THE ROLE OF ISRAEL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINT MOVEMENT

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Maryland in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1943

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> For we cannot doubt that this, the most intimate and affecting of all the arts, has done much to create as well as to express the religious emotions, thus modifying more or less deeply the fabric of belief to which at first sight it seems only to minister.[1]

Mormons generally manifest a deep interest in their own hymns, their "songs of Zion." These songs are closely bound up with strong sentiments, and with certain exciting chapters of an eventful group history. This body of song is shared with no other church; it grew up with Mormonism and remains a cultural distinction of the Mormon mind. What social experience produced this unique hymnody? How did music play a significant role in the building of a pioneer society? The answers to these questions carry important implications for the Latter-day Saint movement today.

In contrast with the first generation of Mormon pioneers, their descendents today eat a variety of processed foods, wear nationally advertised clothing, go to tax-supported state controlled schools, read secular books and papers, hear more entertainment and news, travel farther every day, work at a variety of modern occupations, meet more

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[1]Sir James G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, [Abridged edition, 1923], p. 335, referring to the need of a sympathetic study of "the influence of music on the development of religion." Cited by Brian Wibberley, Music and Religion, [London: Epworth Press, 1934], p. 248.

non-Mormons, enjoy more physical comforts, and suffer no persecution. What is the role of hymnody under these changed social conditions? Has Mormon music kept pace with social change? If music served a group of people in their struggle for self-development, it may be cast in some significant role as that group participates in a changing world today.

PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

This study has three specific purposes: first, to discover what factors in the Latter-day Saint movement produced a distinctive hymnody; second, to identify the contribution made by hymns to the development of the movement; and third, to determine whether this contribution or role was altered as the Church matured. In accomplishing these purposes the study endeavors to shed further light on the emotional life of a dynamic, religious group, and to suggest opportunities for future hymn book revision.

These purposes may be restated in the form of hypotheses: first, that a distinctive hymnody was produced by factors peculiar to the Latter-day Saint movement; second, that music played an influential role in the development of this movement by reason of its close identity with everyday aspirations and problems; and third, that the role changed as the movement matured and as its members responded to an increasingly secularized world.

DEFINITIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

The word hymnody is used in this study to mean a field of music, here enlarged to include both the sacred hymns and the secular songs of the Latter-day Saints which were group-centered in their texts, tunes, and usage. The latter-day Saint movement refers to the philosophy and activities of the continuously organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, from 1830 to the present year of 1943. The more concise and familiar names of Mormon and Mormonism are frequently used in this study; and when capitalized the word Church is used to refer to the Mormon Church.

The term religion is defined for purposes of this study as a cultured pattern involving a sense of dependence upon Deity. In attempts to gain help therefrom, social experience, organization and customs are employed to establish personal relations, and religion is institutionalized as "a distinctive means for maintaining life-values." Religion, as Joseph Smith saw it, must at all times be an affirmative influence saturating life everywhere, giving purpose, energy and direction.

The word "force," as used to describe the early role of Mormon hymnody, is understood to be a capacity to convince or to move; a power or energy as lodged in an agent, or freed by an agent. It acts with religion to produce "a moral conscience of which men have never made even a slight distinct representation except by the aid of religious

symbols."[1] Force may be released by a "collective representation," as embodied in a religious symbol. Force is understood here to be educative when it serves to modify human behavior, when it is applied to solving human problems.

As an educative force, hymnody is assumed to aid the group in finding insights, direction, courage, comfort, or common resolves to overcome group problems. Hymnody thus operates as a spiritual reinforcement, a religious dynamic, an agent for religious morale building. This function may be performed in two ways: first, to articulate the goals of behavior, to voice ideals, hopes, fears, frustrations, doubts, and achievements. It may strengthen the common will and intensify group convictions to the point of social action. Second, hymnody can afford an emotional release, a process of catharsis, giving immediate relief and also a permanent benefit as it combines with the morale building process. This function of release serves also to tie the individual to his group; for as Sanderson and Polson observe in the process of group organization, "the strongest bond of any group is in its shared emotional experience."[2]

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[1]Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, [New York: MacMillan, Translated by J. S. Swain], p. 211.

[2]D. Sanderson and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, [New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1939], p. 239.

The strength of this educative force is assumed to reside chiefly in the social relevancy of the music materials. The strength of force can therefore be measured by the degree of correlation between the hymn text and the social experiences of those who sing the hymns. Educative force may be attenuated by the remoteness of music from experience, even though some lesser value continues in the form of symbolic device.

Finally, it is assumed that problems of group living which produced an original hymnody of folk-song spontaneity, exist today in some changed form. It is recognized that while Mormonism found its greatest development in the isolation of the Rocky Mountains, social change was hinted by the Gold Rush of 1847, threatened by Johnson's Army in 1857, delivered with the Golden Spike of 1869, and compelled before Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896. The changes induced by urbanism, industrialization, and a gradual but comprehensive secularization of individual living inevitably create new problems which must somehow be "lived through." The speed up of modern life has multiplied fears, anxieties, and personal conflicts which are as properly the concern of church-centered song as were the aspirations and difficulties of a pioneer day.

SCOPE

This study, planned as a social interpretation of Mormon music, includes both the sacred hymns and the secular songs which were group-

centered in their texts, tunes, and usage. The three specific purposes of the study were used at all times to direct the search for data. The details of Mormon philosophy, social origins, and active group life are introduced only insofar as they serve to reveal the factors which produced a distinctive hymnody and to identify the role of hymnody which evolved with the Latter-day Saint movement. In determining the role of hymnody during the formative years of the Church and during the last half century it was necessary to confine the study to the text of hymns, the situations in which hymns were used, and recorded statements on the purposes of music in specific situations.

METHOD, SOURCES, AND PROCEDURE

The approach is chiefly that of historical description, supplemented by other technics to present an over-all picture from which certain inferences could logically be drawn. A search was made for every reference to the creation and use of music by the Mormons, as recorded in various histories of the Church, in the observations of contemporary writers, in pioneer journals and in all known modern studies. Simultaneously, events of group significance, noted by writers within and outside of the Church, were examined for their relation to the developing movement.

Primary source material was secured chiefly at the Library of Congress, where over one hundred Mormon pioneer journals are located.

These are copies, typewritten from the original diaries in Utah by the Federal Writers' Project. Observations of social life in early Utah were found also in many contemporary volumes, especially accessible in the famed Berrien Collection which was consulted at the New York Public Library. Unpublished graduate studies of the Mormon scene were secured through inter-library loan, or examined in the comprehensive collection at the library of the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah. Visits to the Newberry Library, Chicago, the Salt Lake City public library, and the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, produced corroborative evidences. In the organization of this source material, consultation was frequently had with traveling Church authorities, and assistance cordially given by the writer's associates on the General Music Committee of the Church.

Every available source of published Mormon songs was considered in the compilation of music data. While some examples were found in various historical works, fugitive pamphlets, and the songs of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, the official hymnals and song books of the Church provided the chief source. Among these were the various text editions of "L.D.S. Hymns," published from 1840 to 1927, the music edition, "L.D.S. Psalmody" of 1889, and the auxiliary song books of the Mutual Improvement Association, 1897, and the Deseret Sunday School Union, 1884 to 1909.

The specific content of many of these hymn texts suggested a parallel treatment of music and social data. Changes in the hymnody

and principal events of Mormon history appeared to correlate with changes in Church leadership through certain broad historical periods. These are detailed under the next five chapter headings as follows: Chapter II describes the rise of Mormonism in terms of its social origin, philosophy, missionary expansion, and the growth of hymnody under Joseph Smith, from 1830 to the death of the Prophet in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1844. Chapter III opens with the succession of Brigham Young as leader, and the successful migration to the Rocky Mountains. Phases of out-group conflict, community building and cooperative enterprise, were dominated by Brigham until after the Territory of Utah was bound into a national economy by the transcontinental railroad in 1869. The highlights of social movement and emotional excitement were epitomized in a hymnody that was practically closed after the edition of 1871. Chapter IV covers the period of 1870 to 1900, in which music led an epoch of cultural attainment, and the center of congregational song veered from the choral refinement of English converts to the virile singing of new auxiliary forces in the Sunday School and youth associations. Chapter V commences with the turn of the century, and introduces the modern period in which the Church seeks adjustment to economic, political and social change, and the role of hymnody looks more to the past than to the future. Chapter VI is a brief summary of the whole study and concludes the investigation with recommendations for revision of the Church hymnody.

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATIVE ROLE OF HYMNODY UNDER JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET

> In the fullness of time some great soul, torn with the conflict within his own personality, by great travail gives birth to some unifying concept of life, a new interpretation of all existence, a new religion. The vaguely felt desires of many are focalized in him and they turn eagerly to his solution.[1]

The American frontier in the early nineteenth century presented a strange but dramatic picture. When Joseph Smith, Sr., left a rocky, inhospitable Vermont farm in 1816, discouraged by three years of crop failure and a winter of serious family illness, he found fertile soil in the uncleared lands in the vicinity of Palmyra, New York. There his wife and children soon joined him. The task of helping his father clear sixty acres of heavy timber and make a new home was but a prelude in the strenuous life of Joseph Smith, Jr., whose struggle with the frontier continued to a martyr's grave in 1844.

THE BIRTH AND PHILOSOPHY OF MORMONISM

Western New York was a wilderness. Some twenty miles northwest of Palmyra lay Rochester, consisting of but two or three log houses in 1815. Only two years before the arrival of the Smiths, the Indians

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[1]Charles Francis Potter, The Story of Religion, [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1929], p. xx.

had desolated the whole Niagara frontier.[1] West of the Appalachian mountains America was all rural, and the rapid settlement of new lands, and a mobile population brought a great deal of shifting in population groupings.[2] Schools were meager, for up to 1822 New York State provided only a total of twenty dollars per annum to each school district; and it was difficult to run even a three-month term with revenue from state and local taxes.[3]

However poor was the frontier in culture and comforts, it was rich in independence of thought. In an Old World of settled ideas, the religious liberal either recanted or was killed. In America, when the pressure became too great, he moved; and, with virgin land to the west, he generally went in that direction. The history of American religion in the first half of the nineteenth century shows a constant spirit of rebellion from old creeds, resulting in the splitting of many churches and the establishment of some thirty new

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[1]Brigham H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930], I, 36.

