The Song of the Righteous: An Historical and Literary Analysis of the Latter-Day Saint Hymnal

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THE SONG OF THE RIGHTEOUS:
AN HISTORICAL AND LITERARY ANALYSIS
OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINT HYMNAL 1835-1871

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of English
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Ruth Alene Thomson Symons
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

With today's divergent and divisive society, where individuality is celebrated to the exclusion of cohesion, and where any man who attempts to become the arbiter or even barometer of public tastes and philosophies, regardless of his social, political, or literary standing, is assailed from all points for the audacity of judging, as much as for the judgment; where in art merit is mythically an individual matter, but where often the technician who most rapidly proliferates shocking innovations receives the greatest "artistic" acclaim; where indeed, the prevailing tenor of the times is the polarization of values political, religious and aesthetic: an age, characterized, as Houghton and Stange characterize the Victorian Age, by its "Multiplicity and extreme variety of style and belief"; it is at times refreshing to turn to another age, another less confused style of life, where neither the society nor the individual was sacrificed to the god of individuality, and where moral integrity rather than the latest pornography was hailed as an artistic triumph. Of course such societies were plagued by their own inherent weaknesses and consequent failures, but they were spared from some of the grosser malignancies of our own.

One such society, long the object of common derision and only recently recovering any critical admiration, was the Puritan oligarchy of seventeenth and eighteenth century New England. Another, also

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widely and strongly berated, was the Mormon society of the nineteenth century. Because of the many and basic similarities between these two peoples, it seems only fitting in this thesis, which is a study of one aspect of the Mormon culture, to employ a brief comparison of the two peoples, which may then serve as a point of departure and continual standard of reference throughout the paper.

Obviously both societies were essentially religious ventures, and both had undertaken arduous treks to largely uninhabited, wilderness areas, hoping to avoid the persecution and ill feeling each had tasted "at home," which if continued could possibly have led to the physical disruption of each movement, and hoping to preserve in purity their own doctrines and beliefs, free from the contamination which a closer proximity to other, gentile beliefs might have occasioned.

And while the philosophical bases of the Congregational and Latter-day Saint theologies differed significantly (the very basic idea of the nature of God differed greatly between the two groups), the similarities in the practical religion of each society are remarkable. The revered and authoritative position awarded to the scriptures in both instances is evinced not only by the many scriptural references and allusions present in nearly all phases of writing, but also in the makeup and government of their societies. Both considered themselves wilderness peoples, after the example of Moses, and covenant peoples in the tradition of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The scripturally-based social aim of both groups was to establish Zion, the kingdom of God, on earth, and to live in a community of perfect harmony and perfect righteousness. And the social order of both peoples depended on a
definite theological hierarchy, where the wise and godly would counsel and direct, but also where individual consent or dissent would be taken into consideration. In both societies integrity, productivity, and enlightenment were cardinal virtues; turpitude, idleness and ignorance, reprehensible vices. The religious element was pervasive in all areas of community life. Upon the rock of religion were founded not only the government, but also the schools, the family relationships, the regulations for dealing with domestic crises and external entanglements, and the economic base.

Of course, it is impossible and incorrect to view either society as a self-contained organism, springing full-grown from spontaneous generation in a vacuum. As Puritanism appeared the unquestionable child of religious and social conditions in Elizabethan England (the first Puritans indeed differing from their orthodox Anglican brothers only in form and show of the church, not one whit in theology), so did Mormonism appear in many of its theological beliefs and practices, notwithstanding its claims to divine authority and modern revelation, to be an amalgam of concepts championed by various New England sects at the time of its inception. And even as neither group could not be considered unexpected when it appeared, considering the cultural milieu at the time of its origin, neither could be called a static society unchanged or unchanging from year to year or generation to generation. Each experienced times of great fervency, unity and growth, followed by times of external stress and internal apathy or dissent. Each also underwent changes in belief and doctrinal emphasis and knew a continuing dialectical struggle to remain in the world but not of it, while pressured on all sides to
abandon its unique position.

In the case of the Puritans, the worldly antithesis working over the period of two centuries finally diluted the Puritan lifeblood of orthodoxy to a smooth though no more cerebral Unitarianism. The Mormon society, though to be sure still young, has fared far better (from the viewpoint of internal orthodoxy), or proved more obstinate and anti-ecumenical (as detractors might say) in maintaining its unique flavor, although not, as previously mentioned, without changes in doctrinal emphasis if not in basic doctrine.

While growing out of sixteenth century England or nineteenth century America, both the Puritan and Mormon societies may be considered distinct cultures, rather than subcultures, because of the physical isolation both groups chose and the societal changes resulting from the isolation. No matter how close the New England Puritan's ties were to his mother country, and his loyalty and heartfelt pride in being an Englishman were unquestionable at least during the first colonial period (in fact, the Pilgrims left Holland because of the fear of cultural assimilation), England was over one thousand miles, a sailing distance of thirty-five to forty-five days, away from the colonies. One thousand miles over the seas were the libraries and rich cultural refinements of the New England Puritan's European brothers. And many of those refinements--music, art, fiction and non-didactic verse--would have been unjustifiable frills in any frontier society, even if they had not been specifically opposed by the Puritans as worldly enticements to divert the attention of the godly from thoughts of heavenly and eternal concerns.
In such a pass, New and Old England soon displayed a remarkable divergence of cultural opinion and habit, though their theological base never was a point of major dispute.

The Mormons, too, realized that separation from the land of their birth was the only way to maintain their religious integrity, even though they, too, loved their country dearly, a love strengthened by their belief that America's founders and leaders were divinely inspired. But, unlike the Puritans, the Mormon integrity consisted of a uniquely combined doctrinal system rather than a denial of certain external or cultural values. In fact, with a few notable exceptions, the Mormons strove to keep a firm grasp on their American cultural heritage at all times and in all places. In direct opposition to Puritan denial of worldly comfort or beauty, the Mormons encouraged the arts, believing that all things of beauty were given to man by his Creator and that striving in turn to create beauty in art, music, architecture, literature or dance was only further glorifying Him. It may well be that this continual cultural as well as religious striving by the Mormons has allowed them to prosper in the world while still remaining theologically apart from worldly strifes and concerns. But the Puritans, tying their cultural denials so closely to their theological system, discovered too late that a disruption in the first set of values would lead to a similar disruption of the latter, resulting in the ultimate downfall of the entire Puritan system.

Naturally, any study of a people must begin with the records they have left to chronicle their existence, and sometimes consciously to justify that existence. Because the Mormon society was religious in conception, organization, government, and belief, the scope of Mormon
writings displaying a religious content or bias is so pervasive and ubiquitous—histories and diaries relating the glory of God and His works among His people, as well as sermons and psalms—that a thorough analysis of all such writings would fill volumes. It will be my purpose to pursue only one of these literary branches: that is to discover the track of America's latter-day wilderness people which has been impressed in their psalms and hymns.

The hymn may facetiously be described as the Norman Rockwelliana of the literary world. While neither Rockwell nor hymn writers have been extensively galleried or anthologized, the products of both have reached a vast segment of humanity. Neither the hymn nor the illustration has been particularly innovative, and yet both give an unexpectedly clear picture of the mores, values and beliefs of a particular society, whether teaching a moral, condemning an evil, praising an ideal or reflecting the commonplaces in life. And further, neither has courted praise or critical acclaim, Rockwell dedicating his works to the common man, and the hymnist dedicating his to God.

Indeed, and sometimes unfortunately from a critical standpoint, the Puritan psalmist or hymnist's practice as well as motto was "Gods Altar needs not our pollishings."² But overzealous and even crude as many psalms and hymns appeared to an external aesthetic judge, this very lack of aesthetic appeal itself makes a significant comment on the life style and values of the Puritans. And an equal if not identical lack of

taste in the Mormon writings thus discloses the assumption of many hymnists that unbridled ardor produces unquestionable art: the romantic spontaneous overflow carried to extremes. The Mormon hymn has suffered not only from the critic's deploring its supposed (and often actual) aesthetic paucity, but also from the generic purist who quibbles about hymnic form and declares that the sectarian didacticism so prevalent in Mormon sacred music violates the rules of hymn writing.

While the hymn is the most popular kind of English poetry, it is also one of the most narrowly restricted of all the verse forms. The subject is obviously limited to some aspect of the religious experience: giving thanks to God, petitioning Him for succor and aid or praising His greatness. Furthermore, the subject must be handled with dignity but without becoming morose, and the religious emotion, which for the sake of sincerity should be intense, must also be carefully regulated and kept under sure artistic control. The verse form must be simple and regular, easily adaptable to a simple musical setting. And as the hymn is primarily written to be sung, the diction and imagery must be simple as well as vivid and straightforward as well as elevating. Rich ideas, religious fervor, and an unfailing aesthetic sense are all essential ingredients in a good hymn, and the absence or indifference of any of the three areas immediately dooms a hymn to mediocrity. Further, Percy Dearmer insists that a good hymn must express rather than define; that it must catch the universal spirit of Christianity and not be caught in any of the eddies of sectarian dogmaticism. In other words one of his

3Jeremiah Bascom Reeves, The Hymn as Literature (New York: The Century Company, 1924), Chapter I, passim.
criteria for determining a good hymn is whether the entire Christian community can sing the hymn without embarrassment or offense to their religious scruples.

The Latter-day Saint hymnody will undoubtedly suffer as a whole if the last standard of judgment is applied because the spiritual needs of the "peculiar" people demanded an extremely sectarian approach to the hymns. Even so, a number of individual hymns can and do stand admirably under Dearmer's scrutiny, as well as when judged by the additional yardsticks of intensity of feeling, depth of understanding, and aesthetic control. Other hymns, while failing Dearmer's test, are still beautiful, aesthetically appealing, and artistically constructed.

And in the total body of the hymnody, even when literary worth is absent, the majority of the hymns have an inestimable value as a mirror of their societies, as personal and free from artificiality and distortion as any other literary record kept by the people. Through the hymn we see the intensity of feeling, love for God and the right, joy, and at times hatred of evil and even intolerance for the non-believer in a most vivid portrayal—even when flawed aesthetically by imperfect knowledge or unskilled execution.

The place to begin in any study is at the beginning, and so my paper commences with the compilation of hymns gathered by Emma Smith in 1835 (1835 is listed as the date of publication although the hymnal

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was not actually issued until 1836) which became the first official hymnbook of the new Church. From that point I will assume a strict chronological progression and historical perspective in analyzing the important hymnals of the following three and one-half decades. The purpose of my thesis will be to establish the tone of each hymnal and to trace the patterns of ideas and beliefs through the various hymnals. Some doctrinal beliefs, it will be seen, such as the awaiting of the second coming of Christ, remain consistently important throughout the range of the hymnals under consideration, while others, such as the Adam-God theory or plural marriage, appear at various stages with meteoric intensity and emphasis, only to die out as rapidly as they first appeared. Still other beliefs constantly gather impetus through the years, such as the literal gathering to Zion and the need for missionary service, while other ideas, the divine restoration of the church, for example, appear to gradually decline in importance over the years. Most importantly, however, the chronological approach to the hymnals allows us to see the evolving order of the church, the doctrinal complexities and problems which arose, and their resolution; the changes, growth, growing pains, afflictions and triumphs of the Saints. It is therefore essentially the record of a people caught up on the painful but unavoidable path from innocence to experience.

That experience did not, of course, conclude in 1871, which is the date of the last hymnal considered in my study, but several conditions pointed to a propitious closing with that year. First, it represents the first time an LDS hymnal had been published in the United States for thirty years, which in effect meant it represented a stabilization of
Mormon affairs which had been in such a flux during the years of traveling in the wilderness (1835-1847) and settling in another wilderness (1847-1871). Second, the 1871 hymnal reflects a culmination of the growing Mormon self-reliance which first had been imposed by their expulsion from Kirtland and Nauvoo, but which later became a point of pride for the Pioneers. The hymnbook was printed and published by the Mormons in Utah, and with type produced in Utah. The hymnic additions were also solely the productions of Mormon authors. Following 1871, this trend towards total self-reliance was reversed, and after the turn of the century, an increased ecumenical spirit is observable in the hymnbooks as more and more hymns of Protestant origin began to appear. The 1871 hymnal thus stands at the crossroads between the old and the modern in LDS hymnology. The fervent and dogmatic native Mormon spiritual song had not been diluted by later non-Mormon additions, while, at the same time, nearly the entire core of most beloved Mormon hymns had already been written and included.
CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS: THE 1835 HYMNAL

Almost from the time of the Church's organization in 1830, the hymn has maintained a position of sacred respect for the Mormons. This sacredness was especially emphasized by a revelation given by God to Joseph Smith in 1832 in which Joseph's wife Emma was called to compile a hymn book suitable for the saints: "And it shall be given thee, also, to make a selection of sacred hymns, as it shall be given thee, which is pleasing unto me, to be had in my church. For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads."¹ Never before in the history of the Christian community had the sacred nature of the hymn been so explicitly revealed, nor its place in the worship service so carefully outlined and divinely sanctioned. From that time forward, hymns appeared periodically in the Evening and Morning Star, hymns of distinctly Mormon authorship and doctrine. But because of the increasing opposition encountered by the Saints, often erupting into persecution, the authorized hymn book was not completed until 1835.

After the organization of the Church in New York, early missionary efforts proved extremely successful in Ohio, and subsequently a center for the Church was established there in Kirtland. Although the Prophet Joseph Smith told the growing Church that Ohio was not the permanent land of promise, persecution and problems in the designated New Zion, Independence, Missouri, kept the headquarters of the Church in Kirtland

¹Doctrine and Covenants 25: 11, 12.
until 1837, or throughout the period of publication of the first hymnbook.

During the first five years of the Church's existence, external opposition ranged from scattered incidents of minor vandalism, to the tarring and feathering of Joseph Smith and others in 1832, to wholesale mob action, action against the Saints who had gathered in the Independence area, which resulted in the complete destruction of over 200 homes, leaving 1,200 Saints homeless, and often humiliated or physically abused. In the middle of November, 1833, the Saints petitioned the state government for redress of grievances, but receiving condolences rather than justice, the entire settlement of Mormons quitted their homes and lands in Independence County, moving north to take advantage of the hospitality extended to them by the residents of Clay County.

Strangely, while the numerous problems facing the infant Church undoubtedly hampered and delayed the production of the first hymnbook, the book's contents rarely reflect the sentiments of bitterness or long-suffering which might have been expected from a persecuted people. Instead, it presents a fine and varied collection of both Mormon and non-Mormon hymns which proclaim the greatness and mercy of God and chronicle the restoration of the Gospel of Christ in terms of great effusion and joy, amounting nearly to an enthusiastic naivety. And, indeed, although the trials of the Saints were growing through 1835, their greatest tests of faith were yet to be experienced and endured. The first hymnbook, then, stands as the record of a people in its infancy and innocence, being sustained by youthful zeal rather than by the sure knowledge which years of experience and maturing alone could bring.
The basic tenor of the new book and the new Church is jubilantly proclaimed in the first hymn of the 1835 collection. Throwing off the yoke of centuries of both Catholic and Protestant (especially Calvinistic) sanctions, the Latter-day Saint hymnist, William C. Gregg,\(^2\) declares:

Know then that every man is free  
To choose his life and what he'll be,  
For this eternal truth is given  
That God will force no man to heav'n.\(^3\)

So in one brief statement the Latter-day Saints, mostly of New England Protestant stock, cast off the Puritan forefathers' foreordained election or damnation and irresistible grace. Instead, they believed that Christ's atonement had been sufficient to bring all of God's children to salvation, and whether a man ultimately realized that salvation was determined by his self-willed acceptance or rejection of Christ as his Savior and his obedience to Christ's gospel, rather than by God's predetermined decision. Thus man's free agency rather than God's arbitrary election became the watchword of the new Saints. And while other doctrines declared that man, because of Adam's falling away, became subject to the inherent depravity of the original sin, the spokesman for the new Church insisted, "Men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression."\(^4\)

\(^2\)Inaccurately attributed to a William Clegg in the present LDS hymnal.

\(^3\)Emma Smith, A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams and Co., 1835), hymn #1. All of the hymns discussed in this chapter are from this 1835 hymnal, and will be identified in the future by mention of their hymn number and first line only.

\(^4\)The second of Joseph Smith's thirteen "Articles of Faith." Included as page 60 of the Pearl of Great Price. My reference copy was published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City in 1965.
Indeed, Adam (or Michael, as he is also known in the LDS Church) was a prince among men, the father of all, and head of the patriarchal order on earth, rather than the original agent of sin and death in the world. In Hymn #69, "God spake the word, and time began," William W. Phelps, one of the two or three most prolific hymn writers in the early period, and the editor of Emma's 1835 collection, emphasized Adam's role in giving free agency to man. In that paraphrased and expanded story of the Garden of Eden, the author only incidentally mentions the account of the fall, and when it does appear attaches totally positive connotations to it: although since Adam's loss of innocence many wicked men have chosen to do evil, good men, including Adam, have actively sought righteousness. Innocence then, argues Phelps, equals blind obedience without increase or growth rather than true righteousness. Adam freed man from innocence's blindness by providing him with the ability to actively and nobly choose the path of righteousness and life.

Thus freed from both Adam's transgression (at least spiritually) and God's arbitrary pronouncements of heaven or hell, man stands as a free agent, responsible for his own actions and decisions, his sins or errors of judgment, but always capable of attaining salvation by making the choice of accepting Christ's atonement for any sin he might have committed.

Baptismal and Sacramental Hymns

Once the individual has decided to accept Christ as his personal savior, he must enter into various covenants, notably baptism and the renewal of the baptismal covenants in the frequent administration of the
Lord's Supper. The new Church, intent on giving each member a guide to the path of salvation, stressed the importance of these ordinances. From its beginning the Church declared that all men must be baptized to qualify for Christ's atoning mercy, while at the same time it denied the efficacy of infant baptisms.  

The Church grew rapidly in the early years, and as each new convert entered the Church through baptism, several hymns of the period were devoted to that ordinance and for use at baptismal services. Four baptismal hymns appear in the first edition of the hymnbook, but only one of the four, #53, "Come ye children of the kingdom," is of native Mormon origin. In it, to emphasize the importance of baptism, James Wallis calls to mind Christ's own baptism at the hand of John the Baptist, and the Savior's words to Nicodemus that man must be born of water and the spirit to inherit the kingdom of God. The hymn closes with a personal resolve to obey God's law and will in this matter.

"Jesus, mighty King in Zion," #54, by the well-known Protestant hymnist, John Fellows, was suitable for inclusion in the Mormon hymnal as it expounds three doctrines central to Mormon thought: first, that Christ (and he only) is mankind's guide and Savior; second, that baptism is symbolic of Christ's death and resurrection on behalf of his children; and third, that baptism by complete immersion, symbolically entering the grave of the waters and rising from it to a new life, is the only valid method of baptism.

One of the several hymns Emma Smith selected from Rippon's

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5Doctrine and Covenants 18: 41, 42.
Collection of 1781 was the baptismal hymn, #55, "In Jordan's tide the prophet stands," which again recounts the story of Christ's baptism, including the descent of the Holy Spirit as a dove and God's approbation of the act. And here, too, the author urges: "The sacred record . . . calls you to imitate the deed"; and to set forth the universal importance of the ordinance: "Hear, all ye nations, and obey."

The last of the hymns specifically set apart as baptismal hymns in #56, the anonymous "Salem's bright King, Jesus by name." This hymn, although again not of Mormon origin, expounds three of the four first principles of the gospel, "Repent, believe, and be baptized," tenets central to many Christian sects. This hymn also implies the need for a person to willfully accept baptism after study, prayer and repentance, denying the worth of infant, unwilling baptism: "Candidates your hearts prepare." Of course, during the early years of the Church, most of the new members were adult converts, for whom the hymn was especially appropriate.

Following the organization of the Church, weekly Sacrament meetings were held on Sundays to allow all members to renew the covenant of baptism by partaking of the Lord's Supper. This ordinance includes the only two set prayers used in General Mormon worship. In fact, the only variety in the sacramental service every Sunday was (and still is) in the selection of the hymn. Confronted with the possibility that the very sacred service might lose its meaningfulness for the Saints by being so frequently (and unvaryingly) repeated, Emma Smith wisely included a variety of sacramental hymns in her hymnbook. Once again, however, only one of the hymns in the section was of Mormon authorship, three
coming from the pen of the universally recognized Isaac Watts, and two
more of Methodist origin: one by the prolific writer Charles Wesley, and
one by his less well known brother, Samuel.

"O God, th' Eternal Father," #57, W. W. Phelps' beautiful sacra-
mental hymn, is one of the few songs of worship which have continued in
popularity from the first edition of the hymnbook to the present day.
In it, Phelps speaks as the assembled congregation, asking that God
bless the sacramental offerings and that He might turn men's thoughts and
hearts to Christ's sacrifice, the incomprehensible but magnificent
atonement. As the fourth verse declares, the Savior is indeed the center
of the sacramental ministrations, and of the entire gospel plan of
salvation:

How infinite that wisdom,
The plan of holiness,
That made salvation perfect
And veiled the Lord in flesh.
To walk upon his footstool,
And be like man, almost,
In his exalted station,
And die or all was lost.

Originally (in 1835) the hymn was twice as long as the version
found in the current hymnbook. In the four stanzas now omitted, Phelps
tells of Christ's breaking the "bands of death" through his resurrection,
and then states that Christ is the "true Messiah": "We look not for
another,/ He is the Lamb 'twas slain." Christ is also the Stone, the
Shepherd of Israel, the branch of Jesse, the Morning Star, the Prophet
foretold by Moses. Because such scriptural references are not currently
held in high aesthetic esteem, the deletion of these verses in recent
editions is quite understandable, but they help to show the great scriptural reliance and respect the early Latter-day Saints shared with their Puritan forefathers.

Charles Wesley's hymn "Arise, my soul, arise," #59, is also included in the current edition of the hymnbook, but as a choir hymn rather than for congregational singing. It is a standard sentiment of the contrite soul, thankful for Christ's suffering, atonement, and intercession, and for the knowledge of personal redemption and salvation. However, the sanguinary nature of several portions of the hymn limits its esthetic and poetic appeal: "His blood atoned for all our race/ And sprinkles now the throne of grace." This, too, is one of the few hymns in which man appears the victim of inherent or endemic sin: the soul must arise and "Shake off its guilty fears." Again, such a deterministic, Calvinistic approach is rare in Mormon hymnody.

Charles' brother Samuel is the author of the beautiful and stately "Behold the Savior of mankind," #60. After depicting the scene of Christ's crucifixion, Wesley gives the promise of the resurrection, that death's chain will soon be broken. The last two lines of the final, fourth stanza present the essence of Christ's passion with a profound simplicity: "O Lamb of God, was ever pain/ Was ever love like thine!"

Both Christ's pain and his love are significant elements, too, of Isaac Watts' hymn, "'Twas on that dark, that solemn night," #56. Somewhat more panoramic in scope than Wesley's, Watts' hymn follows Christ from the last supper to Gethsemane, the scourging, the cross and his death. It concludes by recalling Christ's admonition at the Last Supper, that we remember Him at His table.
The second hymn written by Watts, "He died! the great Redeemer died," #10, begins with the scene of Christ's crucifixion and calls for the saints to mourn His death. Suddenly, though, comes the news of Christ's resurrection, and the saints are bidden to wipe away their tears, "sing how he Christ triumph'd over hell," and "Then ask the monster— 'Where's thy sting?/ And where's thy vict'ry, boasting grave?'" Unfortunately, the sense of the hymn is left uncompleted in the current hymnbook, where the last two verses are deleted.

The third hymn by Watts is written with "the curious idea that the Creator must be pleased by the depreciation of his handiwork," man.6 This vermicular philosophy is altogether out of place in a Mormon hymnal where the importance of the human soul is otherwise so consistently emphasized. It is difficult to imagine the early Latter-day Saints, buoyed up in their knowledge of God's love and of their own importance as God's children singing the tasteless first verse of the 61st hymn:

Alas! and did my Savior bleed
And did my Savior die?
Would he devote that sacred head
For such a worm as I?

and then to continue the self-effacing praise:

Drops of grief can ne'er repay
The debt of love I owe.

Often the devotional or sacramental hymns of Protestant origin tend to leave Christ at the gates of death and to glorify His suffering and His death. The one LDS hymn in the first collection is much more

6Dearmer, p. 116.
typical of the sacrament hymns to be included in later editions, not so much wallowing in grief or owing allegiance to Christ because of his death, as rejoicing in his new life and resurrection; not so much stressing that he had the will to die, as that he had the power to rise from the dead and through his resurrection to bring life to all men. The inclusion of the several sacrament hymns which did not reflect this idea may have been sparked by the sheer necessity of providing variety, no more suitable hymns being available, or they may have been hymns particularly appealing to certain new converts, familiar to them and loved by them before their conversion.

**Hymns of Christian Dedication**

Not only did the Latter-day Saint have to repent and be baptized, and continually renew his covenants in the weekly administration of the Sacramental services: a more difficult task lay before him,—he also had to live a daily life of faith, obedient to God's law, loving both God and his fellow man, and he had to endure in this path of righteousness "to the end." Many hymns were included in the 1835 edition of the hymnbook to help man meet and overcome the daily trials he was subject to. The sections devoted to morning hymns (hymns 37 through 42) and evening hymns (43 through 48) are generally concerned with asking God for guidance in the day to come or thanking Him for His mercies and protection of the day before. Once again, the majority of the hymns in these sections antedate the Mormon movement. In the section of morning hymns, three hymns by Watts, one by Bishop Ken, one by Elizabeth Scott, and one of unknown origin are joined by only one Mormon hymn, W. W. Phelps'
"Awake! for the morning is come" while Phelps' "Come let us sing an evening hymn" is grouped in the section of evening hymns with others by Watts, Ken, Anne Steele, John Leland, and one of unknown origin.

Watts' morning hymns include "Lord in the morning thou shalt hear," #37, a plea for divine direction to righteousness, asking that the path of duty may appear easily discernible, that the petitioner may be forgiven of his sins, sustained with the daily bread of life, and imbued with the knowledge of heaven. Watts' second hymn "Once more my soul, the rising day," #38, is less involved with the Christian concerns than the previous hymn, dwelling instead on the praise of God's greatness for His creation and support of life. The author maintains that he will always praise God so that his soul at the end of its mortal days may "bright as the sun/ Shine o'er the night of death." Watts' final hymn in this grouping, "My God, how endless is thy love," #40, presents the worshipers in a position of unquestioning obedience and glad submission to the will of God. The petitioner is only too happy to devote all of his days and nights to his good and great Father for the gifts, blessings, mercy and love He showers down upon His children as freely as the morning dew from heaven. This hymn also intimates that God is a listening and concerned Father, solicitous for the welfare of His earthly children, "For he will hear, when I do pray." This image of the Heavenly Father, as a God of mercy and love rather than the Calvinistic God of righteous wrath also fits well into Mormon theology, although the hymn itself was not of Mormon origin.

Recognizing that Christ had atoned for the sins of the world, the anonymous author of hymn #64 ("And did my Savior die/ And shed his
blood for me?"} pleads with God, arguing the efficacy of the atonement, to help him keep the commandments and lead a blameless life.

In the morning hymn "See how the morning sun/ Pursues his shining way," #39 by Elizabeth Scott, the concerns of the daily journey through life are once more of foremost importance. After an initial invocation of praise to God for His care during the preceding night, the hymnist proceeds to petition Him for the presence of the Holy Spirit to guide her actions of the day in uprightness and justice and to help her watch and pray always.

And Bishop Ken penned a similar sentiment in "Awake, my soul, and with the sun/ Thy daily course of duty run," #42, as he asks God to watch and control all he does, and then to wake him from death into eternal life, after admonishing in the first verse that the soul must shake off all sloth and waste no time in preparing for the great day when it will stand again before God. Again, with the Mormon emphasis on the personal free will to do right or wrong, salvation hinged on more than mercy alone, or grace through Christ's atonement. Each individual was responsible for his actions; and a life of good works, of obedience to God's law, and of charity to his fellows, was an essential prerequisite for a man's reaping the full benefits of the atonement.

The importance of this freedom of will, with its attendant emphasis on righteousness as a prerequisite for salvation, is evident in the only Mormon entry of this (the morning hymn) section, Phelps' "Awake! for the morning is come," #41. While Phelps, too, rejoices in the Lord and his mercy, and prays, "O keep us unspotted and free," asking for good health and other blessings, he does not merely lean on the Lord
in a position of helplessness. He rather asks, first and foremost, for knowledge, so, when he prays that the Saints may walk with virtue and wisdom, having union and peace, he is not praying for divine intervention to unnaturally create such a situation, but he is praying for the wisdom to understand what constitutes virtue and to realize how union and peace may be initially forged and continually preserved. He seeks salvation not through blind obedience, but through enlightenment and understanding, while acknowledging, at the same time, that those qualities are themselves divine gifts.

The evening hymns, rather naturally, dwell more on asking for forgiveness for the sins of the day and the days past, and for mercy and grace when the final night of death approaches than on seeking guidance for the day and days to come, but both sections express aspects of each individual's daily striving for a more perfect life.

"Lord, thou wilt hear me when I pray," #44 by Watts, expresses first, the desire never to sin, and second, the joy of conversation with the Lord at the end of day, symbolically the end of life. He writes:

I pay this evening sacrifice;  
And when my work is done,  
Great God, my faith and hope relies  
Upon thy grace alone.

Then assured of God's mercy and justice, the author is willing to trust his slumber to the Lord who also preserves his days.

Bishop Ken, in "Glory to thee, my God, this night," #45, also prays that God will keep him under the shadow of His protective wings, forgive his sins, protect him from any harm during the night, and, once more, looking symbolically forward to the last days of his life,
teach him not to fear death. The Guardian Angel, a personage relegated to total obscurity in modern LDS theology, but highly regarded by many Protestants and Mormons alike in the 19th century, is here mentioned--for the first and last time in a Mormon hymnbook--when Watts also prays that the Guardian Angel may guard and inspire him with thoughts of heaven throughout the night.

Whether Emma Smith's residence in Kirtland, Ohio, rather than in the more-immediately ill-fated settlement near Independence, Missouri, or just the Saints' general attitude of optimistic endurance during the early years of Church persecution may be credited for the pervasively cheerful aspect of the first hymnbook, that is indeed the most obvious tone in the book. One of the hymns which helps create this atmosphere is Anne Steele's "Great God, to thee my evening song/ With humble gratitude I raise," #46. The cause of the author's gratitude, as the second stanza reveals, is the Lord's grace, love, and power, made obvious by the ease and beauty of the author's life; her "days, unclouded as they pass . . . /
Are monuments of wondrous grace." The final two of the hymn's five stanzas (these two are deleted from the present hymnbook) persist in the image of an uneventful and peaceful life, free from any external vexations: In spite of God's mercy, she confesses, at times she ungratefully departs from the path of duty. So in the final stanza she asks for forgiveness through Christ and for pardon and acceptance at God's throne. The sin, we feel, is not great; the overall innocence, cheerfulness, and peace are readily evident, and apparently well suited to the Latter-day Saint communities, at least the less troubled ones in Ohio.

The section of evening hymns, however, also contains two of the
blackest hymns in the collection. While the first, the anonymous "When restless on my bed I lie," #47, could be of comfort during a time of great discouragement, and those times did exist for the Saints, the second, John Leland's "The day is past and gone," #48 reflects the entirely alien morbidity of some of the more fanatical elements in Calvinism, nearly bludgeoning the reader with terrifying images of the grim reaper. In the first, the author, afflicted by the trials of the earthly existence, cannot resist contemplating mortality's foil, the eternal joys of heaven. Saddened by the inequality of the comparison he cries: "I muse on life's tempestuous sea/ And sigh, O Lord, to come to thee." This lack of resolution to endure to the end is unique in the 1835 collection. Leland's hymn, happily, is also one of a kind. Its inclusion may have been justified by the calm supplication of the final three verses in which the Lord is asked to "keep us safe.../ Secure from all our fears," and when the final days of life are past to let us "in thy kingdom rest,/ Where all is peace and love." The transition from the first two verses to the innocuous third is like beating swords into plowshares. The first verse baldly states:

The day is past and gone,
The evening shades appear,
Oh may we all remember well
The night of death draws near.

And the second stanza presents an even more gruesome variation on the Danse Macabre:

We lay our garments by,
While we retire to rest;
So death will soon disrobe us all
Of what we here possess.
Because of the similarity of subject, perhaps the most logical place to include a discussion of funeral hymns is with the evening hymns. For the funeral section Emma chose three hymns by Watts, all offering little comfort to the bereaved. "Hark! from the tombs a doleful sound," #87, he somberly intones, is telling us that all paths lead to the grave. Thus inescapably marked by the finger of death, man can do nothing but ask God for grace sufficient to cause his soul to rise at his mortal death. And if man has grace, "Why should we start and fear to die," he asks in a second hymn, #89: "What tim'rous worms we mortals are!" he chastises indignantly (the second vermicular reference in the hymnbook); we should rest peacefully in Christ, for "death is the gate to endless joy." In the third hymn, #88, Watts continues to chide: "Why do we mourn for dying friends" when Christ died and softened the death beds of all His saints, and when at the sound of the trumpet in the last days all graves will open and all the saints be restored.

