thee behind me, Satan: cf....269-339

Saul

cf....121-158

savour

the salt lost his savour: cf....126-166

scale

we hope to scale heaven...104-139

Scriptures

Scriptures...Bibles...103, 104-139

Scriptures...106-142

read of the potter's clay and wheel in Scripture...261-328

seed

The soil, it appears, is suited to the seed...15-20

sell

to buy and sell and keep the accounts...20-33

buying and selling, and spending their lives like serfs...208-263

shadow

the valley of the shadow of death

cf....125-164

Shepherd

far from being the Good Shepherd...213-270

shine

wisdom maketh his face to shine: cf....90-124

shook

shook the dust of labor from my feet.../167-221/

silver

forged their own golden or silver fetters...16-21

sinner

the vilest sinner may return...314-397

sins

a charity that hides a multitude of sins...77-107

all men's sins are forgiven...314-397

sit

neither stand nor sit with purity...220-278

skip

the mountains do indeed skip...122-158

sleepeth

She is not dead, but sleepeth...[308, 309-387]

smitten

when the frost had smitten me on one cheek...266-336

soil

The soil, it appears, is suited to the seed...15-20

sojourner

sojourner...3-1

sojourner...37-56

Solomon

cf....9-10

Solomon...9-12

Solomon...18-29

souls

Behold all souls are mine...32-48

saving their souls...33-49

sow

As they sow, so let them reap: cf...223-283

sprinkled

sprinkled dust upon their heads: cf....156-207

stand

neither stand nor sit with purity...220-278

star

The sun is but a morning star...333-423

Those same stars twinkle over other fields than these...222-281

steal

thieves break through and steal...5-5

sting

O Death, where was thy sting...317-401

Strait is the gate

cf....66-88

cf....173-224

sun

the same sun which ripens my beans illumines...10-13

the suns looks on our cultivated fields and on the prairies...166-220

sun to rise on the evil and on the good

cf....222-281

The setting sun is reflected from the windows of the almshouse as

almshouse as brightly as from the rich man's abode...328-417

The sun is but a morning star...333-423

Sunday

Sunday is the fit conclusion...95-130

sweat

by the sweat of his brow...71-98

sweet

His bread and meat are sweet...249-311

swine

the herd of swine...220-277

sword

cf....98-132

tabernacle

cf....37-56

take

take up his bed...66, 67-88

teeth

the children's teeth are set on edge...32-46

temple

every man is the builder of a temple, called his body...221-280

tent

He dwelt, as it were, in a tent...37-56

tenth

a tenth part of your income...76-105

thieves

thieves break through and steal...5-5

today

Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today and forever

cf....269-339

tomorrow

the same yesterday and tomorrow...269-339

Tower of Babel

cf....57-78

tower of Babel...[57-78]

cf....104-139

cf....295-375

translated

a mortal translated before his time...285-362

trap

set his trap with a hair spring...33-50

treasure

he lays up no treasure...294-373

trembling

without fear or trembling...226-291

turned

I turned to it the other also...266-336

valley

the dark valley...125-164

victory

O Grave, where was thy victory, then...317-401

vision...96-131

Visitor...270-342

wanting

not have been found wanting...112-147

warm me if I should be freezing...74-103

waters

Stolen waters are sweet: cf....275-311

way

the only way...11-15

narrow is the way: cf....66-88

descending and darkening way...89-124

one way...173-224

weary

all the weary and heavy laden...115-152

wheat

chaff which I find it difficult to separate from my wheat...49-72

wilderness

making the wilderness to blossom like the rose...264-332

wine

like keeping new wine in old bottles...24-36

the wine has lost its flavor...126-166

an older, a newer, and purer wine...331-419

wisest

the wisest man...9-10

word

took his word for his deed...80-111

work

He that does not eat need not work...223-283

years

seventy years...10, 11-14

his threescore years and ten...147-196

yesterday

the same yesterday and tomorrow...269-339

youth

Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth...207-263