[2]Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village, [Brigham Young University Studies No. 3, Provo, Utah: 1933], p. 15.

[3]Early Common Schools in New York, [Report of Commissioner of Education, New York: 1897], p. 224. Cited in B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, I, 37. Roberts declares young Joseph Smith was required to labor and had limited schooling. Still he learned to read passing well, he could write and had some knowledge of numbers. It is confessed by his mother that he was less inclined to the perusal of books than the other children of the family, but "was more given to deep study and meditation."

ones.[1] Eleven years before the boy Joseph went into the grove to pray, one Alexander Campbell, having come to the conclusion that primitive Christianity was lost, "broke with mighty struggles the bonds of all creeds and made war upon them, whether they were true or false, with all the vigor of his giant mind."[2] His followers, known as "Disciples" or "Campbellites," were independent thinkers of the frontier. From them the Mormon church later received a multitude of converts.[3]

This was the "stammering century" as Horace Greeley called it; Seldes summarizes its effort at articulation:

> The air was full of voices. The sharp, hoarse command of the pioneer, guiding his wagons over mountain roads deep in mud; the suave argument of De Witt Clinton, projecting the Erie Canal, the anxious pleading of Robert Fulton, protesting that his steamboat would not ruin navigation; the precise accents of Eli Whitney, explaining to the government his principle of interchangeable parts in the manufacture of guns; the war cry of the Indians on the

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[1] William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religions in America, [New York: Harpers, 1930], details this religious development.

[2] William E. Berrett, The Restored Church, [Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1937], p. 21. Citing D. S. Ray, Textbook on Campbellism, [Memphis: Southwestern Publishing House, 1867].

[3] William E. Berrett, The Restored Church, p. 21. Cf. George S. Tanner, "Religious Environment in Which Mormonism Arose," [unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1931], p. 57. "Followers of Campbell seem to have been especially well prepared for the message of Joseph Smith since they had been taught the desirability of a return to the 'ancient order of things'. The most important thing they had to accept in joining the new faith was Joseph Smith as Prophet and Restorer of this ancient order."

> western plains drowned out by the nasal, laconic speech of the Yankee and, later, by the strange, broad tongue of the immigrant; the cries of the Forty-niners; the yelping of Boston mobs, attacking fugitive slaves; the patriotic hymns of Wm. Cullen Bryant; the rounded phrases of Webster; Edward Everett saying, "Our Government is in its theory perfect also. Thus we have solved the great problem in human affairs."[1]

In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century most religious denominations doubled their membership,[2] and one of the focal points of conversion was undoubtedly that of the religious revival.[3] Commencing in Kentucky in 1797, the revivals spread through the South and West like fire,[4] and local disturbance characterized sections of the country for the next few decades.[5]

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[1]Gilbert Seldes, Stammering Century [New York: Day, 1928], p. 3.

[2]Wm. Warren Sweet, The Story of Religions in America. Cf. Sherwood Eddy, The Kingdom of God and the American Dream, [New York: Harpers, 1941], p. 273: various authorities have estimated roughly the proportion of church members to whole population at various periods as follows:

1790--5 per cent	1850--15.5 percent	1910--43.5 per cent
1800--6.9 per cent	1900--35 per cent	1914--50 per cent

[3]Tanner, op. cit., p. 57. Also see: Joseph Smith, History of the Church, [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1902], I, 133. "Importance of revivals in the growth and development of the Church easily is overstated. Western New York did not make large contributions; a year after the organization, upon moving to Ohio, not more than two hundred came there from New York." Also see: John Henry Evans, One Hundred Years of Mormonism [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1905], p. 127.

[4]Seldes, op. cit., Chapters 1-3 presents details in profusion.

[5]Frederick Morgan Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals [New York: MacMillan, 1905], gives evidence that in certain Kentucky counties perhaps similar emotional excitement accounts for an astounding history of lynching throughout the century.

The essential spirit in these revivals was the millennial hope. "Most of the people on the frontier including the Disciples on the Western Reserve in Ohio, the followers of William Miller [Seventh-Day Adventists] in western New York and others were obsessed with the imminence of the second coming."[1] Predictions of approaching judgment and the destruction of the world precipitated an epidemic of excitement in Rochester county by the early 1840's.

> Men and women forsook their employments and gave themselves over to watching and prayer. They hardly slept or ate, but in robes of white awaited the coming of the bridegroom.
>
> The seriousness and excitement in New York state began in Palmyra, Joseph Smith's own town, and nearly all the youth and children of the community at once sought religion, according to a later resident of that region.[2]

In explanation of this ecstatic behavior, Seldes concludes "there was no intellectual make-weight to steady men when they observed the wonders of science."

> They heard of canals and steam engines and believed them to be the predicted signs of the coming of the Lord. Nor was there an established ritual of disciplined church

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[1]Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village, p. 15.

[2]Davenport, op. cit., p. 186. Cf. Daniel Dorchester, Christianity in the United States from its First Settlement Down to the Present Time [New York: Phillips and Hart, 1888], p. 1. Cf. also Tanner, op. cit., p. 56. Tanner makes the distinction that revivals in Western New York had little of the bodily exercises of the Kentucky manifestations. "The typical agitation was mental and was accompanied by much praying." He quotes Finney's observation of converts who were remarkable in prayer and the repeating of Scripture.

> to direct the religious fervor which wandering exhorters whipped up and left to die down without any permanent object to which it could attach itself. The country quivered and trembled. It was expectant and eager. It was as ready for spiritualism as for Mormonism. Barreled up in the narrow confines of unimaginative lives it was fermenting. The excitement of revivals came to nothing and, on the rare occasions when a revivalist returned, he groaned in spirit to see the "sad, frigid, carnal state into which the churches had fallen."[1]

Other historians saw this intellectual unrest manifest particularly in an era of reforms, one describing it as "the intellectual and moral renaissance," another as "the hot air period in American History." James Russell Lowell is quoted as calling it a time when "every possible form of intellectual and physical dyspepsia brought forth its gospel." The abolition and humanitarian movements, the temperance agitation, and an increased interest in educational advance were everywhere in evidence.[2]

As far as religion was concerned, Lowry Nelson[3] summarizes the essential characteristics as follows: [1] in fervent revivalism, the fear of hell racked men's souls, and the hope of heaven lit up their countenances; [2] intellectual unrest broke from old institutions and

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[1]Seldes, op. cit., p. 119. For further reaction of the Protestant ministry to revivalistic behavior see Dorchester, op. cit.

[2]R. V. Harlow, The Growth of the United States [New York: 1927], p. 387. Cited in McBrien, "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith." [Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.: 1929], p. 144.

[3]Nelson, The Mormon Village, pp. 15-16.

organizations into isms and cults regarded as more adequate; and [3] emotional instability, literal acceptance of the Bible as revelation, and renewed interest in the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments, characterized the peoples of the sections of Ohio and New York in which Mormonism had its formative years. Contention among the various sects was rife; religion was a topic that was discussed everywhere.

> The people racked their brains in secret, and poured forth loud logic in public, not over problems involving intellectual liberty, human rights and reason, but concerning the world to come, and more particularly such momentous questions as election, justification, baptism and infant damnation.[1]

American revivalism kept men articulate on religion, observes Lloyd:

> Prominent among the topics of popular debate were temperance, communistic ideas, Adventism, and Indian origins. Out of this period came the only indigenous and typically American religions. Mormonism, deriving from these rich antecedents of American influence is typical and perhaps the most expressive of its time. It found answers for vital questions of the day and found itself moving in fields which attracted thousands of followers in Europe as well as in America.[2]

In the light of this background may be found greater meaning in the spiritual manifestations announced by Joseph Smith, and in the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Wesley P. Lloyd, The Rise and Development of Lay Leadership In The Latter-day Saint Movement. [Chicago: Photo-lithographed summary of Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago Press, 1937], p. 5.

hymnody which carried his message to universal attention. The story of Joseph's visions is best told in his own words,[1] but briefly summarized it pictures an American farm boy of fourteen, with a background as common as his name, Joseph Smith. "Torn with the conflict within his own personality," and confused by the revivalistic claims of his village churches, he accepted literally the scriptural injunction [James 1:15], "If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." This religious crisis and Joseph's experiences in the subsequent decade resulted in the production of a new scripture, the Book of Mormon,[2] and the new Church which followed.

The importance of the Book of Mormon has been appraised by Henry A. Wallace:

> Of all the American religious books of the nineteenth century it seems probable that the "Book of Mormon" was the most powerful. It reached perhaps only one per cent of the people of the United States, but it affected this one per cent so powerfully and lastingly that all the people of the

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[1]Joseph Smith, Extracts from the History of Joseph Smith, The Prophet [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1921 edition].

[2]Essentially, the Book of Mormon details the history in this hemisphere of three migrations from Asia, covering chiefly the thousand years up to 400 A.D. Civil war then destroys most of the inhabitants, including the prophet-general, Mormon, whose son Moroni writes the final chapter and subsequently assists Joseph Smith to recover and translate the principal record. Modern interest centers in the prophecies about America's destiny and a testimony to the divinity of Jesus Christ. Cf. A. L. Neff, History of Utah, 1847 to 1869 [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940], Chapter 1, pp. 5-6.

United States have been affected, especially by its contribution to opening up one of our great frontiers.[1]

Following closely upon the publication of the Book of Mormon came the inauguration of the new religious movement, which has been summarized by Neff:

> No legal organization of the sect was effected until 1830, exactly a decade subsequent to the first vision of Joseph Smith. The new denomination was incorporated at Fayette, New York, April 6, 1830, by six members under the name and title of The Church of Jesus Christ. Having acquired legal status, the corporation developed rapidly in membership, organization and doctrine. Joseph Smith became its leader, as might be expected, and was designated as "a Seer, a Translator, a Prophet, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and Elder of the Church through the will of God the Father, and the grace of your Lord Jesus Christ." . . .
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> The missionaries [called to preach to the Indians] pushed westward preaching to the white inhabitants as they went. Numerous converts were made at Kirtland, Ohio [near present-day Cleveland], among whom was Sidney Rigdon, a preacher, whose ability quickly won him prominence in the fold.
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> Confronted with serious opposition in New York, what was more natural than that President Smith should look with growing favor on Ohio where his doctrines and missionaries were well received. Deity authorized the change of headquarters in a revelation of December, 1830: "And again, a commandment I give unto the church, that it is expedient in me that they should assemble together at the Ohio."[2]

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[1] Henry A. Wallace, "Greatest Religious Books of the Nineteenth Century," The New York Times, November 4, 1937.