While some of the reluctant saints may have been prodded to action by a glimpse of the eternal fires of damnation, the main impetus came from those enthusiastically striving for eternal life rather than from those fearing eternal damnation. But enthusiasm, too, could have its ups and downs, and enduring to the end in perfect faith and righteousness was neither an easy task nor lightly undertaken. It was not unusual, then, to find each new member of the covenant asking God to shield him from the temptations of the world as well as from worldly revilings, or to see each member bolstering his own or his brother's ability to endure

7See p. 8 for first example.
to the end.

Enduring to the end would be foolish if the cause were not just or if the arm the saints relied on were not sufficient for salvation. In order to dispel any possible fears or doubts the new saints might have, the hymn collection included the stately and reassuring "How Firm a Foundation," #82, from Rippon's *Selection* of 1787. With the Lord as spokesman, the hymn declares, "Fear not, I am with thee," at all times and in all conditions—sickness, health, wealth, poverty—"on the land or the sea," to give strength, aid and succor. Though beset by "Fiery trials" Christ's grace will redeem the petitioner, while he becomes more of a saint for enduring his crosses: "The flame shall not hurt thee; I only design/ Thy dross to consume and thy gold to refine." The binding nature of the covenant between Christ and his saints is reaffirmed in the last stanza." "The soul that on Jesus hath leaned for repose . . ./ I'll never, no never; no never forsake!"

Isaac Watts, too, fortified the Saints' ability to endure by assuring them in Hymn #8, "O happy souls who pray," that God would be a shield and a defense to the faithful. The martial imagery here, although taken from a Biblical context, is unusual in this first LDS hymnbook, in which God is usually portrayed as a God of love rather than a God of war or wrath, in which brotherly love rather than mortal corruption is stressed. In only two or three other hymns is the worldly evil either mentioned or implied. Thirty years later, however, a rash of martial hymns, including perhaps the most famous, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," appeared in the various Protestant hymnodies, and subsequently, the Mormons adopted a few and patterned several of their own on the
basic model, although such hymns have often been criticized as blatantly opposing, in imagery at least, the proclamations of peace subscribed to by the Christian community.

In direct contrast to the martial imagery of the preceding hymn is the lovely, pastoral setting evoked in Thomas B. Marsh and Parley P. Pratt's serene but not complacent hymn, "The sun that declines in the far western sky," #28. Reflecting the romanticism of the age, this hymn (in company with several others) gives a glowing report of the beauties of nature, likening them to our human condition. The beautiful, green freshness of spring and the golden splendor of summer eventually give way to the rich harvest of autumn. Marsh and Pratt find in the cycle of nature a template of man's life: he should not mourn the passing of youth and beauty, for though the earthly beauties fade, if man has endured in faith and righteousness, his eternal glory will shine forth in his later years and he will reap the harvest of living with Christ in millennial peace.

In "Come, all ye saints who dwell on earth," #68, W. W. Phelps also projects into the future to show the advantages of enduring to the end. Each saint had entered into the path of righteousness through the door of baptism, but his reward was not to come until the end of the race.

The straight and narrow way we've found!  
Then let us travel on,  
Till we, in the celestial world,  
Shall meet where Christ is gone.  

Without lifelong endurance, that goal could never be reached.

While the Latter-day Saints believed that joy on earth as well as
in heaven was the just reward of those who kept the commandments of God, the example of Job was sufficient to convince them that righteousness was not always rewarded with earthly prosperity or an absence of pain, and the all too apparent material wealth of wicked and avaricious men indicated that evil was not always punished in mortality either. But time and the judgments of God would rectify all, and therefore the righteous should not complain at the temporary prosperity of the wicked. The hymn, "Though in the outward church below," #35, carries the final division of the lambs from the goats one step further. The wicked cannot even find refuge within the doors of the church in the last days, though they may have carried on a successful masquerade of religious hypocrisy throughout their lives.

Though in the outward Church below
Both wheat and tares together grow,
Jesus ere long will weed the crop
And pluck the tares in anger up.

And no man can deceive the Lord:

We seem alike when thus we meet;
Strangers may think we all were wheat;
But to the Lord's all-searching eyes,
Each heart appears without disguise.

And while some saints may complain that the wicked are being preserved, they are only spared for a little while, some because of their friends' righteous prayers, some to fulfill God's prophecies, but all "shall into hell be thrown," in the time of heavenly harvest. This hymn comforting to the downtrodden, perhaps, but hardly filled with love or true charity, was taken from the Zion Songster of 1830, and in spite of its relentless
Calvinistic stance against evil, has survived, with two early exceptions, in every following edition of the hymnbook through the present.

Nevertheless, while God could act with wrath and bring judgment to the world, man was instructed to judge not and, in the second great commandment, to love his neighbor as himself, whether that neighbor was himself a saint, or a member of the vicious and unsympathetic Missouri mob. Christ had said, "Do good unto those who persecute you," and the Saints were further reminded of their duty by the story of Joseph, who had been sold into Egypt by his brothers. The 25th hymn, "When Joseph his brethren beheld," by John Newton, retells the story of the great famine in the land of Palestine, when Joseph's brothers came to Egypt pleading for food. In spite of the earlier ill use Joseph had received at their hands, he repaid them with great kindness. This is, of course, the ideal reaction, and the saints, in some of their persecutions of the mid-1830's and later were not so eager to turn the other cheek, but the spirit of the earlier years of the Church was largely based on this idealism and divine magnanimity.

The Church, itself, was to suffer great internal dissentions, beginning with the financial losses they sustained in the depression of 1837, but in the earlier days of the Church the members idealized their spirit of brotherly love and unity. In fact, Emma Smith borrowed Isaac Watts' hymn, "How pleasant 'tis to see/ Kindred and friends agree," #83, to describe the new community of saints. The love and order between friends Watts compared in one verse to Aaron's ointment, which "Divinely rich, divinely sweet," permeates the air with a "choice perfume," and in another verse to a fruitful rain, which descending,
blesses everything it touches.

Hymns of The Restoration

As the above hymns clearly show the Church was actively concerned with individual salvation, but of equal force and of more immediate concern in the early days was the message of the restoration of the gospel. Christ's authority and the authority of his apostles over Christ's Church, according to Church doctrine, had been taken from the earth because of apostasy in the early centuries of the Church. The entire world, then, had been deprived of the true Church of Christ until its reestablishment in 1830 under the direction of Joseph Smith, who had been given the divine authority to that end during visitations from various heavenly beings, including God, the Father; Jesus Christ; John the Baptist; the apostles Peter, James, and John; Moses; and Elijah. This restoration was supposed to usher in, in rather short order, the last days of the world, including the gathering of Israel, the establishment of the holy city of Zion, the dreadful day of judgment when Christ would return to earth burning the wicked as stubble in His path, and the millennial reign of peace.

Naturally, the story of the restoration of Christ's Church to the world was an event of considerable magnitude to those who had accepted the gospel. They believed the last phase of God's plan of salvation had been set into motion when the angel Moroni, an earlier inhabitant of the Americas, visited Joseph Smith when he was a young boy of fourteen and after many years of instruction, delivered to him a large volume engraved on thin gold sheets, which recorded the history of Moroni and
his forefathers, a band of Israelitish origin who had sailed to the Americas under the direction of the Lord shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem six hundred years before Christ.

This first phase of church history, as well as many later incidents, became the subject of several hymns. These historical hymns served two very valuable functions in the early Church. For the new converts, each hymn was a short sermon which quickly oriented the newcomer to the important traditions of, and historical events in, the Church. And to all members, the hymn was a constant reminder of the divine origin of the Church, and therefore a subtle hint which helped keep the saints in the path of righteousness.

The first of these hymns included in the hymn book was W. W. Phelps' "An angel came down from the mansions of glory," #16, which tells the story of the record of Koroni's people—a sacred account and the gospel of Christ—hid up in the Hill Cumorah. Phelps, in company with a majority of the early saints, could not easily divorce the idea of the restoration from the second coming of Christ, which they thought would follow directly on the heels of the gospel's return to earth. Accordingly, after telling the story of the Cumorah records, Phelps adds the refrain: "Prepare for your Lord/When you hear these glad tidings." The third verse looks forth more specifically to the coming of Christ to the people of this dispensation:

O, listen, ye isles, and give ear ev'ry nation,  
For great things await you in this generation;  
The Kingdom of Jesus in Zion shall flourish,  
The righteous will gather, the wicked must perish.
Philo Dibble, rather than to relate a specific incident of the restoration, chose, in hymn #21, to commemorate the event in a joyful paean indicating how prophecy had been fulfilled through the restoration: "The happy day has rolled on," that day witnessed by Abraham and foretold by other prophets, when truth would reappear in lands of darkness, angels converse with men, and the voice of Christ once again direct His people. That Dibble, too, expected a speedy millennium is evident in the first verse: "The angel sure has come again/ To introduce Messiah's reign."

W. W. Phelps found a particular satisfaction in writing about the origin of the Church and the events which were scripturally prophesied to follow its reestablishment. In one particularly interesting hymn, he employs imagery modified from the Song of Solomon, "What fair one is this, from the wilderness traveling." He then applies the standard Christian interpretation to the imagery: The fair one, the bride, is the Church of Christ, "Looking for Christ, the belov'd of her heart."

Following the opening imagery, Phelps proceeds to mingle Biblical prophecies of the last days with events which had happened in the church already. First, he said, the saints are going to the promised land. Joseph Smith had a short time earlier declared that Independence, Missouri, was the promised land and the Saints' inheritance, and although many difficulties had occurred, resulting in the saints being driven from their homes, still most entertained the hope that they would soon be able to resettle there.

His next comment concerned the translation of the golden plates found in the hill Cumorah. Joseph Smith claimed he had translated the
plates, which had been written, he said, in "reformed Egyptian" with
the aid of a seer stone he called the Urim and Thummin. At one time
during the translation Joseph's scribe Martin Harris took a portion of
the characters and Joseph's translation of them to the language scholar,
Charles Anthon. According to the traditional account of this visit,
the professor remarked that the translation was amazingly accurate.
When he asked about the origin of the document, however, and was told
that the plates had been revealed by an angel and that the translation
was made through divine inspiration, he refused to endorse the translation
and declared the entire undertaking a fraud. At the same time, the
favorite pastime of several well educated men in the East was to try to
disprove the Book of Mormon. Prophetic statements had forewarned the
faithful that the account would not be universally accepted and that
wise men would scorn its wisdom. Feeling that this prophecy had thus
been fulfilled, Phelps wrote: "Old formal professors are crying 'delusion',
And high-minded hypocrites say 'tis confusion." Then he continued to
outline the plan of salvation: the Savior will soon come, preceded by
the gathering of Israel and a concerted missionary effort. The prophecy
by Daniel of the stone to be cut from the mountains without hands,
which would roll forth to encompass the entire earth, was now coming to
pass with the restoration of the Gospel.

Two other hymns written by Phelps about the gospel's restoration
have continued to be favorites within the church to the present time.
The first, hymn #26 in the original version, is "Now we'll sing with one
accord/ For a prophet of the Lord." This hymn praises Joseph Smith for
restoring the gospel to a world which had long lain in darkness, bring-
ing back the fulness of the priesthood powers, and translating the
sacred record of the Book of Mormon, which revealed many of God's
commandments that had been deleted from the Bible. In the fourth and
last verse he shifts his attention to the years ahead when the righteous
would be gathered, Christ would reign, the wicked would be defeated,
and Zion would grow.

The second, "The Spirit of God like a fire is burning," #90,
is undoubtedly one of the two or three best-loved LDS hymns. After
the first line, Phelps continues exultingly:

The latter-day glory begins to come forth;
The visions and blessings of old are returning
And angels are coming to visit the earth.

Christ is once more conversing with his people, the church is being
established exactly as it was in Christ's time under his direction,
and consequently, the veil of darkness covering the earth is beginning
to part. The Saints must now spread these glad tidings to the rest of
the world before the blessed millennium. Two stanzas found in the
original but omitted from the present edition (justifiably so as their
literary quality does not equal the other four verses), talk about the
washing and anointing so the saints will be clean at the harvest and
about the gathering of Israel in a literal interpretation.

One of the most unusual, but interesting, hymns in Emma's col-
lection was the mammoth (nine verses) "In ancient days men fear'd the
Lord," hymn #76. The church is, as W. W. Phelps emphasizes, not a new
church, but a continuation of the church of Christ which has been given
to the world at various times, before as well as after Christ's first
appearance on earth. In a series of one line descriptions or stories,
Phelps tells of God's kindness to righteous men of all times: Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Daniel, and Paul. He then declares that the Lord's mercy and goodness have once more restored the gospel and the power of the priesthood. Still, in spite of his joy in the restoration, Phelps was well aware of the problems and persecutions which had so plagued the Saints, and rather than try to dismiss or disregard the turbulent times, he created a Biblical analogy, implying that the righteous were often hated and persecuted, and that the Latter-day Saints could expect no less suffering than the Noahs, Daniels or Pauls. In the eighth verse he cautioned, however, that external hatreds must never discourage the Saints, or cause them to lose faith:

And if, like them [the prophets of old] we hated be,
Depriv'd sometimes of liberty,
We will like them, this faith defend,
What'er our fate, unto the end.

The last verse is another of those enigmas in Mormon literature.

W. W. Phelps, staunch defender of the faith, well versed in doctrine, the plan of salvation and the eternal nature of man and his kinship to God, still employs the old Calvinistic image of man as worm:

O Lord assist thy feeble worms,
This resolution to perform,
And we thy sacred name will praise,
Throughout the remnant of our days.8

The hymn, "Before this earth from chaos sprung," #72, written by an anonymous but unquestionably Mormon author, also goes to the far historic past to show the beginnings of the gospel. While Phelps, in

the hymn of the preceding paragraph, took his theme from Biblical records, this author went to the *Pearl of Great Price* for his. In the *Pearl of Great Price* it is recorded that several great and noble men, including Abraham and Joseph (sold into Egypt) were shown in vision the world and all its inhabitants, down to the ends of the earth. Joseph was also told (see the *Book of Mormon*, II Nephi 3:11-15) that in the last dispensation the gospel would be returned to earth through a man who would be called by the same name, and be the son of a man who also was named, as they were, Joseph. This hymn then recalls God's creation of the world and His showing holy men what would happen in the future. The hymn then relates how, more specifically, Joseph is shown the restoration of the gospel in the latter days, and that that restoration would set Israel free. In the final verse, the author returns to the present, saying that Joseph's vision has now come to pass; the holy work, prepared so many centuries earlier, has begun, and the Saints who live during this auspicious time should not cease to praise the Lord as His plan is being fulfilled.

As well as recounting the story of the restoration, the Saints were lavish in their praise to God for the restoration. "Great is the Lord; 'tis good to praise His high and holy name," declared Eliza Snow in hymn #70. Praise God, she admonishes the Saints, because He allows you to live in the time of restoration of the "Everlasting Gospel," when a Prophet leads his people and a gathering of "all the Saints from every clime" will soon commence.

"The great and glorious gospel light/ Has usher'd forth into my
sight," sings the anonymous LDS author of hymn #22, and through the miracle of conversion, his soul has received the glorious gospel. Many were the early converts to the church who could trace in this hymn the story of their own conversions and changes of heart and who joined the author in offering praise to the Lord for the gospel, a praise which the author remarked with pentacostal fervency would soon be taken up by saints and angels from pole to pole and resound until the end of time.

Similar hymns of thanksgiving were Phelps' "The towers of Zion soon shall rise," #29, and "Come let us sing an evening hymn," #43. In the first he projects the panorama of the building of Zion--the city of the Lord--and the gathering of the Saints from all lands to the holy city. Besides praising God for his excellent plan of salvation and for the restoration of the gospel, Phelps voices a cry to all the nations to gather to Zion for Christ's reappearance, and then pleads with Christ not to prolong the day of his coming. His second hymn, although included in the evening hymn section, is of a character far removed from the other evening hymns previously discussed. No morbid recollection of sins past and no ponderous tome of the tomb, this hymn encourages each saint to "praise the Savior best," for his grace and the gift of the gospel in latter days. It is a simple, beautiful hymn.

Millennial Hymns and The Plan of Salvation

The plan of salvation mentioned over and over again in these hymns was the Lord's plan for rounding out man's life on earth as it had been known from the days of Adam. According to the Biblical account of the apocalypse, several specific events would occur in the last days.
The most spectacular of these included the Gathering of Israel, the building of the city of Zion, the terrible destruction of the wicked at Christ's coming, and the millennial reign of peace for the righteous after the destruction. And these themes were liberally represented in Emma Smith's collection.

"What wondrous things we now behold," exclaimed the unknown author of hymn #33, as the gathering of Israel and the lost ten tribes begins, fulfilling the prophecies of old. Unfortunately the hymn soon devolves into a categorical listing of the peoples to be restored—Moab's remnant, Ammon's children, Elam's race, Ephraim's sons, Assyria's captives, Abra'm's children—which charitably could be said to foreshadow Whitman's vibrant if controversial listings, but more honestly is probably one of the last remnants of the early Church of England penchant for putting entire sections of the Bible in verse and to music and then enthusiastically singing even the interminable Genesis genealogies. Mercifully, there are only a few tribes to be gathered, so the hymn's listing is limited.

In "Come, all ye sons of Zion," #65, W. W. Phelps discusses the gathering of all the righteous: "The ransomed are returning," including Judah and Israel. Come then, he calls to all of the new Saints, "Gather up for Zion."

Many other hymns, some previously mentioned, though not primarily concerned with the gathering of the Lord's chosen people, do include it as a part of the plan of salvation, until the ideal of the gathering, although scarcely implemented in 1835, becomes a theme of some import in the early hymnbook.
One particularly interesting hymn from a doctrinal standpoint is Phelps’ "O stop and tell me, Red Man," #63. Here in an imaginary conversation with an American Indian the question is posed, "Who are you, why do you roam?" to which the native replies: "I once was pleasant Ephraim," one of the favored tribes of Israel. According to the Book of Mormon, the native American peoples are descendants of a family delivered from Jerusalem by the Lord shortly before the city's destruction by the Babylonians nearly six hundred years before Christ. One part of the family early became a nomadic, wild people, lost track of their fathers' religion, records and language, and deteriorated. The Indians were descendants of this lineage. So as the red man turned away from God, he forfeited the covenant blessings of Ephraim, and "fell in darkness,/ And wandered to and fro." But, according to Phelps, the restored Gospel brings new hope to the Indians, reacquainting them with their heritage and restoring to them the beliefs of their fathers. The final verse, returning to the theme of the gathering of Israel, exclaims,

And all your captive brothers
From ev'ry clime shall come,
And quit their savage customs,
To live with God at home.

Christ, of course, was central to the plan of salvation, as he was central to Emma's collection. The previous mortal life of the Savior and His part in the coming events were often extolled in song. He was the Son of God in the flesh, the King of Zion, the Redeemer of Israel and the Savior of all mankind. The newly restored Gospel was a
portion of His plan of salvation and He would return to the earth to restore peace, destroy the wicked, and gather His children. Faith in Christ was the first principle of the gospel, and expressing their new found but fervent faith the Latter-day Saints sang Samuel Medley's stirring hymn, "I know that my Redeemer lives," #79. And living, He would plead for His Saints, sustain them with His love, silence their fears, and grant them daily life; for then He had already conquered death.

Most of the hymns dwelling on His earthly life, ministrations, death and resurrection have already been discussed in the sections on baptism and sacrament. One other hymn, #9, "From the regions of glory," originally culled from the Zion Songster of 1830 and slightly altered for its inclusion in the LDS hymnbook, not only told of the original birth of the Savior, but also described in anticipation Christ's second coming and the burning of the wicked. Contributing to the general tone of optimism in the book, the hymns concerning the second coming usually refer to the joy of the righteous rather than to the destruction of the wicked. The only hymns alluding to the cataclysmic upheaval are "From the regions of glory," just cited; "Guide us, O thou great Jehovah," #13, which is a plea for sustenance until Christ's coming, and for safety in the millennial destruction, #85;9 "Though in the outward church below",10 and one verse of "Let Zion in her beauty rise," #66 (verse 50, in which Edward Partridge, the author, recalls the biblical passage where the wicked will desire "rocks to fall on them,/

9Implying as do many the immediacy expected of the millennium.

10See page 29 where previously discussed.
And hide them from God's face.\textsuperscript{11}

Generally, for the Latter-day Saint, the time of the second coming was to be a time of rejoicing and thanksgiving, and furthermore, it was a time expected in the very near future. Very often, too, the idea of the second coming was bound up with the establishment of Zion, either in an actual, physical building of the city of God, or in the idea of a spiritual center for the church. "The time is nigh," declared Parley P. Pratt in hymn \textsuperscript{6}, for the second coming of Christ, the reuniting of Jew and Gentile, the brotherhood of all men and the fall of infidelity. Pratt restates here the prophecy of Daniel, the stone cut from the mountains without hands. Daniel's stone and the city of Enoch are perhaps the two scriptural allusions most commonly found in early Mormon literature. The reason for their popularity is clear, as the stone is interpreted to mean the newly restored gospel and the city of Enoch was a perfect and righteous city, the model and goal for the LDS community of Saints.

"Redeemer of Israel," \textsuperscript{6}, adapted for the Saints by W. W. Phelps expresses the believer's faith in Christ as a pillar and guide, and affirms

\begin{quote}
We know he is coming  
To gather his sheep  
And plant them in Zion in love.\textsuperscript{12}
\end{quote}

Adding a note of the opposition the Saints had seen, Phelps says

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{11}See page 46 for detailed discussion.

\textsuperscript{12}Second line changed in an early edition to "And lead them to Zion in love," which is imagistically much better than planting the sheep.
\end{quote}
Our foes have rejoiced
When our sorrows they've seen,
But Israel will shortly be free.

The tokens of the second coming are appearing and "The hour of redemption is near." In the original version a fifth verse, now deleted, reiterated the message of the restoration of the gospel:

The secret of heaven...
That many have sought for so long,
We know that we know

through the workings of the spirit of Christ. The present version of the hymn adds two verses which were not found in the original, changing the hymn to a dramatic plea for Christ's appearance followed by Christ's reassuring response.

Phelps' "We're not ashamed to own our Lord," #1h, declares the coming of Christ will show the world that His is the only way of salvation. Then looking forward to His coming, Phelps expresses the Saints' desire to stand at the time with the just, to be rewarded with a "new name" from Christ, "robes of righteousness," and eternal happiness in the new Jerusalem. The second coming was actually Phelps' favorite theme, and more than nine of his contributions to Emma's collection—one-tenth of the entire hymn book—dwell on millennial scenes. These include (as well as #1h mentioned above) "To him that made the world," #17, a paean of praise to God for the physical bounties of life and for the spiritual blessings bestowed through the atonement, culminating in a longing for the second coming; the inspirational and dynamic favorite, "Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation," #18, which proclaims a day in the future when the Savior will return and when all who believe in
him shall rejoice and be saved:

... shortly the hour of redemption will come,
When all that was promised, the Saints will be given,
And none will molest them from morn until ev'n,
And earth will appear as the garden of Eden,
And Jesus will say to all Israel, 'Come home!'

Other verses emphasize the unity and brotherly love of the faithful and call the faithful to rely on Jehovah for strength in the "last days of trouble and gloom" to precede Christ's coming. This hymn is one of the best of the entire group of Phelps' millennial and salvation hymns.

On the same subject, Phelps also wrote "This earth was once a garden place," #23. In this peculiar but refreshing doctrinal hymn he relates the story of Adam in the Garden of Eden, or Adam-ondi-Ahman, the LDS name for the dwelling place of our first parents, and then rejoices that following the cleansing of Christ's second coming the "earth in glorious bloom" will again appear as the beautiful Adam-ondi-Ahman. Notable in this hymn are, first, the close tie implied between spiritual sanctification and worldly beauty. The New Jerusalem, Zion, the residence of Christ, is nowhere considered in the stark, antiseptic terms anticipated by the Puritans for their kingdom of god on earth, but rather is pictured, more literally than symbolically as a garden filled with all the beauties created by God. Second, although the hymn discusses first Adam, and later Enoch, who lived, naturally, after Adam had been driven from the garden, there is no mention of any fall, any curse, or any evil in the world resulting from Adam's actions. Again Phelps is at least subconsciously supporting the uniquely LDS emphasis on the individual's responsibility for his own actions and on
the momentarily expected arrival of Christ which totally overshadows any disobedience which might have occurred millenniums in the past.

Although in several of his hymns, including "How let us rejoice" and "Let us pray, gladly pray," #31, Phelps alludes to the difficulties of Saints in the last days, the allusions seem to be more of a paraphrasing of Biblical prophecy rather than an actual account of difficulties encountered at that time by the new church. Let us pray until the millennium, he counsels, when our tears will be dried, but the admonition sounds largely rhetorical, effective only as a contrast to the joys of the resurrection he proclaims in the final verse, lacking the depth of spirit and suffering lamentation apparent in hymns of a later vintage. Still, one of Phelps' hymns, "There is a land the Lord will bless," #314 departs from the rhetorical tradition, and in vivid, blistering terms denounces the Missouri settlers for their cruelty to the Saints, solemnly declaring that "Though wicked men and satan strive,/ To keep them from that land/ And from their homes the Saints they drive," their wicked actions would not avail them, for the Lord had consecrated the Missouri land for His saints. In that land, the Lord had promised, the righteous would gather and their children be born "Without the sting of sin." In actuality, however, the original settlers proved only too effective in driving the Saints away from their promised land "along Missouri's flood," and, despairing of ever regaining the land without the Lord's personal leadership, Phelps calls for aid:

    How long, our Father, O how long
    Shall that pure time delay?
    Come on, come on, ye holy throng,
    And bring the glorious day.
Neither was Edward Partridge reluctant to describe the millennium in terms of vivid destruction if that would turn people's hearts to the Gospel. "Let Zion in her beauty rise," a lovely missionary hymn of three verses in the current hymnal has totally lost its original tone with the deletion of the third, fourth, fifth, and seventh verses of the first edition. In those verses Partridge called together all of the heavenly wrath of an Edwardian sermon and bombarded the Saints with a terrifying scene of millennial destruction: stars falling from heaven, the moon turning to blood and water to gall, the sun being clothed with blackness, the heavens shaking, the sea moving to the north, "the earth rolling up like as a scroll," mountains sinking and valleys rising.

Continuing the pronouncement of doom, Partridge cries:

Alas! the day will then arrive,
When rebels to God's grace,
Will call for rocks to fall on them,
And hide them from his face.

Thus spent in his wrath, Partridge subsides to paint a brighter picture of the millennium of the just and their joy in the sure reward of Christ. The last verse looks forward to a time beyond that considered by any other hymn. Following the thousand-year reign of Christ's peace, Satan is, according to prophecy, to be unbound for the final encounter between the forces of good and evil. At that time, Partridge entreats, "O Lord preserve us from his grasp ... until our great last change shall come. . . ."

One more hymn concerning the last days has been at times attributed to Phelps, although some editions credit it to Eliza Snow. This
hymn, #71 in the first edition and well known until its deletion from the hymn book in 1927, is "The glorious day is rolling on," a respectably enthusiastic if somewhat didactic hymn about the second coming. It reiterates the sentiment of "This earth once was a garden place," that following Christ's reappearance the earth will be restored "fair as at creation's dawn." However, in a more practical, Calvinist vein, it continues with the warning that in order for the saints to enjoy these eternal beauties and blessings they must conquer Satan's temptations, disdaining worldly joys and material riches.

Interest in three of the millennial hymns arises from their rather unconventional use by the LDS community. The anonymous "There's a power in the sun," #36, is a transcendental expression of the omnipresence of God. Through the affirmations of nature, the sun, moon, stars, clouds, and winds the presence of God is made manifest. And mankind, also, has a spirit within that "Whispers softly to the heart" of the existence of God. However, in the Mormon context, the refrain acknowledged by all nature and the human heart, "O behold the Lord is nigh," refers not only to the continuing spirit of God in the world, but to the imminence of Christ's actual second appearance to the world, and thus becomes a millennial hymn to the Latter Day Saints.

While the Saints provided their own connotative meaning to "There's a power in the sun," they altered not only the meaning but also the words of Isaac Watts familiar "Joy to the world," changing that jubilant Christmas hymn into an equally ecstatic hymn celebrating the second coming. By means of a simple change of tense (from "the Lord is come" to "the Lord will come") the Lord of Bethlehem is transformed into the
long-awaited King of Zion, and the hymnology of eschatology is increased in number and in quality.

"My soul is full of peace and love," #20, is another hymn in which the spirit is slightly altered for Mormon worship. The anonymous, non-LDS author wrote that the Holy Spirit had sealed his soul with peace and a knowledge of God's grace—a hymn of the conversion experience—and now with such peace and knowledge he could calmly await the hour when he would be reunited with Christ. To the Mormon singer, however, "I soon shall see Christ from above," meant not so much the reunion death would bring, but the literal coming of the Savior to earth.

Also anxiously proclaiming Christ's imminent arrival the anonymous author of hymn #30 warns, "Let all the Saints their hearts prepare," continuing, "Behold the day is near! When Zion's king shall hasten there," when the suffering Saints will be snatched up, earth will be purified, and all of the righteous will know one thousand years of peace in Christ's presence.

Remaining hymns in the collection touching upon the last days and Christ's reappearance include Parley P. Pratt's "Ere long the veil will rend in twain," #19. Pratt, as the first line of his hymn implies, also believed that the Savior would not long delay his promised coming. This event, he says will be accompanied by the raising of the dead, the rejoicing of the saints and their gathering with the ubiquitous Enoch to worship the Messiah. Also, in an interesting doctrinal passage, he proclaims that the saints will reign on thrones with Christ and be given "celestial crowns" and great glory from God, an interesting statement of the profound worth of the human soul, that
The final hymn concerned with the second coming was adopted from the Zion Songster of 1830, "Let thy kingdom, blessed Savior, Come," #81. The song is in the form of a dialogue: first Christ's saints crying out to him to come and "visit now poor bleeding Zion,/ Hear thy people mourn and weep"; and then to lead and help them and to arm them with courage "to endure persecution." In the last verse the Lord answers, fear not, "Look to me and be ye holy." Once more the fears and sufferings mentioned in the hymn are parabolic, reminiscent of many Biblical stories and Davidic psalms, and not literal descriptions of the new church's social standing.

As I mentioned earlier, many of the escatological hymns sang of the establishment of the city of Zion as they told of the Savior's second coming. Enoch and his perfect city were also often cited as a type of the Savior's city. Zion was also celebrated in at least three hymns dedicated solely to its establishment. "Glorious things of thee are spoken,/ Zion, city of our God!" proclaimed John Newton many years before the establishment of the new church, but with such delight in Christ's love and mercy to His community of Saints that it perfectly expressed the spirit of the Latter Day community and was readily adopted by them in its entirety of ten verses as hymn #4. The only alteration the Saints made was in the second verse, where "On the Rock of Ages founded" was changed to the Rock of Enoch, to include their favorite Biblical architect.

In the anonymous hymn "How pleased and blessed was I," #64, the author praises the city of Zion where Christ and His loved ones
dwell in righteousness. Phelps' "The towers of Zion soon shall rise" also strongly emphasized the place of importance held by the concept of the New Jerusalem, the kingdom of God on earth.

Missionary Hymns

The revelation of the gospel and the new and everlasting covenant meant responsibility as well as joy for the Latter-day Saints. Christ was surely coming to establish His kingdom, and the harvest would soon commence, but before that day the worthy had to be gathered from all of the nations, and it was the Lord's will that those who had received the gospel should share it with their neighbors and brothers everywhere: "Send forth the elders of my church unto the nations which are afar off; unto the islands of the sea; send forth unto foreign lands; call upon all nations, first upon the Gentiles, and then upon the Jews."

In spite of the enormity of the task, the spirit of missionary work was well received. At the time of the publication of the hymnbook in 1835 missionaries had been sent to preach the gospel to the people of Ohio and Missouri, parts of eastern Canada, and several Indian tribes. Their success had been both notable and encouraging, and so plans were being made to extend the gospel across the sea to the British Isles, and from there to the whole world. The missionary hymns, then, of which there were many, were mostly composed in sweet and largely uninitiated anticipation of the impact the gospel would have on the nations of the world.

13 Doctrine and Covenants 133:8, revelation received by Joseph Smith in November of 1831.
In hymn #80 Parley P. Pratt, one of the church's earliest missionaries, remarked "How often in sweet meditation," he considered what a blessing it was for the Saints to be able to carry the message of salvation to all of the earth. And he reflected, at that time certainly prematurely, that through the efforts of the missionaries, "Millions shall turn to the Lord and rejoice"; the numbers of the converted converging on Zion would be so great that "As clouds we would see them fly to their glorious home—As doves to their windows in flocks see them come." Then would be the time of the second coming.