[2] Neff, op. cit., introduction, p. 6. [This is based on Neff's Doctoral dissertation completed at the University of California in 1918 and entitled "The Mormon Migration to Utah"].

While the Church retained its principal center in Ohio from 1831 to 1838, other groups of the growing membership pressed on to Jackson County, Missouri, where a major chapter in Mormon history was written in blood. Upon their later expulsion from Missouri, "the Mormons might have escaped heart rending experiences by going at once to the Great Basin, the only considerable unoccupied land area in the West. Another bitter experience awaited them however, before they could make up their minds so to do."[1] From 1839 to 1846 the Church was centered at Nauvoo, Illinois, just across the Mississippi River from southern Iowa. From there commenced the Migration to the Great Basin under Brigham Young in 1846-47--a prelude to the second major division of Mormon history and of this study.

The contribution of music and hymnody to the development of the movement will be perceived not only in the light of these social origins but also in the philosophy which Joseph Smith announced through formal revelations and through the Book of Mormon. The question may be asked, what was the source of vitality and strength which carried the developing movement to its ultimate destiny in the West? What was the primary appeal of the new faith to converts in all parts of the world? According to the Mormon view, the answer is to be found in the philosophy of a Restored Gospel, which is based upon the

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[1]Ibid, p. 19.

reality of an unseen world.[1] This belief in the supernatural was represented in the earliest years of the Church as the foundation of the whole Mormon structure,[2] and became the basis of most of its hymns as well. The new faith shared the following features with contemporary churches a century ago: an acceptance of prophet leaders, visions and revelations, prophecies, healings, tongues, and priesthood and authority.[3]

One of the most articulate leaders of the Church today has summarized some dominant features of this theology:

> In that other world is God, our Father, whose glory is intelligence, a compound of love and wisdom. . . . There are no ultimate barriers between this and the other world. . . . Man is one of the eternal realities of the universe. Not only shall he endure after death; he lived as a spiritual, pre-existent being before he came upon earth.[4]

The Gospel, according to Mormon definition, is the divine plan of earth-education, which man earned the right to enjoy in a mortal life. As a spiritual son of God he inherits a body in the image of God Himself. "The conception of an actual relationship among all

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[1]John A. Widtsoe, "Mormonism," Varieties of American Religion [Charles Samuel Braden, editor; Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1936], p. 124.

[2]Tanner, op. cit., pp. 104-5.

[3]Ibid.

[4]John A. Widtsoe, "Mormonism," Varieties of American Religion [Charles Samuel Braden, editor], p. 124.

humanity places upon every human being family responsibility. To help our neighbor is to help our own."[1]

"Having been tried, refined and educated on earth, man dies, but in time shall regain his body and because of his righteous endeavors shall go on forever into eternal, active, progressive exaltation . . . from everlasting to everlasting."[2] Religion has as its sole object "to make people happy in this life and in the hereafter." Religion is acceptable when it ". . . satisfies the physical, economic, social, mental, moral and spiritual needs of man . . . when it is the guiding philosophy and supporting power of all human actions, offering guidance, a social group, and salvation in the sense of 'harmony with truth.'"[3]

Even this brief epitome of some Mormon principles discloses a basis for distinctive hymns of belief and experience. As will be shown in this chapter, hymns quickly arose to proclaim belief in an eternal Father and a Saviour, and faith in a Gospel of brotherhood and its appointed leaders.

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[1] Ibid, p. 130.

[2] Ibid, p. 133.

[3] Ibid, pp. 137-38.

HYMNODY IN THE EARLY ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH

The content of Mormon hymnody became distinctive in the first years of the Latter-day Saint movement--as distinctive as the Church itself, which may be classified as Christian but neither Protestant nor Catholic. The importance of this content and its points of distinction may be seen in the words of Louis F. Benson, one of the most distinguished scholars of English and American hymnology:

> The Hymnody of Zion has played a great part in the upbuilding of Mormonism, as by its virility and contagious enthusiasm it was well fitted to do. It appropriates the whole history of Israel and in enshrining historical occasion resembles the Old Testament Psalter. It has been naturally a Hymnody apart from that of the historic Church, from which it has borrowed to some extent, and from which it does not differ so far as the manner of using hymns in worship is concerned.
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> The Mormon hymn book is an exception to the rule of dullness governing sectarian Hymnody. Its interest is not in the familiar hymns of worship ["Sweet is the Work, My God, My King"] or of experience ["God Moves in a Mysterious Way"] though these take a new color from their surroundings. The interest of the Mormon Hymnody is its intense sectarianism. The Mormon history reads like a romance rather than a reality; and the hymn book presents almost every phase and important event of that history as imbedded in contemporary hymns or songs that are at worst human documents and that often rise to the level of effective song.[1]

As this distinctive hymnody was created it became educative by its close identity with the dominant activities and problems of the

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[1]Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn, Its Development and Use in Worship [Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1915], pp. 433-34.

developing movement. Some of these activities and their derivative problems for members of the Church may be viewed under six classifications: [1] an expanding missionary movement, [2] the gathering of converts to a central Zion in America, [3] a resulting group conflict with neighbors of the frontier, [4] temple building and worship activities, [5] group educational activities, and [6] social activities. The evidence of this educative contribution of music is offered in terms of history and hymnody alike.

The Missionary Movement

Like the early followers of Jesus Christ, these Latter-day Saints were caught up by the enthusiasm of the ideas they embraced, and missionary evangelism carried them to the American Indian with the bible of his ancestors, then to the whites of the frontier and Canada and their relatives in England, to the Scandinavian and Teutonic nations, to Latin Europe and the Holy Land, and eventually to the islands of the Pacific. Since in the Mormon priesthood all men are ordained elders,[1] except Blacks? any one could be called to special service in the advancement of the faith. Frequently this was a call to preach in foreign lands. Leaving their families to the kind mercies of friends and brethren, many elders bade tearful adieu, joining in this familiar

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[1]Always scorning a professional ministry, the Church has developed a lay priesthood in which the boy of twelve is ordained a deacon and successively may be advanced to the office of elder and to higher degrees of the order.

song:[1]

Farewell our wives and children,
Who render life so sweet;
Dry up your tears--be faithful
Till we again shall meet.

The gallant ships are ready
To bear us o'er the sea,
To gather up the blessed
That Zion may be free.[2]

Many of these missionary farewell songs originated in specific situations, such as the following, reported in the Times and Seasons:[3]

> Sung at the General Conference of the Latter Day Saints in the City of New York, as six of their elders, viz: B. Young, H. C. Kimball, O. Pratt, G. A. Smith, R. Hadlock, and P. P. Pratt, were about to sail for Europe. They took passage on board the ship Patrick Henry, for Liverpool, and sailed on the 7th of March, 1840.
>
> When shall we all meet again,
> When shall we our rest obtain?
> When our pilgrimage be o'er,
> Parting sighs be known no more,
> When Mount Zion we regain,
> There may we all meet again.

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[1] Joseph Smith, History of the Church, IV, 103. "Monday, April 6, 1840. . . . At the time of sailing President Young's and Elder Kimball's health was very poor. George A. Smith had the ague for six days in succession. When the ship left her moorings the shore resounded with the songs of the Saints, who had come down to bid them farewell; they unitedly sang 'The Gallant Ship is under weigh' until out of hearing."

[2] Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1871], Hymn No. 217. All subsequent hymn numbers cited refer to this edition, unless otherwise noted.

[3] Times and Seasons [Nauvoo, Illinois: Robinson and Smith], May 1840, p. 111.

We to foreign climes repair,
Truth, the message which we bear,
Truth which Angels oft have borne.
. . . . . .[1]

Those leaders who were numbered among the Twelve Apostles particularly endured many hardships, as recounted by Joseph Smith under date of August 1, 1841:

> Most of them when they left this place, nearly two years ago, were worn down with sickness and disease, or were taken sick on the road. Several of their families were also afflicted and needed their aid and support. But knowing that they had been called by the God of Heaven to preach the Gospel to other nations, they conferred not with flesh and blood, but obedient to the heavenly mandate, without purse or scrip, they commenced a journey of five thousand miles entirely dependent on the providence of that God who had called them to such a holy calling.
>
> While journeying to the sea-board they were brought into many trying circumstances; after a short recovery from severe sickness, they would be taken with a relapse, and have to stop among strangers, without money and without friends. Their lives were several times despaired of, and they have taken each other by the hand, expecting it would be the last time they should behold one another in the flesh.
>
> . . . They, truly, "went forth weeping, bearing precious seed, but have returned with rejoicing, bearing their sheaves with them."[2]

The use of hymns to reconcile these missionaries to their callings has been noted by observers of the day:[3]

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[1]Hymn No. 227. [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, IV, 390-91.

[3]Samuel F. Smucker, History of the Mormons [New York: C. M. Saxton, 1858], pp. 58-59 noted a hymn which is still known to certain elder residents of Salt Lake City.

The next is a hymn for the Twelve Apostles, who have been sent to different parts of Europe:

Ye chosen twelve, to ye are given
The keys of this last ministry--
To every nation under heaven,
From land to land, from sea to sea.

First to the Gentiles sound the news
Throughout Columbia's happy land;
And then before it reach the Jews,
Prepare on Europe's shores to stand.[1]

There were no illusions as to the purposes of their missions, according to another popular hymn:

The gallant ship is under weigh
To bear me off to sea, . . .

I go, but not to plough the main
To ease a restless mind;
Nor yet to toil on battle's plain,
The victor's wreath to find.
'Tis not for treasures that are hid
In mountain or in dell--
'Tis not for joys like these I bid
My native land, farewell.

I go to break the fowler's snare,
To gather Israel home;
I go the name of Christ to bear
In lands and isles unknown;
And soon my pilgrim-feet shall tread
On land where errors dwell,
Whence light and truth have long since fled,--
My native land, farewell!

I go, devoted to His cause,
And to His will resigned;
His presence will supply the loss
Of all I leave behind: . . .

---

[1]Hymn No. 273. [Fourteenth Edition].

I go—it is my Master's call;
He's made my duty plain;
No danger can the heart appall
When Jesus stoops to reign. . . .[1]

The results of these early missions were highly encouraging. Brigham Young wrote to the Prophet, from Herefordshire, England, on May 7, 1840, describing his reception at the hands of the British:

> The people are very different in this country from what the Americans are. They say it cannot be possible that men should leave their homes and come so far, unless they are truly the servants of the Lord; they do not seem to understand argument; simple testimony is enough for them; they beg and plead for the Book of Mormon, and were it not for the priests, the people would follow after the servants of the Lord and inquire what they should do to be saved.[2]

Of similar sentiment is a missionary ballad, sung to the tune of an English pirate song by Henry Russell, called "I'm afloat, I'm afloat" which illustrates the appeal and media of adapted song:

I'm a Saint, I'm a Saint, on the rough world wide,
The earth is my home, and my God is my guide! . . .

I fear not old priestcraft, its dogmas can't awe;
I've a chart for to steer by, that tells me the law—
And ne'er as a coward to falsehood I'll kneel,
While Mormon tells truth, or God's prophets reveal! . . .[3]

Or to note a hymn still popularly sung by men of the Church despite

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[1]Hymn No. 220. [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, IV, 126.

[3]Smucker, op. cit., p. 59.

its obsolescence, and perhaps because of its jingling tune picked up in the early days of the British mission, here is one expressive of "Babylon" as the world, and Ephraim as the favored site:

> Ye Elders of Israel, come join now with me,
> And search out the righteous, wherever they be, . . .
> O Babylon, O Babylon, we bid thee farewell;
> We're going to the mountains of Ephraim to dwell.[1]

The favorite hymn of the Restoration of the Gospel, written by Parley P. Pratt especially to adorn the premiere cover of the British Mission paper, The Millennial Star, which he inaugurated in March, 1840, is still accorded initial preference in the latest hymnal of the Church:

> 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.
>
> The Gentile fullness now comes in,
> And Israel's blessings are at hand;
> Lo! Judah's remnant, cleansed from sin,
> Shall in their promised Canaan stand.
>
> Jehovah speaks! Let earth give ear,
> And Gentile nations turn and live:
> His mighty arm is making bare,
> His cov'nant people to receive.

---

[1] Hymn No. 304. [Fourteenth Edition].

Angels from heaven and truth from earth
Have met, and both have record borne;
Thus Zion's light is bursting forth,
To cheer her children's glad return.[1]

When Pratt had discovered two years earlier that some of his efforts were unproductive, his anguish and disappointment were possibly relieved by this lament, in which he left New York City to its prophesied ruin:

Adieu to the city where long I have wandered,
To tell them of judgments and warn them to flee;
How often in sorrow their woes I have pondered!
Perhaps in affliction they'll think upon me.

How often at evening your halls have resounded
While the meek were rejoicing,
the proud were confounded,
The poor had the Gospel: they'll think upon me.

When th' union is severed, and liberty's blessings
Withheld from the sons of Columbia once free;
When bloodshed and war and famine distress them,
Remember the warning, and think upon me.[2]

Just who were the recipients of this missionary zeal, and how did they sing of their hopes and trials? Neff observes that:

> Mormonism made most rapid progress in those States and foreign countries where conditions were "ripe," where religious, social, and economic states of mind were conducive to its consideration and acceptance. High receptivity characterized the areas where marked liberalism, unrest, dissatisfaction, and dissent were in evidence. Wherever Unitarianism, Universalism, Millerism, and particularly the Church of the Disciples held sway or had made

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[1]Hymn No. 1, [Editions of 1871 and 1927].

[2]Hymn No. 224, [Fourteenth Edition].

> deep inroads, or where downright skepticism had unsettled the religious mind, there was fertile soil for the seeds of Mormonism. On the other hand, wherever Orthodoxy held undisputed sway, defiant rejection was the order, and the Gospel scarcely obtained a foothold.
>
> Mormonism claims to be a Universal Church. Herein lies the explanation of the intense propaganda, the unceasing missionary activity. The high responsibility of its believers was to preach the Gospel to every people, land and clime.[1]

By means of Yankee ingenuity and cooperative effort, thousands of British Saints were organized into immigrant parties, sailing in chartered ships from Liverpool to New Orleans for as little expense as four pounds each.[2] They were reported to have gone forth "with songs of joy," but there must have been mixed feelings as well, for the most popular ship song of the day related the sorrows of abandoning home ties. This song which so adequately expressed the feelings of every group was written for another purpose of Rev. S. F. Smith, the New England author of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee,"[3] and merely the substitution of "distant" for "heathen" in the last line, translated the setting from America to England, from Protestant to Mormon. The hymn was noted by Smucker,[4] and a British convert made the follow-

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[1]Neff, op. cit., p. 524.

[2]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, IV, 511.

[3]Henry S. Burrage, Baptist Hymn Writers, [Portland, Maine: Brown Thurston & Co., 1888], p. 330.

[4]Smucker, op. cit., p. 60.

ing comment in his later published journal:[1]

> The Saints were now all on board, the great gates of the dock were opened, and the ship slowly proceeded into the river. Her top sails were then expended to a favourable breeze, and, as she gathered way, the passengers with one accord struck up the well-known Mormon hymn:--
>
> Yes, my native land, I love thee,
> All thy scenes I love them well;
> Friends, connexions, happy country,
> Can I bid you all farewell?
> Can I leave thee,
> Far in distant lands to dwell?
>
> Holy scenes of joy and gladness
> Every fond emotion swell;
> Can I banish heartfelt sadness,
> While I bid my home farewell?
> Can I leave thee,
> Far in distant lands to dwell?
>
> Yes! I hasten from you gladly,
> From the scenes I love so well;
> Far away, ye billows, bear me,
> Lovely native land, farewell!
> Blessed I leave thee,
> Far in distant lands to dwell.
>
> In the deserts let me labor,
> On the mountains let me tell
> How He died--the blessed Saviour,
> To redeem a world from hell!
> Let me hasten,
> Far in distant lands to dwell!
>
> Bear me on, thou restless ocean,
> Let the winds my canvas swell;
> Heaves my heart with warm emotion,
> While I go far hence to dwell!
> Glad I bid thee,
> Native land, Farewell! Farewell![2]

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[1]Robert Richards, The California Crusoe [London: H. J. Parker, 1854], pp. 23-24.

[2]Hymn No. 221, [Fourteenth Edition].

British immigrants swelled the membership of the Church by thousands in the time of Joseph Smith, and subsequently a total exceeding fifty-two thousand went to Utah,[1] but this chapter in Mormon missionary history should note that the original impulse to convert the Indian to the faith of his Book of Mormon fathers also found expression in a song, used in 1841,[2] and still carried in the current hymnal:

O stop and tell me, Red Man
Who are you, why you roam,
And how you get your living;
Have you no God--no home?

With stature straight and portly,
And decked in native pride,
With feathers, paints and brooches;
He willingly replied--

I once was pleasant Ephraim
When Jacob for me prayed;
But oh, how blessings vanish
When man from God has strayed!

Before your nation knew us,
Some thousand moons ago,
Our fathers fell in darkness,
And wandered to-and-fro.

And long they've lived by hunting
Instead of work and arts,
And so our race has dwindled
To idle Indian hearts.[3]

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[1]Richard L. Evans, A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1937], p. 236.

[2]Times and Seasons, July 15, 1841, Vol. 2.

[3]Hymn No. 292, [Fourteenth Edition].

So intimately did the missionary call and response touch every Mormon family that every fifth hymn in the English edition features this subject.[1] Out of a total of sixty-nine such hymns, nine have been cited thus far.[2]

Gathering to Zion

The story of a developing movement and its hymnody here divides into two parts: first, the hopes, ambitions, and efforts to establish the New Jerusalem in Missouri, and second, the role of conflict which did more for the Mormon movement than to deny it a gathering place in Missouri. These hopes for a New Jerusalem, for a "heaven on earth," were not only bound up with the proselyting movement and supported by a national interest in Utopianism, but found divine sanction in revelation. The revelation[3] identifying the location of a Zion which earlier[4] had been forecast, gave renewed enthusiasm to the missionary enterprise.[5]

Among the things made known by the Book of Mormon is a fact of increasing interest to the Church today, namely: that the land of America is a "chosen land above all other lands." In a statement

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[1]Cf. Table I, [listed on page iv].

[2]Cf. Table II, [listed on page iv].

[3]Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants [Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1920], Sections 52, 57.

[4]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, I, 136.

[5]Lloyd, op. cit., p. 8.

written for publication in 1841 which has achieved almost canonical importance as one of the Articles of Faith, Joseph Smith declared:

> We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this [the American] continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.[1]

This note of nationalism among the adherents was further expressed in their taking upon them the role of Israel. They identified themselves literally with ancient Israel--through the device of the patriarchal blessing--and therefore became the "chosen people" who were to inherit the "chosen land."[2] A hymnist soon had everyone singing this prophecy:[3]

> The cities of Zion soon shall rise
> In majesty amid the skies . . .
>
> The saints shall see those cities stand
> Upon this consecrated land,
> And Israel, numerous as the sand,
> Inherit them eternally.
>
> Cry to the nations far and near
> To come and in the glories share,
> That on Mount Zion will appear,
> When earth shall rest from wickedness.[4]

---

[1]Letter published in the Times and Seasons [Nauvoo, Illinois], March 1, 1842. Written by Joseph Smith to John Wentworth, editor of The Chicago Democrat, which concludes with thirteen brief paragraphs accepted by the church as an incomplete list of "Articles of Faith."

[2]Lowry Nelson, Mormon Village, p. 16.

[3]Far West Record names this as the opening song at a meeting of the priesthood at the house of Levi Jackman in Far West, Mo., April 7, 1837.

[4]Hymn No. 236, [European Edition, 1840].

It is difficult now to imagine the feelings of elation experienced by the Mormons when in August, 1831, the Prophet set apart an area near Independence,[1] as the "land of Zion." Those humble ceremonies were associated in their minds with the purposes of the Almighty in the last days. The imminence of mighty events has been noted by a biographer of the Prophet:

> For the simple truth is that they were under the same illusion respecting the immediacy of the Second Coming of Christ as were the Christians of St. Paul's time, and there is no evidence to suppose that Joseph Smith did not, to some extent, share these illusions. At all events, the Prophet, on more than one occasion, has referred to the city and the temple in Jackson county so glowingly as to awaken in his disciples everywhere a feeling that that important event was on the eve of arriving.
>
> The City of Zion was to be called the New Jerusalem to distinguish it from the Palestinian town. . . . And then the temple to be erected there was the one to which, as foretold by Malachi, the risen Jesus should come "suddenly." And on its completion "a cloud should rest upon it, even the glory of the Lord." But Joseph added, prophetically if vaguely, that "these things" would not happen till "after much tribulation."[2]

In the days of the Apostle Paul, God's impending judgment day was so imminent that the Corinthians were advised to avoid litigations, marriages, and social obligations.[3] If the followers of Joseph Smith reflected similar concern, they were not alone, for Mark Hopkins,

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[1]At the present time a suburb of Kansas City, Missouri.