W. W. Phelps also called the true believer to the field of missionary labor to gather the wheat from the tares, declaring in "There's a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing," #35, the Savior's return to the earth and directing the missionary to go "unto every nation." Evincing a spirit of ecclesiastical manifest destiny he enumerated: "Go pass throughout Europe, and Asia's dark regions,/ To China's far shores, and to Afric's black legions"; tell the kings every kingdom but the Kingdom of God must fail; proclaim the gospel to Gentile, Jew, and heathen nations; cry repentance to the "old Israel in every land"; and gather all who were willing to Zion. It is a stirring, enlistment hymn, emotional and almost martial in character in spite of the aesthetic paucity of the opening line. The hymn utilizes a strong dactylic meter, unusual and rarely employed as a hymn meter.

It is little wonder that the Saints, caught up in the fervor of missionary zeal, were so quick to adopt Reginald Heber's "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," #74, as an abiding favorite.
Shall we, whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall we, to men benighted,
The lamp of life deny?

he asks, and to the Saint who believes he has received the truth, the answer must be no. I, too, once lay in darkness, reflects the Saint as he reads another Protestant hymn included in the collection, "O Jesus! the giver/ Of all we enjoy," #75, and Christ extended His invitation to salvation, through grace alone, to the Saint; then he must say, with the unknown author, "We are now enlisted/ In Jesus' blest cause," and we would be more than ungrateful to withhold the same blessings from our brothers still in darkness.

Missionary work was often a difficult calling. Men of meager circumstances were called to leave their homes, wives and families for extended periods of time, often from three to five years or more, relying solely upon the Lord for the provision of food, shelter and other necessities of life. Even when a man was dedicated to the work, the parting from his family and friends could be a trying time, as the section of four farewell hymns points out.

One hymn taken from the Zion Songster, "Adieu, my dear brethren adieu," #52, emphasizes the missionary's determination to obey God's will. He will preach until God commands his release, and then, having fulfilled his duty, he will repair to Zion to await the coming of the Lord. Not quite so determined, Samuel F. Smith in "Yes, my native land, I love thee," #51, momentarily pauses to ask "Can I leave thee native land?--/ Far in distant lands to dwell?" but melodramatically receives a renewal of spirits and cries that to spread the gospel of Christ,
"Yes! I hasten from you gladly."

"Farewell, our friends and brethren," calls W. W. Phelps in hymn #50, for we are going to preach the gospel to every foreign land; and "Farewell, our wives and children," we go to gather up the blessed and to, quixotically, "fight error with truth." In another hymn, "The gallant ship is under way (weigh), #49, Phelps' missionary has taken leave of his family and friends and contemplates the journey before him, emphasizing that he leaves neither for gain, nor battle, nor adventure, but to gather Israel home. Faith in God, he declares, will make him strong, and the Holy Spirit will guide and support him. In spite of these assurances he rather wistfully concludes, "My native land farewell!"

All of the efforts of the missionaries, however, would be in vain, if the people they contacted would not listen to them or accept the gospel. So, while Phelps could optimistically surmise that millions of new converts would soon start flocking to Zion, many of the Saints started singing hymns which broached the responsibility of the sinner or the man in darkness to accept the word of the Lord. "Let every mortal ear attend/ And ev'ry heart rejoice," #2, sang the Latter-day Saints, giving new significance to Isaac Watts' old hymn, for the gospel is here to feed all those who hunger, if they will come.

For those needing a stronger stimulus to bring them out of the darkness of disbelief, W. W. Phelps cries, "Awake, O ye people! the Savior is coming," #32. He calls the people of the islands to repent and have faith in Christ's redemption, for unless they repent,
Today will soon pass and that unknown tomorrow
May leave many souls in a more dreadful sorrow
Than came by the flood, or that fell on Gomorrah,--
Yea, weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.

More gently Charles Wesley soothed the trembling souls in his
brother's congregations with the hymn, "Jesus the name that charms our
fears," #67, also highly regarded by Emma Smith who included it in the
first LDS hymn book. Come sinners, come to Christ, entreats Wesley,
for He can set you free from the bonds of sin.

And last, for the benefit of the unregenerate, Emma included
the old revival hymn, "The Lord into his garden comes," #78, which also
calls the sinner to come to Jesus who pardons all who will turn to Him.
This hymn is very appropriate as it emphasizes that pardon is free to
all mankind if they accept Christ, an idea directly opposed to the old
Puritan doctrine of a limited elect. This hymn also voices the homily,
"Our trouble and our trials here/ Will only make us richer there," but
again the meaning seems more apparently connected with the everyday
trials of life rather than any organized persecution the Church had faced.

Hymns of Praise

As well as giving spiritual aid to the individual Saint, pro-
claiming a church's history, doctrine and particular devotion, the hymn-
book has traditionally, and in some cases nearly exclusively, been the
repository of hymns of praise to God, expressing devotion, love and awe
to Him. While in the first Latter-day Saint hymnbook, many hymns of
praise were directed to God specifically for the restoration of the
Gospel, \(^\text{14}\) the editor included five additional hymns of praise from traditional Protestant sources, and one hymn of pure devotion by W. W. Phelps.

Isaac Watts was represented by two hymns, "See all creation join," \#7, and the old favorite, "O God! our help in ages past," \#86. The first remarks that all creation--including the sun, stars, moon, clouds and thunder--join in the praise of their Creator, and that man, the greatest of His creations, and the Saints, the greatest of men, redeemed by Christ's grace and knowing "his endless love,/ Should sing his praises best." In the latter hymn, Watts proclaims the eternal omnipotence of God: "From everlasting thou art God,/ To endless years the same," and declares that the Lord is a sure defense for His children against the forces of darkness. In two verses now deleted Watts emphasizes the eternal nature of God by dwelling on the briefness of man's stay in mortality, and though "Time, like an ever-rolling stream,/ Bears all its sons away," God yet remains, ever the same, "our help in ages past,/ Our hope for years to come." Be thou, thus, petitions Watts, "our guide while life shall last/ And our perpetual home."

Anna Barbauld is represented by the hymn, "Praise to God, immortal praise," \#12, a simple song of gratitude praising God for the bounties of nature, with no reference to the problems of mortality or life's pain.

On a more spiritual plane, the hymn "Thy mercy, my God, is the theme of my song," \#73 taken from the Gospel Magazine of 1776, praises the Creator for the proffering of free grace, for the mercy which

\(^{14}\)Refer to pages
sustains mortal life, which is available through the atonement of Christ, who "open'd the channel of mercy." In further lauding the Godhead, the author praises God the Father for His mercy and goodness, Christ, the Son, for his "covenant love," and the Holy Spirit, who seals the "mercy, and pardon, and righteousness" to mankind. The specific mention here of the three manifestations of the Godhead is significant in LDS theology, for Joseph Smith claimed revelation which acquainted him with the actual separate physical existences of the three members of the Godhead, all three being one God only by virtue of their singleness of purpose.

Samuel Medley is represented by the hymn "Mortals, awake! with angels join," #77. Hail in anthem the day of Christ's birth, he cries, for "Jesus was born to die," and in that death to provide redemption for the children of men. For that act of supreme love and mercy, hail Christ, the Prince of Life, the Redeemer, brother, and friend--praise Him forever.

One of the most eloquent of all the hymns of praise is the beautiful "Earth with her ten thousand flowers," in the original hymnbook. Perhaps more pantheistic in tone than most LDS hymns, it declares that all creation bears record that God is love, all the voices of nature sing God is love, and all of the hope and joy we experience in life is a direct manifestation of God's love. The author's use of the many beauties of nature and the vibrant and vital

15Attributed to W. W. Phelps even in today's hymnal; Helen Macare, however, credits it to Thomas R. Taylor, a non-Mormon hymnist of the 1820's and 1830's, in a list of appended hymns included with her dissertation, "The Singing Saints" (diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1961).
images they call to mind, the emphasis on the sensuous and opulent physical abundance as a setting for a hymn of worship, however, is neither uncommon nor ill-favored in the Mormon community: in fact, the nature hymn became one of the favorite vehicles for offering praise to the creator. Unlike the Puritans, for whom earthly beauty and pleasure were segregated from the worship service as being antithetical to and detracting from the word and worship of the Lord, the Latter-day Saints incorporated all beauty, material as well as spiritual, into their worship services with an eye to more fully extolling the greatness of God and thanking Him for all of His blessings, which included the bounties of the temporal existence. The Mormon nature hymn also differed from many of Watts' early nature hymns because he, although at times he did simply offer praise to the Father for the bounties of life, more often would employ nature to underscore its, and thus by unshakable analogy, man's, transitory and unstable mortality.

So heaven, for the Mormons, was not a state of sterile incorporeality or disembodied righteousness and heaven would not be heaven without a renewing and perfection of the earthly creation as well as the spiritual. Before Adam had exercised his free agency, relates Parley P. Pratt in the 62nd hymn, "When earth was dressed in beauty," the earth did exist in this state of perfection, dressed in physical as well as spiritual beauty. And though Adam, in obeying the higher commandment to multiply and replenish the earth, was temporarily removed from the perfectly beautiful Garden of Eden as well as from the spiritual

16 See hymns #36, 28, 7, 12, 23, and 39 for examples of nature hymnology.
presence of God, all of Adam's children, all of the earth's "vast creation, / May come to God again," through accepting Christ's atonement and plan of salvation. Man, though he had been separated from God by his birth into mortality, would ultimately be reunited with his family and his God,

And dwell amid perfection,
    In Zion's wide domains,
Where union is eternal,
    And Jesus ever reigns.

This interesting hymn, earmarked for wedding services, was discarded after appearing only in Emma's 1835 collection and two small collections of 1836 and 1839. Pratt did not even include his own hymn in the 1840 British hymnal for which he was chief editor. Helen Macaré attributes this neglect to the highly inflammatory reaction the Church might have received from a hymn advocating such a heretical doctrine as "spiritual wivery," which seemingly went against the scripture that in heaven there would be neither marriage nor giving in marriage,¹⁷ an explanation as plausible as any other which might be forwarded.

One of the most unusual of the hymns included in the 1835 edition, from the standpoints of both form and content, is the spiritual folksong, "Through all the world below," #27. While at first glance it might appear to be another pantheistic nature hymn as the first three verses declare that we see God in all, both "pleasant and forlorn," the theme begins to change as the fourth verse advises that we must not be afraid when all of nature declares God's existence. Then once

¹⁷Macaré, pp. 147-148.
again the hymnist alters his course and devotes the remaining five
verses of his disjointed production to relating the times when moun-
tains (evidently his favorite form of nature) have figured in the
scriptures: Moses' Sinai, the Mount of Olives, Calvary, and Mount
Zion for the blessed. Perhaps this hymn evoked a peculiar note of
kinship with IDS priorities as the Hill Cumorah had played such an
important role in the history of the church. The form of the hymn
is at least as singular as the substance. Favoring the early
colonial penchant for extensive versifying, both in the length and
number of stanzas, the hymn stands as an entire mountain chain, nine
verses of ten lines each, employing the rime scheme aaaa bbb (cc)
[internal rime] dd. The stress pattern of each verse is also an
amazing conglomeration or patchwork of bits and pieces, iambic alternat-
ing with anapests, single feet interspersed with longer lines
of two and three syllables: 1. -/-/-/-; 2. -/-/-/-; 3. -/-/-/-; 4. --/;
which definitely limited its singability.

The final hymn to be considered is W. W. Phelps' well-known
hymn, "Gently raise the sacred strain." Set today in a tranquil and
beautiful musical arrangement by Thomas C. Griggs, this hymn for the
Sabbath Day is widely used for sacramental services and public choral
presentations. The Sabbath, says Phelps, is a day of rest when man
may thank God for his blessings and partake of the Lord's Supper, and
that, as such, the day should stand as a

Happy type of things to come,
When the Saints are gathered home
To praise the Lord
In eternity of bliss,
All as one with sweet accord.

The first hymnbook of the Latter-day Saints, then, was a varied
and admirable production, in which some forty hymns of indigenous
authorship or alteration were augmented by a group of fifty hymns
written generally by the most respected hymnists of the time, Isaac
Watts (17 hymns), John Newton, Bishops Ken and Heber, Samuel Medley,
and three distaff poets, Anna Barbauld, Elizabeth Scott, and Anne Steele,
among others. The hymns included of non-Mormon origin largely reflected
either Watts' English Nonconformist views or Baptist considerations,
but with a remarkably few exceptions, all were beautiful and tasteful
hymns, fitting well into the Mormon theology.

Of those hymns written by Mormon authors, twenty-six were contributed by William W. Phelps, who also served chief compiler of the hymns under the direction of Emma Smith. Phelps' hymns are directed to various aspects of the Mormon experience from chronicling the restoration to strengthening the missionary's resolve, but with very few exceptions, the one theme consistently embroidered through all of his hymnody is the urgency of the second coming of Christ and a longing for the day of cleansing and the peace of the millennium to follow.

The second coming was also the main concern of Parley P. Pratt, whose contribution of four (acknowledged) hymns to the first LDS hymnal made him the second most widely represented Mormon hymnist at the time, as all four hymns whether celebrating a wedding, contemplating the duties of a missionary, or specifically dealing with the apocalypse,
all point to the millennium as an end for which all of creation was formed and the justification for which all labor has been undertaken.

The tone of the native hymns ranges from a total humility and despair at the wickedness of man--but very rarely--to the more common rejoicing that man is the son of God, capable of great good and eventual godliness, basking in the love of his creator, and working to bring to all of the earth. Again, enthusiasm is the key word to the very admirable first edition of Mormon hymnody.

Literary Analysis: Hymns of W. W. Phelps

Because W. W. Phelps contributed extensively more to the 1835 hymnal than any other LDS hymnist, it is appropriate to look at the man and his hymns more closely, with a special emphasis on the literary successes and shortcomings of his work.

William Wines Phelps, the eccentric but amazing LDS jack-of-all-trades was born in Dover, New Jersey, on February 17, 1792. After an early and adequate education in the Greek and Latin classics, he entered the field of journalism, enthusiastically giving the editorial support of his two newspapers, the Lake Light (1827) and the Ontario /New York/ Phoenix to the Anti-Masonic Party. His early life was characterized by several changes of affection, as he embraced and then denounced first the Masons, then the Anti-Masons, and finally the Mormons. Fortunately, both for the young Church and for Phelps, his dissociation from the Church was only temporary (excommunicated March 17, 1839; reinstated July 22, 1840), and for the rest of his long life his enthusiasm for Church
activities, both spiritual and temporal, was boundless.\textsuperscript{18} However, as Walter Dean Bowen accurately assesses his influence and ability, "It is as a writer of inspiring poetic hymns that the versatile William Wines Phelps excels, and for which his name will always be remembered by the Latter-day Saints."\textsuperscript{19}

Inspiring is, indeed, an appropriate descriptive word for Phelps' best hymns. Though throughout the years the sifting process of hymnal revision has eliminated most of the works of several hymnists popular in the early days of the Church, fifteen of Phelps' hymns still appear in the current hymn book. A number of these are highly revered by the Saints, and form part of an inner circle of hymns so influential that it constitutes an unofficial fifth standard work. The best known of Phelps' hymns are "The spirit of God like a fire is burning," which is sung almost without fail at every general conference of the Church; "O God, the Eternal Father," an impassioned and sensitive sacramental hymn; "Praise to the man who communed with Jehovah" and "Now we'll sing with one accord," two spirited tributes to the Prophet Joseph Smith. "Redeemer of Israel," "Gently raise the sacred strain," and "Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation," are also favorites with the congregation. Only slightly less well known are "Come, all ye Saints who dwell on earth" and "If you could hie to Kolob."

\textsuperscript{18}During his lifetime Phelps was, according to Walter Dean Bowen, "a printer, hymn writer, poet-journalist, newspaper editor, judge, orator, scribe, lawyer, educator, missionary, temple worker, member of the city council, member of the stake presidency, pioneer, explorer, writer of books and pamphlets, topographical engineer, superintendent of schools, surveyor general, weather man, chaplain, . . . and speaker of the house in the legislature of the State of Deseret," among other things. "The Versatile W. W. Phelps" (thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958), p. 8.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 212.
It is difficult to make an objective literary analysis of these hymns because of my long-standing emotional identification with them, but it is possible to identify the major qualities of Phelps' writing in them, and by looking at less well-known hymns to further elaborate on his strengths and weaknesses.

The most noticeable qualities in Phelps' writing are his vigor and persuasive appeal. With very few exceptions, and regardless of the subject, his hymns are highly charged with dynamic intensity. All gospel themes, from the most minute technical point to the grand scale of God and the universe, are treated with equal candor and enthusiasm. While this very sense of epic grandeur and majesty is largely responsible for the artistic success of "O God, the Eternal Father," "The spirit of God," and "Gently raise the sacred strain," all hymns with themes of universal importance, its indiscriminate use in connection with historical and didactic themes has also contributed to the bathos of several hymns. When the tone and the subject matter do not complement each other, Phelps' high seriousness dwindles to a hand-clapping revival shout. For example, compare the dignity and grace of "O God, the Eternal Father," first verse (representative of the entire hymn):

O God, the Eternal Father,
Who dwells amid the sky!
In Jesus' name we ask thee
To bless and sanctify,
If we are pure before thee,
This bread and cup of wine,
That we may all remember
That off'ring so divine--

with the similarly intense but uncontrolled "Ho, ho, for the Temple's completed:
Ho, ho, for the Temple's completed;
The Lord hath a place for his head;
The Priesthood in power now lightens
The way of the living and dead!

See, see, 'mid the world's dreadful splendor
Christianity, folly and sword,
The "Mormons," the diligent "Mormons,"
Have reared up this house to the Lord!

or with the jogging and unpolished "What fair one is this" (verse two):

There is a sweet sound in the Gospel of heaven,
And people are joyful when they understand;
The Saints on their way home to glory are even
Determined by goodness to reach the blest land.
Old formal professors are crying "delusion,"
And high-minded hypocrites say, "'tis confusion;"
While grace is poured out in a blessed effusion,
And Saints are rejoicing to see priestcraft fall.

Phelps' persuasive appeal also varies in effectiveness. At times he possesses the rare and enchanting ability to capture the mind and the imagination of the most hard-hearted or skeptical listener, while at other times his appeal becomes as strident and labored as a carnival barker's. With a gentle and loving guidance he brings man to repentance and a fitting observance of the Sabbath in "Gently raise the sacred strain" (verses two and three):

Holy day, devoid of strife,--
Let us seek eternal life,
That great reward;
And partake the Sacrament
In remembrance of our Lord.

Sweetly swells the solemn sound,
While we bring our gifts around
Of broken hearts,
As a willing sacrifice,
Showing what his grace imparts.
In direct contrast to "Gently raise" is the heavy-handed gathering hymn, "Come, all ye sons of Zion," which concludes:

> Then gather up for Zion,  
> Ye Saints throughout the land,  
> And clear the way before you,  
> As God shall give command.  
> Though wicked men and devils  
> Exert their power, 'tis vain,  
> Since He who is eternal,  
> Has said you shall obtain.

Sometimes the subject matter of Phelps' poetry limits its effectiveness as hynmal literature. The scriptures occupied an unusually important and influential position in Phelps' life. For all practical purposes, he had been converted to Mormonism solely by reading the Book of Mormon, and later he had been one of Joseph Smith's scribes while the Prophet translated the Book of Moses and the Book of Abraham (now found in the Pearl of Great Price). Unsurprisingly, a number of hymns either incorporate scriptural imagery or are based on some scriptural incident. In "Redeemer of Israel" the Biblical imagery is well-handled and adds a delightful tone to the hymn without being overbearing, 20

> Redeemer of Israel,  
> Our only delight,  
> On whom for a blessing we call;  
> Our shadow by day,  
> And our pillar by night,  
> Our King, our Deliv'rer, our all!  
>  
> We know he is coming  
> To gather his sheep,  
> And lead them to Zion in love;  
> For why in the valley  
> Of death should they weep,  
> Or in the lone wilderness rove!

20Unfortunately this hymn cannot be fully be credited to Phelps as it was modeled after Joseph Swain's "O Thou in whose presence my soul takes delight," which it closely parallels in wording.
while in "Awake! O ye people," and several other hymns, the scriptural allusions are so mundane and ineptly handled that they weight the hymns down with their dullness:

Awake! O ye people, the Savior is coming; He'll suddenly come to his temple, we hear; Repentance is needed of all that are living, To gain them a lot of inheritance near.

To-day will soon pass and that unknown tomorrow May leave many souls in a more dreadful sorrow Than came by the flood, or that fell on Gomorrah,-- Yea, weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.

"O, stop and tell me, Red Man," and "This earth was once a garden place" suffer in a different way. Both are based on doctrinal beliefs peculiar to the Mormons, the first that the Indian is the descendant of an ancient Hebrew people in America, and the second that Adam first lived in Missouri. Their hymnic value is limited from a literary standpoint because of their unusual subjects and their dogmatic treatment.

Similarly, "Farewell, our friends and brethren" and "The gallant ship is under way," two missionary hymns written from the point of view of the departing missionary, must be categorically excluded from a list of good hymns because they are so personal and because they could be meaningfully sung by such a small segment of the congregation.

In a final analysis, then, the literary merit of W. W. Phelps' hymns ranges over a broad spectrum. At his worst he can be pedantic, dogmatic, narrow, overbearing and unmelodic, but at his best, when he combines his great fervor with a universally important subject in skillfully wrought, melodic phrases, he has, as J. Nile Washburn affirms, "no peer among his people as a writer of songs." 21

CHAPTER III

EXPANSION: THE 1840 MISSIONARY HYMNAL

Two additional but eminently unsuccessful hymnbooks were published in different locations within a few years of the publication of the first official hymnbook in 1835. The first of these was David W. Rogers' Collection of 1838, published in New York. Rogers adopted Emma Smith's Preface and included fifty of the hymns she had selected for the original collection, and added forty new hymns, many of Mormon (missionary) origin. The authorship of most of these, however, still remains obscured behind the initials E.C., R.B. and D.W., to whom they were attributed, although several others have definitely been traced to Parley P. Pratt. The two most prominent themes proclaimed by the collection were a declaration of the strong LDS millennial hopes and a call to sinners to repent. Unfortunately, Rogers soon found himself in the position of sinner following the publication of his hymnbook, and was nearly excommunicated because he had not received official permission to undertake such a project. Also, because of the official disavowal, many of those early, original Mormon hymns were never included in later, official editions and were rapidly consigned to perpetual anonymity.1

The following year Benjamin C. Elsworth (or Ellsworth) published Sacred Hymns to meet the needs of the rapidly growing congregations in the east. Elsworth also adopted Emma's preface and included even more of her hymns, 68 in number. He also collected 37 hymns from Rogers'...

1Macaré, pp. 140-143.
hymnbook, adding only 7 new hymns in the total number of 112, the largest hymnbook to that date. Elsworth did not bring down the official wrath which had attended his predecessor's publication. This was not, however, because his collection was sanctioned, but because it never declared churchwide pretensions, and was dismissed largely as a local effort, too far outside the main stream of LDS influence to appear threatening to the official publication. The author later fell away from the Church to follow Jesse J. Strang after the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and his hymnbook also disappeared into oblivion.  

The next important Mormon hymnal appeared in 1840, prepared by the British Mission. Missionary work had been extended throughout the eastern United States, New England and southeastern Canada in the earliest years of the Church, and soon expanded southward to the Tennessee and Kentucky regions. Shortly thereafter, in 1837, the first missionaries left the Western Hemisphere and carried the gospel to the British Isles, a move optimistically considered to be the first step in proclaiming the gospel from "pole to pole." The LDS movement appealed to many, and especially to the poor as they were taught of their inherent worth and also instructed in a way of life which stressed thrift, temperance, unity, and education, which when wisely combined could effectively combat their poverty. By 1840 the Church was growing rapidly, though hampered by numerous demonstrations and persecutions, and the first conference in England was held in April of that year. According to the record of the *Times and Seasons* a proposal presented

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2Ibid., pp. 144, 152.

3I, no. 8 (June 1840), pp. 120-121.
at the conference for the compilation of a hymn book was sustained, and a brief eleven weeks later the collection had been compiled and published, being formally presented to the English congregation and accepted by them in conference on July 6.

The composition of the English hymnal was directed by Brigham Young, John Taylor, and Parley P. Pratt. It, too, was strongly discouraged by the leadership of the Church back in America, but the compilers disregarded the censure, and following publication sent a copy back to the Prophet. Instead of being angry, Joseph Smith was impressed with the collection and wrote to England telling Brigham Young that he highly approved of the book.

Hymns of Public Worship

While the 1835 hymnal showed definite marks of Baptist influence, the 1840 collection is more overtly indebted to the Methodist tradition. The first large section of the book—133 hymns collected under the heading of Public Worship—contained only two new hymns of Mormon origin (although hymns #2 through #17, and #133 of various Mormon and non-Mormon authorship had appeared earlier in Emma's 1835 collection) while Charles Wesley was represented by 53 hymns that had not previously appeared in a Mormon hymnal, and another six hymns were taken from the Wesley collection or were attributed to Charles' brother and the main founder of Methodism, John Wesley. Isaac Watts was also represented by 29 hymns appearing for the first time in an LDS collection, and Hammond, Cowper, Newton, Hart, Fawcett, Williams, Steele, Humphreys, Addison, Browne, Stennet, Bacon, and Ecking each authored one or two hymns included in this first section.

In spite of the overwhelmingly Protestant Dissenting tradition
evidenced in the first section, the sentiments of the hymns are amazingly appropriate and voice concerns very pertinent to the mission field with its endeavors of conversion and of strengthening the faith of the new converts.

First, many of the hymns mention in passing the believer's concern for the unconverted, and three hymns are specifically devoted to asking God to open the hearts of the non-believers. Wesley's interesting "Shepherd of souls, with pitying eye," #22, asserts that the "Christian savages," "Wild as the untaught Indian's brood" remain strangers and enemies to God, unenlightened by the true gospel and in danger of losing their souls for lack of knowledge. Harrowed by the alarming aspect of spiritual death, the new converts then plead for their brothers remaining in darkness: "To thee in their behalf we cry, / Ourselves but newly found in thee." And they plead with an argument often reiterated in the 1840 hymnal, "Why should they die, when thou hast died?"

Because Christ's crucifixion absolved the sins of all believers, if He would encourage his children to believe, more would be saved. Wesley repeats this basic idea in Hymn #38, "Jesus, thou all-redeeming Lord," as he requests Christ to open "The great effectual door" of faith and "Gather the outcasts in," to gather and win those "thou hast bought so dear." Declining to enter into a philosophical debate with God, William Williams, author of "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness," #79, penned a simple and humble request that God would let the gospel resound from pole to pole: "Let the Indian, let the Negro,/ Let the rude Barbarian see" Christ's sacrifice and atonement.
Once God had been officially requested to soften the hearts of the unregenerate, it was the responsibility of the missionaries and the new converts to call the unbelieving to take up the easy yoke of Christ (Watts #80) and lay their other burdens and sins at his feet. As Hymn #67 would say, "Take the peace the Gospel brings" (Mason and Greene). Over a dozen hymns are specifically devoted to inviting the sinner to Christ and the gospel. "Ho! every one that thirsts draw nigh," calls John Wesley in Hymn #18. Give up your search for "empty joys below" and your "toil with unavailing strife"; rather "Come to the living waters" and partake of the words of eternal life.

And John's brother Charles in a bland, but generally effective, call admonishes: "Come sinners to the Gospel feast"; and further warns them not to allow Christ to have suffered and died in vain by refusing the benefits of His atonement. Several of Wesley's lines are rather startling in effect, perhaps as a conscious aid to persuasion. "Come sinners," one verse declares; "O taste the goodness of your God!
And eat his flesh, and drink his blood!" A similarly sanguine episode appears in the hymn "Weary souls, that wander wide," as Wesley advises the sinner to turn to the crucified Christ, "Sink into the purple flood/Rise into the life of God."

However, Wesley constantly emphasizes Christ's love for all men, maintaining that Christ never withheld His aid from the afflicted during His sojourn in mortality, and that He will receive sinners still (see hymns #35 and #48), and set all who believe free from their sins, #99.

Watts, too, provides a powerful call as he exhorts, "Ye sons of men, a feeble race," come to the Lord and no ill can befall you;
Angels will watch over you day and night. For those who believe, the Lord's "power shall help them when they fall, / And raise them when they die," a rather comprehensive policy for the small premium of faith required from the new believer. In some cases, however, Watts realized that the word of promise would not be as effective as the word of invective, and in a singular hymn, "Come, sound his praise abroad," #83, after tendering the usual invitation to the sinner, he closes with a wallop saying if you refuse to come to God and harden your hearts as the Jews, the Lord will deny you any portion of his rest.

Once inside the church, the main concern of most of the new converts would naturally be that they should receive the promised Holy Spirit to witness the truth of their beliefs and to guide them in their daily lives. And this desire was amply reflected in the hymn book as over a score of hymns were directed toward the search for first, faith; second, the spirit; and third, a continuing endurance to the end. The penitent's search for faith is the theme of Wesley's "Jesus, my strength, my hope," #64, where the new convert, realizing that he must first cast off his old carnal self, prays for a sober mind, a self-renouncing will, and a soul inured to pain, hardship, loss and grief. Thus strengthened, he declares his faith in the Lord and asks that he may be guided to continue in faith by the "Author of faith," #44.

In this second hymn Wesley extolls the virtues of faith, that through its "realizing light," even things invisible appear, "And God is seen by mortal eye."

Most of the dozen or so hymns praying for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit follow the same general pattern as the hymn "Come, Lord, from above," #20. The new convert, having made the intellectual
decision to choose the good asks that he may now find God through
the witness of the spirit: "inkindle the fire/ And wrap my whole soul
in the flames of desire." In this particular hymn, after inquiring,
"How, Lord can I purchase the pearl of great price?" the convert receives
the divine answer that the gift is free, and foretasting the heavenly
fulness of love he wholeheartedly embraces the gift of salvation.

In his hymns asking for the spirit, Charles Wesley often asks for
confirmation of his belief that Christ is the Lord and that He suffered
crucifixion for him as an individual: "Give me eyes to see that Christ,
dying for all men, died for me," #41, further requesting that the
gospel word may be dropped "in every drooping sinner's ears," #36,
and that every fallen soul may taste of His grace. In asking for the
divine influence, perhaps Wesley's most eloquent plea is found in Hymn
#45, "O disclose thy lovely face." The "Fainting soul" gasps for grace
and cries that the day is dark and joyless until God imparts the
inward light. So the sinner prays,

Pierce the gloom of sin and grief;
Fill me, Radiancy Divine--
Scatter all my unbelief.

Watts is also concerned about the indwelling of the holy spirit,
and realizes that even the most devoted of God's servants at times find
their faith and desire for righteousness waning. A hymn, such as #122,
"Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove," might help to restore the proper
spirit when "Hosannas languish on our tongues." At such times he asks
God to kindle a flame of love in our cold hearts: "shed abroad a Savior's
love,/ And that shall kindle ours." At other times, when already filled
with the spirit of Christ's love, Watts praises God and asks with fervent desire to receive word of his sure salvation, #75.

Each new Saint, of course, had to receive the witness of the Holy Spirit to seal his testimony, but the Church was an entity greater than the sum of all its members, and this community of Saints, especially when united in congregation, was also in need of the quickening influence of the spirit. So the Saints would sing Newton's hymn "O Thou, at whose almighty word," #90, asking God to "clothe with power the preacher's tongue,"4 or Watts' hymn "By soul, how lovely is the place, #84, which requested the Holy Spirit to come and fill the place of congregation and to teach the communicants of Christ's love. One hymn of Mormon author-ship in this section of public worship was also directed toward calling the spirit of the Lord to testify to the congregation. This is Pratt's well-known and continually well-loved hymn, "As the dew from Heaven distilling."5 Pratt, beginning with an extended comparison, prays that as God directs the dew from heaven to descend and revive the grass, He will also let His doctrine and the "dews of life" revive his congre-gation of Saints by imparting His "Sweetest influence" to their meeting.

Faith, and even the Spirit, were unavailing, though, unless each Saint could endure to the end. Cognizant of the continuous "right walking" required of the redeemed, Joseph Hart wisely petitions in the

4 The rest of the hymn recounts the stories of Moses bringing forth water from the rock and of the fall of the walls of Jericho, emphasizing that in both cases it was the Lord and not the rod or the trumpet which caused the wonders.

5 This hymn, incidentally, has long been the hallmark of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.
91st hymn, "Once more we come before our God": "Oh may not duty seem a load,/ Nor worship prove a task!" The Saint who had temporarily wandered from the path had recourse to hymn # 29 ("Happy soul, that, free from harms") in which the unknown author first acknowledges and then invokes His aid: "Jesus, seek thy wandering sheep;/ Bring me back, and lead and keep" him so he might endure to the end and stand with the sheep at the right hand of God in the final day of judgment. Endurance, too, was often dependent upon a true and lasting humility and contrite spirit. So it was not unusual for the Saints to enjoin God, in their hymns, to provide them with strength sufficient to their day and proportional to their need, #70, to reprove their consciences when they strayed, and thus to "Bring us to a perfect man," #43, or to ask specifically for the qualities they most had need of: meekness, a desire for righteousness, mercy, and purity of heart, #65.6

If God were to seal the covenant of his Church upon his saints and visit them with the witness of the Holy Spirit, the Saints had their part of the bargain--the total rededication of their lives to Christ--to uphold as well. And the Saints openly claimed their new master in song as well as privately covenanting with Him in prayer. Eight of Wesley's hymns of dedication appeared in the collection in company with similar selections from Bourignon (tr. John Wesley), John Fawcett, and Watts. Wesley's hymns range from the very new convert's wavering decision after being compelled by Christ to turn from things of the world,7

6See earlier discussion on #64 on page 72.

7"Though late, I all forsake," #19.
to the weak man's delicately bartered resolve to praise and serve God, if He in turn will "support the tottering clay" and "lengthen out my days" ⁸ to a mature and firm commitment in which the Saint vows his determination to shun evil, depart from sin, walk in the good, cultivate a wise and understanding heart, listen to the Spirit, glorify God, and find heaven. ⁹ The other hymns of dedication generally indicate a willingness to separate out from among the worldly and ungodly spiritually as well as physically under the direction and assurance of the Lord.

One tenet of great importance to the early Saints, afflicted as they were by persecution and rejection, was the belief that the Lord would be a shield to his Saints from their persecutors and a comfort to the disinherited. One must not bow to adversity, cautioned William Cowper in his perennially comforting hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way," #21, for "Behind a frowning providence/ He hides a smiling face," and that which brings the greatest pain may only be a prelude to even greater happiness: "The bud may have a bitter taste,/ But sweet will be the flower." While this hymn explaining the eternal dichotomy or doctrine of necessary oppositions may have eased the path for many Saints, others found a greater strength through the reassurance of

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⁸From "Lord, I believe thy every word," #100, another vermicular hymn. Verse seven: "I shall a weak and helpless worm,/ Through Jesus strengthening me,/ Impossibilities perform,/ And love from sinning free." The 1840 collection still includes Emma's vermicular hymns: "Alas! and did my Savior bleed" (see Ch. 1, p. 8), "Why should we start and fear to die" (see Ch. 1, p. 14), and "In ancient days men fear'd the Lord" (see Ch. 1, p. 24).

⁹Hymn #27, "Be it my only wisdom here:/ To serve the Lord with filial fear,/ With loving gratitude."
God's immediate concern. "Peace, troubled soul, thou need'st not fear," soothed Samuel Ecking in Hymn # 24. The Lord, who feeds the raven and cares for all His creations, will provide His children with all they need, numbering even the hairs of their heads. In an excellent hymn "Peace! doubting heart; my God's I am," #60, Charles Wesley also attests to the Lord's power to save His Saints, whom He has called and for whom He suffered the atonement. Because of Christ's heavenly care, neither water or fire, the ravaging forces of earth; nor temptation, the scourge of hell, can harm the Saint.

That temptation could come in many forms, and Johann Winkler, in a hymn translated by John Wesley, stands fast against one of its most potent manifestations, the fear of suffering scorn or derision at the hands of the unregenerate. "Shall I, for fear of feeble man,/ The Spirit's course in me restrain?" he questions. Or, "Awed by a mortal's frown shall I/ Conceal the word of God most high?" After posing these questions, he concludes with a fervent declaration of faith in the Lord. Let men rage, he says, for Christ will give him support and succor; and if he is reviled by the very people he tries to bring to salvation, he will not waver. Instead, he will simply petition Christ for strength, for as he declares: "I can do all through Thee" (Hymn #61). Isaac Watts also cautions against relying on the arm of flesh in Hymn # 107, for only the arm of the God of Israel can sustain the poor, the oppressed, prisoners, strangers, widows, and the fatherless.

In numerous other hymns, the Lord is praised and thanked for His guidance, protection, and love, and for the refuge He provides His
Saints. Two other hymns present sentiments somewhat less common. In the first, #117, of unmarked origin, the author hints at the extent of God's providence by declaring that when His people stand in need, God will provide, even to the point where He would soften the hearts of their foes, a truly heartening promise to the Saints who saw foes on every hand. And in the second hymn, "O God, on thee we all depend," #111, Simon Browne assumes the fabled humility of a true Christian and declares, after acknowledging complete dependence on the "open heart, and liberal heart" of God, the divine Father and Friend, that "What he ordains is best," actually the wisest course for any human to adopt.

Gathered as the new congregations were from all classes of people and ways of life, at times the gospel alone, though uniting the people in their love for Christ, was harder pressed to unite them in a true love for each other. The hymn, at various times, thus became a moral force to instruct the congregation in both the need for and the art of Christian unity and fellowship. Two companion pieces by Charles Wesley #31 and #32 played such a role. The first, "Happy the souls that first believed" recalls the scene of Christ's first disciples, who all lived in love and unity, possessed of "one heart and soul." After painting the tranquil and harmonious scene, though he abruptly queries: "Where shall I wander now to find,/ The successors they left behind?" For though various sects declare that Christ dwells with them, Wesley demands stronger proofs than a mere, wan declaration; rather, through your actions, he demands, "Show me where the Christians live."

Unity of the Saints then was not a mere convenience to be assumed by
the Saints if it appealed to them, but was instead a tangible proof of
God's approbation of the endeavor and indispensable for the true Church
of Christ. The second hymn of the set is a call to Christ to unite
his true followers in love so they will be able to show the world how
the Christians used to live.

Two additional hymns by Wesley more specifically outline the
plan for living in unity. Hymn #106 "Jesus, Lord, we look to thee,"
begins with the standard plea for Christ to unite and endear the Saints
to each other, removing their stumbling blocks, and making them of one
heart and mind. Elaborating in the following lines, he asks Christ to
make His Saints

Courteous, pitiful, and kind,
Lowly meek, in thought and word,
Altogether like our Lord,

and continues with the hope that every Saint will care for each other,
share burdens, and have no anger or pride.

In another hymn, "All praise to our redeeming Lord," rather than
instructing the Saints in the specifics of unity, Wesley conjures up
the scene of a people living perpetually in the bonds of love and unity
so the Saints may see what their lives could be like if they too were
truly unified. In that ideal society, Christ "bids us build each other
up"; all of the community delights in any honor, gift, or good tidings
bestowed upon one of them. Through Christ's influence, they live in
perfect harmony, knowing a joy unspeakable and a peace "To sensual
minds unknown"—a high standard of conduct for the Saints to adopt,
but in this foreign land, far from the headquarters of the Church, and surrounded by indifference and animosity, essential for the very preservation of the Church, as well as to light the beacon for the world.

For most of the new converts, however, their main emotion was a heartfelt joy that they had been privileged to hear and believe the new word of salvation. All of Emma's hymns pertaining to the restoration of the gospel had been included in this English volume, but only one new hymn of the restoration had been added. Positioned as it was, though, at the beginning of the hymnbook, Parley Pratt's jubilant hymn, "The morning breaks, the shadows flee," again set the mood for the entire book as a volume of missionary concern and zeal, as William C. Gregg's "Know this that every soul is free" had propounded the major theme for Emma Smith's 1835 hymnbook, the idea of individual worth and freedom. Now, in 1840, ten years after the founding of the Church and with the work of conversion finally beginning to spread to the nations of the world, Pratt could optimistically declare that "The dawning of a brighter day/ Majestic rises on the world"; a day when Jehovah speaks to his people, receives His covenant people, and brings Zion's children, from many nations, home.

Believing that they were a part of this covenant people, the new English Saints were profuse in their thanks to God, even if many of the hymns they used to convey their gratitude were couched in purely Protestant terms. Isaac Watts' work is used most frequently, and at least ten of his hymns of praise are included.\footnote{52b is close in idea and identical in parts of verses to the hymn #107 also attributed to Watts.} In two of the quiet,
deeply reverent hymns, Watts turns to nature to explain some part of his theme. In the very touching work, "O Lord, our heav'nly King," the author contemplates all of the magnificent creations of the Heavenly Father, and, overwhelmed by the apparent physical contrast between the works of nature (and of the universe) and man, declares with unfeigned humility in #109, "Lord, what is worthless man,/ That thou shouldst love him so," to put him above all the creations of heaven and earth? Although in strength and influence man is no more than the worm, God showers him with the richest bounties of life and grace.

In the second hymn, #53, Watts finishes his solo and plaintive declaration of awe and explodes in a joyous tutti passage, "Praise ye the Lord!" Praise Him who formed the stars and the clouds, who covers the hills with grass and who calls the corn to rise in the fields. And praise him for his unstinting love toward his children:

The Saints are lovely in his sight,
He views his children with delight,
He sees their hope, he knows their fear,
And looks and loves his image there.

Watts is also represented by the curiously Old Testament-oriented hymn, #57, "Father, how wide thy glory shines." Although this poem of seven verses begins innocuously enough by calling to mind the wonders of God and indicating that all of the handiwork of God bears either the stamp of his hands or of his feet, it soon veers away to discuss the plan of salvation according to Watts, or as he would say, the "Strange design to save rebellious worms," which consists of the joining of "vengeance" (justice) and "compassion" (grace). According to the
author, both of these qualities are so beautiful that it is impossible to determine which of their glories is the brighter.

In hymn #57, Wesley praises God specifically for the name of Christ and the sacrificial atonement he made. The fifth verse is especially colorful and striking in image:

Stung by the scorpion sin
My poor expiring soul
The balmy sound <of Christ's name/> drinks in,
And is at once made whole

In hymn 46 he similarly wonders that Christ would atone for the sins of mankind, or that He would leave the divine presence of his Father and all of His heavenly attributes but love in order to die a short time later, "bled for Adam's helpless race." Perhaps the most unique of Wesley's songs of praise included in this Mormon hymnal is #55, "Blest be our everlasting Lord," in which he confirms the divine right of kings ("And kings their power and dignity/ Out of thy hand receive") a sentiment strangely out of place among the LDS doctrines of individual worth and democracy.

In one further hymn Wesley employs the familiar device of degrading man to magnify the awesome distance separating humanity from God's divinity. However, in the hymn, #54, "Away with our fears," instead of picturing man as the traditional worm, the image is slightly altered, if not improved:

Oh the goodness of God,
Employing a clod
His tribute of glory to raise!
So man, who came from and returns to the dust, is no better than the clay at any time.

Various hymns by various authors reflect a host of reasons for worshiping and praising God. In a vein quite different from the rest of his hymns of praise, Wesley's hymn, #69, "When quiet in my house I sat," thanks God for the scriptures and for the joy and comfort the word of God brings to him. At the same time, in hymn #77, "This God is the God we adore," Joseph Hart praises the Father because He is a "faithful, unchangeable friend . . . whose love is as large as his power." And Joseph Addison declares his devotion and sounds his praise to God in the very moving and tender hymn, "When all thy mercies, O my God," #118. He recalls the Lord's loving care for him in infancy, when he was helpless to call upon the Lord, in youth, in sickness and in sin. He is especially grateful for the Son of God and, transported with wonder, love, and praise, declares that though he would sing God's praises throughout eternity, eternity is too short "To utter all thy praise."

Many of the Saints, and their hymn writers, did not quibble about the length of the eternities or the suitability of their praise around the throne of God after this earth life was finished, but anxiously sought heaven, in whatever condition it might be found, sure that it would mean an end to the struggles and disappointments of mortality and a reuniting with Christ in perfect love. Perhaps it was easier to dwell on eventual happiness and perfection than to endure to the end and work out salvation daily through a constant reevaluation and repentance. Regardless of the reason, Charles Wesley strikes a note in
hymn #26 which reverberates in many of the following hymns. In "Thou Shepherd of Israel, and mine," he "languishes" for the pasture of the Lord, that haven from the cares of the world where he might always abide, "Conceal'd in the cleft of thy side,/ Eternally held in thy heart." And while other authors might not picture heaven in terms quite so shocking (there also, according to Wesley, Saints would gaze in an ecstasy and "hang on a crucified God"), their longing for the dwelling place of the Lord was every bit as poignant.

"My God, the spring of all my joys," exalts Isaac Watts, in hymn #49, "Thou art my soul's bright morning star;/ And thou my rising sun." And for the chance to see God and worship in his presence, he would gladly leave his body, fearing neither death nor hell because of his reliance on Christ's "wings of love" and "arms of faith." So he looks forward, in #121, "Not to the terrors of the Lord," and wrathful Sinai, but to a milder Zion, where the hosts of angels mingle with the spirits of the just, and all are forgiven of their sins by God; where the Saints on earth and all of the Saints who had suffered death would be joined in one communion; and where the blest would again find Christ. "How pleasant, how divinely fair" that time will be, he reflects in #119; but, returning from his meditation to the cares of the world, Watts encourages those who have not yet been called to return to God's presence, maintaining that those who have grace and the true spirit of God will walk on cheerfully, with growing strength until the time when they do meet in heaven.

Samuel Stennet, one of the number, voices his longing for heaven
in a fine Biblical comparison. "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand," he declares, in #130, and calls to mind the band of Moses, nearing the conclusion of their forty years of wandering in the wilderness, seeing the promised land of Canaan so close at hand, and yet still, for a time, denied its possession. Stennet, too, longs for his Canaan, the immortal land of milk and honey, the land of eternal day, from which have been banished sickness, pain, and death. Oh, when, he queries, with admirable ardor but perhaps less than the patience of Job, will he be allowed to cross over Jordan?

Among the hymns included in the section of public worship are a petition for the sick and afflicted (Hammond's #85, "Lord, we come before thee now"), a delightful metrical account of Moses delivering Israel from their bondage in Egypt, #52a, "When Israel out of Egypt came," by Wesley, and three Wesleyan battle hymns, calling for the Saints to put on the armour of God's strength, #58--especially faith's "victorious shield," #59--and then to "stand to . . . arms," and prepare for the day of battle when they must assail the foe with faith, #66.

Doxologies

Following the first large section of hymns for public worship, the editors of the hymnal affixed four short doxologies or hymns of dismissal. Here appeared for the first time in a Mormon hymnal the

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12 The hymn's quaint but appealing quasi-refrain is indicative of the tone and mood of the entire hymn: "The mountains skipp'd like frightened rams,/ The hills leap'd after them as lambs."
familiar "Praise God from whom all blessings flow" by Bishop Ken (often considered the most perfect hymn in the English language) and James Allen's similarly well-known hymn, "Glory to God on high."

Also included was Newton's appropriate and edifying hymn, "May the grace of Christ our Saviour," in which he asked for the blessing of the spirit's favor and the Father's love to rest on the Saints and to foster harmony among them.

Not so appropriate, from a theological viewpoint, was the fourth doxology, taken from Tate and Brady:

To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
The God whom we adore,  
Be glory as it was, is now,  
And shall be evermore.

While the Mormons believed the Godhead was united in purpose, they also believed that each member was a separate physical (or spiritual, in the case of the Holy Ghost), though not mortal, entity, and Tate and Brady's hymn obviously reflected the opposing view of God as a single entity, unbounded and indefinable.

Although the majority of the hymns, many of Protestant origin, were in harmony with Mormon ideals and doctrines, some, including the doxology just discussed, were not. "Come, Holy Ghost, our hearts inspire," #42, one of Wesley's hymns, is a fervent appeal for the presence of the comforter, and was included through the 1927 edition of the hymnal, but only after one significant alteration had been made from the original 1840 text. At that time the final verse espoused the doctrine of one God, comprehended in His three manifestations of
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which were all one. So, calling upon
the Spirit, Wesley asks, let there be light so we will be able to
comprehend God through you, that is, through God himself. This
mystical belief was out of harmony with the new revelations concerning
the nature of God which had been given to the Prophet Joseph Smith,
and the objectionable verse was soon deleted.

The doctrinal error in another Wesleyan hymn, "Jehovah, God
the Father, bless," was more firmly rooted in the entire structure of
the hymn, so the hymn was discarded after 1849. Again, in that hymn,
Jehovah was one God, separated into three divisions of purpose, but
maintaining unity of being. So Jehovah, God the Father, the creator,
was asked to preserve his work and his Saints, conducting them to the
realms above; Jehovah, God the Son, to fill his people with grace
justified through his atonement; and Jehovah, God the Spirit, to testify
of the Father and the Son. For quite some time Jehovah has been a
name specifically reserved by the Latter-day Saints for the redeemer
of the world (who was also, according to LDS belief, the creator of
this world), a personage separate in being from either the Father or
the Spirit.

One additional hymn violates the spirit if not the letter of
Mormonism, as it favors a prohibitive, prescriptive formalism and
fear over a faith in divine love and true charity. Actually Hymn #93
begins respectably enough: "How precious is thy word, O Lord"; but
the unknown author evidently is referring to the word of damnation for
the wicked rather than of life to the saintly, for he continues to say
that through fear our feet will not dare to stray from the path, and
that all of the heavenly threatenings will wake our slumbering eyes, so that we will be prepared to receive the gospel, and being cleaned, converted, and conquered by the gospel, we may receive the free reward of eternal life. This is a fine end, indeed, but the means are so ignoble.

Following the section of public worship and dismissal, the hymnbook is divided into subject categories which outline the main concerns and beliefs of the Saints: the sacrament, baptism, hymns for the morning, evening, and funerals; hymns expounding the second coming of Christ, the gathering of Israel, the power of the priesthood, and the missionary experience, with forty-nine hymns appended in a "Miscellaneous" section at the conclusion. In a number of cases, the subject matter of the miscellaneous hymns is appropriate for inclusion under one of the other headings. When this condition occurs, I will discuss such hymns in conjunction with hymns of a similar subject, rather than mention them in their numerical order.

In her doctoral dissertation, "The Singing Saints," Helen Hanks Macare divides the hymns of the 1840 hymnal into three categories: general Protestant literature of dissent; troublesome or non-doctrinal hymns; and practical hymns, those used for opening and closing meetings and those specifically written for sacramental, baptismal, missionary farewell, and funeral services. As we have seen, the Protestant hymns (nearly all are included in the section on public worship) generally set forth doctrines and ideas very appropriate for the new

13Macare, pp. 191-192.
community of Latter-day Saints, and the troublesome hymns are very few in number. The practical hymns thus compose the remainder of the hymnbook, with the exception of a small group of hymns dealing with rather unique subjects.

Baptismal and Sacramental Hymns

Hymns appropriate for the sacramental service, or the Lord's Supper, are placed immediately after the doxologies. While ten hymns are included, eight are taken from Emma Smith's 1835 edition; only two compositions, both by Parley P. Pratt, appear in the hymnal for the first time, and the second of those two is not even a sacramental hymn but is rather a hymn of confirmation, asking for the spirit of the Lord to descend and purify those who have accepted the gospel, received baptism, and, through the ordinance of confirmation, become members of the Church. Revealing one of the unique Mormon doctrines, it asks the spirit to adopt the new member into the true family of God's annointed and covenant people, Israel, to strengthen his faith and confirm his hope, and to guide him until the perfect day. The only truly new sacramental hymn in the collection, then, is "Ye children of our God," in which Pratt enjoins the "Saints of Latter Days" to join in praise around Christ's table, and there to remember His pain and His triumph. Pratt, a firm believer in the proximity of Christ's second coming, then declares that soon all of the Saints will see Christ and their

1 Watts' "Alas! and did my Saviour bleed" #138, "Twas on that dark, that solemn night," #139, "He died, the great Redeemer," #142; C. Wesley's "Arise my soul arise," #140; S. Wesley's "Behold the Savior of mankind," #141; S. Medley's "I know that my Redeemer lives," #144; and Phelp's "O God, th' eternal Father," #143, and "Gently raise the sacred strain," #145.
departed loved ones. Appealing both to the Saints' desire to worship and praise Christ and to their hope in a perfect millennial gathering, this hymn has endured from its first appearance in the hymnbook to the present day.

Hymns of baptism, the next division, are more diversified. While the first four hymns also appeared in the 1835 hymnal, fifteen additional hymns make their debut in a Mormon hymnal. The majority of these are unremarkable, either voicing the standard pleas for the sinner to come to Christ through the gate of baptism;\(^\text{15}\) or representing the sinner asking for the courage to be baptized, to give over his previous life of guilt, corruption, and death, and to live a life worthy of Christ's atonement;\(^\text{16}\) or calling forth Biblical scenes of Baptism.\(^\text{17}\)

Several hymns are rather more notable for their content. For example, Watts, in the hymn, "Twas the commission of our Lord," #160,

\(^{15}\)"In pleasure sweet here we do meet," #153; "Thus was the Great Redeemer plung'd," #154; Fellows' "All you that love Immanuel's name," #157.

\(^{16}\)1. Watts' "Do we not know that solemn word," #152; no more let Satan or lusts reign and have dominion after the baptismal rebirth; 2. "Come all ye sons of grace, and view/ The bleeding Saviour's love for you," #156--and then live worthy of his example; 3. Fellows' "Dear Lord, and will thy pard'ning love/ Embrace a soul so vile?" #153--in which the person contemplating baptism is torn between a fear that his guilt is too great for the atonement to absolve and a self-pride which makes him scorn the act of baptism. Finally he concludes by asking if he should be ashamed to perform a deed worthy of God. The answer is obvious, and he resigns himself to God's will; 4. "Behold the Lamb of God," #159--in which the sinner asks God to drive away the fear of baptism and grant the grace to persevere so that he will not insult the Prince.

\(^{17}\)"Never does truth more shine," #155; and "Lo! on the water's brink we stand," #160, which also counsels the sinner to repent and ask forgiveness in Christ's name.
says the commission the Savior gave to his servants to teach the nations and to baptize in His name has now appeared in the British lands, and that those who believe may wash their souls in His blood, receive the Spirit of the Lord, and seal their covenant with God. This appears to be such an appropriate hymn for LDS use, coming as they did to the British Isles, that it easily could have been written by a Mormon author, which might have been suspected if Watts' authorship had not been confirmed.

The songbook Western Harmony was the original source of hymn 165, "Come, humble sinner, in whose breast/ The Gospel word is sown," which includes the standard invitation to be baptized for the remission of sins and gift of the spirit, but departs from the invitation in an interesting digression as the author parenthesizes that while men call the Lord their God, they reject His commandments, teaching their own commandments and doctrines instead, and that the Lord seeing this has again plainly revealed His will and His covenant so man's duty will be clear.

Also included in the baptism section were four new hymns by Parley P. Pratt, which unmistakably carry the new flavor of Mormonism. In one, #163, "How foolish to the carnal mind/ The ord'rances of God appear," he seems to enlarge on the author's comment in the hymn from Western Harmony. Men, he says, have discounted the word of God, counting it as a "puff of wind," or have dismissed it with a "contemptuous sneer," often substituting their own whims in the place of God's

18 Macare, appendix of hymn titles.
word. He then dwells upon some of the arguments men have used to discount what he considered God's word respecting baptism: "What! buried now beneath the flood,/ To wash away your guilt and sin?/ Are not some other means as good,/ Nay, better? why appear so mean?" What the world considered meanness was merely obedience to God. He then makes a crucial point, declaring that men all too often say they will do anything to be freed from the "leprosy" of their guilt, sin, and unhappiness, and frequently they will "Bow to the systems men have form'd if that promises the result, regardless of the price; yet, they refuse to turn to Christ and follow the simple, free, and only truly effective path to salvation. In concluding, he calls upon the sinner to try the way of Christ.

The idea of being sealed to Christ through the witness of the Holy Ghost following baptism is an important theme for Pratt in hymns #162 and #166, and he also mentions the new member's adoption into Israel's race in #166, a concept previously explained in connection with Pratt's confirmation hymn. 19 The last hymn to be discussed that Pratt wrote in this section is #161, "In ancient times a man of God." The Mormons, as concerned with types as their Puritan predecessors, saw a type in the story of John the Baptist. As he had prepared the way for Christ's first coming, so in the latter days, Christ's Saints must again prepare His way, and just as much of John's mission was served baptizing in the name of the Messiah who was to come, so the Latter-day Saints must also preach repentance and baptism. After this explanation, Pratt calls on the "wandering sheep" to come to baptism so

19 See page 89.
Christ may return.

The section on funeral hymns which is grave indeed, but relatively short, includes three selections from the 1835 hymnal,\textsuperscript{20} one hymn by Samuel Wesley, Jr., and one more by the ubiquitous Pratt. Wesley's hymn, "The morning flowers display their sweets," is a simple and appropriate declaration of faith in Christ in spite of sickness and death. All humanity, all its short-lived beauties, dies away and life ceases, but "new rising from the tomb," mankind will have a greater luster; let life cease, Wesley declares, but if the word of God remains, he will not be disquieted. Pratt, in "Creation speaks with awful voice," \#170, full of the assurance of his newly-restored gospel covenant, remarks that though the world has groaned under the tyranny of sickness, sorrow, pain, and death since Adam's fall, Christ has now triumphed over death. Therefore, we need not mourn the passing of a loved one, for eternal life is ours, the King shall soon descend to dispel our fears (note the recurring millennial pretensions), the dead shall rise and dwell forever with their loved ones, and a perfect peace shall reign. Then not only mankind, but all creation, shall cease to mourn.

Even shorter, if less grave, is the section on the restored priesthood, which contains two hymns, both by W. W. Phelps ("In ancient days men fear'd the Lord," and "Now we'll sing with one accord"), and both published earlier in the 1835 hymnal.

\textsuperscript{20}Watts' "Hark from the tombs," \#167, "Why do we mourn," \#168, and "Why should we start and fear to die," \#169.
Millennial Hymns

In contrast, the section on the second coming of Christ has become both more substantial and more vocal, if possible, than in the earlier hymnbook, where the millennial theme was even then one of the most pervasive and constantly alluded to when not the direct subject of discussion. The British hymnal of 1840 includes eight hymns from the earlier hymnbook21 (one, "Let all the Saints their hearts prepare," mistakenly appears twice, as #176 and #191), and nine hymns of relatively new vintage by Parley P. Pratt. At first glance, it appears that he wrote widely on the same subject merely to satisfy the metrical requirements of the various hymn tunes: There are hymns written in long meter, in short meter, in prayer meter, in 7's, in 7's and 6's, and in 8's and 6's, but each hymn does have a slight alteration of message or point of view. "Come, O! thou King of Kings," #190, calls for a hastening of the millennial day. "Jesus, once of humble birth," #187, and "At first the babe of Bethlehem," #189, both contrast the humble circumstances of Christ's earthly life with the power of his second coming. The first of the two is very well known, and, placed in a lovely musical setting, is one of the standard favorites of Mormon congregations. The second, discontinued from the hymnal in 1927, is similar in structure to the first, and while less polished, is still interesting in its own right. According to its dialectical construction, Christ was "first the babe of Bethlehem," but next will be the Lord from heaven; first, he was meek.

21Emma Smith, A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Kirtland, Ohio: F.G. Williams and Co., 1835), #174, "Awake O ye people," #177, "Let us pray, gladly pray," and #180, "Now let us rejoice" by Phelps; #175, "From the regions of glory," #176, "Let all the saints their hearts prepare;" #178, "Let Zion in her beauty rise;" #179, "My soul is full of peace and love;" and #181, "The glorious day is rolling on."
and lowly, but second he will be crowned with glory; first, he was a persecuted pilgrim to Egypt, second he will appear in his temple; first, he was a man of sorrows, but next he will bring deliverance from sorrows; first, he radiated compassion, but second he will fire forth vengeance; first, he had no kingdom, but in his second coming he will be the king of all. Then in his conclusion, written especially for the benefit of the Jews, Pratt declares that the first and second comings will show Christ and Messiah are one.

Pratt is also concerned with the Jews in hymn #185, "Behold the Mount of Olives rend." At the last day, he states, Israel will be threatened by her enemies, and the Messiah will come and slay the foe. Not until Israel sees the wounds of his crucifixion, though, will they believe that the Messiah is Christ, but seeing, they will believe, and crown him king. Another hymn "Behold the Saviour comes, #183, declares that the signs appointed by Christ to precede the millennium--blood, smoke and fire--have already appeared, and that the Saints should rejoice for these must then be the last days.

Caught up in anticipation of the long awaited event Pratt does devote four hymns, #182, #184, #186, and #188 to a description of Christ's millennial reign. The most complete picture is presented in hymn #182, "Behold the great Redeemer comes." When He comes, says Pratt, he will bring his ransomed people home, comfort the weeping, impart all blessings to the meek and contrite, burn the proud, bless the poor, restore creation, purify the earth, reign on David's throne, stand on Zion, fulfill the scriptures, reign 1000 years, stand on the Mount of Olives, defend Israel, lay the sinner low, show his hands and
side to the unbelieving, wed the bride (the church) and reign as King of Kings. By the time the congregation finished singing all seven, long verses of the hymn, some were undoubtedly amazed that the millennium had not come in the interim.

Several hymns from the miscellaneous section at the end of the volume were also essentially millennial hymns. "Hark! Listen to the trumpeters," a martial hymn of four verses which calls for the Saint's dedication to the army of the Lord in the current hymnbook appeared with two additional verses in the 1840 hymnal, verses which turned the message away from earthly struggles to the final redemption of the second coming (v. 5, #245):

Lift up your heads, ye soldiers bold,
Redemption's drawing nigh;
We soon shall hear the trumpet sound
That shakes the earth and sky.

"Stars of Morning, Shout for Joy," a hymn of unidentified Mormon origin, takes its opening image from the 38th chapter of Job, but continues to call for the gathering of the righteous from every land, and ends calling upon the Lord to "let thy kingdom come; ... Bring the blest millennium."

The second coming, of course, had to be preceded by the gathering of the scattered tribes of Israel and the faithful who merited "adoption" into the chosen lineage. Although the theme of the gathering had occupied an important position in the first Mormon hymnal, generally it was only a composite part of many hymns which outlined the entire plan of salvation, and few hymns were devoted solely to the subject. Thus in
the 1840 section on the gathering, only two hymns were taken from the 1835 edition. Since 1835, however, the idea had gained in popularity as a subject worthy of treatment as an individual doctrine, and five new hymns were added to the section, three by Pratt, one from Michael Bruce's *Scottish Paraphrases*, and one uncredited.

Pratt, in his three hymns, sets the gathering of Israel in the context of the new gospel restoration. The best known of the three, "An angel from on high," #197, tells the story of the ancient golden plates hidden in the Hill Cumorah. The people who had hidden the record were one portion of the people to be gathered, and because their record had revealed their ancestry as well as the gospel, it meant that the gathering must be near at hand. A second hymn, "An holy angel from on high," #195 has essentially the same message: as the truth, revealed through the hidden records and modern revelation, spread throughout the earth, the believers will be gathered to Zion, Israel will return to Jerusalem, and then the Messiah can come. The third hymn, "Ye ransom'd of the Lord," #194, is a call for the believers to begin returning to Zion for safety. The "year of jubilee," and Christ's appearance is drawing near, and anxious that the work of preparation should be completed, Pratt urges the Saints in "every clime" to prepare their hearts and repair to Zion. Effectually then two gatherings are to take place: the Jews are to return to Jerusalem, and more pertinent to the Mormon congregations, the righteous are to gather in Zion, the central stake of the Church. This call gathered momentum over the years, and soon the newly-converted Saints were flocking across the seas from all parts of Europe to gather in the American Zion and await
the appearance of the Lord.

In the miscellaneous section, Joel Johnson looks forward to the day

When Israel from afar
And Judah scattered wide
Shall to their land repair,
And there in peace abide

in the hymn, "All hail the glorious day," #253. The unknown author of hymn #257 maintains that "Judah should rejoice in this glorious news": that they will soon flourish unmolested in the land of plenty, and the Messiah will come to secure their eternal rest. But before they gathered, says the Mormon author of "Ye wond'ring nations, now give ear," #250, Israel must follow in the footsteps of many Gentiles: they must listen to the voice of the Lord, accept His gospel, and walk in the path of righteousness to the end of time.

Shoring up the Saints to walk in the path of righteousness were the morning and evening hymns of supplication and rejuvenation. These sections, however, were almost totally the product of Emma Smith's earlier compilation, with only one morning hymn appearing new from the pen of Brother Pratt. Actually, Pratt also wrote one evening hymn which appeared in the miscellaneous section, and Leonard Bacon (non-IDS) wrote one morning hymn which was included in the section of public worship.

Bacon's morning hymn, "The rising sun has chas'd the night," #98, is calmly faithful and reassuring, affirming that the Lord's eternal arms will keep us from all dangers, snares and foes. It
concludes by asking Him to "Teach us to walk with thee today."