[2]John Henry Evans, Joseph Smith, An American Prophet [New York: MacMillan, 1933], p. 81.

[3]Corinthians, I Corinthians, 15:25-28, 15:51-57.

president of Williams College, declared: "There shall be a society as perfect as we can conceive of . . . when the Kingdom of God shall be set up, and His will shall be done on earth."[1] William Miller, of Low Hampton, New York, commenced another form of Millennial propaganda in 1831, fixing the date of Christ's return at 1843, and then October 22, 1844. "Subsequently greater reserve was practiced in fixing a specific date, but faith in the early Advent of Christ did not waver."[2] Dr. Case, it may be noted in passing, confuses the Latter-day Saints and their ceaseless effort to bring about "a heaven on earth,"[3] with the contemporary millenarians who pessimistically considered that God should "destroy this world and start over with a new one."[4]

One of the most beloved hymns of Mormonism today had its origin in this period of zealous adventism, when an earlier hymn by Joseph Swain of England was adapted by William W. Phelps and published in the Missouri paper, The Evening and Morning Star, June 1832.[5] Phelps probably also appropriated to the Saints' use the tune of a contemporary Pennsylvania surveyor, which had become associated with the Swain

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[1]Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought [New York: Ronald Press, 1940], p. 35.

[2]Shirley Jackson Case, The Millennial Hope [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918], p. 202.

[3]William J. McNiff, Heaven on Earth [Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press, 1940], p. vii.

[4]Case, op. cit., p. 2.

[5]George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939], pp. 95-96.

original, "O Thou in Whose Presence My Soul Takes Delight." The hymn, "Redeemer of Israel," follows:

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!

How long we have wandered
As strangers in sin,
And cried in the desert for thee!
Our foes have rejoiced
When our sorrows they've seen;
But Israel will shortly be free.

As children of Zion,
Good tidings for us,
The tokens already appear;
Fear not, and be just,
For the kingdom is ours;
The hour of redemption is near.[1]

In this same southwestern portion of Missouri, Joseph Smith identified the location of the Biblical Garden of Eden[2] where Adam met his fellow patriarchs in "the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman." Shortly after hearing of the revelation in 1835, Phelps wrote the following hymn, which still appears in the current hymnal:

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[1]Hymn No. 194, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 78:15.

This earth was once a garden place
With all her glories common,
And men did live a holy race,
And worship Jesus face to face,
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

We read that Enoch walked with God,
Above the power of mammon,
And Zion spread herself abroad
And saints and angels sang aloud
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Hosanna to such days to come,
The Savior's second coming,
Then all the earth in glorious bloom
Affords the saints a holy home
Like Adam-ondi-Ahman.[1]

That the hymn was popularly sung in Missouri is suggested by such notations as "The council came to order, sung Adam-ondi-Ahman" in official records of the period.[2]

The dream of a New Jerusalem carried implications of economic equality, which might be mentioned at this point as a prelude to recounting the conflict with Missouri neighbors. This doctrine[3] asserted itself early in the Mormon group as a species of communism according to Nelson:

> . . . and while the group was in Missouri, from 1831 to 1833, approximately, the actual practice of this doctrine

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[1]Hymn No. 248, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, pp. 365-67.

[3]Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 78:6. See also, 49:20, 70:14, 78:5-6, 82:17.

> was attempted, but without great success and the institution was officially abandoned. Nevertheless, the spirit of economic brotherhood was more or less preserved, and when they arrived in the Great Basin, the Mormons divided the land and irrigation water into approximately equal portions to the families.[1]

The strategic use of music in communal living at Orderville, Utah, will be related in Chapter III.

All America was interested in these social Utopias, for as Emerson wrote with sympathetic understanding in a letter to Carlyle,[2] "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a New Community in his waistcoat pocket." Joseph Smith believed that the environment in which people live should be made favorable to their growth, and that where the leaders have sufficient intelligence to do it, they should shape this environment. Acting on this idea he sought to establish an ideal city, with a definite plan and population and based on human welfare.[3]

It is interesting to compare other American efforts[4] with the later Utah experiments. That Mormonism arose primarily to serve social and economic dissenters has been suggested by some writers:

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[1] Lowry Nelson, Some Economic and Social Features of American Fork, Utah [Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1930], p. 26.

[2] McNiff, op. cit., quoting Phillips Russell, Emerson, The Wisest American [New York: 1929], pp. 193-94.

[3] John Henry Evans, Leaders in Zion [Salt Lake City: Mutual Improvement Association, 1936], p. 15. For detailed treatment see Fox, Geddes, Allen, [listed in bibliography].

[4] Cf. Seldes, op. cit., and F. V. Calverton, The Passing of the Gods [New York: Scribners, 1934].

> New denominations do not arise as a result of strife over questions of cult and dogma, but are the outcome of the energy of individuals, discontented with the failure here or there to maintain old standards or to welcome some seemingly needed social reform. Thus Mormonism . . . has its roots in a primitive communistic ideal, and may trace its relative success rather to its cooperative life and shrewd leadership than to any religious innovation.[1] It was primarily a protest against the excessive individualism of frontier life.[2]

The Mormons as a Conflict Group

"I no sooner perceived myself in the world, but I found myself in a storm which has lasted hitherto" could have been written by Joseph Smith, instead of by John Locke.[3] The Prophet wanted peace, for he once said:

> Christians should cease wrangling and contending with each other, and cultivate the principles of union and friendship. I am just as ready to die in defending the rights of a Presbyterian, a Baptist, or a good man of any other denomination. For the same principles which would trample upon the rights of the Latter-day Saints would trample upon the rights of the Roman Catholics, or of any other denomination who may be unpopular and too weak to defend themselves.[4]

Despite Smith's desire for peace, "no other religion has been so

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[1] Thomas Cuming Hall, The Religious Background of American Culture [Boston: Little, Brown, 1930], p. 252.

[2] Ibid, citing Eduward Meyer, Ursprung and Geschichte der Mormonen [Halle, 1912].

[3] John Locke, written at the age of thirty. Quoted by Edward H. Anderson, an article in Gospel Doctrine [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1919], p. 666.

[4] John Henry Evans, Joseph Smith, An American Prophet, pp. 229-30.

hotly opposed and hated by its opponents as Mormonism and it must be admitted that it has not always received fair treatment and has often been maligned."[1]

The attempt to project new ideas into the world inevitably leads to conflict, for men are loath to disturb the security of their inherited ideas. But when a major change occurs within a given people, nation, or culture, it is likely to represent the climax of hundreds, or even thousands of minor changes. And when a climax occurs, there is certain to be a conflict between the new and the established orders. That is what happened when Joseph Smith asserted that all established religions were false, that he had been ordained by God to establish His church on earth.[2]

It is highly significant in understanding the development of a unique Mormon culture, including its church-centered music, to consider the socio-religious concept of a sect. The sect is a unique form of social group. "It is unfortunate that many think of the term with a dark brown taste," writes Roy A. Cheville in a most lucid study of Mormonism and the social order.[3] He at once characterizes early

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[1]James H. Snowden, The Truth About Mormonism [New York: Doran, 1926], p. v.

[2]Halbert S. Greaves, "Public Speaking in Utah, 1847-1869," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1941], pp. 30-31.

[3]Roy A. Cheville, The Latter-day Saints, and their Changing Relationship to the Social Order [Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1942].

Mormonism as he defines a sect:

1. It is a conflict group that rises in opposition to current institutionalized religion and mores.
2. It is exclusive and rigoristic, admitting only those who accept its peculiar tenets and practices.
3. It emphasizes the place of experience in individual and group religious life.
4. It is voluntarily united by common bonds of feeling and faith and ideals.
5. It has its genesis in situations of social dis-affection and dissatisfaction.
6. It is homogeneous and is limited in size by possibility of maintaining this homogeneity.
7. Its grounds of loyalty are spontaneous and are nurtured by conflict relations to the larger social order.
8. It affirms divine origin with compulsion or revelation and of assigned mission to the world.

The pioneers who form the sect choose to belong to it,[1] withdrawing from a former social order; a sect becomes a denomination when it is composed essentially of those born into it. Other changes involve adjustment, or accomodation, to hostile elements, even though possible rivalry may continue without conflict.[2]

It was in the operations of an out-group hostility that Mormonism derived its greatest social strength. Conflict without intensified

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[1]H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism [New York: Holt, 1929], develops this distinction.

[2]Ellsworth Faris, The Nature of Human Nature [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937], similarly defines the sect. Sects and Sectarian Movements are discussed as forms of public behavior and mass movements in many books. Cf. E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, Introduction to Sociology [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933], pp. 513-16.

group loyalty within; this is a familiar observation to everyone. The early Mormons built their loyalties around rather specific items, such as Joseph Smith as Prophet, The Book of Mormon, Zion, the gift of the Spirit, signs of the times, an authorized priesthood, successful growth of membership, and out-group hostility. The intense and brutal persecutions suffered in Missouri and later in Illinois produced both sweet and bitter fruit in the form of love and loyalty for the members of the "in-group" and hate and vengefulness for the "out-group." These are familiar characteristics of crowd behavior, identified also in such attitudes as fear and apprehension, or love and affection which tend to cluster rather than disperse people.[1]

Conflict proved also to be one of the most effective means of transmitting the old group sentiments from one generation to another. Erickson[2] has noted the tendency to rehearse this great conflict in religious services, through addresses and the hymns of the church:

> The following expressions taken from some of the hymns illustrate how dominant is this element of conflict in the consciousness of the people:
>
> "All thy foes shall flee before thee,"
> "Enemies no more shall trouble; all thy wrongs shall be redressed,"

---

[1]Lowry Nelson, Mormon Village, pp. 26-27.

[2]Ephraim Edward Erickson, The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922], p. 30.

"All thy conflicts end in an eternal rest,"
"All her foes shall be confounded, though the
world in arms combine,"
"While the enemy assaulteth shall we shrink or
shun the fight,"
"On the necks of thy foes thou shalt tread."

No greater recognition of the power of hymns as an educative force can be cited in this study than Ericksen's observation.

It should be pointed out that expressions of hatred and vengeance were not typical of the Mormon reaction to persecution in Missouri. Singing may have provided a safety valve in that it took the form of lamentation rather than rebellion. Chained in a Missouri prison, Parley P. Pratt, the poet laureate of frontier Mormonism, lamented:

Torn from our friends and captive led,
'Mid armed legions bound in chains,
That peace for which our fathers bled
Is gone, and dire confusion reigns.

Zion, our peaceful, happy home,
Where oft we joined in praise and prayer,
A desolation has become,
And grief and sorrow linger there.

Her virgins sigh, her widows mourn,
Her children for their parents weep;
In chains her Priests and Prophets goran
While some in death's embraces sleep.

Exultingly her savage foes
Now ravage, steal and plunder, where
A virgin's tears, a widow's woes,
Become their song of triumph there.

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

Descend with all thy holy throng;
The year of thy redeemed bring near;
Haste, haste the day of vengeance on;
Bid Zion's children dry their tears.

Deliver, Lord, thy captive Saints,
And comfort those who long have mourned;
Bid Zion cease her dire complaints,
And all creation cease to groan.[1]

Perhaps the Mormons were impotent to avenge their wrongs, and called on Deity, as have persecuted peoples everywhere, to bring comfort and justice. The depth of feeling which endears the Psalms to many, for instance, is approached in another hymn by Pratt, written a little earlier when twelve hundred men, women, and children had been driven from their homes in Jackson County. Two hundred homes were burned and families separated; many of the Saints were killed and others brutally flogged. Cattle were either shot or confiscated, hay and grain was burned, and the people were forced across the river into Clay County.[2]

Come, Oh 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.

Come, make an end of sin,
And cleanse the earth by fire;
And righteousness bring in;

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[1]Hymn No. 275, [Fourteenth Edition], first published in the Times and Seasons [Nauvoo, Illinois], February 1840.

[2]George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 185.

That Saints may tune the lyre,
With songs of joy, a happier strain,
To welcome in Thy peaceful reign.

Hail, Prince of life and peace!
Thrice welcome to Thy throne!
While all the chosen race
Their God and Savior own,
The heathen nations bow the knee,
And every tongue gives praise to Thee.[1]

In view of their afflictions, the Saints may well have exclaimed in the hymn of Watts:

And are we yet alive
And see each other's face?[2]

William W. Phelps raised another articulate voice of the day. In 1833, when the mob of four hundred came upon Independence they tore down the two-story brick building in which the Church press was housed and in the lower part of which the Phelps lived. They destroyed the press, burned books and papers, drove Mrs. Phelps and her baby out upon the street. They closed the store, and tarred and feathered Bishop Partridge. Later, when the chill of November came, all the Saints were ejected from the county, and were not allowed to take with them any clothing or food. The hymn, "Now LetUs Rejoice," came out of this situation. "Defeat, frustration, suffering, privation, homelessness--these produced a hymn that still gives hope and

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[1]Hymn No. 192, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Hymn No. 106, [Fourteenth Edition].

sustenance to hundreds of thousands who live in better times."[1]

> Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation,
> No longer as strangers on earth need we roam,
> Good tidings are sounding to us and each nation
> And 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.[2]

It was the exception for a Mormon hymn to offer peace in the next world only, but that common religious hope crept into at least one hymn and voiced a conception of a heaven where peace is the chief attraction:

> Come to me where there is no destruction nor war,
> Neither tyrants, nor mobbers, nor nations ajar;
> Where the system is perfect, and happiness free;
> And the life is eternal with God: Come to me.[3]

Sufficient grounds for this conflict, if not for its violent methods, may be found in the history of the period.[4] Historians seem to agree that the principal cause was a suspicion, dislike, and fear

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[1]George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 188

[2]Hymn No. 182, [Fourteenth Edition].

[3]Hymn No. 283, [Fourteenth Edition].

[4]Neff, op. cit., p. 15. See also: Dean D. McBrien, "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, George Washington University, D.C., 1929], pp. 175-176; E. E. Erickson, op. cit., p. 378; and, Morris R. Werner, Brigham Young [New York: Harcourt Brace Co., 1925], pp. 99-100.

of the religious claims and pretension of the Saints,[1] while economic competition,[2] slavery attitudes,[3] and cultural differences played their part too. These cultural differences are especially significant because of their relation to such previous topics as the controversial, diversified, Bible-minded world that Joseph Smith faced, the desire-patterns of converts, and the role of the sect.

Opposition to Mormonism was part of that struggle for cultural unity in which men "instinctively realized that [Mormonism] stood for another type of culture," says Hall.[4] As Tappan observes: "From the very beginning the freedom and toleration of the American culture have been for those religious beliefs and practices in which the majority participated. . . . Conformity is demanded under 'Christian democracy'."[5]

Since the songs of conflict which grew out of this period served the Church also in the Mormon-Gentile conflict which was later sharpened by the polygamy issue, Tappan's comments may be extended:

> When the Mormon group diverged both too far and too successfully from the permissive boundaries of our culture,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] McBrien, op. cit., p. 175.

[3] Werner, op. cit., p. 99.

[4] T. C. Hall, The Religious Background of American Culture, p. 300.

[5] Paul Wilbur Tappan, "Mormon-Gentile Conflict," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1939], pp. 17-18.

> the "genius of American institutions" was naturally asserted. Just as the Mormon, operating within the framework of his creeds and faith, could not tolerate the Gentile institutions of adultery, prostitution, drunkenness, vice, and gambling; so too, the Gentile could ill endure the polygamy and Church-control of Mormonism.
>
> . . . Objectively viewed, one cannot but submit that the Mormon belief and practice, though differing from the average in society, constituted a not-so-completely divergent religious movement as is commonly imagined.[1]

We shall see a little later that whereas Mormon philosophy and Church activities came into cultural conflict with the national scene, the form of their music was appropriated by the Mormons from whatever sources appealed to them. In the common verse forms of the day, for instance, thirty-seven hymns, or ten per cent of all published in the next hymnal, deal with the aspirations and disappointments of Zion in Missouri.[2]

Temple Building and Worship Activities

Having briefly surveyed the philosophy of Mormonism and its manifestation in sub-movements of [a] proselyting, [b] "gathering" to Zion, and [c] the first stages of conflict, we should examine another centralizing tendency in the erection of temples, for here also music was an operational means toward a group goal. Temple build-

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Cf. Table 1, [Listed page iv].

ing is another activity and ideology which ties the Mormons to their Old Testament predecessors, for while the Church today worships in "meeting houses," its few temples are reserved to the most faithful for advanced instruction and sacred ordinance work.

Kirtland, Ohio, was the setting for the first courageous effort to build a House of God, commenced in 1833.[1] Amidst greatest privation the temple was raised. Heber C. Kimball wrote in his journal:

> Our women engaged in knitting and spinning, in order to clothe those men who were laboring at the building; and the Lord only knows the scenes of poverty, tribulations, and distress which we passed through to accomplish it.[2]

The enthusiasm of the people for their distinguished building amounted to an ecstasy which at the dedicatory exercises found utterance in a modern "day of Pentecost." Visions were beheld by the leaders,[3] and commissions received from Elijah and Jesus Christ to institute temple work which would redeem the souls of ancestral generations.[4] The emotional fervor of these occasions was enshrined in a hymn which continues to transmit the sentiment to succeeding generations. William W. Phelps was touched by the wisdom of the

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[1] William E. Berrett, The Restored Church, Chapt. 16.

[2] Ibid. Citing Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball, p. 80.

[3] Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants. Section 110.

[4] William E. Berrett, The Restored Church, p. 170.

apostles on a prior Sunday, and his emotions gave vent to the hymn "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning." "The hymn was written several days before the dedication of the Kirtland Temple," said Mrs. Phelps. "The Prophet Joseph Smith happened into the Kirtland printing office and the author read him the poem. The Prophet was greatly impressed and instructed W. W. Phelps to publish it on white satin for the dedicatory services."[1]

As the prophet concluded reading a dedicatory prayer ". . . the singers stationed in the four corners of the temple, together with the assembly sang 'The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning' with such emotional fervor as to bring to mind the record of the dedication of the temple of Solomon," writes Pyper.[2] This hymn has been featured in the services dedicating the Nauvoo, Illinois temple [1846], the seven temples subsequently built in western America, and many ward chapels.

> The Spirit of God like a fire is burning!
> The latter-day glory begins to come forth;
> The visions and blessings of old are returning,
> The angels are coming to visit the earth.

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[1]Virginia Marzolf Whitlock, "Music in the Mormon Church During the Sojourn in Nauvoo," [unpublished Master's thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1940], p. 14.

[2]George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 91.

[Chorus]
We'll sing, and we'll shout
With the armies of heaven--
Hosanna, Hosanna to God and the Lamb!
Let glory to them in the highest be given,
Henceforth and forever: Amen and Amen!

The Lord is extending the Saints' understanding,
Restoring their judges and all as at first;
The knowledge and power of God are expanding;
The vail o'er the earth is beginning to burst.

We'll wash and be washed, and with oil be anointed,
Withal not omitting the washing of feet;
For he that receiveth his penny appointed
Must surely be clean at the harvest of wheat.

How blessed the day when the lamb and the lion
Shall lie down together without any ire,
And Ephraim be crowned with his blessing in Zion,
As Jesus descends with his chariots of fire![1]

Appropriately enough, this dedicatory service was opened by the reading of Psalm 96, "O Sing unto the Lord a new song."[2] Among these "new songs" was also this piece by Parley P. Pratt, sung to the tune "Sterling":[3]

Ere long the veil will rend in twain,
The King descend with all His train;
The earth shall shake with awful fright,
And all creation feel His might.

With Enoch here we all shall meet,
And worship at Messiah's feet.
. . . . . .

The city that was seen of old,
Whose walls were jasper, streets were gold,
We'll now inherit, throned in might--

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[1]Hymn No. 244, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, II, 410-28, gives complete minutes of this service and reports subsequent spiritual manifestations.