Pratt's morning hymn, "Wak'd from my bed of slumber sweet," 
#20h, is worthy of inclusion, incorporating all of the standard elements of a morning prayer in a smooth and worshipful verse. He gives thanks to God for lengthening his days and praises Him for preserving his soul through toil, danger, grief, and fear. Finally, he asks that the Spirit's power will guide him in the paths of peace and that he may endure his trials to the end, thus to inherit eternal glory and the presence of the King of Glory. On the other hand, Pratt's evening hymn does not express the usual sentiments of the sinner asking forgiveness for his transgressions of the day or asking to be preserved from temptation and the threatening jaws of death or hell. Rather, Pratt, when "Another day has fled and gone," #262, recalls nostalgically the many days which had preceded the present one, and in the first few verses he mourns for his lost days and friends and hopes. Abruptly reprimanding himself for dwelling on such disquieting and depressing memories, he declares that he must cease his mourning, for the future holds greater promise than the past had shown; soon Israel would return to Zion and Jerusalem, and, there among the Saints, friends would never be parted.

Missionary Hymns

As in the other sections, the last doctrinal collection, "Farewell Hymns," included a fair selection of hymns (in this case, six) from Emma's earlier compilation, followed by a number of Pratt's compositions and alterations. In this section are some of Pratt's most interesting and unusual hymns, although few are actually written
for congregational singing at a missionary farewell. For example, #216, "Farewell, my kind and faithful friend," is Pratt's tender love song to his wife, "The partner of early youth," written as he prepares to begin his missionary labors far from home and when far from home he seeks a lone place to recall her love and kindness. At that time he prays for the Lord to "extend arms of love/ Around the partner of my heart," and to protect her. He ends the first section by wishing he could exchange or discharge his duties to return to her and retire with her to a peaceful life, freed from the chronic lies and persecutions of the present. In a typical Prattian pattern, though, the second part of the poem admonishes the missionary to recall his duties: "But lo the harvest wide extends," he is reminded, and when Jesus calls, it is our duty to gather the grain without repining. Shamed with the example of Christ's love and ultimate sacrifice for his imperfect brothers, Pratt acknowledges that thus the pattern of his duty is plain, and he resolves to sound the gospel to the earth's remotest ends; so he says an abrupt farewell and tersely and prosaically states that soon our pilgrimage shall end, and the Messiah come to reign—the idea ever-present in his hymns on all subjects.

Two other hymns Pratt altered to an extent from their originals. The first, adapted from a hymn found in the Zion Songster, continues the theme, "When shall we meet again," #220, concluding as did the previous hymn that reunion would come when the Saviour had gathered his Saints to Mount Zion. Again expressing his millennial hopes, Pratt declares that the Morning Star, the restoration of the everlasting gospel of Christ, is kindling the dawn of the "Bright Millennial morn,"
and that as soon as Israel builds Jerusalem, rears the temple of the Lord, and prepares Christ's way, that He would come again and bring His promised peace and reunion.

The second hymns, "To leave my dear friends," #221, altered by Pratt from a poem by John Osborne, stresses not so much the end of the pilgrimage when Christ shall come as the missionary's present duty to take his glad tidings to his unconverted brothers. Realizing the discouragement often facing the missionary far from home, Pratt affirms that the message he hears is even sweeter than the raptures of home and that the spirit of Christ will inspire and bless the missionary in his labors so he will not miss his home too greatly. In another hymn, "Keep these few lines till time shall end," #218, the departing missionary also asks his friends to remember him in his travels and to pray for him, knowing that he will also remember them while he is in distant lands.

Three of the hymns by Pratt included in the farewell section are more accurately sermons preached by the missionaries to the people they labored with under various circumstances. "When time shall come no more," #222, looks forward to the millennial days when the "unveiled eternal truth shall shine," and when the Saints in robes of light shall walk on a golden street, worship Christ, and sit on their thrones. After painting such an inviting picture, Pratt delivers the moral to his audience of investigators: sinner, if you want to be among those Saints and be freed from your sins, come to the Church of Christ.

Another hymn, "Adieu to the city, where long I have wandered," #217, is a missionary's farewell speech to a people who have been unreceptive to the words of the gospel. For the last time he tells
them of the judgments to come and warns them to flee from their wickedness and sure destruction, as the "last ray of hope for your safety expires." He then continues with dire predictions of disaster: empires trembling as Israel returns, the proud and the false Priests perishing as the earth is cleansed, the Union being severed and liberty's blessings being withheld from the Sons of Columbia. Concluding bitterly he tells the people that when they are beset with bloodshed, wars and famine they will remember the warning he had given them and fully realize the remorse of rejecting his word.

While many areas of missionary labor were as unrecalcitrant as those portrayed above, the work progressed more smoothly in other areas, although persecution and scoffers continually plagued the missionary effort. One more hymn included in the farewell section, is also the departing message of a missionary as he prepares to leave a fairly receptive town, "Farewell, ye servants of the Lord," #219. Here the missionary bids adieu, first to the truly converted and possibly other missionaries remaining among them, admonishing them to improve in wisdom and to lead ten thousand souls to heaven. Next he says farewell to the Saints of latter days, the converts who have accepted the gospel and in whose hearts the truth has shone. Then he bids farewell to his kind, but yet unconverted, friends, those with true hearts and a sincerity of spirit, and again he invites them to come to the gospel and wash away their sins. Finally he addresses the stubborn wills who remain in chains of darkness. When Christ returns, he scornfully predicts, they, too, will see, hear and know the truth of the message they now so flagrantly abuse. At that time they may "sink in endless pain," but the eternal
truth will stand. One hymn by Charles Wesley included in the section for public worship was definitely appropriate for a missionary farewell. "And let our bodies part," he declared in #126, for wherever we go we are united in Christ, and as we work in the vineyard, think of Christ and be buoyed up by the promise of heaven and the meeting with all those who have labored steadfastly for Christ. As earnestly engaged in missionary effort as he was, it is amazing that Wesley did not write an abundant number of missionary hymns, and that the eclectic Mormons should have included only one of those that were written.

The section of miscellaneous hymns harbors two which pertain to the missionary effort. One, as might be expected, was by Parley Pratt. An imposing hymn of eleven stanzas divided into two parts, "How fleet the precious moments roll," #263, declares that the gospel has been restored to the earth and maintains that the tokens of the latter days have already appeared in the heavens and on earth. Concerned with speeding along the gathering of the Saints, Pratt outlines in the second part of his hymn (known now separately as "Ye chosen Twelve, to you are given") the missionaries' duties in preparing for the millennial hour: they must take the gospel to every nation, first to the Gentiles in England ("Throughout Columbia's happy land,") then to Europe; from Europe to "India's and Afric's sultry plains"; on the islands of the sea; from the islands to Asia; and from Asia—where the word was first revealed according to the hymn—to the Jews, until every people had heard the proclamation of Christ and had sung hosanna over all the world, ushering in Christ's reign.

The second hymn is one of the few written by John Taylor, who had
worked with Parley Pratt and Brigham Young in compiling the hymnal. This was the inspirational "Go, ye messengers of glory," #252, which also admonished the missionary to carry the story of the gospel restoration to all of the nations of the earth, or in Taylor's figure of speech: "Bearing seed of heavenly virtue, / Scatter it o'er all the earth." Then he tells the missionary to linger to gather in the harvest, at which time Christ would come and reign in glory.

The restoration of the gospel, such a dominant theme in the first hymnal, is relegated to quite a secondary position in the English hymnal of 1840, where it is represented by only two selections. As a matter of fact, one of those two, "I saw a mighty angel fly," is a Protestant hymn of unknown origin based on the Biblical passage of Revelations 14: 6-7, and by the coincidence of the restoration of the Latter-day Saints' gospel through an angelic visitation, was appropriately pressed into services as a hymn of that restoration.

The second hymn was one of Brother Pratt's extended works, another hymn of two parts, with five stanzas in the first division and four in the second. "When earth in bondage long had lain," relates the story of the angel's appearance to Joseph Smith, revealing the presence of the gospel-bearing records in the Hill Cumorah, subsequently translated, as he states, through the power of God. The second part of the hymn, found in some hymnbooks under the separate heading, "Ye gentile nations, cease your strife," then addresses the unbelievers in the world, both Gentile and Jew, and urges them to listen to the story presented at the beginning of the hymn and to believe in the message of the restoration. To be sure, several other hymns assumed the restoration
in extolling the plan of salvation and the missionary program, but the
two hymns mentioned immediately above were the only hymns directly
addressing or being interpreted to address the subject.

New Themes in the Hymnal

While the restoration of the gospel diminishes as a subject of
hymnic interest in the 1840 hymnal, two thematic strains appear there
much more strongly than in the first hymnbook. The first is the interest
of the Church in the American Indians, descendants, as the Mormons
believed, of the Book of Mormon peoples, and in their ancestors, the
Lamanites and the Nephites. In the 1835 hymnal, only one hymn, "O
stop and tell me, Red Man," had really been concerned with the Indians.
Because it was one of the few hymns from Emma's collection that Pratt,
Young and Taylor had not included in their hymnal, Helen Hanks Macare
concluded that hymns about the Indians were not applicable in England.22

However, while "O stop and tell me, Red Man," indeed was not
included in the English hymnbook, the editors did insert one hymn by
Pratt, "O who that has searched in the records of old," #260. After
telling the story of the Nephites' fatal last encounter with the
Lamanites (which the Mormons say was fulfilled with the establishment
of the United States), Pratt directly addresses the existing Lamanites,
or American Indians. He says to that "afflicted and sorrowful race"
that their days of sorrow are ending, and he offers them the gospel of
their fathers, urging them to accept the glad tidings and to return,
rejoicing, to Zion to meet the Savior who is soon to come.

22Macaré, p. 233.
The miscellaneous section also contains a mammoth hymn of three parts and sixteen verses by Pratt which recounts the saga of Christ's appearance after His crucifixion to the people of the Western Hemisphere (based on the Book of Mormon account in Mosiah), and of their sorrow when Christ prophesies that they will, within four generations, fall away from the truth and eventually be destroyed for their wickedness. At this point, Pratt breaks in with an editorializing sermon, saying that the records those peoples made (but which were hidden before their destruction) had been restored, and in them was to be found the gospel which was to be taken to Gentiles and the Jews before the second coming of the Lord. And so, in a proselyting call to the Gentiles, Pratt says that this new church proclaims the true gospel of Christ: come and listen and repent.

The Book of Mormon also provided the subject for a hymn by Lucy Smith, "I have no home, where shall I go?" which, as the 271st hymn, was the concluding word in the English hymnal of 1840. This hymn, which could also be called the lament of Moroni, is a dramatic monolog in which the son of Mormon, the sole surviving Nephite after the Nephites' great battle against the Lamanites, gazes about him at the 10,000 dead and bleeding corpses of the rest of his people, musing about their fate and contemplating his own bleak future. Where shall I flee, he asks, and, bereft of all hope and comfort, he cries for the Lord to gather him home with his fallen brothers and sisters.

The second theme becoming very evident in the English hymnal was the sense of persecution and suffering that being a Mormon increasingly entailed. Of the two hymns on this subject taken from
Protestant sources, one, #270, calls: "Children of Zion awake from your sadness, / For soon all your foes shall oppress you no more," (originally found in the Church Psalmody) while the second, #247 by Fawcett, comforts, "Afflicted Saint, to Christ draw near," and regardless of your affliction, pain, loss, distress or poverty the Lord will give you sufficient strength to bear your trials, and even in death Christ will subdue your fears.

While these two hymns could be interpreted as a paraphrase of the psalms rather than as a direct reference to any real afflictions suffered by the little church, three additional hymns by Pratt show all too vividly that the persecution of the Saints was very real. In fact, two of the three hymns, "Lift up your heads ye scattered saints," #264, and "Torn from our friends and captive lead," #265, were written by Pratt during the winter of 1838 which he spent in the Columbia, Missouri, jail. The tone of defiance even under duress stands out in high relief as Pratt declares in the first that the cry from the dust of the blood of those who have been slain will be answered with vengeance, but that those who endure to the end, though scattered or slain, will be lifted up and will rejoice at God's final coming. This hymn holds an added dimension of interest for its almost prophetic statement of Pratt's eventual martyrdom:

Although this body should be slain,
By cruel, wicked hands;
I'll praise my God in higher strains,
And on mount Zion stand.

In the second hymn Pratt mourns the Saints driven from their homes in Missouri—Zion, and for the desolation of their peaceful,
happy homes, ravaged and plundered by their foes. Widows now mourn and children weep for their lost parents, while "In chains her Priests and Prophets groan, some in death's cold arms do sleep."

Totally broken in spirit, the defiance of the earlier hymn gone, Pratt cries out, as Job had done so many centuries earlier:

\[
\text{How long, O Lord, wilt thou forsake}
\]
\[
\text{The Saints who tremble at thy word?}
\]
\[
\text{Awake, O arm of God, awake,}
\]
\[
\text{And teach the nations thou art God.}
\]

He continues by asking the Lord to hasten the day of vengeance, deliver the captive Saints, and stop the suffering of creation for the wickedness of man.

The third hymn, which immediately follows "Torn from our friends," in the 1840 hymnal is "This morning in silence I ponder and mourn,"

#266. Beginning with a somber tone very similar to the preceding hymn, Pratt surveys at year's end the scenes of confusion—pestilence, famine, and earthquake—which had occurred during the past year, and wonders, "How many been murdered and plundered and robbed, / How many oppressed and driven by mobs." Obviously with direct reference to the plight of the Missouri Saints. But then after due reflection, Pratt changes his attitude, recalling that in spite of such afflictions, the day star has dawned, bringing the first beams of the morning of Christ's second coming, and, buoyed up by this realization, he declares that the return of the Garden of Eden and peace will crown the new year. So although the past year was plagued with the thorns of persecution and evil, the new year is welcome, for with it and each new year to follow,
the millennium is that much closer.

Suffering and persecution are thus vividly captured in the hymns of the Saints, but other hymns just as vividly encourage the Saints to improve their own lives in spite of any external interference. So Montgomery's tale of the "Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief" encourages the Saints to help all those who are in need of their aid, while Eliza Snow's "Truth reflects upon our senses," #255, admonishes against railing at a neighbor's imperfections instead of showing charity and love and working for self-improvement. Another hymn, taken from the Zion Songster, systematically catalogues the Biblical virtues which a Saint should desire and strive to attain: "Daniel's wisdom may I know," begins hymn #248, which then continues to include Stephen's faith and patience, John's compassion, Moses' meekness, Joshua's zeal, Paul's perseverance, Mary's love, Lydia's tenderheartedness, Peter's ardent spirit, James' faith, Timothy's purity, Job's submission, David's true devotion, and many, many more, concluding with Christ's entire life and conduct.

Several other interesting hymns of native LDS origin are included in the miscellaneous section. Joseph of Egypt, for doctrinal reasons already discussed, was a fascinating figure for the early Mormons, and had been the subject of two hymns in the first edition of the hymnbook. In the 1840 edition both of those hymns, "Before this earth from chaos sprung," #224, and "When Joseph his brethren beheld," #243, were included, and Parley Pratt also wrote a new hymn, "When Joseph saw his brethren moved," #219. In it, Pratt interprets Joseph as an Old Testament type to be reflected in future events. So, he says, as Joseph
was despised, cast out, and sold into bondage by his brothers and yet lived to repay such cruelty with kindness and good will, so a remnant of Joseph's descendants, the Indians, long driven, cursed, sold and slain by their brothers, the American "Gentiles," will yet bring great blessings to those who persecute them, as their historical records will definitely establish the divinity of Christ and the way to eternal salvation.

In an unusual hymn, "The glorious plan which God has given," #254, John Taylor discusses in some detail the witnesses which affirm the truth of that plan of salvation, three in heaven and three on the earth. In heaven, he declares, the witnesses are "Jehovah, God the Father" (indicating that the doctrinal nicety of the name Jehovah being reserved for Christ in his Old Testament function had not yet been clarified), "His Eternal Son," and "The Spirit." And on earth, the three witnesses are the water, Spirit and blood of baptism, or in other words, after baptism by water and by the confirming testimony of the Holy Spirit, the blood of Christ, which had been shed for the remission of sin would become efficacious for that individual. Taylor then concludes by saying that when a person has received the testimony of those three witnesses, his name will be recorded in the Book of Life.

One final hymn by Parley Pratt deserves to be singled out, not so much for its theological message as its medium. For the first six of its nine verses,23 "Hark! listen to the gentle breeze," #261, is constructed as a serene and harmonious, moralistic, nature hymn: breezes

23 In later editions of the hymnal these six verses constitute the entire hymn.
whisper "freedom, peace, and love," flowers bloom in harmony and order, untouched by hatred, pride, or envy, birds sing of freedom, peace and love, the fish in the "crystal stream" live in "silent joy" and move in freedom, union, peace and love, the mountains and rivers adore the "God of love and peace," and all of the earth, air, sea and sky, as well as the Holy Spirit and the heavenly angels, cry "Peace on earth, good will to men." As Pratt turns his attention away from nature and towards man in the last three verses, however, his tone becomes ineffably saddened. Man, the greatest of all God's creations and the creation for whom the Savior's love was manifested, alone of all the creatures seems lost in hatred, pride, and envy and causes all creation to mourn, a state that must remain until the Savior's promised coming brings a day of freedom, peace and love so man will be united in harmony with the rest of creation.

The English Mormon hymnal of 1840, then, was a diversified and substantial volume of 272 hymns, three times as large as the first edition published in the Church by Emma Smith five years earlier. It contained all but nine of the hymns originally published in 1835, and the reasons for deleting the three of those hymns which were of native LDS origin are easily if not totally accurately theorized. Helen Macaré believed Phelps' "O Stop and tell me, Red Man" was deleted because American Indians were not a subject of great concern or interest in the British Isles, although that position seems rather unfounded in fact. The second hymn by Phelps, "There is a land the Lord will bless,"

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111

...
could easily have come under theological as well as geographical fire, as it intimates that the place "along Missouri's flood" which Joseph Smith had designated as Zion, and the Scene of Christ's second coming, had originally also been the site of the Garden of Eden, a rather radical and unorthodox theory at best. Finally, Pratt's "When earth was dressed in beauty" could also have been censured by the traditional Christian community as it forwarded the doctrine of "spiritual wivery," or a continuation of the marriage bond after death.

Included in the volume, however, as well as 31 hymns of Mormon composition which had appeared in 1835, were 47 new hymns of acknowledged LDS origin and several others, though anonymous, bear unmistakable marks of Mormon doctrine or culture. Forty-two of those new hymns were written by Parley Pratt, who rather dominated the collection, while John Taylor contributed two, and Lucy Smith, Joel Johnson, and Eliza Snow were each the author of one hymn. Of the newly appearing non-Mormon hymns, the collections of Charles Wesley were most heavily borrowed from, fifty-five of Charles' hymns being included as well as five of his brother John's German translations. The heavy reliance on Methodist hymns changed the tone of the hymnal rather significantly from that of the largely Baptist-oriented first edition of 1835. Still Isaac Watts' hymns continued to be as popular as they had been in the first edition, with 30 additional hymns by Watts added to the 1840 collection.

Overall, the hymnal appears to have met the needs of the missionary field with a remarkable insight into the spiritual needs, temporal assurances, problems, strengths and weaknesses of the newly
converted, emphasizing love and unity, shoring up the Saints against
temptation and neighbors' intolerance, and looking forward with a firm
belief in Christ's second coming.

Literary Analysis: Hymns of Parley P. Pratt

Parley P. Pratt (1807-1857), a convert to Mormonism shortly
after the Church's organization in 1830, was one of the most versatile
and gifted of the early Church leaders. Remembered today usually in the
context of church leadership and missionary activity, he was nonetheless
also a fine journalist (the first editor of the Millennial Star) and a
prolific writer, as well as the principal editor of the 1840 English
hymnal.

Unlike W. W. Phelps, Pratt had very little formal education. But
education or no education, he had high literary ambitions which he
fully intended to realize. Pratt considered all subjects, regardless
of their scope or complexity, within his grasp, and at one point he
wrote a metrical "Historical Sketch from the Creation to the Present
Day," no light undertaking, but one that he facilely dispatched in
thirty-six four-line stanzas. Generally speaking, Pratt's poetry reflects
his scanty schooling as it lacks the formal restraint and distance of
more polished writers. But often, and perhaps partially because of his
scholastic "deficiency," his poetry has a refreshingly natural, personal
and introspective quality.

25 Parley Parker Pratt, Writings, ed. Parker P. Robison (Salt Lake

26 Parley P. Pratt, The Millennium, and Other Poems (New York:
W. Nolineux, 1840), pp. 31-35.
Unfortunately, many good poems, even on religious subjects, are distinctly out of place in a hymnbook because of the additional structural and tonal restrictions placed on the hymn. So it is not an insult to say that Pratt did not write many good hymns. As a matter of fact, most of the poetry that he wrote was not originally intended for inclusion in a hymnal. Much of his missionary poetry and most of his millennial poetry was first printed in The Millennium and Other Poems, a volume he had published in New York early in 1840.27

It is too easy to object to a missionary "hymn" such as "Adieu to the city where long I have wandered" because its tone is so vindictive and self-righteous or because it is the very personal record of one missionary's interaction with one city and so is in no way suitable for congregational singing. More realistically, "Adieu to the city" is not a good hymn because it is not really a hymn at all; however, when it is considered in its own province it does have some merit, although it is also flawed—in this case because it is too melodramatic. Formally the poem is brilliantly executed. The rapidity inherent in the triple meter perfectly complements the urgency of the theme and yet is not obtrusive in the diction. The rhymes are somewhat strained or unoriginal at times, but the rhyme scheme, itself, is very interesting. The three odd-numbered stanzas are rhymed abab, while the even-numbered stanzas are rhymed aaab. And the poem does have an appealing vigor, although its effectiveness is somewhat dissipated because of the over-lack of emotional control in the poem.

27See footnote 26 for additional publication data.
It is also easy to object to another missionary "hymn," "Farewell, my kind and faithful friend," this time because the lyrics are so embarrassingly personal and inapplicable for congregation singing under any circumstances. "Farewell" is also a bad hymn, but as a love lyric--in the highest sense of the phrase--it falls only slightly short of perfection. The tone, an expert combination of gentleness, sincerity, affection, honor and sadness in parting, is perfect. The poem is aesthetically flawed only when the poet's mind wanders from his love to his duty: "from my home my steps I bend,/ To warn mankind and teach the truth" is too flat and completely out of character for a love poem; or when his diction fails him at the crucial moment. How idyllic verse five

How gladly would my soul retire
With thee, to spend a peaceful life
In some sequestered, humble vale,
Far from the scenes of noise and strife

could have been if he had found more melodic substitutes for "life," "noise" and "strife."

When Pratt was not busy writing missionary and domestic reminiscences, he was invariably writing some poem with apocalyptic overtones. Nearly half a hundred of these poems were included at one time or another in the hymnal. But, once again, while those poems may constitute an impressive body of millennial literature, and while the scenes of awful doom pictured in many of them may have frightened both Saint and sinner into leading better lives, it is difficult to consider them as hymns, because as a rule they are neither lyrical nor uplifting
expressions of faith. To be sure Pratt could write compelling and polished verse in his millennial poetry:

On Zion's mount his throne shall be,  
His sanctuary stand secure,  
His sceptre all the nations sway,  
And all creation him adore.\(^{28}\)

But too often he bound himself within the confining framework of the Book of Revelations, and did not allow his own agile mind to soar to the heights of imagery or lyricism he was inherently capable of. In poem after poem he employs the same Biblical images of the apocalypse, either the wicked burning as stubble (see "This earth shall be a blessed place") or the Heavenly King descending with a host of Saints and angels (see "Creation speaks with awful voice"), or the wicked pleading for the mountains to fall upon them and hide them from the Lord (see "Hosannah to the great Messiah"), or the signs of the millennium, blood, smoke and fire, appearing on the earth (see "Lift up your heads, ye scattered Saints").

Today's hymnbook has almost completely sifted out Pratt's sizeable collection of millennial poetry. All that remains are the few true hymns in which he was able to look directly at creation instead of painting the picture he saw reflected in the Book of Revelations. And three of these hymns are some of the most lyrical, vivid, and beautiful in the entire hymnal.

In his discussion of the hymn as literature, Dr. Jeremiah B. Reeves makes the statement that "The best lyrics of the hymnbook . . .

\(^{28}\)Verse 5 of "Hosannah to the great Messiah."
are those expressive of human insufficiency and loneliness. The hymn is such an expression. Instead of simply illustrating the judgment day, this hymn is a fervent but beautifully controlled prayer to Christ to claim His kingdom and redeem His Saints; instead of tediously working with Biblical images, Pratt gives free reign to his own creative spirit, and in so doing creates a memorable hymn:

Come, 0 thou King of kings!
We've waited long for thee;
With healing in thy wings,
To set thy people free;
Come, thou desire of nations, come;
Let Israel now be gathered home.

Pratt's two other most compelling hymns are also composed on a foundation of his own imagery and insight. The very well-known hymn, "As the dew from heaven distilling," is also a direct communication with God, in which the members of the congregation ask for the companionship of the Holy Spirit. To embellish this petition, Pratt likens the gift of the Holy Spirit to the dew descending from heaven: as the dew gives physical rejuvenation to the earth, so would the Spirit bring a spiritual refreshment to the believer.

As the dew, from heaven distilling,
Gently on the grass descends,
And revives it, thus fulfilling
What thy providence intends.

Let thy doctrine, Lord, so gracious,
Thus descending from above,
Blest by thee, prove efficacious
To fulfil thy work of love.

\[29\text{Reeves, p. 337.}\]
The lyrical beauty of the first two stanzas of "The morning breaks" are unsurpassed in the LDS hymnal. This is a jubilant hymn of thanksgiving for the restoration of the Church and God's plan of salvation, and while the last three verses suffer somewhat as Pratt gives in to an unfortunate urge to catalogue the events of the last days, the first verses compare favorably with the best hymnody of any Christian tradition:

The morning breaks, the shadows flee;  
Lo! Zion's standard is unfurled!  
The dawning of a brighter day  
Majestic rises on the world.

The clouds of error disappear  
Before the rays of truth divine;  
The glory, bursting from afar,  
Wide o'er the nations soon will shine.

Pratt's writing could be very pedestrian, but he had a good ear for the beautiful in language, an ability to make simplicity dignified rather than absurd, and a discerning mind as well as a sure religious conviction and deep concern for all humanity. He possessed, therefore, all of the ingredients of a good hymnist, and on occasion attained and even surpassed his promise.

30For a very revealing view of his uninspired work compare his poem "At first the babe of Bethlehem" with its much superior counterpart "Jesus, once of humble birth," one of Pratt's most beautiful and skillfully simple hymns; or contrast the mundane "Waked from my bed of slumber sweet," an acknowledgement of God's mercy and tender care, with Joseph Addison's excellent "When all thy mercies, O my God," written on the same theme.
CHAPTER IV
CONSOLIDATION: EMMA SMITH'S 1841 HYMNAL

The year following the publication of the LDS English hymnal, Emma Smith brought out the second and last of her official line of sacred songs. Based on her original 1835 edition, and borrowing heavily from Pratt's English hymnal, the new volume added little to the small body of indigenous Mormon hymnody which had appeared earlier. In fact, while seventy-eight of the 302 hymns (304 are listed, but two are repeated at some point in the hymnbook) were taken from the 1835 hymnal (31 LDS and 13 Non-LDS), and seventy-six were taken from the 1840 English version (16 LDS and 60 Non-LDS), only ten distinctly new LDS hymns are included. The remaining 138 hymns number three LDS hymns which had appeared in the short-lived Rogers hymnbook, three Non-LDS hymns from the similarly ill-fated Elsworth hymnbook of 1839, and 132 Protestant hymns from various sources appearing for the first time in a Mormon hymnbook. Seventy-seven of those hymns appeared in the 1841 edition only, while fifty-five continued to be used in various later editions.

The majority of new Mormon hymns continued in the well-established LDS millennial tradition, warning sinners of and calling for Christ's reappearance. Underneath the main theme, however, there seems to be more urgency for the day of deliverance as the persecution against the saints was mounting. So, as Pratt turns his attention to the future, when once again, "This earth shall be a blessed place," #139, he emphasizes that at Christ's coming the wicked will burn and all of God's enemies will be slain, ending the "scenes of trouble," before he sings of the Saints flowing to Zion to "rear" their temple and of the peace and harmony of
the millennial reign. Pratt also continues this militant spirit in his adaptation of Mason and Green's hymn "Yes, mighty Jesus, thou shalt reign," #111, in which the day of judgment is not great so much because the Saints will enter into eternal rest as it is because then they will conquer their enemies.

While Robert Thompson's purpose in "See the mighty angel flying," #270, is to call the unconverted rather than to describe the last days, per se, he still believes that the scenes of final destruction provide the most potent conversion tool in the Church's arsenal, and so he pleads with the people to cease their vanity and strife and hasten to the gospel before the judgments descend, bringing great suffering to the wicked.

That the Saints' endurance had been tested almost to the limit, however, is increasingly evident in the hymns of Eliza Snow and Mary Judd Page. Rallying the Saints about her, Eliza cries "Awake, Ye Saints of God," and, in place of suffering silently, unitedly raise your voices to the Lord asking Him to break Zion's bondage; then He will see the widow's tear, and hear the orphan's moan and the blood of the slaughtered crying from the earth, and bring deliverance to His people. For, as she says, though persecution and evil abound, the "God of Jacob does not sleep"; His vengeance will not long slumber before He comes in glory to aid the Saints and to wreak vengeance on their enemies.

While Eliza Snow organizes the Saints, Mary Page petitions God personally, asking "How long will the sinners reign?" and then entreating Him to come and claim His kingdom. Throughout the course of the hymn, she poses several questions, and then proceeds to answer the petitioner in a voice of great calm and faith. The answer to the
question of the sinners' precedence is that while confusion is over all, it will be banished by God's grace when he revisits His Saints. In the second part of the hymn she turns her attention to the Jews (also a subject of great interest in the new Mormon hymns of 1841), saying that Israel, scattered, is weeping, and urging God to hasten the time of the Jews' return to their homeland. Again the calm voice of reassurance replies that the Lord will bring them home, and then in gentle chastisement declares that the kingdom is the Lord's and that if His Saints will have faith in Him, obey His word and rejoice in His truth, they will be raised and become Kings and Priests to the Lord.

The special interest taken by the Saints in the return of the Jews to Israel at this time was promoted by more than the Biblical prophecies of the gathering of Israel before the second coming of Christ. In 1840 Orson Hyde and John Page had been called by the Prophet Joseph Smith, through revelation, to preach the gospel to the leaders of the Jews scattered through the great cities of the world and to dedicate the Holy Land to their return. Shortly after receiving his mission call, Hyde began the journey which would cover more than 20,000 miles. He did not reach the Land of Israel until late in 1841 (a dedicatory prayer was delivered on the Mount of Olives on October 24, 1841), but the Saints were all aware of his mission and its portent in relation to the last days; and subsequently the gathering became a favorite topic for several of the hymn writers of the early 1840's.

In the hymn most directly and completely concerned with the Jews,

"O Lord our Father let thy grace/ Shed its glad beams on Jacob's race," #157, Hosea Stout enthusiastically petitions the Father to restore the scattered band, to heal their misery and to seal His pardon upon them. With a rhetorical flourish he asks if God's wrath is going to burn perpetually against them, His chosen people, and answers as dramatically, that God could not forsake them, after which Stout again requests that the Lord give the Jews His Holy Spirit and the bliss to see salvation.

Two other hymns, which were written somewhat earlier by the anonymous R.B. and which had first appeared in the ill-fated Rogers collection of 1838, also mention the Jews, although not to the extent of Stout's hymn. The first, #148, "The time long appointed is now drawing nigh," begins as a conventional millennial hymn. Then, after setting the stage, the author addresses the Jews and declares in a missionary voice that the Messiah will gather them when they accept His word and His salvation, and that the Messiah, the long awaited Lion of Judah is none other than the Lamb of the New Testament. R.B. does not dwell on the Jews, however, and the last portion of this hymn is a directive to all people to watch and pray, for the Messiah is soon coming.

In the second hymn, R.B.'s controlling image is Daniel's stone cut from the mountains without hands which will roll forth to fill the earth. Directly addressing "Ye slumbering nations who have slept a long night,/ Without revelation or heavenly light," he says the gospel is a revelation which has come to all nations. Then turning to the missionaries, he tells them to go to all nations and to the Jews, and that soon

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2 With Rogers in disfavor these two hymns were probably adopted by Emma Smith only because their subject was of current interest.
the ten tribes will come from the north, and Ephraim's children roaming in the west (Indians?) will be gathered to Zion, after which the Kingdom of Heaven will appear on the earth.

The missionaries of course did have a great responsibility in gathering the chosen from all parts of the earth and bringing them to Zion. With her accustomed stalwartness, Eliza Snow rises to the occasion to wish the missionaries Godspeed and to impress upon them the importance of their calling in her new hymn, "The time is far spent," #138. Hasten to cry repentance and to proclaim that the Kingdom of God is at hand, she tells them, and shrink not from the path of duty regardless of the unpleasantnesses strewing the path, but follow the pattern of Christ, endure the hate of the world, and never waver in purpose, always pressing onward to eternal perfection, setting as a goal to come forth in the first resurrection and to enter into Christ's presence.