[3]Ibid.

Other hymns which identify the group sentiments on this occasion included one from Isaac Watts, "How Pleased and Blest was I to Hear the People Cry, 'Come Let Us seek our God Today!'" [Tune, Dalton], and two Latter-day Saint hymns previously cited in this work, "Now Let Us Rejoice in the Day of Salvation," and "Adam-ondi-Ahman."

The natural beauty of the temple site led Phelps to write the popular hymn "Earth with her Ten Thousand Flowers . . . whisper, God is Love"[1] and a communion hymn "O God th' Eternal Father," requested by the Prophet.

The Kirtland temple, unlike all subsequent temples, was open to all the church and community for worship, for adult and children's classes, priesthood meetings, "and in the evenings the singers met under the direction of Elders Lyman Carter and Jonathan Crosby, Jr., who gave instruction in the principle of vocal music."[2] The more solemn uses of a temple are indicated in the hymn which Phelps composed for the dedication of the next temple, Nauvoo, Illinois, May 1, 1846:

> 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 the dead!

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[1]Virginia M. Whitlock, op. cit., p. 11.

[2]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, II, 474.

. . . . . .

By the spirit and wisdom of Joseph,
Whose blood stains the honor of state,
By tithing and sacrifice daily,
The poor learn the way to be great.[1]

The Saints in Europe voiced their own intention to share "by tithing and sacrifice daily" in the burdens of temple building, as this hymn by M. A. Morton indicates:

With cheerful hearts and willing hands
We'll labor for the just demands
Our God now makes on Europe's lands,
His temple to uprear.[2]

The third stanza of the same hymn also refers to the ordinance work in behalf of one's kindred:

The sacred claims to kindred due,
The Priesthood's power will then pursue,
And every Gospel rite renew,
Till Jesus doth appear.

Before temple ordinance work was instituted, an earlier hymn voiced a different concept, as noted by B. H. Roberts: "What becomes of the neglected ones? To this question the Saints used to reply, in one of their hymns--

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[1]Hymn No. 288, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Hymn No. 318, [Fourteenth Edition].

God is just is all we say,
Seek no crop where 'twas not planted,
Nor the day where reigns the night;
Now the sunshine bright is beaming,
Let all creatures see aright.

> Since those days, however, further light has been revealed from heaven, which gives enlarged views in respect to the plan of human redemption. . . . The principle . . . was first revealed by the prophet Elijah, in the Kirtland Temple, in 1836.[1]

Probably the most effective hymn to enlist the contributions of Saints around the world, and to reinforce belief in the purposes of new temples, was this very singable hymn written by John Jaques in a subsequent period of temple building:

Come, all ye saints throughout the earth,
And join with one accord;
Come, brethren, let us rise and build
A temple to the Lord.

Our tithes and free-will offerings
The Lord doth now require;
By keeping this and other laws
We'll bide the day of fire.

'Tis there the precious things of old,
Which but the righteous know,
Which unbelieving Gentiles scorn,
God will again bestow.

The ord'nances of LIFE are there--
Endowments of great worth--
Anointings, washings, keys and powers,
To perfect man on earth.

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[1]Brigham H. Roberts, The Gospel and Man's Relationship to Deity, [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1901], pp. 241-42.

There, in the great Baptismal Font,
Built to our living Head,
The Kings and Priests to God baptize
The LIVING for the DEAD.[1]

Educational Activities

In a study dealing with educational influence, it is pertinent to note the general Church program of organized activities of learning. The Church, holding that salvation is an individual matter, declared every man must rise above the power of all his enemies--not the least of which is ignorance.[2] Among the most familiar aphorisms of the faith are some dealing with learning: "It is impossible for man to be saved in ignorance";[3] "The Glory of God is Intelligence, or in other words, light and truth";[4] "Seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom, yea, seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom, seek learning even by study and also by faith."[5] Fields of learning were even suggested by revelation:

> And I give unto you a commandment that you shall teach one another the doctrines of the kingdom. Teach ye diligently and my grace shall attend you, that you may be instructed more

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[1]Hymn No. 324, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Milton Lynn Bennion, Mormonism and Education [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939], p. 121. Cf. Edwin F. Parry, Joseph Smith's Teachings [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1922], p. 146.

[3]Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 131:6.

[4]Ibid, 93:36.

[5]Ibid, 88:118.

> perfectly in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the Gospel, in all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand.
>
> Of things both in heaven and in earth . . . things which have been, which are, and must shortly come to pass . . . things at home . . . abroad . . . wars and perplexities of nations and judgments on the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms.[1]

And instructions were given for two leading elders, in 1831, to "do the work of printing and of selecting and writing books for the school of this Church, that little children also may receive instruction."[2]

The School of the Prophets was created in Kirtland, in 1833, by the male leaders seeking to fit themselves better to proclaim an unpopular message to the world. Their efforts have been praised by Bennion in a study of Mormonism and education: "The earnestness with which these men, many of whom had little scholastic background, tackled Hebrew is inspiring. Their activity may justly be called a forerunner of the present adult education movement."[3] This search for higher learning was furthered by the charter granted to the city of Nauvoo, December 16, 1840, which authorized the establishment of what has been called by Bennion "the first municipal university in America."[4]

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[1] Ibid, 88:40, 50, 77, 78, 79.

[2] Ibid, 55:4.

[3] Milton Lynn Bennion, Mormonism and Education, pp. 9-11.

[4] Ibid, p. 22.

Music instruction in Nauvoo was sought by members of the choir who petitioned the Board of Regents of the University to appoint a "professor and wardens in the Department of Music in the University of the City of Nauvoo," to constitute a board for the regulation of music in the city.[1] This board was formed, and resolved at a meeting held December 21, 1841, that:

> We will adopt the "Manual of Instruction" published by Lowell Mason, as a textbook for the examination of teachers in the elements of the science of Music, and as a guide for instruction in the Art of sacred singing in the schools of this city.
>
> Resolved that we approve of Porter's "Cyclopedia of Music" as a textbook for those who wish to pursue the science beyond the elementary principles.[2]

How the didactic uses of hymns carried these goals of education right into the assemblies of worship may be noted in a few examples. A concept of the endlessness of space was given by revelation in 1832 which declared: "there is no space in which there is no kingdom";[3] for substance, spirit, matter, worlds, and world-systems, under the dominion of law exist without end.[4] This doctrine of "eternalism" was popularly depicted in a hymn by Phelps:

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[1]Times and Seasons, 3:652 cited by Bennion, Mormonism and Education, pp. 30-31.

[2]Bennion, Mormonism and Education, p. 31.

[3]Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, 88:37-38.

[4]B. H. Roberts, History of the Church, II, 387.

If you could hie to Kolob
In th' twinkling of an eye,
And then continue onward,
With that same speed to fly—

D'ye think that you could ever,
Through all eternity,
Find out the generation
Where Gods began to be?

Methinks the Spirit whispers—
"No man has found 'pure space',
Nor seen the outside curtains
Where nothing has a place.

"The works of Gods continue
And worlds and lives abound;
Improvement and progression
Have one eternal round.

"There is no end to matter;
There is no end to space;
There is no end to spirit;
There is no end to race."[1]

One of the most peculiar Mormon hymns, one which voiced theological concepts and accentuated the contrast with other religions was noted by the writer, Smucker. After commenting on other early Mormon hymns he said, "But the following, to the tune of 'The Rose that all are praising' is perhaps, the most characteristic. . . ."

The God that others worship is not the God for me.
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear nor see,
But I've a God that reigns above—
A God of power and of love—
A God of revelation—Oh, that's the God for me!

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[1]Hymn No. 231, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Smucker, op. cit., p. 30.

A Church without a Prophet is not the Church for me!
It has no head to lead it; in it I would not be;
But I've a Church not made by man,
Cut from the mountain without hand;
A Church with gifts and blessing--
Oh, that's the Church for me.

A Church without Apostles is not the Church for me. . . .

The Hope that Gentiles cherish is not the hope for me. . . .

The Heaven of sectarians is not the heaven for me,
So doubtful its location--neither on land nor sea;
But I've a Heaven upon the earth--
The land and home that gave me birth;
A Heaven of light and knowledge--
Oh, that's the Heaven for me.

A Church without a gathering is not the Church for me
The Savior would not own it, wherever it might be;
But I've a Church that is called out
From false tradition, fear and doubt--
A gathering dispensation--Oh, that's the Church for me.[1]

Eliza R. Snow most consistently and frequently voiced the topics of current study in her hymns, which became generally known through the periodicals of the Church. It was she alone who contributed a hymn on observance of the Word of Wisdom. According to Mormon teachings, the Word of Wisdom was given to Joseph Smith as a divine revelation, February 27, 1833.[2] It is "a code of health dealing primarily with human nutrition" and declares that the care of the body is a sacred duty.[3] Miss

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[1]Hymn No. 297, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, Section 89.

[3]John A. and Leah D. Widtsoe, The Word of Wisdom [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938]. This scholarly work summarizes relevant scientific data. The surprisingly large amount of temperance instruction extant in Joseph Smith's day is discussed by Tanner, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

Snow was more concerned with indifference to the authority of revelation than with the specific content of the instruction, for her hymn first appeared in the Times and Seasons, August, 1840, with scriptural introduction: "For to one is given by the Spirit, the Word of Wisdom."[1]

The Lord imparted from above
The "Word of Wisdom" for our blessing;
But shall it unto many prove
A gift that is not worth possessing?

Have we not been divinely taught
To heed its voice and highly prize it? . . .

Has self-denial grown a task?
Or has that word been vainly spoken?
Or why, I fain would humbly ask,
Why is that word so often broken?

It is a straight and narrow way
That leads to the celestial city;
That high taught Saints should go astray,
Through Gentile customs, is a pity.

O, that the Saints would all regard
Each gracious word that God has given,
And prize the favor of the Lord
Above all things beneath the heaven.[2]

In another hymn, "O My Father," Eliza R. Snow made her greatest contribution to her church, for one stanza alone projects a concept of a heavenly Mother which in this exclusive pronouncement has come to be accepted almost as scripture. The entire hymn has provided

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[1] I Corinthians, 12:8.