Mary Judd Page is quick to see that missionaries are human and subject to human failings, so in her missionary hymn, "Ye who are call'd to labor," #292, rather than exhorting them to always seek the eternal, she very practically gives them a check list for gauging their daily performance and warns them of common pitfalls. You have been blessed with the Holy Priesthood and called to preach the gospel, she tells them. Do not, she then advises, let vain ambition or the desire for worldly glory detract from those blessings or stain your pure and holy minds. Continuing, she enjoins the missionaries to cease from light speeches, from light-mindedness and pride, to pray always and to abide in the truth. While warning against pride, she also cautions against its opposite, discouragement, calling the missionaries to rejoice in their
tribulations, remembering the sufferings of the Savior. If they govern their lives and their wills, she says, they will receive the Comforter as a teacher and have the constant companionship of the Savior.

One of the most interesting and peculiar of the Mormon doctrines appears for the first time in verse in the 1841 hymnal. While the missionaries were given the charge to convert as many as would listen to the message of the gospel, millions, nevertheless, had died without hearing it. The traditional positions in Christianity regarding the unbaptized were either to consign all non-believers, even if they had never heard of Christ, to hell, albeit at times to the least excruciating parts of hell, or to dismiss the importance of baptism altogether and rely solely on God's mercy.

For the Mormons, neither position was tenable. Scriptures declared the absolute importance of baptism, but a just God could not condemn a man for disobeying a law he had never received. And so, the ordinance of baptism for the dead was initiated by the Latter-day Saints. As he recorded at a later date, Joseph Smith maintained that in April, 1836, at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, he was visited by several holy messengers who bestowed upon him the power to initiate certain ordinances. 3 Elijah gave him the authority to turn the fathers' hearts to their children and the children's hearts to their fathers. In the 124th section of the Doctrine and Covenants and the 128th section, this was interpreted to mean the power to baptize by proxy for the dead and to perform additional saving ordinances. The first of the two sections was recorded in January of 1841, and the second in the latter part of 1842. So the hymn by

3 Doctrine and Covenants 110.
Cowles, "O God, thou great, thou good, thou wise," #177, a mammoth production of thirteen stanzas, which taught that baptism for the dead was instituted so that those not aware of Christ's atonement could still have part in his mercy and be freed from eternal damnation, was a very timely reflection of a doctrine still new to the Church. Its value is evident for informing the congregations of the importance and meaning of the vicarious work for the dead.

Perhaps the first of the Mormon occasional hymns to be written was Eliza Snow's "Zion's noblest sons are weeping," #295, which was penned at the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith's father, who had filled the position of Church Patriarch. In a laudatory but well-controlled effort, Eliza maintains that although the entire Church mourns his loss, no one should want to call him back since he has left pain and suffering behind and entered into the rest of Christ.

W. W. Phelps was the author of the last of the new LDS hymns to be included in the hymnbook, a hymn which, placed at the end of the collection, made a very fitting and harmonious concluding note. In "Glorious things are sung of Zion," #302, all mention of persecution and strife is gone, and the spirit of the hymn epitomizes love and perfection. The subject of the hymn is Enoch's perfect city of Zion, one of the Mormons' favorite scriptural allusions. Phelps begins with a moral description of the city, saying that there abounded virtue, faith, wisdom, unity, and brotherly love. Its inhabitants shunned Satan's power and would not covet wealth. Their perfect faith and good works were rewarded, for they were taken up to heaven without a taste of physical death. Phelps, in a typical millennial longing, looks forward
to the day when the Lord will return to the earth and bring the city of Zion back with him, so that the hymnist can mingle with angels and with the blessed Saints of the city of Enoch.

In summary then, the new contributions of the LDS people to their hymnody in 1841 seem almost equally, and paradoxically, divided between cursing the non-believers who persecuted them, and, at the same time, trying to convert them. The doctrinal contributions regarding baptism for the dead and the literal return of Zion, the city of Enoch, with the return of Christ are especially noteworthy in this edition.
CHAPTER V
EXILE AND THE PROMISED LAND: THE HYMNS OF 1849, 1851, 1856, 1863, AND 1871

The Saints who had been prospering in Nauvoo at the time of Emma's 1841 publication were soon beset by new and greater difficulties and tragedies than ever before. One Sisyphean cycle had reached top and was soon to precipitate the Saints into a grave spiritual and economic crisis. Years of mounting hostility from the neighboring "Gentiles" were finally unleashed against the inhabitants of the City Beautiful in the singularly brutal mobbing and murder of the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith in Carthage Jail on June 27, 1844. But even this brutality was eclipsed in terms of sheer human suffering by the mob's continued harassment of the city, punctuated by acts of violence and an ultimatum, that all of the Saints evacuate their homes and journey in self-exile to the west, or be driven out. Confronted by the alternatives of the grim face of the Illinois mob and frozen face of winter, the Saints chose nature as the kinder of their two oppressors, and so the first contingent of Saints abandoned their homes in early February of 1846, following the direction and example of the President of the Council of the Twelve, Brigham Young.

Now twice or thrice driven from their homes, leaving the Kirtland and Nauvoo temples as monuments of their dedication to the Lord, but having the promised land of Zion always one step beyond, the Saints subtly changed their concept of Zion from a place to an ideal. For the exiles, Zion encompassed the chosen people wherever they, the pure in heart, should be led to dwell.
This latest move, away from Nauvoo, had been anticipated as early as 1842 when Joseph Smith began to inquire after an unsettled, uninhabitated area where the Saints could dwell more peacefully. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to trace the Mormon migration, those migrations are closely tied to the Mormon hymnology in three ways. The most obvious is that during these times of trial and resettlement, in fact until 1871, the Saints found neither the time nor the inclination to publish an American edition of the hymnbook.

The second, also readily apparent when the topicality of the earlier hymnbooks is considered, was that the many hardships endured by the Saints provided a medium very conducive for the writing of hymns to provide solace for, and encourage endurance in, the Saints, and to manifest faith in, and ask blessings from, the Lord. In connection with this second point, the Saints in isolation were forced to rely on their native hymns and hymn writers, and so as the Saints withdrew, their self-reliance extended to their hymnology as well as to their economic, agricultural, and social concerns.

The third area, a more tenuous connection, was centered on the observable, though not altogether comprehensible phenomenon that times of trial for the main body of the Saints were also the times of greatest missionary activity and success. For example, in England alone it was determined that in the year of 1846—the year which saw the Mormon expulsion from Nauvoo and the first half of the long march to the Rocky Mountains—the Church maintained a consistent membership of over 12,000, while every month one or more ships filled with converts would leave the British shores to gather with the leadership of the Church of
Zion, wherever that would be.\(^1\)

One result of the highly successful missionary program, and the high turnover of Saints as new converts would fill the ranks vacated by those sailing for the new land of promise, was the constant demand for hymnbooks. To meet this demand the English mission was constantly reissuing new editions of the 1840 English hymnal. The fourth edition, published in 1844 was an exact duplicate of the original, but changes began to evolve in the book's format and content before the end of the decade, paralleling the changing fortune of the American Saints in exile.

While those changes will be noted more closely later, the point to be stressed here is that between the rather frequent revision of the hymnbook and the ever-growing demand for it, publication numbers are very impressive. In the English mission field during the final resettlement phase of the Saints, the introduction to the ninth edition, published in 1851 notes that with the addition of that edition's issue of 25,000 volumes, 514,000 hymnbooks had been published and distributed to the Saints in an eleven year period.\(^2\) And again, three years later, demand necessitated the publication of a tenth edition, comprised of another 10,000 copies, making a total of 644,000 volumes issued in fourteen years.\(^3\)

\(^1\)Berrett, p. 398.

\(^2\)F. D. Richards, ed., Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 9th ed. (Liverpool: Printed by Richard James, 1851), introduction.

\(^3\)F. D. Richards, ed., Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 10th ed. (Liverpool: Printed by Richard James, 1856, introduction.)
It was not until the year 1871 that a hymnbook appeared once more from the American presses of the Saints, then in their twenty-fourth year of residence in the Salt Lake Valley. And the new publication, known as the fourteenth edition, was a reprint of the English hymnal, the editor emending the British spellings and including an additional fourteen hymns, rather than harking back to the last published American hymnal, Emma's Collection of Sacred Hymns, which had appeared in 1841. This was of course to be expected both because the large numbers of British Saints who had migrated to America undoubtedly took with them their copies of the English hymnal and because the publisher of the Salt Lake hymnal, George Q. Cannon, had been the editor of the twelfth edition, published eight years earlier in Liverpool.

The evolution of the hymnbook throughout the transitional period of 1844 to 1871 is perhaps the most fascinating and unusual facet of all Mormon hymnody. While the earlier hymnic collections were composed of an overwhelming body of Protestant praise and sacred song, buoyed up in a few areas of doctrinal peculiarity by indigenous efforts, later additions to the hymnals were almost exclusively the products of the newly congealed Mormon culture. Emma Smith (and others) had presented her early eclectic edition to the Saints only provisionally until the Church developed a more complete body of Mormon hymns.\(^1\) Tragic in so many ways, the Saints' displacement from Nauvoo had at least catalyzed and compressed their need for an indigenous hymnody, and given them a reason to desire and treasure their own productions and the materials

and subjects to produce fervent and meaningful, if not always facile verse.

The 1849 Hymnal: Bastion of the Faith

A few changes cautiously began appearing in the English hymnal some time between the 1844 edition and the eighth edition which was published on July 30, 1849. The 1849 index lists eleven hymns which had not appeared in known earlier versions of the English hymnal. Two of those eleven, had, however, appeared in Emma's American hymnbooks: Eliza Snow's "Awake, ye Saints of God awake" (from 1841) and Phelps' "O stop and tell me, Red Man" (from the original 1835 edition).

An event so shocking to the young Church of Jesus Christ as the sudden martyrdom of Joseph Smith could not have passed unnoticed and unmourned by the Church's poets, and four of the productions occasioned by his death were included in the 1849 hymnal. Simple mourning, however, was in no instance the theme of the hymn. Early critics of the Church were convinced that the rather astounding drawing power of the new religion was attributable more to the personal magnetism of the dynamic Prophet than any inherent theological merit of the organization, and relying on that hypothesis concluded that the demise of the man would pronounce the death sentence for the entire Church, which would expire from internal struggles for succession and associated power politics. In an attempt to confound this dire prophecy, the hymnist used the martyrdom as a rallying point for the entire Church, warning against internal strife and proclaiming to the critics that if they had come to attend the Church's wake, they were somewhat premature, for the

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5According to Orson Pratt's preface to the latter edition, that hymnal was merely a reprint of the 7th edition, but the 5th, 6th and 7th editions have not been microfilmed and may not be extant.
martyrdom had strengthened rather than weakened the bond of the Church,
and that, anyway, the Church of God could not, and would not, ever
perish from the earth.

And so in his hymn "The Seer, the Seer," #281, John Taylor, who
had been present at the martyrdom, and who, therefore, was most deeply
and directly touched of all the hymnists recording the event, while
listing the Prophet's virtues and the nobility of the priesthood he
had restored, and comforting the bereaved Saints with the rather obvious
sentiment that their Prophet was now "Beyond the reach of mobs and strife,"
also emphasizes how the Prophet loved the Saints, "for those he
loved," and how now, after his death, he "pleads their cause in the
courts above." He thus subtly enlists the peoples' loyalty by reminding
them of all Joseph's sacrifices made in their behalf.

In W. W. Phelps' more familiar hymn, "Praise to the Man," #273, the
future solidarity of the Church is also implied as the author proclaims
that "Kings shall extol him and nations revere." While the
hymnists stressed perseverance for the Saints, painting beautiful
millennial pictures and singing early forerunners of "We Shall Overcome,"
the trials immediately enveloping the Church began to try the patience
of many of the most stalwart Saints. And so, to curb the rising tide
of discontent, the hymnlist Charles Wandell assumed the mantle of the
prophet in his hymn "Weep, weep not for me," #250. Speaking as though
in the person of the departed Joseph Smith, he prayed that Judah's
lion would quickly descend and smite Zion's enemies to perdition. At
the same time he instructed the Saints that all of their trials were for
their ultimate gain and that they should not complain in spite of their
prolonged persecutions and wanderings. And finally, he tells the Saints not to mourn his loss, for although he had been torn from his home and friends by mobs, he is now happy, resting with Christ on Zion's shore, waiting for the Saints to hasten and meet him there.

Phelps also wrote a hymn calling the Saints to hasten to the "next better world" where there would be no war, nor destruction; neither tyrants, mobbers, nor "nations ajar." This hymn "Come to me, will ye come to the Saints that have died," is especially worthy of note for its use of Book of Mormon imagery and its introduction of the peculiarly Mormon belief in a Heavenly Mother as well as the Eternal Father; in the next world the Saints will not only see the fallen Prophet again, their first parents Adam and Eve, Christ, the tree, fountain and river of life from Lehi's dream, but also they will behold "the mystery that man hath not seen;/ Here's our Father in heaven, and Mother, and Queen."

Two years after the martyrdom of the Prophet, the Saints had good cause for optimism and rejoicing, for although the majority had already been driven from their homes in Nauvoo and were in various stages of the arduous journey to their new home in the Upper California, the Nauvoo Temple was finally completed, being dedicated on May 1st. Once again, the Saints' enemies in Illinois had predicted, and even boasted, that the temple would never be completed, so the dedication, even though it took place in the nearly deserted city, was a signal victory for the Saints and a credit to their perseverance. "Ho ho for the temple's completed," rejoiced W. W. Phelps, for now "The Lord hath
a place for his head," and the saving ordinances for the living and the dead can be performed, all because "the Mormons, the diligent Mormons" have completed the Lord's house. For a moment he turns a mournful gaze to "the flight of the righteous,/ From the 'fireshow'r of ruin' at hand," but then vengefully declares that their prayers and sufferings, coupled with the cry of the martyred Prophet's blood which "stains the honour of State," will soon move Jehovah to bring the day of redemption and destruction. He concludes by declaring that the work of the Lord had already begun as the completion of the temple was indeed one miracle, and that the martyrdom, rather than scattering the Saints had only strengthened their commitment to the gospel: "the wonderful chain of our union,/ It tightened the longer it's \textit{sic}7 stretched."

Even before the temple had been completed and dedicated, it had been used to perform the saving ordinances, including baptism for the dead. While the first hymn broaching that subject had been Austin Cowles' "O God, thou good, thou great, thou wise," which had appeared in Emma's 1841 hymnbook (and which incidentally would reappear in the 1851 edition of the British hymnbook), the compilers of the 1849 edition had overlooked that hymn, including instead Joel Johnson's "The glorious Gospel light," #277, which had earlier (1843) appeared in John Hardy's collection compiled especially to meet the need of the

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6The early hymnists were not at all backward about soundly lambasting in not outrightly damning Illinois for being the scene of the martyrdom. Note the original version of "Praise to the Man," verse 2: "Long shall his blood, which was shed by assassins,\textit{Stain Illinois while the earth lauds his fame}" and the third verse of Penrose's original "O, ye mountains high": "In thy mountain retreat, God will strengthen thy feet;/ On the necks of thy foes thou shalt tread."
Boston Saints. In a compelling call to action, Johnson first says that many of the departed Saints, following Christ's lead, have gone to the spirit world to teach the gospel to the dead, and that if the unconverted there accept the gospel they may be saved if living Saints stand in their stead at a baptism by proxy. So, he says to the Saints, arise and be baptized for the dead, and rejoice, for through that baptism you may be a savior for those who accept the gospel in the spirit world.

One other interesting facet of the gospel is revealed in the 1849 edition. Eliza Snow, the long-time watchdog of the Saints' morality and orthodoxy, pronounces in no uncertain terms the divine origin of the word of wisdom, and severely chastizes those who were not too diligent in their observance of the word, which admonished the Saints to abstain from liquor, hot drinks, and tobacco, and to eat all things in moderation and otherwise treat the body with respect. Evidently a number of the Saints were disregarding certain portions of the word of wisdom, to the chagrin of the good lady hymnist, who upbraided them for their backsliding with the pungent hymn, "The Lord imparted from above," in which she acidly inquires, "Has self-denial grown a task?" Obviously above such a repugnant weakness herself, she continues rubbing salt in the wounds by declaring that the word of wisdom is the straight and narrow way to the celestial city and that for the declared Saints of God to "go astray, / Through Gentile customs, is a pity." And so, once again calling the Saints to regard the word of God and to prize His favor in speaking to them rather than deliberately ignoring or going against His counsel, Eliza thunders to a close, undoubtedly
winning the day for the word of wisdom.

During this period, also, the fervor of millennial anticipation was as strong as or stronger than ever before. The Nauvoo Temple had been completed, a sure sign according to W. W. Phelps that the purification of the earth would soon follow. Therefore, the earth was in the eleventh hour of its existence, and it was time to "Wake, O wake, the world from sleeping," #278. The remnants of Israel must be gathered and the Jews must rebuild Jerusalem, acknowledging their error in rejecting Christ, and finally turning to Him, though the Gentiles would turn away from Him. Then in very strict justice the "destroyer of the Gentiles" would go to "lay their cities waste," undoubtedly in retaliation for the destruction of Nauvoo.

And so the idea of Zion, instead of perishing with the Beautiful City, Nauvoo, emerged from the ashes of trial more beautiful and indestructible than before. Zion would finally be established in the Rocky Mountains, away from the persecution of the ungodly or the insidious influence of the non-believer. Thus in 1849 as Orson Pratt, serving a mission in England, viewed the struggling and determined congregation of Saints in the Salt Lake Valley, he saw more than a frontier settlement, conveniently located on the trail to the gold mines of California; he saw the golden city herself; he saw Zion. And seeing that vision, he wrote in the preface to the eighth edition of the Mormon hymnal: "How cheering to the souls of the righteous to sing of the rising glory of Zion! How animating to express in melodious sounds the well-founded anticipations and hopes of the future, and to portray in poetic
strains the grand events of latter times!"  

The 1851 Hymnal: Clarion of the Gathering

Once Orson Pratt had opened the door with the several hymnic additions in the 1849 hymnal, large-scale revisions began to be the order of the day. The very next edition, published under the direction of the newly appointed Apostle and mission president, Franklin D. Richards, had undergone radical surgery before its appearance, and emerged remarkably healthy after an extensive Wesleyectomy, undoubtedly because of the extensive transfusions it had received of native Mormon verse. As Franklin Richards explains in the preface to the 1851 edition: "The ninth European edition of hymns contains seventy-six pieces which are not found in the former editions; about sixty of which are substituted for the same number which have been omitted."  

Actually of the 76 new pieces, nearly 1/3 had appeared in Emma's 1841 American hymnal. Of the remaining fifty or so hymns, forty percent were the product of three hymnists, Eliza Snow, Parley Pratt, and a newcomer, John Lyon.

As in earlier hymnals, certain themes appeared to recur in the newest hymnic additions. The sting of the Prophet's martyrdom was now

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7The title page has been torn from this volume, so the only publication data available is that it is the 8th edition, published in 1849, with Orson Pratt as editor. No pagination is indicated in the preface.

831½ hymns by Wesley were dropped, along with 7 by Watts, 7 of various anonymous Protestant origin, and 11 by 11 other non-LDS authors; taking slightly more than the pound of flesh, President Richards also discarded one hymn by Pratt and one by Phelps.

9Richards, 9th ed., preface.
receding into the past, but the idea and honor of a Church martyr left the people with the responsibility of shoring up the memory of the fallen Prophet and periodically presenting hymnic offerings before his shrine. Because of his intimate association with Joseph Smith, witnessing his death as well as sharing his life, John Taylor became the unofficial eulogizer of the Prophet. His earlier production, "The Seer, the Seer," was joined in the 1851 hymnal by the catechistic, "Oh Give Me Back My Prophet Dear," #287. The symbolic already begins to gather thick around the Prophet as the tone changes from one of deep personal anguish and bereavement over the untimely and cruel loss of a great friend, to the universal, as Taylor solemnly pronounces that the Prophet, representative of all righteousness, was slain by the forces of evil, the "priests of Baal," who were desperate to save their dark and evil crafts; so the Prophet's martyrdom is reduced to one more page in the endless struggle of black and white.

Although the Prophet had been hewn down, his followers continued to enthusiastically thank God for the restoration of the Church. "Beloved brethren! sing his praise/Who formed the worlds on high;" who sent His son "To save a dying race," and who has restored that ancient faith in these latter days: so sang the unidentified but orthodox author of hymn #18. John S. Davis also took up the cry of the restoration in the hymn as he recalled the scene of the angel's appearance to Joseph Smith. He also posed the question so often asked by non-believers: Christ brought the gospel and we are Christians; how can the Mormons now claim to be restoring the truth? And he answered that the existing churches were supported by men but not by God, and that only this restored gospel was the "first one come again"; the one preached
by Paul, Peter, and Christ himself. In the version of this hymn included in the present hymnal, the third and final verse becomes a philosophical treatise on the eternal state of the millions of humanity who had lived and died during the time the gospel had been taken from the earth, declaring that they would hear the gospel in the spirit world, for "God is just to every man." The original hymn ended on quite a different note, however. Quickly dismissing those departed souls with a declaration of God's justice, the author concludes by effectually saying that the fate of the departed is beyond our concern, but that the gospel is now restored, and it is every man's concern who has the opportunity, to seek it out and gain his own salvation.

The newly restored gospel was not a weak counterfeit of the other gospels proclaimed by men, and John Hardy relished a point by point comparison between the "true church" of God and its counterparts of human origin, beginning with the nature of the God each worshipped and proceeding through the church organization, church doctrines and beliefs. "The God that others worship is not the God for me" he begins in a revivalistic, hand-clapping hymn, #288, for that God "has no parts nor body, and cannot hear nor see," while his God is full of power and love and is a God of revelation, so, he declares, "Oh, that's the God for me!" Similarly, "A Church without a Prophet is not the Church for him," for "It has no head to lead it;" and in the third verse, "A Church without Apostles . . ./ 'Tis like a ship dismasted," while his own church is "always led/ With the Twelve Stars around her head," and has a good foundation, so, again he says, "Oh, that's the Church for me."

In the remaining three verses he examines hope—the Gentile's hope has
no faith or knowledge while his hope is an anchor and will not fail; heaven—the Sectarian Heaven is doubtful of location, while in the rather unique Mormon belief, heaven is or will be on earth and in the land of the author's birth, America; and the Gathering.

The spirit of the Gathering was undoubtedly one of the most amazing aspects of Mormonism in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In their belief that the gathering dispensation was divinely called out "From false tradition, fear and doubt," tens of thousands of converts left their homes in distant lands to gather to the newly established Zion in the Rocky Mountains.

While earlier hymnals had advised the unconverted to come to the Church and the converted to put aside the wickedness of the world and become one with each other, this 1851 hymnbook is the first to openly and definitely advocate a physical migration to one central area. One hymn which clearly and definitely shows the mental and emotional conflicts the European Saints struggled with as they decided to gather to America and which also indicates the difficulties suffered by the American Saints as they crossed the continent to their Zion is Eliza Snow's, "Ye Saints who dwell on Europe's shore." #36. Sister Snow, as usual, tries to bolster the courage of these Saints contemplating the arduous and gloomy journey across the sea to join their American brethren who at the same time were being driven from the country of their birth into the wilderness. For as she says,

Although the present time may seem
O'erspread with clouds of gloom,
The light of faith will shed its gleam
Until deliv'rance come.
And the Lord, who is faithful to His word, will soon bring the day when oppression will cease; then, after the bitter cup will come a heavenly treat. With this she concludes, urging the Saints to hold fast to their beliefs, be "Faithful in the Lord," and without hesitation, haste and gather up and come; even in the midst of persecution, she maintained, great blessings were then being bestowed upon the Saints; come: "All is well."

For many Saints, gathering to the Rocky Mountains was a great blessing and a remarkable adventure rather than a forced march into exile after they had been driven from their homes. John Taylor's hymn, "The Upper California," #290, reflects this jubilant spirit: the upper California? "O! that's the land for me," he declares, for there, between the mountains and the "Pacific Sea," the Saints can find liberty and freedom from persecution, the desert will bloom with an endless spring in the Gospel, and the flocks will abound; there the Gentile yoke will be broken, and the Saints will rule and triumph with God as their king; there towers and temples will rise, and the Indian, "cousin Lemuel," will be asked to join them and to spread in righteousness through Zion's land. Then after that travelogue description, reminiscent in spirit of "G. Mourt's" early description of colonial New England, Taylor calls all nations to believe in the Gospel and hasten to the new Zion to raise the house of prayer. During the days of the Nauvoo period, the completion of the Temple had been one of the major preoccupations of the Saints, so it was not unexpected that the rallying point of the new Zion should be the establishment of a new House of the Lord. William G. Mills, one of the few Saints of the early period whose poetry nearly
equalled their piety, penned the fervent hymn, "Arise, O Glorious Zion," 
#22, which stated the hopes and far-sighted visions of the Saints that 
the city of God would soon shine in splendor as "A covert of salvation/
From ignorance and death," and that the long-expected Temple would stand 
on Zion's Hill: a "Royal Palace" built

What though the world in malice
Despise thee mighty things,
We'll build the Royal Palace,
To serve the King of kings;
Where holy men, anointed
To know his sovereign will,
Each ordinance appointed
To save us, will reveal.

There in the shadow of the Temple the Saints would battle tribulation 
and temptation with patience and firm endurance until the victory 
was won; and from the Temple hill would issue the Gospel calling all 
righteous men to repent and be baptized and then to "fly as on the wind"
to Zion before "righteous indignation/ Shall desolate mankind."

Mills also sang of the virtues and beauties of Zion in the 
lyrical hymn, "We'll sing the songs of Zion," #100. Written to be 
sung by European converts still in their native lands, the hymn creates 
a beautiful dream-like Zion, undoubtedly more a spiritual than a physical 
description of the Great Basin Kingdom:

When Zion reached the mountains,
They gave their golden store,
And all her limpid fountains
Their healing virtues pour . . .

There "The song of gladness . . . blossoms as the rose," and "From Zion's 
favored valley,/ Shines Gospel light and grace." Soon into that valley
millions of the converted would converge to hear the laws of heaven
issue from the councils within the "sacred shrine," the Temple.

Three additional authors had taken up the call of the gathering
in the 1851 hymnal. Mary Ann Norton, in a hymn--#61-- reminiscent of
and incidentally worthy of the steadfast Eliza Snow, addresses the new
land of Zion:

O happy home! O blest abode!
Where Saints communion hold with God,
Without a doubt or fear;
When shall I reach thy fertile plains,
Ascend the mount where virtue gains
A more exalted sphere.

The evils in Babylon are increasing with every day, and the only way to
the new land, as she explains, is to trace in the path of Christ's
footsteps, forsaking wrong traditions and the erring influence of near
and dear friends and kindred, being firm in the righteous cause, avoid-
ing the applause of the world, and patiently sharing the suffering of
others.

Cyrus H. Wheelock is not so much an advocate of the "If thine eye
should offend thee, pluck it out" school as was Norton. Rather than
shunning misinformed friends and family for fear of spiritual contamina-
tion, he would convince them of their error and convert them. "Ye elders
of Israel," he calls in Hymn #295, come "search out the righteous, where'er
they may be/ . . . And bring them from Babylon to Zion so free." Go
visit the poor, the weary, the hungry, the feeble, halt, dumb and blind;
heal their wounds and dry their tears; and "lead them to Zion to dwell
there for years." Then when the trumpet announcing Christ's return and
Zion's freedom sounds, all will be eternally happy with their friends, wives and children. For Wheelock, heaven is only heaven with the presence of loved ones, and Wigglesworth's scene of the blessed, happy in their individual salvation and unfeeling about the damnation of their parents, spouses, or children would be a most impossible and unhappy heaven.

It is also interesting to note the change this hymn has undergone since the time of its initial appearance. The original concerns the actual, physical gathering of the people to the Rocky Mountains, a temporary refuge before the coming of Christ and the return to Missouri to inherit the eternal promised land (notice: "lead them to Zion to dwell there for years"—very finite). By the time of the present version, however, subtle changes have transformed the hymn into a universal call to enter into the covenant and look forward to the eternal gathering, so now the elders are charged to "point" their converts "to Zion and life evermore." Also, reference to "Babylon," (except in the familiar chorus "O Babylon, O Babylon, we bid thee farewell/ We're going to the mountains of Ephraim to dwell") hinting as it does at a certain unecumenical aloofness if not hostility, has been deleted in the modern version.

The last of the gathering hymns is Alexander Ross's uneven, but enthusiastic hymn, "The shepherds have raised," #296, in which he re-echoes the phrase to bid Babylon farewell, going to the mountains of Ephraim to dwell. Anticipating a swift reckoning with the wicked of the world, he calls the Saints to gather out from the condemned and fly to the mountains, there to rest from persecution on Zion's hill. Unfortunately, the final verse, the author's ultimate enticement to the Saints,
is easily interpreted with high humor by a more sophisticated or less fervent audience. Think of the mountains, he says, covered with Saints, milk, honey and wine, but when interpreted literally, the image seems more like a scene out of Dante's inferno--some outrageous punishment fitting some shameful crime--than a view of Zion, the heavenly retreat.

The emphasis on millennial thought remains as pressing and important in the 1851 hymnal as in any of the previous editions, with eleven new hymns specifically calling the Saints to prepare for the day of judgment. Foremost among the doom sayers is Parley P. Pratt. Of his five new hymns included in the hymnal, four provide definite descriptions of the last days or call for the immediate coming of Christ, while the fifth invites all people to hasten to the Gospel because of the nearness of the day of judgment.

While the hymns are generally but minor variations on the general theme of the apocalypse, each is notable for some facet of thought although all but one, (and that rather a transcription of Alexander Neibaur's hymn than Pratt's own production) were deleted with the 1948 revision of the hymnbook. In "All hail the new-born year," #286, Pratt looks forward in hope both actual and symbolic to the coming spring and its plenty after the tribulations of a hard winter, and then, becoming even more esoteric, he says that the spring and its joy is only a type for the eternal bounties of the forthcoming Jubilee, or Second Coming. Finally, Pratt tells the Saints to hope for a quick release from the sin-plagued world and for their coming redemption and the sinners' doom.

In "Hark ye mortals. Hist! be still," #26, Pratt announces that
the voices rising from the Hill Cumorah are ushering in the final days when, as he says with perfect and refreshing candor,

Thrones shall totter, Babel fall,
Satan reign no more at all: ... Gentile tyrants sink to hell,
Now's the day of Israel.

Written with more muted and dulcet tones is his hymn, "The night is wearing fast away," #132. Comforting the "mournful pilgrims," Pratt assures them that though the "weeping Saints are ... faint, and worn, and weary," the Morning Star and star-like hosts of angel bands are beginning to appear, ushering in "The long Sabbatic morrow" and Christ, who will come as a bridegroom to share all of the joys of eternal life with His Saints.

And finally, in jubilation he sings, "Lo! the Gentile chain is broken," #89, for Zion's standard of freedom is raised "above Missouri's fountain," waving for all the world. In a verse which was early deleted from the hymnbook he calls to the peoples of the world: come Christian sects, Pagan, Pope, Protestant, Priest; worshipers of God and Dagon; Indians, Moslems, Greeks, and Jews, come, cease your butchery of the innocent, be a brother to all men, and join the covenant of peace, and your shackles shall burst.

Another hymn often attributed to Pratt, "Come thou glorious day of promise," #219, was actually written by Alexander Neibaur, the first Jewish convert to the LDS faith, a fact which increases the poignancy of the hymn. In it Neibaur calls upon God to gather the "scattered sheep of Israel," and return them to the paths of righteousness and piety,
ending their misery and unbelief. In a very touching plea he asks:

Lord, how long wilt thou be angry?  
Shall thy wrath forever burn?  
Rise, redeem thine ancient people;  
Thy transgressions from them turn; . . .

and then calls for the Lord to return and reign over Israel.

John Lyon, who contributed the most new hymns to the 1851 edition (eight) wrote two about the second coming. The first, "Hail! bright millennial day of rest," #60, contrasts the hardships of the Saints in Nauvoo with the joys of the millennial rest when famished children will no longer have to beg, and beg vainly, for the produce of their fathers' toil. Also during the millennium, he says, the proud will no longer neglect the needs of the poor, and all men will share equally without envyings. In the second hymn, "Where the voice of friendship's heard," #51, Lyon reveals his disdain for the legal profession as he claims that the faithful will gather "Where the Judge by justice rules;/ Where the counsellors are not fools." It must be admitted that the court system certainly had not given justice to the Saints in the past.10

Other interesting doctrines proclaimed in the new hymns of 1851 included the existence of a Heavenly Mother as well as a Heavenly Father.11

10Additional millennial hymns include: 1. John Jacques' "Softly beams the sacred dawning," #25, which states that the earth will be restored to its primeval beauty and the Saints will appear on resurrection morning in unison; 2. T. Davenport's "Come, all ye sons of God," #186 tells missionaries to labor diligently so they will be worthy of Christ's presence for the thousand years of the millennium; 3. "Hail to the brightness of Zion's glad morning," by the Protestant author and musician Thomas Hastings, #292, fittingly expresses joy that Zion will soon triumph.

11Eliza Snow's well known hymn "O my Father," #143. The idea was first broached by W. W. Phelps in 1849. (See page 133, this section.)
the idea that through eternal progression man could become a God, swaying kingdoms and worlds and having Eternal Life to give,\textsuperscript{12} the efficacy of anointing with consecrated oil and the laying on of hands for the healing of the sick.\textsuperscript{13}

Many of the everyday concerns of secular life—marriage and death and birth—and of sacred life—confirmation and the taking of the sacrament—were also reflected in the hymnal. For the marriage celebration, Lyon penned hymn \#119, "O Lord, do thou in heaven seal," a marital prayer that God would grant intelligence and light to the couple," that together they would be united in connubial love and virtue, the husband guarding and shielding his wife, the wife giving solace to her husband; that as streams they would unite, gathering love as they flowed onward, their children entering as tributary streams; that thus united their love would endure beyond mortality to be crowned with celestial honors.

The hardships of the cross-country trek and the deprivations of the first few years in the Salt Lake Valley contributed to the untimely death of many of the Saints, sparing neither the old, those in their prime, nor the children. Eliza Snow was in fine form as she wrote her

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12}In Lyon's hymn "To Thee, O God, we do approach/ With gratitude and praise," \#110.
  \item \textsuperscript{13}The anonymous "Come listen to a Prophets voice, \#236, and Lyon's "When sickness clouds the soul with grief,/ And wastes this mortal frame,/ Thine ord'nance brings our woes relief,/ Through faith in thy great name," \#82. Lyon distinguishes between sickness sent as a scourge by God to chasten the straying and the affliction given to the faithful by the "enemy of man" to distract him from the saving concerns of the Gospel, but asks that the afflicted in either instance might have the faith to overcome the ill.
\end{itemize}
funeral hymns, encouraging the Saints not to mourn the passing of their loved ones, and even chastizing their lack of faith if they did, for the dead had been taken to a better world and would arise with Christ and be reunited with their friends and family in the resurrection.\textsuperscript{11}

While Eliza had the strength of character and Gospel conviction to write excellent—as they were considered—funeral hymns, and had a near monopoly in the field, one of John Clements' funeral elegies "Weep not for him that's dead and gone," \#131, was also included. His hymn, written for a child's funeral (and much in the spirit of Eliza's hymns) admonishes the mourning parents: "do not desire him now,/

For he is gone to rest," and concludes by telling them not to shed bitter tears or have regrets, for only the earthly casket remains, while "the sparkling gem sparkles yet."

Although infant baptism was anathema to the Saints, the early dedication of a child to God asking for the Lord's blessings to be upon it, was one of the sacred duties and privileges of the Priesthood. Two hymns were appropriately used in the services, "O Lord our sovereign King," \#66, and "O Thou who has promis'd" \#289, both of undetermined authorship, although the first, mentioning as it does the belief in a

\textsuperscript{11}Eliza wrote four funeral hymns included in this book: \#155, "Now he's gone we'd not recall him," originated as "Zion's noblest sons are weeping" in Emra's 1841 collection; \#177, "Hark from afar a funeral knell," deleted after 1927; \#291, "Earthly happiness is fleeting," consoles parents at a child's funeral with the homily that "Present loss is future gain;" and \#293, "Thou dost not weep to weep alone!" the most compassionate of her funeral hymns, undoubtedly written, as J. Spencer Cornwall proposes in \textit{Stories of Our Mormon Hymns} (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1961), p. 195, as an elegy for a particular person (whose identity has not yet been established); this hymn is presently found, with a few minor changes, as hymn 181 in the current hymnbook.
pre-existence for man, seems to be at least a Mormon graft on earlier Protestant stock (the emphasis on grace is a little heavy to be of undiluted Mormon origin). Both supplications express the hope that the child will keep the commandments of God and be worthy to stand when Christ returns.

In the natural order of advancement within the Church, the next event of importance to the child is the time of his baptism and confirmation. John Lyon also wrote a hymn (unfortunately one of his least inspired or inspiring), "O Lord, do thou thy gifts bestow," for the occasion of the confirmation when the child or any new member, Gentile by birth, was officially adopted into the chosen lineage of Israel. At that time Lyon asks that they might be granted the gifts of unity of Spirit and faith, and that they might be continually led by wisdom, knowledge, truth, and love.

"How sweet communion is on earth," #115, a hymn of undetermined origin, then calls those who have been baptized and confirmed to record and renew their vows in the sacramental ordinance and to live to serve the Lord until He gathers them home.

Remaining new hymns cover a variety of subjects. Eliza Snow in "The trials of the present day," #127, stresses long-suffering and heavy-duty endurance. In it she admonishes the Saints not to be downcast when the apparently pious and righteous degrade and scorn them for the test of time will prove the Saints in the right. John Lyon reaffirms in the hymn "O Lord responsive to Thy call," #47, that the Lord will always support his Saints in their times of trial.

In hymn #133, "Come, let us purpose with one heart/ To follow
virtue, Lyon gives one of the first codes of conduct and dress standards for the Church. The Saints, he says, should lead industrious, charitable lives, providing through labor with either the hands or the head (early intellectuals, it seems, were not altogether in disfavor) to gain spiritual light as well as material blessings. They should also be clad neatly, in neither vain nor somber attire, and cleanly, and they should never appear to be proud or lowly, or of a mean, ill-tempered nature.

Other hymns cover subjects as various as the Pentecost and the attendant blessings of belief and baptism (the anonymous "How great the joy, that promised day," #120, which also stresses that in spite of Satan's tricks and the power of the natural man, the right will prevail); the value of laying up true treasures in Christ (#48, "Sweetly may the blesses Spirit/ On each faithful bosom shine"); developing celestial wisdom by listening to the warning of instruction, (#23, "O happy is the man who hears," by Michael Bruce, one of the few non-Mormons represented in the new hymns of the 1851 edition); being a good missionary (#79, Thomas Kelly's "Men of God go take your stations); and dedicating a house and its inhabitants to the Lord (#68, "Lord make thy mercy known" by giving this house the peace of God so that those who dwell in it will know of your grace and find salvation).

Three of the miscellaneous hymns have achieved some sort of distinction by their continual inclusion in hymnbooks printed since their first appearance. These miscellaneous hymns included two statements,
of definition, John Jacques' "Oh say, what is truth?" and James Montgomery's "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," as well as the most famous of all Mormon hymns, William Clayton's "Come, come ye Saints."

Truth, according to Jacques, in a non-philosophical but thoughtful and perceptive piece, is the "fairest gem" and the "brightest prize" one can seek on earth. It alone, in contrast with all the other earthly riches, will endure to and beyond the limits of time. Absolutely denying any possibility of equivocation or discussion between absolutism and relativity, Jacques, in conclusion, defines truth as no less than the sum of all existence.

If truth is the sum of existence, prayer is the key to truth. So, Montgomery instructs, prayer must be "the Christian's vital breath" and his "native air." Through prayer come pardon and release from error, the enemy of truth; fellowship and human understanding; relief from sorrows; and intercession for the unfortunate or the erring.

The final hymn, "Come, come, ye Saints," is so well known as to hardly bear comment. Many stories, some undoubtedly apochryphal, have circulated concerning the circumstances of its writing, but regardless of its origin, it has always stood as a comfort and solace to the Saints in times of suffering, and today it stands as a monument to the

original integrity) in the present hymnal, 13 in addition to the three about to be mentioned in the text. Those thirteen include Eliza Snow's "O My Father," and "Thou dost not weep alone;" Alex Neibaur's "Come, thou glorious day of promise;" John Taylor's "Oh give me back my prophet dear;" William G. Mills' "Arise, O glorious Zion," and the first four verses of "We'll sing the songs of Zion;" John Jacques' "Softly beams the sacred dawning;" T. Davenport's "Come, all ye sons of God;" four verses of Mary Ann Morton's "O happy home! O blest abode;" John S. Davis' "What was witnessed in the heavens" (third verse significantly changed), Cyrus H. Wheelock's "Ye elders of Israel" (three of five verses); the anonymous "Come, listen to a prophet's voice" (five of nine verses); and Thomas Hastings' "Hail to the brightness of Zion's glad morning."
fearless and stalwart endurance of our Pioneer ancestors. In one final note of interest concerning this hymn, it is perhaps the only native Mormon hymn that has been adopted by other churches for interdenomination-al use, and then only after careful excision has removed all reference to the actual western migration.

In summary, the distinguishing marks of the 1851 edition are its sudden deletion of the Wesleyan Methodist hymnody which had shored up the hymnal during the previous decade, and for its increasing acknowledge-ment of the evolving and uniquely Mormon doctrines of the Heavenly Matriarch, man's potential for godhood, eternal (although not yet plural) marriage, healing by the power of the Priesthood, and as the most significant new theme, the gathering to Zion. And through all of the changing tides and circumstances of the Saints the millennial hope continues unabated.

The 1856 Hymnal: Caught in The Wind of New Doctrines

In 1856 Franklin D. Richards further enlarged the hymnbook, adding twenty-six hymns, all but two by contemporary Mormon authors. The year 1856 saw a continued emphasis on the gathering of the Saints which had begun five years earlier, but with an obvious change in tone and direction. In 1851 the gathering was just beginning. At that time all of the new converts had been forewarned that the way to the west was an arduous physical task and counseled to become emotionally inured to the deprivations, hunger, thirst, fatigue and lack of material comforts they might well expect both in crossing the ocean and the plains and in living in the primitive promised valley of the Rockies.
But after five more years of emigrations, five very telling years of experience, the leaders of the Church realized the main stumbling-block for the gathering Saints was the test of faith they had to undergo, rather than merely the test of endurance, although the physical hardships remained severe and the long path across the plains became dotted with the hastily dug graves of the weak and unfortunate.

So, while the Saints in the West were calling their Eastern, English, and European brothers and sisters to join them, and missionaries in the field, such as Cyrus H. Wheelock, were urging their new converts to gather up to Zion,16 other missionaries, concerned with the mortal and spiritual dangers the converts would face in their pilgrims' progress to the celestial city, would invoke the Lord's protection for them.17

One other problem faced many of the new Saints as they converged on Zion. For years the missionaries had referred to the mountain home as a second Eden, abounding with the riches of nature and removed from all mortal strife, dissension or bondage.18 And with this vision in mind,

16Wheelock's hymn, "Come, go with me, beyond the sea/... To Joseph's land," #321, typifies the missionary's appeal. In it Zion is described as having everlasting hills and fair valleys, pure, free, and happy men and virtuous women, and with the Prophet and true Priesthood of God to guide and direct all men. (This hymn, with very minor alterations, is found as hymn #16 in the current hymnal.)

17See John Reading's "O Thou at whose supreme command," #303 or William G. Mills' "God of Israel! we adore thee," #310 in which the Lord is asked to comfort the traveler when he is in pain and to strengthen him in his hour of weakness so he would never stray from the Gospel: "When they pass through Gentile strangers,/ And apostates' pois'nous breath,/ May they shun the cursing dangers..."

18Refer back to Wheelock's hymn in footnote 16 also.
the Saints sang, before leaving their homes, M. A. Johstone's hymn 

I long to breathe the mountain air
Of Zion's peaceful home,
Where, free from sorrow, strife and care,
The Saints of God may roam,

For them Zion was the place where truth could reign, suspicion and oppression cease, and unity and peace prevail. Again, later, throughout the hardships of the journey, the Saints would comfort each other by singing Bell's "Cheer, Saints, cheer,/ We're bound for peaceful Zion!" #298, in which they enumerated the signs of the last days—pestilence, earthquake, sword, and famine—appearing at that time and so urged each other to remove more quickly to Zion and the temple of the Lord: "Away, away to the everlasting mountains;/ Away, far away to the valley in the west." They expected, of course, to find peace and plenty in Zion. However, a safe passage between the Scylla of hunger, disease, and fatigue and the Charybdis of nonbelievers' mockery and apostates' insults on the road did in no way mean the new Saint in the garden of the Rockies could hang his harp on the willow and spend the rest of his days polishing his halo in the shade of Mount Zion. For the first few years of the Great Salt Lake community, the Saints had been surviving only through their careful food rationing, great determination and concerted, unselfish community effort. While great strides had been made after the first lean seasons, the labor of every man and woman was still required, and there was no room for the sluggard, even if he was as pious as a Saint.
Eliza Snow, quickly seeing the problem which could, and perhaps to some degree did, arise, resolutely as always took pen in hand to remind each man of his responsibility to help build the kingdom of Zion rather than to rely on the efforts of others. "Think not when you gather to Zion, your troubles and trials are through," she chided in the 124th hymn, "That nothing but comfort and pleasure/ Are waiting in Zion for you." No, she continued, Zion is a furnace to purify the gold from the dross. Consequently, the tares will still grow there with the wheat; fraud and deception may be found as well as holiness and purity. And with an especially pointed barb she next declared that the new Saint should not expect to be constantly comforted by the others, for the faithful would be too busy gathering Israel to worry about those already gathered. In conclusion Eliza warns that the war against evil is not won nor salvation assured when the Saint arrives in Zion; in fact, at that time "the great Prince of Darkness/ A tenfold exertion will make" to lead the new Saint back into the darkness.

Endurance was still the major task for the Saint, in or out of Zion, and the hymnbook was an excellent source of inspiration for the long-suffering or wavering Mormon. "Though deepening trials throng your way,/ Press on, press on, ye Saints of God!" wrote the stalwart Eliza. Christ will soon appear and prevail; then

What though our rights have been assailed?
What though by foes we've been despoiled?
Jehovah's promise has not failed;
Jehovah's purpose is not foiled.

Satan rages in vain, and those who endure to the end shall triumph with Christ, the victor.
Mary Ann Horton echoed Eliza's thoughts in her serviceable, homespun hymn, "Though nations rise, and men conspire," #322. The conspiracy, she believed, was evil man's desire to defame Zion, but their vile plot would fail if each Saint would fight the good fight in the ranks of, and beneath the banner of, the Lord. The "sure reward" for such endurance would be a celestial crown.

Without doubt the Saints considered themselves a persecuted people. But their sufferings were at times lessened by the spiritual analgesic which their belief in the doctrine of opposition provided. Cited by Thomas O'Dea as a unique idea not clearly integrated with the rest of Book of Mormon philosophy, the theory of opposition, in a striking parallel of Puritanic Ramean philosophy, states that the universe consists solely of a set of paired opposites. For example, if man did not taste the bitter, he could not appreciate the sweet, or even recognize it. And for the Mormons in 1856 this was often interpreted to mean that if man did not know earthly suffering and persecution, he could not recognize or appreciate the joy of heavenly salvation.

William Clayton bases his hymn "When first the glorious light of truth burst forth in this last age," #148, on this belief. Many of the early Saints have perished, he recounts, "many on Missouri's plain/ Lie prone in death's embrace" (they were too good, he says, to have to suffer further indignities in that wicked place), and in Nauvoo are many cold graves: among them are the Prophet and the Patriarch who

were massacred, sealing their testimonies with their blood. Numerous Saints, then, are weeping for their numerous dead, but why should any weep? Mortal affliction is the price of heavenly glory, and persecution and death will soon be countered with the glorious "Resurrection day."

William G. Mills wrote a hymn even more directly connected with the doctrine of opposition. "Wisely has our heavenly Father," #312, allegorically states that our paths have been "Strown ... with weeds and flowers," so man will be given the opportunity to exercise his free will, and that this knowledge of good and evil is a better and more glorious state than that of the primeval innocence of the pre-existence. Knowledge alone is not enough, however; beyond knowledge lies wisdom, and if man is wise, he must learn to pluck the flowers and leave the thorns.

Mills explains that man's growth from innocence to knowledge to wisdom and perfection is possible only if opposite choices are provided for him in mortality, and that that is why God allows evil in the world—man could not progress beyond a certain primeval state without its appearance, at least as a foil to good.

While the 1856 hymnal illuminates the progress of the gathering and allows a glimpse at the spirit of the new converts coming to Zion and of those already established in the mountains, its greatest value remains in its reflection of many doctrinal innovations of the 1850's. As Franklin Richards remarks in the preface to the eleventh edition, "Since the ninth edition of hymns was published, the knowledge and faith of the Church have greatly increased, through the revelation of more advanced doctrines of the Gospel ... as the exaltations and
glories of the celestial world are revealed..." Several of these doctrines, including plural marriage and the Adam-God theory, were abhorrent to the external American community, and because of their controversiality were soon phased out of the hymnal or extensively revised. Others, including the law of consecration, soon lost favor with the still-human Saints, and as the unified order was disbanded, the consecration motifs were also erased from the hymnal. But in 1856 these ideas, and others of a unique nature were unabashedly displayed in the pages of the hymnal.

One of these beliefs, a central tenet of Mormonism today as well as in 1856, but held to be the greatest impiety by most non-Mormons, is that God once had to go through a stage very similar to our mortal existence before He could reach the perfection of godhood, and that, as a corollary, man could eventually become a God through the same process. This was the basic message of Mills' hymn on the doctrine of opposition mentioned on the previous page. Man needed to make the right choices and endure his afflictions to become as the other Gods (the plural is noteworthy) who once had to pass through the same choices of good and evil. And in an interesting passage Mills states that even Christ attained perfection only because he suffered before returning to his Father, implying that divine origin alone did not suffice to insure exaltation.

In order to justify the Church's sanction of plural marriage, 

Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs, ed. Franklin D. Richards, 11th ed. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1856), preface.
John Jacques took the offensive and berated the moral corruption of the rest of the world in the hymn, "How have the nations grown corrupt," #317. According to Jacques, the nations had perverted love, praising adulterers and bringing shame on their virtuous and ill-used women. And so assuming the countenance or persona of God he refers to the Biblical parable of the talents and instructs the world that if they abuse a talent it will be taken from them and given to one more worthy. So, if wives are abused, they will be taken from the abusers and given to those more worthy (a note that would irredeemably sound of male chauvinism to any self-respecting women's liberation advocate). After thus warning the Gentiles, and explaining divine policy, "God" then addresses the righteous, and, bestowing their additional "talents" upon them, informs them of their duty:

Through him who holds the sealing power,
   Ye faithful ones, who heed
Celestial laws, take many wives,
   And rear a righteous seed.

Jacques is also the author of the hymn "We believe in our God, the great Prince," #306, which expresses the unusual belief that Adam, also known as Michael and the Ancient of Days, is actually the Lord of the earth, and that Jesus Christ is his Son. The rest of the ten long verses constitutes a short catechism in LDS belief, but expresses no additional doctrines of an unusual quality. Taking the tone of Joseph Smith's Articles of Faith, each verse but the fifth begins with "We believe in . . ." and includes in the list of beliefs--besides Adam, the God of the earth, and Christ the Redeemer--the Holy Spirit; the Priest-
hood (and each category of Priesthood ranking from Seer to Deacon is enumerated); Apostles and Prophets; Joseph Smith, the opener of the last dispensation; Brigham Young, who at that time held the keys of God's kingdom; the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants; and every word from the mouth of God.

The Mormons also believed, according to Jacques, in hymn #303, in the law of consecration. "'The silver, gold, and precious stones,/ Thus saith the Lord,' are mine," as is "The earth and all that is therein," including men. Kan's health, strength, and very life are dependent on God's will, so how does any person dare to assume ownership over any part of the earth. The Saints with their purer faith do not make such a claim, declaring instead that the part of the earth over which they exert an influence is to be done in their capacity as God's stewards, rather than through outright ownership, and their stewardship requires that they bring everythink which has been entrusted to their care back to God--from their flocks to their family, and ultimately, even to themselves.

If each man were to take adequate care of his stewardship and bring his domain back to God in the day of reckoning, God would restore the earth to its celestialized, premortal state. Eliza Snow had a most unusual depiction of that final restoration in hymn, "Thou earth was once a glorious sphere," #313. Super-ecologist Snow described the destruction and corruption man foisted on the earth, polluting its celestial nobility with his curse and the curse of death. No longer one of the most majestic of the many worlds God had created, the earth became a place filled with vile atrocities and wickedness. Still, in
spite of the mortal aura of corruption, some men in the history of the world had remained strong and steadfast, earning the right to leave the degenerated earth. So, according to Eliza, Enoch's city, the land as well as the people, was "borne away from earth, To form another sphere, closer to God. The ten tribes, also, were not in the north lands, but were on another planet far out in space, which had been torn from the earth. But in the day of restitution, the righteous rather than the wicked would prevail on earth, and God would return all of earth's matter, including the land inhabited by Enoch and lost Israel, to her, and the world, which at the time of man's fall had suffered an actual physical removal to a place far away from the dwelling place of God, would be restored to its native, celestial and noble place near God's throne.

One branch of the house of Israel had not been as favored as the lost ten tribes. In 1835 W. W. Phelps had recorded the ancestry and plight of the Indians in the hymn, "O Stop and tell me, Red Man." In 1856, William Penrose contributed a sequel in the hymn "Great Spirit! listen to the red man's wail!" #304. In the first five verses the beleagured Indian pours out his woes to the Great Father, railing the stupefying effects of firewater and smooth words which the palefaced foes had used to steal his lands, and praying that they might be destroyed. Suddenly a vision bursts down upon the petitioner, and an angel tells him his prayer has been heard and his foes will soon perish. The angel also reveals that the red man's Mormon brothers will show him a holy book, and if he listens to their words, the would in his soul will also be healed, the curse of darkness will fall from his skin, his tribes
will flourish in unity and peace, and the curses of war and disease will subside. In the final two of the twelve verses, the angel departs, but a light remains in the Indian's soul, and the author concludes by calling for a hastening of Ephraim's day, when the Indian will receive the truth the prevail over his foes.

The Gospel, indeed, could bring peace and satisfaction to any man who would believe and strive to attain perfection within the framework of God's plan of salvation. Mary Ann Morton contributed a trilogy of hymns dedicated to this proposition. The first, #302, "My Father in heaven, and dear kindred there," begins as a complaint at having to remain in the "world of despair." This complaint provides the author with an opportunity to explain the plan of salvation: each man was a spirit child of God, sent to earth to gain a physical body and experience, but capable, through obedience, after finishing the course, of returning to the author of life for eternity. That return could not be promised, however, unless the person were obedient to the Lord's teachings. So in the second hymn Mary Ann contemplates, "How lost were our days till we met with the Gospel," #311. Impotent forms of belief had abounded, but only through the laying on of hands which conferred the gofts and the power of the Holy Spirit was man able to endure and pass safely through the "tossings of Antichrist winds" and the false doctrines of man, and have the true way of Christ revealed. Then in a reflective reprise, she concludes the trilogy with one of her loveliest hymns, "Sweet is the peace the gospel brings/ To seeking minds and true," #307, which reassures the Saints of God's love and of the restoration of all things to the faithful.
Apart from the newly revealed doctrine, the lives of the Saints progressed from day to day without much alteration. Babies continued to be born and blessed, and John Jaques had submitted a new dedicatory hymn for the infants, asking that they would have the zeal to overcome evil and remain valiant to the Lord at home or abroad, in tongue, pen, word and deed. The youth of the Church were constantly taught to respect and follow the Gospel path, and for them Eliza Snow composed the hymn "I'll serve the Lord while I am young," #300, in which the children of the Church thanked God for sending them to parents who had accepted the Gospel and were "Among the most beloved of heav'n/ That dwell upon the earth," and asked that He would preserve their parents and assure that they would teach their children righteousness, so they all could eventually return to God and appear in glory.

Testimony meetings were held at regular intervals for the edification of young and old alike, and from the description of one such meeting set forth in T. J. Dawson's hymn, "Welcome best of all good meetings," #299, what lively and inspirational meetings they must have been! Saints rejoiced and sinners trembled as prayer, praise, and testimony were offered, punctuated with speaking in unknown tongues, prophetic revelations and "Burning words of inspiration," which strengthened faithful Saints and revived the drooping ones.

Such happenings, though extraordinary, were only rarely viewed with skepticism by even the most educated and scientifically oriented Saints. While a scientifically engendered crisis of faith afflicted much of the nation during mid-century (an even greater estrangement

21"Our Father in the sacred name," #297.
would appear three years after the 1856 hymnbook when Charles Darwin would publish his *Origin of the Species*, the Mormon community held an even keel by clinging to a basic belief submitted by Eliza Snow in the funeral hymn, "Cease ye fond parents," #320: science, she hints, is too limited to validly evaluate spiritual manifestations. Science cannot see beyond the grave, or into heaven, so it cannot presume to confirm or deny spiritual existence. Only the light of revelation, claims Eliza, and faith in Christ's resurrection, spiritual tools, not scientific, allow man to explore the intangible boundaries of his existence.

The necessary revelation would come from the Temples of God. The Kirtland and Nauvoo Temples had been the pride of the Saints, and the new Temple to be erected in Salt Lake City was to be no exception. Brigham Young had dedicated the Temple site on April 6, 1853, and the work of construction began, with each man freely donating his time and labor. Keeping the great work, its urgency and purpose, always before the Saints, was John Jaques' aim as he wrote in hymn #315:

Come, all ye Saints throughout the earth,  
And join with one accord;  
Come, brethren, let us rise and build a  
Temple to the Lord.

The Saints were instructed that their tithing and other free offerings were required by the Lord for the building of the edifice in which the ordinances and endowments of life would be given: "Anointings, washings, keys, and pow'rs/ To perfect man on earth," as well as baptisms for the dead to secure every generational link in the chain from the first dispensation of Adam. Mary Ann Morton also called upon the European Saints to contribute what they could toward the rearing of the Temple.
in her hymn, "With cheerful hearts and willing hands," #308.

One final note concluded the new section of hymns in the hymnbook. The raising of the Temple was a cause for rejoicing, but it was also a cause for concern. The Temple in Nauvoo had not been completed until after the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Rumors of growing troubles were now again filtering in from the East, and in 1857 all Temple preparations would cease and the Temple foundations would be completely filled in as Johnston's army entered the territory to quell the Utah War. With such complications approaching the crisis level, Eliza Snow appropriately directed one hymn of petition to the Lord for the preservation of the new prophet, Brigham Young. "O God, thou God that rules on high," #319, she called, secure the Prophet from his foes. "Let all his enemies be found/ Caught in the net they spread," she continued rather uncharitably, adding "Bring our accusers' deeds to light/ And give thy people rest."

The 1863 Hymnal: Promoter of Unity

In 1863 the twelfth edition of the hymnbook appeared, under the new direction of George Q. Cannon. The new editor, of course, revised the hymnbook to suit his own tastes and to appeal to the changing interests of the Saints and changing emphasis of the Church. Evidently, as Cannon analyzed the eleventh edition in order to determine what changes needed to be wrought for his twelfth edition, he was displeased with the healthy representation the great hymnist Isaac Watts enjoyed in the hymnal. And so, as Franklin D. Richards had pruned many of Wesley's hymns from the ninth edition, Cannon pruned Watts from the
twelfth edition some twelve years later. While the deletion of thirteen hymns by Watts was the most obvious change in the new hymnal, many other hymns, including several of those remaining from the Wesley collections, a number of Protestant hymns from various sources, and even two hymns of native Mormon origin, twenty-six hymns in all, were weighed in the balance at Editor Cannon's day of judgment and found wanting.

At the same time that those twenty-six hymns were discarded, forty-three (in the volume's preface Cannon says forty-four) previously uncollected hymns found favor with the new editor and were added to the hymnal. In each of the several preceding volumes, the compositions of two or three authors had dominated the division of newly collected hymns. In 1851 the prime movers had been Parley Pratt, John Lyon, and Eliza Snow. The 1856 edition shows Eliza was then still well represented, but she was joined at that time by Mary Ann Morton and John Jaques. And the 1863 edition followed the same pattern. Eliza Snow still maintained a position among the top three, but Edward Sloan and William Clegg had replaced Morton and Jaques. And the three authors, Snow, Sloan and Clegg, accounted for twelve of the forty-two new hymns. Many other LDS hymnists contributed one, or in some cases two, hymns, to account for all but thirteen of the remaining hymns.

This hymnbook differed in one respect, however, from a trend which had been rather noticeably observed in the hymnals published in England, and which had been planned even in the very first hymnals of the Church. This was the trend away from using Protestant and other traditional Christian hymns in favor of native and newly-composed Mormon hymns. Emma Smith had stated in 1835 that her collection, largely non-Mormon, was to be used by the Saints only until the body of native hymnody
would grow sufficient for their needs. And while the 1840 English edition was also predominantly non-LDS in origin, changes in the following editions were more and more oriented to the inclusion of Mormon hymns and the exclusion of the non-Mormon. In 1851, thirty-one of the forty-seven new hymns had been indigenous to the Mormon movement; seven more were of unknown or unrecorded origin; only four were ascribable to a known, non-LDS author. Of the thirty-six new hymns in the 1856 edition, only one was not written by an LDS author, while even that hymn, Reading's "O Thou at whose supreme command," showed numerous evidences of Mormon alterations in the concluding three verses of the six. However, this trend showed an interesting reversal in 1863. Those hymns contributed by the believers still accounted for the majority of the new section, but thirteen others, nearly one-third of the new collection, were of non-Mormon origin, including such well-known Protestant authors as Bishop Heber, Kelly, Raffles, Sigourney, and even Watts.

This new collection of hymns, however, proves rather tame and disappointing after the lively doctrinal innovations of the 1856 edition. The everyday concerns of the Mormons continue to be represented: blessing of infants by Samuel Gilman's "This child we dedicate," #205; meeting in church services by Edward Sloan's "Lord, let thy Holy Spirit now/ Shine forth," #159; asking for the minister's inspiration at those meetings by the anonymous "With joy we own thy servants," #96; the call to conversion by William Clegg's interesting hymn "Ye differing, jarring sects attend," #174; and the funeral service by Edward Sloan's "Mourn not the dead who peaceful lay," #159, Samuel F. Smith's familiar "Sister, thou wast mild and lovely," #169, and Eliza Snow's remarkably sympathetic
(for her) "Your sweet little rosebud has left you," #139.

Emphasis on the millennial reign continues undiminished with nine unremarkable new additions to the hymn literature of the apocalypse. These, at various times, reiterate the signs of the second coming, or rejoice over the approaching jubilee when Christ shall reign, or, looking into the future, announce how glorious it is with the Standard of Zion waving over the world and Christ personally reigning with the Saints at his side.\(^\text{22}\)

The gathering of the Saints to the mountains where the standard would be raised continues as important in this edition as in the preceding one, and for the first time the Zion wilderness of the West is referred to as Deseret (in William Willes' mammoth hymn, "Deseret, Deseret," #321). While the majority of these hymns merely express thanks to God for the strength of the hills as a refuge or for the Prophet he sent to guide them to the mountains, or are direct expressions of praise and love to the land itself, unremarkable for any distinguishing ideas, they form a very distinct nucleus of hymns which have been favorites with the Church from the time of their inclusion to the present. These include #79, "For the Strength of the hills we bless thee," Edward L. Sloan's alteration of Felicia Hemans' hymn;\(^\text{23}\) #123, "High on the mountain top,"

\(^{22}\)Pratt's "O saints have you seen," #58--sung to the tune of "O say can you see"; Reginald Heber's "In the sun and moon and stars," #196--signs of millennium; anonymous "The Gospel standard high is raised," #71; Thomas Raffles' "Mark ten thousand thousand voices," #157; William Clegg's "Haste glorious day," #212, "Let earth's inhabitants rejoice," #173, and "To Him who reigns on high," #232; Isaac Watts' "Lord when iniquities abound," #203; and Charles Wandell's "O fear not brother years of peace," #121.

\(^{23}\)In the original hymn of 1863, the fourth verse, since omitted, described the western lands as the place where the wild bird darts, and where the "red, untutored Indian/Seeks . . . his rude delights."
by Joel H. Johnson; #36, "Our God we raise to thee," by Bernard Snow; 
and the universal favorites, #316, "O ye mountains high," by Charles 
W. Penrose, Thomas Kelly's "Zion stands with hills surrounded, and #152 
William Fowler's "We thank thee O God for a prophet."²⁴

Then, too, perhaps because of the recent military misunderstanding 
with the United States in 1857 which resulted in the "Utah War," the 
hymnbook records a renewed interest in the militant hymn, the Saints 
assuming the armor of God and rising up to defend Zion from her foes. 
"Satan's empire long has flourished," declares Edward Sloan at the 
beginning of the 87th hymn, but the time has now come for the sons of 
Zion to rise and overthrow him. The same desire to destroy the powers 
of darkness and defend the lands of God is also found in Alexander Ross' 
hymn "Before all lands in east or west, / We love the land of Zion best," 
#67; Emily H. Woodmansee's "Up! Arouse thee, O beautiful Zion," #117; 
and Charles Penrose's specifically vengeful²⁵ hymn of a similar title, 
"Up, awake, ye defenders of Zion," #136. Zion's sons also showed their 
ready defiance of the wrong as well as their eager defense of their home 
in William Shearman's hymn #326: "What though the Gentiles wildly rage/
And the black war clouds o'er us lower," for the war is with God and 
will prove futile to the wicked as long as the Saints will rely on Him to 
confirm their hopes in the preservation of Zion and the destruction of

²⁴ Other less well-known hymns written on Zion or the gathering 
include #122, Eliza Snow's "O awake! my slumbering minstrel," which 
declares that "Zion prospers; all is well"; #320, William Willes' 
"There is a place in Utah"; and #67, Alexander Ross' "Before all lands in 
east or west."

²⁵ Penrose calls the Saints to "Remember the wrongs of Missouri;/ 
Forget not the fate of Nauvoo." Several authors had previously written 
hymns of wrath. See page 134 and footnote 6 of this chapter.
their foe.

One other hymn reflects the dissatisfactions of the Saints with the territorial government placed over them by the United States in 1851. Not only had the derogatory reports of the territorial officials been one of the original causes of the Utah War, but the differences of belief between the officials and the settlers made bringing law and order or justice to court suits a very tenuous and unstable undertaking. The judges complained that the Mormons relied on ecclesiastical courts, utterly ignoring and making mockery of the territorial courts, while the Mormons replied that justice could not be obtained outside the boundaries of the Church. So Isaac Watts' old hymn,

Judges who rule the world by laws,
Will ye despise the righteous cause
When the oppressed before you stand?
Dare ye condemn the righteous poor,
And let rich sinners go secure,
While gold and greatness bribe your hand?

included as hymn #204, perfectly mirrored the Saints' complaint, while also reminding the judges "That God will judge the judges too."

Judgment would eventually touch not only the judges, but every man who had walked upon the earth, and the result of that judgment would largely depend on the individual's obedience to God's laws. Accordingly the Saints first invoked the Lord's aid, praying that He would give them sufficient faith to pierce the doubt which surrounded them26 and then continued in their hymns to seek the spiritual enlightenment which could help them attain the ultimate goal of salvation.

Only two hymns in the 1863 collection commented on one or another

26Hymn #86, Edward Sloan's "Dark is the human mind."
facet of gospel doctrine, but both are extremely interesting hymns, and both are included, one with a significant alteration, in the present hymnbook. The first, W. W. Phelps' "If you could hie to Kolob," #231, philosophizes about the beginnings not only of man, but of all creation, asking where man could go in the universe—in all space or all time—and find either the beginning of Gods and matter or their end.27 He then answers that man would discover there is no beginning nor ending to existence, but only "one eternal round," and that, therefore, there is no end of matter, space, spirit, race, virtue, might, wisdom, light, union, youth, priesthood, truth, glory, love, or being, and that "Grim Death sleeps not above."

The second hymn, Edward L. T. Harrison's "Sons of Michael, he approaches!" included in 1863 as hymn #315, takes up the theme of Adam as the Eternal God and creator of mankind which John Jaques had introduced in the preceding edition with his hymn "We believe in our God, the great Prince," #306. Actually a hymn of describing the second coming, "Sons" instructs the people to bow before Michael /Adam7, "the Eternal Father," as he comes with his wife, Eve, to reign eternally in his old Paradise. Deftly changing "the Eternal Father," to "the ancient Father," modern editors have made the hymn doctrinally suitable for modern consumption. Though denying Adam's divinity, this alteration gives him great veneration in the patriarchal society as the first patriarch and the physical, if not spiritual, father of the race.

The most important and distinguishing mark of the 1863 hymnal, 

27This was actually a very sophisticated concept for Phelps' day: philosophical and scientific considerations of the idea have been developing only recently.
however, does not lie in its doctrinal contributions, which was the strength of the 1856 hymnal, nor in its consolation or encouragement of the Saints, which distinguished the 1851 edition. The 1863 volume’s most interesting theme is the temporal instruction of the Saints. Eliza Snow had warned in an earlier volume that the Western kingdom of Zion was hardly the kingdom of heaven on earth yet, and with good reason. Dissent, dissatisfaction, disillusionment, and even defection among the Saints reached a high water mark during the first two decades following their entrance into the Salt Lake Valley. The severity of the problem was clearly indicated by Brigham Young at the groundbreaking of the Salt Lake Temple when he remarked with as much or more seriousness as mirth after announcing that the new Temple would have six spires, that he hoped no one would apostatize because the new edifice would have a multiplicity of spires while Joseph Smith’s Temples in Kirtland and Nauvoo had had only one spire each. At any rate, backbiting and a lack of true charity were chronic complaints at the time of the 1863 hymnal’s publication, and several of the hymns were specifically directed at helping the Saints to improve the quality of their lives in a close community effort.

That hymnal, then, marked the beginning of many hymns, which in their analysis of common human failings, and advice for promoting harmonious human relations, remain as pertinent today as they were in 1863. "Do what is right," was incorporated into the hymnal after George Q. Cannon heard it sung at a Scottish conference, though the author was and remains unknown, and the hymn is not of native Mormon

28Berrett, p. 526.
This hymn encourages the Saints to do what is right regardless of the consequences, trusting the Lord will protect them.

Equally timely and effective, but less well-known, is Eliza Snow's "Let those who would be saints indeed," #168. Eliza advises the true Saint not to fear or regard what others might do, but to pursue righteousness and "Hold fast the 'iron rod'" at all times. She then warns the Saint not to sell his birthright or betray his covenants for a kiss.

Lydia Sigourney, in the 128th hymn, "Now is the voice that nature breathes," urges the Saints not only to do what is right, but to do what is right, right now. Avoid procrastination, she advises, for tomorrow may dawn without you, to your great sorrow if you were not prepared.

"Should you feel inclined to censure, #54, very directly tells the faultfinding Saint that before he condemns others, he should ask his heart if he had not failings also, and then be very careful not to trifle with another's good name or to form opinions rashly or blindly.

Similar in thought to "Should you feel inclined to censure" is Miss Fletcher's hymn, "Think gently of the erring one," #170, which admonishes the Saint to love his fellowman even if he is "darkly stained by sin," for we are all brothers, and though the sinner may have stumbled in the path, we have not fared much better. And, finally, if we treat the sinner with love, he might be persuaded to return to the fold. This gentle and perceptive hymn then closes with the author reminding the Saint that he has sinned in the past and may yet be sinning, and so to deal as kindly with his weaker brother as God has dealt with

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29 Cornwall, p. 39.
him in his own moments of error.

The 1871 Hymnal: Witness for Christ

Finally, following an exile of thirty years, the Mormon hymnal returned to America, with George Q. Cannon's 1871 publication in Salt Lake Valley. While the 1863 English edition had incorporated quite a number of non-LDS hymns, the 1871 edition, as far as any changes were made from the earlier edition, was solely a Mormon production. Cannon stated with noticeable pride, in the preface, that the volume had not only been published in the Utah Territory, but that the type had been manufactured there, and that Utah was also the site of its printing and binding. He might have added, as well, that the fourteen additional hymns inserted at the back of the publication all carried the unadulterated Mormon stamp. The selection of those fourteen hymns was remarkably well made, as only three have been deleted from the current hymnal. And those which are included are some of the most beautiful and representative of all of the Mormon hymns.

The general emphasis in the new hymns was on those which could serve in a sacramental function, and nine of the fourteen are sacramental hymns. In this category, Eliza Snow was the author of three: "Again we meet around the board," #332 (currently #242); "Behold the great Redeemer die," #333 (currently #230); and "How great the wisdom and the love," #334 (currently #68). A. Dalrymple wrote #335 (now #271), "O Lord of hosts," while John Nicholson contributed two touching and profound hymns, "While of these emblems we partake," #336 (now #217), and "Come follow me," #337 (now #14). In the same category, Richard
Alldridge was responsible for "We'll sing all hail to Jesus' name," #343 (now #218), and the less-familiar "How dark and gloomy was the night," #344 (not included in the present hymnal). The final sacramental hymn was written by the well-known Henry Naisbitt, but that hymn, #340, "Here we approach thy table, Lord," did not enjoy the popularity of several of his other productions, and was not included in the present hymnbook.

The remaining five hymns covered a variety of subjects. Continuing in the spirit of the 1869 instructional hymns, Charles W. Penrose wrote, "School thy feelings, 0 my brother," #338 (now #340), which advised the Saints to control their temper, even in the face of affliction or unjust accusation. Naisbitt wrote the fineral hymn, "Rest, rest for the weary soul," #339 (now #278); a hymn for the dedication of a house of worship, #342 (now #176), "This house we dedicate to thee"; and a militant hymn written to be sung at conference time, "How swift the months have passed away;/ 'Tis Conference again," #341. The final hymn in the collection was Richard Alldridge's hymn on the gathering and preservation of Israel, "O Lord, preserve thy chosen seed," #345, which is very similar to Alexander Neibaur's "Come thou glorious day of promise."

The 1871 hymnal is noteworthy then, not only because it rounds out an era of extra-American LDS hymnals, bringing the publication back to its native soil, but because it is a totally home-grown product. It also, significantly, stands as a link between the earlier hymnbooks of the Church and the later editions to follow. The majority of the new hymns it introduced stand firmly in today's hymnic tradition. Later publications of the hymnbook have included additional hymns, some of LDS authorship, but after the 1871 hymnal most of the additions were
gathered from non-Mormon sources, as the hymnal moved in the direction of including the great Protestant and Christian hymn literature.

The Valley hymnal, the fourteenth edition of the LDS hymnbook, stands as the record of an experienced people. It may not be as enthusiastic or joyous as the original hymnbook of 1835, but it is filled with an invaluable wisdom and serenity which could only have been forged, as it was, in the furnace of persecution and pain. The 1871 hymnal is beautiful because it is the record of a triumph, gained at great cost and through great suffering, but the triumph is more valuable because of its price.

Literary Analysis: Hymns of Eliza R. Snow

Eliza Roxie Snow, the highly-acclaimed "Poetess of Zion," was indeed a remarkable woman from many points of view. Born into a New England family of high religious and intellectual scruples on January 21, 1804, Miss Snow was continually encouraged in her educational pursuits and especially in her poetic attempts for which she appeared to be particularly gifted. As a young woman she received recognition and local praise for her poetry, and at one time she was awarded eight volumes of Godey's Lady's Book by a popular journal as the first prize in a poetry contest she had entered. But in 1835, an encounter with Joseph Smith, Jr., the Mormon Prophet, completely altered the course of Eliza's life and her art.

Firmly dedicated to her new-found faith, Eliza determined to use all of her talents to acquaint those who did not believe with the message of the newly restored Gospel of Christ. Well aware that she would be sacrificing her earlier secular acclaim, she nonetheless plunged head-first into the icy waters of critical disdain as she reeled off one didactic poem after another, insisting that a true poet's duty was to promulgate the faith and teach the people, and not merely to write verses. The only goal she stated in her art was to win the approval of the Lord.

As the years passed and the fortunes of the young Church fluctuated from bad to worse, Eliza's hymnody assumed additional responsibilities among the Saints. Not only did she chronicle the inception of Mormonism and plead its cause before the world, but as the persecution of the "peculiar people" increased, her hymns provided a balm for their spiritual wounds, eased their physical hardships and encouraged the Saints to hold fast to the iron rod. Later when the Saints were more comfortably settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley, Eliza the comforter became Eliza the spokesman for the prophet as she explained in her hymns the most technical points of the newly-appearing doctrines.

The wide scope of Eliza's influence is a tribute to her ability to gauge the needs of the Saints, and while her poetry was perhaps no better than that of several Mormon hymnists of lesser reknown, her hymns began to appear in the first Mormon hymnal of 1835, and every major hymnal from that time forward contained more of Miss Snow's poetry. The years of 1851 and 1856 saw the greatest increase in her representation, with six new hymns added in both years, but some rather
admirable work is found in various stages of the hymnal, and the hymns I personally enjoy most do not appear until 1871.

When Eliza Snow's hymnic poetry is measured by the standards set up to determine good hymnody—melody, intensity, brevity, completeness, simplicity, harmony, vividness, profundity, dignity—it, as a rule, falls short in many areas but that is, in part, because her aims were different from hymnists of other denominations. First, the needs of the Saints for whom she wrote were immediate and generally more temporal than spiritual in nature. Lyrical hymns in praise of God and the greatness of his creations might have given Eliza a more favorable position in the eyes of the world, but such hymns would have been a vain luxury and a false delusion ill-fitting and unrepresentative of the struggles of the Saints. Second, Eliza was writing for and to a group of people who were generally bright but only marginally able to handle or interested in intricate versification. For them a simple, direct poetry, adorned with uncomplicated images was the easiest to understand and retain. And third, because persecution kept the Saints on the move, Eliza rarely had the time to polish her poems, and was often under great emotional stress.

Instead she embodies the essence of the pragmatic poet, effectively if not lyrically calling the Saints to repent, to endure, and to love righteousness. With her sermons in song she more closely resembles Wigginsworth than Watts or Wesley, but sermons were what the Saints needed.

A closer look at several representative hymns will more clearly indicate the strengths and weaknesses of Eliza's poetry.
While Eliza was often called upon to compose funeral hymns, this was one of her least effective areas. First and foremost Eliza had the tough mindedness and sharp tongue of the drill sergeant. The voice of the trumpet is not easily muted, and so Eliza's funeral hymns either dissolve in an embarrassed and awkward sentimentality ("Your sweet little rosebud had left you") or call up melodramatically grave scenes of the graveyard or the deathbed (reminiscent of Watts at his worst). For example the hymn "Hark! from afar a funeral knell" which appeared in 1851 reveals very apparent Gothic overtones as the scene opens with the bell entoning the note of the dead while at the deathbed

A consort's moans are in the sound,
And sobs of children weeping round
A parent's dying bed!

At other times she is so eager to convince the bereaved that death is but a brief parting that she becomes overly enthusiastic, and departs from the decorum which is especially necessary in a funeral hymn, as when in the hymn "Cease ye fond parents, cease to weep" she concludes by grotesquely calling the bereaved to shout hosanna o'er the grave " (1856). The best of her funeral hymns is "Thou dost not weep to weep alone," which first appeared in 1851. Here Eliza maintains the dignity so often lacking in her other funeral hymns, and presents her controlled but obviously deep emotion in phrases gently and skillfully polished, embellished with well-handled alliteration:

Thou dost not weep, to weep alone;
The broad bereavement seems to fall
Unheeded and unfelt by none:  
He was beloved, beloved by all.

Unfortunately, later verses, especially when the poetess pays tribute  
to the deceased, contain more of the flaws commonly found in her other  
funeral poetry.

In the largest division of her hymns, those with a didactic  
purpose, Eliza is most comfortable but least poetic. The hymns dealing  
with specific points of doctrine are thoroughly dedicated to the gospel  
and partake little of art; Eliza's sermonizing is also the main consider-  
ation in her correctional hymns. Of this group, "Think not when you  
gather to Zion" is my favorite; although it is artistically flawed, as  
are most in this group, it also clearly shows Eliza's strengths--as  
a Saint if not as a poet. Eliza uses more freedom in meter with her  
poetry than most of the Mormon hymnists. "Think not" is written in  
amphibrachs, which gives it a lilting and cheerful aspect, which,  
unfortunately, is not exactly in keeping with its serious tone of  
chastizement. Each verse follows the same external form with the first  
line of all four beginning "Think not," while the fifth line of each  
eight-line stanza begins "No," to show a logical contrast between  
expectation and reality. The images she employs, the fiery furnace, and  
the winnowed wheat, are of common Biblical origin, and appear over and  
over again. (In her poetry very few images are of her own creation.)  

Her diction here, as in most of her hymns, is simple, determined, and  
unadorned by any "art" but the gentlest touch of alliteration. As  
usual the strength of truth in her words outweighs the beauty. Eliza  
comes directly to the point and excels in intensity and conciseness
while perhaps lacking melody.

If Eliza Snow had remained in a settled church and had written traditional hymns of praise, she might have developed into a great hymnist in the eyes of the world. In the few instances that she wrote devotional hymns, while they are still under the shadow of doctrinal or didactic motives, a tranquil beauty and richness appears which is generally missing in her other poetry. "O God, th' Eternal Father" is the best known of these compositions, but the hymns--"Again we meet," "Behold the great Redeemer," "How great the wisdom"--three sacramental hymns which appeared in 1871--are also worthy of note. All three, and especially the last hymn, quite admirably meet all of the requirements for a great hymn. While written with the greatest simplicity, a message of profound religious import is related with both dignity and rejoicing. In these hymns Eliza triumphs as a hymnist and truly deserves the title of "Poetess of Zion."
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

In a final analysis, then the evolution of the Mormon hymnbook parallels the development of the Mormon society. While it is certain that not every belief, action or event was recorded, commemorated, or chronicled in the hymnal, the doctrinal patterns are remarkably complete, the various Mormon scriptures are liberally cited, and main events in Church history, including the gospel restoration, building of temples, the prophet's martyrdom, displacement from Nauvoo, the long wilderness trek, and hardships in the Salt Lake Valley, are vividly related. Then, too, the hymnal served as more than a record of things past. In a very meaningful and effective way, it acted as a Liahona, pointing out the directions for the faithful which would lead them out of their spiritual, and at times physical, wildernesses. "Come go with me beyond the sea," a call resounding from the hymnal, changed the course of thousands of lives. In another call, volunteer labor was solicited for Temple work and the Temples rose in majesty. Or again by bringing the Saints' attention to the perfection of Enoch's city, they strove diligently for their own perfection. So the hymnal did serve, indeed, in the two great functions of any literature: as an historian and as a prophet.

One of the most beautiful concepts which develops through the course of the hymnals is the inherent goodness and potential nobility of man. In the first, the 1835 hymnbook, although several of the stock Protestant hymns tend to degrade man, the glorious concept of man's freedom is very specifically propounded. He is not, the hymnists
underscore, subject to the whims or caprices of a stern and wrathful God. The fall of Adam, rather than an occasion of profound racial guilt and defilement, gave man the ability to choose the pattern of his life, and while he might choose evil and death, he could also choose a life of greater good and exaltation than he had been capable of before the fall. Man's freedom was ennobling— it was a godly attribute. And in later editions of the hymnal, 1851 and 1856, the belief began to develop that if man were possessed of godly qualities, he must have the potential to develop into a god. So, bringing man's freedom to its logical conclusion, the declaration appeared that man, the son of God, could ultimately reach and assume the perfection of his Divine Father.

As we turn away from the philosophic base of the Church, it is also interesting to observe the shifting patterns of emphasis and attitude within the Church as it grew and matured. In the first hymnal, a pervasive optimism colors every aspect of the Gospel: man's freedom, the Creator's love for his children, Christ's atoning mercy, and the restoration of Christ's Church. The Saints sing of their love for each other and of the harmony which the Gospel brings. They sing of the plan of salvation, the gathering of Israel and enduring to the end. But it is all a lark, a bright new trifle. They almost seem to think that the gathering will occur with modern push-button ease, that enduring to the end would be no greater hardship than one Sunday fast, partially because of their beliefs that the millennial days were so rapidly approaching and that all people would accept the Gospel and flock to it as soon as the missionary's first
word fell upon their ears. They seem to think that while Rome could not be built in a day, Zion surely would be. Their controlling scriptural images are the perfect city of Enoch, which was painlessly and instantly transformed, and Daniel's stone, cut from the mountain without hands, which was to roll forth and fill all the earth. It almost seems that the early Saints expected the Gospel to roll forth without the aid of their hands or the sweat of their brows. Missionaries are bade farewell in the midst of rejoicings, and God is praised unceasingly for his love, mercy, and compassion.

By 1840, in the English mission field, the aura of enthusiasm was becoming somewhat clouded. New converts had been disinherited by their families, shunned and ridiculed by their countrymen. Missionaries had been pelted with eggs and stones, jeered down in public meetings, and otherwise physically and legally harassed. And so while the Saints still sang "The morning breaks, the shadows flee," lauding the restoration of the Gospel, they also prayed fervently for unity and for the companionship of the Holy Spirit to help them withstand the persecutions facing them. Endurance became a major theme for the Saints as the gloom of suffering began to overshadow the optimism of 1835. Still the Saints clung tenaciously to the Lord, declaring their faith in His word while denouncing the doctrines of men, firmly dedicating their lives to Christ in the face of opposition, and calling upon God to be a shield for their defense. The church members still expressed a great concern for the unconverted, but they no longer expected millions to flock to the church in the twinkling of an eye. Missionary work was recognized for what it was, a very difficult and often disillusioning task. While
the tone of the 1840 hymnal began to darken, or at least to become more realistic, the hymnal was altogether appropriate for the mission field, with its emphasis on missionary work, conversion, the witness of the Spirit, and love and unity.

Several new doctrinal areas were broached in the 1840 hymnal, and most of them were directly concerned with missionary activities. First, it was made known that when a worthy member joined the church, he was "adopted" into the chosen lineage of Israel. This concept was reiterated in several hymns of later vintage. More emphasis was also placed on the gathering of the Jews; and while in the first hymnal the building of Zion had been proposed, 1840 was the first time the Saints were cautioned to begin preparing for the journey to the Holy City.

The 1841 hymnal, published by Emma Smith back in the States, reflects the growing persecution afflicting the Saints, and their proportionally increasing impatience with their oppressors. There is a consistent urgency in their repeated call for a hastening of the day of deliverance, and while millennial conjectures had constituted an important segment of both the first and the second major hymnal, in the third hymnal, the emphasis is on the millennial destruction of the wicked rather than on the eternal rest and joy of the Saints. Missionaries are sent out with a word of warning and caution rather than with hallelujahs and rejoicing. In fact, there seems to be a despair of securing the ear or the heart of those proselyted, a lack of hope and, at times, even an understandable indifference whether the non-believer would come to the Church. Right at this time when missionary enthusiasm
reaches its nadir, an amazing new doctrine appears. This doctrine, calling for the vicarious baptism of the dead, seems to declare that while the living may disparage the gospel, millions of the departed are waiting for the opportunity to grasp the truth. Such a doctrine could not have appeared at a more propitious time, and the Saints' sinking spirits are buoyed up again with a new direction for their faith. This new enthusiasm continues also into the 1851 hymnal.

The interim period between the 1841 and the 1849 hymnals saw many radical changes in the church. Increasing persecutions had been climaxed in 1844 by the martyrdom of the Prophet and dire predictions that the Church itself would perish. The 1849 hymnal reflects this drastic change of fortune for the Church and immediately assumes the role of comforter of the people and bastion of the faith. While lamenting the death of the Prophet, it calls all of the Saints to hold fast to their faith, to prove through their tenacity that Joseph Smith, the martyr, was a true prophet, and that his church, proclaiming the true gospel of Christ, could not be destroyed. For those who have begun to doubt, the hymnal calls their attention to the newly completed and dedicated Nauvoo Temple, emphasizing the miracle and divine portent of its preservation. The millennial expectation continues unabated, as though the hymnists are telling the Saints that all will be well if they can endure for only another short space. In the midst of these secular concerns, two new doctrines were also brought forth. Eliza Snow in one hymn discussed the word of wisdom, assuring the Saints that it was an order of the greatest spiritual as well as temporal importance and that obedience to its teachings was mandatory for the true
Saints, another revelation was made purely of theological interest. This was the revelation of the existence of a Heavenly Mother as well as a Heavenly Father.

This theological revelation would gain more practical application in the 1851 hymnal when it would be placed in conjunction with man's option for godhood. If even the gods remained eternally paired, then man's marriage relationship could last beyond death, and if he reached the exaltation of Godhood, his wife would remain with him as an eternal queen and goddess. By 1851 the Church had weathered the storm created by the martyrdom and was firmly, if not comfortably, established in the Salt Lake Valley. Safely established in the hills, freed for the first time from oppression, the Saints were able to drop their defensive stance and bask in the light of the full realization and practice of the Gospel. In a definitive statement of church belief John Hardy describes the God of the Mormons—one with body, parts, and passions—and the complex structure of the church, complete with prophets, apostles, priests, teachers, deacons, et cetera. One idea, often expressed in earlier hymnals, becomes a controlling force in 1851. In 1835 the Saints had been told the gathering would precede Christ's second coming, and in 1840 they had been urged to prepare to return to Zion. The actual call to gather was issued in 1851, for a central refuge had been established for the Saints in Utah. This increased emphasis on the gathering naturally heightened the Saints' expectation in Christ's sudden reappearance. Calls for temple building were issued so all the work for the dead could be completed before His glorious arrival. The gathering of Israel also became a matter of
interest, since Orson Hyde had dedicated Jerusalem to the return of the Jews in 1841. This interest in the various branches of Israel increased on two fronts. First the conversion of Alexander Neibaur convinced many of the Saints that the Jews were ripe for conversion. And second, the close proximity of the Saints in Utah to the Indians or Lamanites, also a branch of Israel, naturally attracted their proselyting interests.

While new doctrines had appeared at various stages in the hymnody, the 1856 hymnal was the most interesting from a doctrinal standpoint. At that time it was declared that Adam was actually the God of this earth, that plural marriage was the eternal order of heaven, that while man could become a God, God had once also been a mere man, that the ten tribes had been sent to live on another planet, and that all Saints should live the law of consecration. As well as setting forth in song these doctrinal innovations, the 1856 hymnal continued to urge the gathering of the Saints to the central stake of Zion. The Saints, were at this time however, cautioned that the gathering would not end all of their problems and that Salt Lake City was hardly a reincarnation of the city of Enoch.

Although the 1856 hymnal had largely been concerned with theological innovations, the emphasis was radically shifted in 1863. Without the unifying force of continual external persecution, the Saints began to lose their tempers along with their testimonies. Bickering and internal strife were becoming commonplace, and were as injurious to the church as the gentile persecutions had been. The hymnists stepped in at that point as arbitrators, urging each dissenting or inharmonious
Saint to overlook the shortcomings of his brother while at the same
time working to overcome his own faults. The Saints were also dis-
contented at the time with their provisional government, and this
dissatisfaction was also apparent in the hymnal. While the primary
object of this 1863 hymnal was to restore peace and harmony to the
Saints, other Gospel areas were still important. The millennial
stream continued to flow abundantly, augmented by a renewed call
to the Saints to gather in Deseret. The AdamO0d theory, which had
first appeared in 1856 was reinforced with an additional hymn, and the
universe was described as an "eternal round," unbounded by limitations
of time or space.

The 1871 hymnal neatly draws the early period of the Saints
to a close. Having survived the disruptions of unsympathetic and at
times violent nonbelievers, the hardships of nature and internal
disputations, the Saints were finally settled in the wilderness and
could turn their attention away from the vicissitudes and distractions
of life back to where it rightfully belonged, with the founder of the
gospel, and the Savior of the world, Jesus Christ. With only three
minor exceptions, the direction of the hymnists writing in 1871 is to
examine the Savior's life, to solemnly proclaim his death and to rejoice
in his resurrection and the salvation he offers to all mankind. Start-
ing in newly-proclaimed independence from a Calvinistic God of Wrath, the
Latter-day Saint finally surrenders that independence to a God of Love.

The hymnal, then, has always played a vital instructional role
for the Latter-day Saints. In the Sunday worship services, however, the
hymn has not been incorporated only to reinforce doctrinal belief
or ethical behavior. It has also been consciously cultivated to provide an aesthetic and artistic embellishment to the plain and simple dignity of the sacramental service. Unfortunately, artistry and aesthetic appeal are inherently more difficult to achieve in hymnody than in any other form of lyric poetry.

The strictly literary demands on the hymn are almost overwhelming. Hymnic form, attitude, tone and treatment as well as subject matter are very narrowly confined and placed under the greatest strictures. It is little wonder that Alfred Tennyson exclaimed "A good hymn is the most difficult thing in the world to write," 1 while Dr. Johnson and Matthew Arnold, for varying reasons, were convinced that it was impossible to write good hymnody in English. 2 The Mormon hymnist is by no means alone in often falling short of the mark of literary superiority.

Completely disregarding for the moment the most essential ingredient in hymn writing, the impulse of intense religious emotion, we still readily see that even great poets would be hard pressed to create several memorable poems, let alone a substantial body of good poetry, within the narrow formal confines dictated by the hymn's unique situation.

1 Reeves, p. 29.

2 Ibid., pp. 19, 21. Johnson maintains that the religious experience so far transcends poetry that poetry is an unworthy vehicle for the religious thought, while at the opposite pole Matthew Arnold esoterically argues that the religious impulse is an imported idea, both unwelcome and ill-fitting in English poetry. More recently and perhaps most sensibly, John Landis Ruth identifies the major barrier to the great hymn in the following words: "The capacity for writing poetry is rare; the capacity for religious emotion of the first intensity is rare; and it is to be expected that the existence of both capacities in the same individual should be rarer still." From "English Hymn-Writing in America, 1610-1800" (diss., Harvard University, 1968), p. 17.
Because it is written to be sung (and by generally unsophisticated congregations, at that), the hymn must be structured to conform to the demands of simple musical meters. Of musical necessity, then, the majority of hymns have been written in one of the three iambic verse forms easily adaptable to the musical common (l/l) time\(^3\) or in an anapestic tetrameter form of four or eight lines.\(^4\) Not only is the verse form limited, but again for rhythmical facility each line must be perfectly regular, so the hymnist is denied recourse to metric variety to stave off monotony.

Because the hymn is to be sung, another serious restriction is placed on the hymnist: the meaning of his hymn must be readily apparent. The congregational singer, theoretically, has no time to pause and ponder over some obscure image, extended or subtle conceit, peculiar construction or unusual word. As the noted hymnist James Montgomery explains, the successful hymnist must have a "mediocrity of mind,"\(^5\) not meaning, as we might fear, that he must be dull and lack exceptional understanding, but that the poet-hymnist should write with the expression "of the ordinary

\(^3\) Short measure (S.M.) consists of four-line stanzas (usually employing alternate rhyme) with three feet in the first, second and fourth lines, and four feet in the third line (-/-/-; -/-/-; -/-/-; -/-/-); common measure (C.M.), known best as the ballad meter, alternates lines of four feet with lines of three feet (-/-/-/-; -/-/-/-; -/-/-/-; -/-/-/-) in a four-line stanza and also uses the abab rhyme scheme; long measure (L.M.) contains four tetrameter lines in each stanza, with the rhyme either alternating or coupled.

\(^4\) Other verse forms have been used at various times. It is interesting to note, however, that iambicpentameter, the mainstay of English poetry, is almost totally absent from English hymns, apparently because it is difficult for a normal congregational singer to sing a line longer than four feet in one breath.

\(^5\) Reeves, p. 103.
folk" and not so much exercise his own individual poetic eccentricities. This is a delicate point, however, for while the hymnist's diction and imagery must be simple and straightforward with the meaning readily apparent at the first reading, he must cultivate a true poetic sense.

Neither a childish tone nor doggerel verse can be tolerated. While the hymn must be simple, it must also be aesthetically and emotionally uplifting, full of the spirit of man's most holy relation - ship with his Maker. It must reflect man's deepest and most noble thoughts and his highest aspirations. Condensing the most important attributes of a good hymn into a concise definitive statement, Mr. Reeves states: "The good hymn combines in quite remarkable effect the straitest simplicity, clarity, dignity, and melody, rich ideas about the basic matters of life and death, with strong emotion under sure control."6

Or, as Bishop How concludes, "A good hymn should be like a good prayer-- simple, real, earnest, and reverent."7 The most important attribute of the good hymn, however, is that while it may appear with the simplest of forms and diction, it must possess the nobleness of thought to "convey large ideas and stir deep emotions."8

Unfortunately, the aspiring hymnists of all ages and denominations, including the Mormons, have been deceived by the apparent formal simplicity of the hymn into ignoring or devaluing their artistic and philosophical responsibilities. Mediocre thought must be if anything more rather than less fully eschewed in a work of simple structure, and

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6Reeves, p. 7.
7Dearmer, p. 186.
8Reeves, p. 6.
aesthetic value must be carefully and painstakingly cultivated if vivid images and strong constructions are to be eked out of the stony soil of enforced simplicity. So, a strong poetic sense, deep religious conviction and noble intellectual consideration must all be present in any hymn of true literary merit.

In the field of Mormon hymnology, many Saints considered themselves called to the position of Zion's Poet, but, from a literary standpoint, few if any were chosen. The didactic hymns, which account for such a tremendous proportion of the LDS hymnody, are nearly all possessed of a pedantic tone so strong that the element of worship is effectually erased. And, where a true religious zeal is present, all too often the author loses his artistic control and writes an embarrassingly emotional, revival hymn, totally lacking the dignity a good hymn requires.

Several of the more prolific writers, however, (W. W. Phelps, Parley P. Pratt, and Eliza R. Snow) are able, in a number of instances, to create poetry that rises above the slough which engulfs most Mormon hymnody. The sacramental hymn has fared particularly well from a literary point of view, undoubtedly because the life and mission of the Savior is such a worthy subject and the sacramental service, itself, is so reverent. When this inherent dignity and solemnity is combined with the fervency of W. W. Phelps, the richness of language of Parley P. Pratt, or the highmindedness of Eliza R. Snow, the hymnody rises to the enviable heights of "O God, th' Eternal Father," "As the dew, from heaven distilling," and "How great the wisdom and the love." With the inclusion of such hymns, the hymnal proclaims the aesthetic potential of Mormonism.
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