[2] Hymn No. 283, [Fourteenth Edition].

comfort and security--"the most distinctive hymn which the Church has" according to one of the present day General Authorities who declares "It has more Mormon philosophy behind it than any other hymn in the whole category."[1]

The hymn was written during a period of exciting conditions that finally had their tragic ending in the death of the Prophet, whose plural wife Miss Snow had become when this was written in 1843. The importance of this hymn in shaping Mormon thought and sentiment justifies repetition here of Pyper's account:

> It was during this period that Zina D. Huntington [afterwards Zina D. Young] was grieved over an unusual circumstance. Her mother, who had died some time before, had been buried in a temporary grave and it became necessary to remove the body to a permanent resting place. When the remains were exhumed, it was discovered that they were partially petrified. It seemed to Zina as if the very foundation of the doctrine of the resurrection crumbled. To the question "Shall I know my mother when I meet her in the world beyond?" the Prophet responded emphatically, "Yes, you will know your mother there." A firm believer in Joseph's divine mission, Zina D. Huntington was comforted by the promise.
>
> From the discussions on the resurrection and the relationship of man to Deity, no doubt came the inspiration to Eliza R. Snow for the writing of "O My Father."[2]

Oh, my Father, Thou that dwellest
In the high and glorious place!
When shall I regain Thy presence,
And again behold Thy face?

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[1] Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from J. Reuben Clark, Jr., member of the First Presidency, March 11, 1942.

[2] George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 4.

In Thy holy habitation,
Did my spirit once reside,
In my first primeval childhood,
Was I nurtured near Thy side?

For a wise and glorious purpose
Thou hast placed me here on earth,
And withheld the recollection
Of my former friends and birth,
Yet oftimes a secret something
Whispered, "You're a stranger here"
And I felt that I had wandered
From a more exalted sphere.

I had learned to call Thee Father,
Thro' Thy Spirit from on high;
But until the Key of Knowledge was restored
I knew not why.
In the heav'ns are parents single?
No, the thought makes reason stare!
Truth is reason, truth eternal
Tells me I've a mother there.

When I leave this frail existence,
When I lay this mortal by,
Father, Mother, may I meet you
In your royal courts on high?
Then, at length when I've completed
All you sent me forth to do
With your mutual approbation
Let me come and live with you.[1]

Social Activities

While music has always been the companion of recreation, the latter has rarely been considered fit company for religion. One of the unique features of the Mormon movement was the recognition and encouragement accorded recreation. This has been traced in a recent

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[1]Hymn No. 130, [Fourteenth Edition].

study[1] which may be cited here only for its mention of music as a social factor in Joseph Smith's day.[2] The Prophet noted frequently in his History of the Church that music was enjoyed at weddings[3] and at the Nauvoo Mansion House.[4]

"Band, as well as choral music, received attention even during the early days of Mormonism," writes McNiff:

> As the Nauvoo legion increased in size, it was considered necessary to grace its maneuvers with music from a brass band. The commanding officer, General Joseph Smith, asked for volunteers from the ranks who were able to play musical instruments. From those who volunteered, the Nauvoo Brass Band was formed. Much of the musical lore and tradition of early Mormonism were built about this organization and its members.[5]

The Evening and Morning Star commented that at the laying of the Nauvoo Temple cornerstone, April 6, 1841:

> The Military band under the command of Captain Duzett, made a conspicuous and dignified appearance, and performed their part honorably. Their soul stirring strains, met harmoniously the rising emotions that swelled each bosom, and stimulated us onward to the arduous, but pleasing and

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[1] Rex A. Skidmore, Mormon Recreation in Theory and Practice [Philadelphia: Published by the author, 1941].

[2] Ibid, pp. 17-18.

[3] Joseph Smith, History of the Church, II, 324.

[4] Joseph Smith, History of the Church, VI, 42.

[5] McNiff, op. cit., p. 161.

honorable duties of the day. The choir also, under the direction of B. S. Wilbur, deserve commendation.[1]

Not only the band, but many an individual fiddler and flutist contributed to the most typical and popular Mormon recreation--social dancing. And it is distinctive of the Mormon's mingling of temporal and spiritual matters in his religion that he deemed it quite proper to use as a recreational center the only community building at hand--even a temple. For a short time the Nauvoo Temple was so used, according to the Journal History of the Church, when a holiday party ensued:

> Eighty-eight persons received ordinances in the Temple. . . . The labors of the day in the Nauvoo Temple having been brought to a close at 8:30, it was thought proper to have a little season of recreation. Accordingly, Brother Hans C. Hanson was invited to produce his violin, which he did, and played several lively airs, accompanied by Elisha Everett on his flute, among others some very good lively dancing tunes.
>
> This was too much for the gravity of Bro. Jos. Young, who indulged in dancing a hornpipe, and was soon joined by several others, and before the dance was over, several French Fours were indulged in. The first was opened by Pres. Brigham Young, Sister Whitney, Elder Heber C. Kimball and partner. The spirit of dancing increased until the whole floor was covered with dancers, and while the brethren and sisters danced before the Lord, they shook the dust from off their feet as a testimony against this nation.
>
> After the dancing had continued about an hour, several excellent songs were sung in which several of the brethren and sisters joined. The Upper California was sung by Erastus Snow, after which Pres. Brigham Young called upon Sis. Whitney, who stood up and, invoking the gift of tongues, sang a beautiful song of Zion in tongues. The interpretation was given

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[1]Evening and Morning Star, [Independence, Missouri], 2:377.

by her husband, Bishop Newel K. Whitney and Pres. Brigham Young.[1]

Preaching and praying were just as customary at a social, as noted a few days later:

> Sixty-four persons received ordinances in the Nauvoo Temple. . . . Elder Kimball having invited Bros. Wm. Pitt, Wm. Clayton, M. F. Hutchinson and James Smithies, they performed several very beautiful pieces of music. After a short time spent in dancing, Elder Orson Hyde delivered an address and requested the company present to unite with him in prayer.[2]

One week later, as senior head of the Quorum of the Twelve, Brigham Young forbade further merriment in the Temple although this was but a detail of location rather than social hiatus:

> One hundred and five persons received ordinances in the Temple. Pres. Brigham Young attended to ordinances at the altar. The several quorums met for prayer. Pres. Young observed to the brethren that it was his wish that all dancing and merriment should cease, lest the brethren and sisters be carried away by levity; and that the name of Deity should be held in reverence, with all the due deference that belongeth to an infinite being of his character. . . .[3]

In sober contrast with this social picture was the desolate scene of Nauvoo a few months later:

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[1] Journal History of the Church, [an open manuscript maintained in the library of the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City], December 30, 1845.

[2] Ibid. January 2, 1846.

[3] Ibid. January 9, 1846.

> Fifteen years after the organization of the church nothing remained in Nauvoo but the unfinished Temple and perhaps a thousand Saints, too poor or ill to leave. Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been murdered; the State Legislature had revoked the city Charter; sixteen thousand Saints, led by Brigham Young, had made their exodus into an unknown West.[1]

MUSIC CULTURE AND CHURCH LEADERSHIP

In the first fifty years of Mormonism the arts existed only for purposes of utility. This was not merely a pioneer expediency, for Benjamin Franklin had also recognized that "all things have their season":

> To America, one school master is worth a dozen poets, and the invention of a machine or the improvement of an implement is of more importance than a masterpiece of Raphael. . . . Nothing is good or beautiful but in the measure that it is useful: yet all things have a utility under particular circumstances.[2]

The strong drift of public taste in music was substantially toward the practical. A life-long study of American folk art enabled Constance Rourke to say:

> The march, the fife tune, music to float a story in a play, opera or ballad, to give breadth and persuasion to religious conviction: these popular uses of music dominated the era.[3] [Italics mine].

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[1] Whitlock, op. cit., p. 35.

[2] Constance Rourke, Roots of American Culture [New York: Harcourt Brace Co., 1942], p. 3.

[3] Ibid, p. 168.

Coupled with this applied use of music was the simultaneous generation of popular verse as a means of social communication. Because most hymns originated as verse, Miss Rourke's comments here prove enlightening:

> Verse was a spirited mode of popular communication or address. . . often flowing into song, particularly during the Revolution. Rhythm, as Gummere has said, provides the simplest form of social consent, and the rapid pounding tetrameters and pentameters with their emphatic rhymes could draw a community together, express its dominant thoughts and emotions and make these contagious. Verse used in this fashion belonged to the realm of literature with a purpose--practical letters--as did the related forms of oratory, pulpit eloquence and pamphleteering. The intent of all these forms was to stir, instruct, reprove, applaud--and to establish social communication.[1]

Non-religious examples of this type could be cited from the Nauvoo period, when Joseph Smith's candidacy for the presidency of the United States generated this campaign song:

> Kinderhoos, Kass, Kalhoun, or Klay,
> Kan never surely win the day.
> But if you want to know who kan,
> You'll find in General Smith, the man.[2]

Parley P. Pratt, who with Brigham Young and three hundred and fifty other men traveled throughout the country to spread propaganda for the independent religious candidate, offered this campaign song

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[1] Ibid, p. 15.

[2] The Nauvoo Neighbor, cited by Harry M. Beardsley, Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire, [New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931], p. 337.

at a political meeting in New York City:

> Come, then, O Americans, rally to the standard of Liberty
> And in your generous indignation, trample down
> The tyrant's rod and the oppressor's crown,
> That yon proud eagle to its height may soar
> And peace, triumphant, reign forever more.[1]

Since the early Mormon leaders so genuinely reflected the cultural age which projected them into prominence, their personal reactions to music might be side-lighted here. They made no pretensions to erudition. Joseph Smith once remarked: "I am a rough stone. The sound of the hammer and chisel were never heard on me until the Lord took me in hand."[2] He was the first representative of a lay leadership which has always been the rule of the Church. From the first, "every member was a missionary, and converts were so numerous that the task of supplying trained leaders would have been hopeless even if desired."[3] This lay leadership movement was significant in the use of music, for the choice of hymns, both for publication and general employment in services of worship, lay closely to the people. The actual practices, however, would not ignore the reactions of top leaders. Sweet[4] draws similar conclusions from the relation of

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[1]Werner, op. cit., p. 162.

[2]Scrapbook of Mormon Literature, II, 6.

[3]Lloyd, op. cit., p. 6.

[4]W. W. Sweet, Methodism in American History [New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1933], p. 151.

Methodism's emphasis on man's equality, hymn singing and the example of church leaders.

The Prophet Joseph turned to the singing of ballads and hymns in times of perplexity, as some examples will reveal. The Prophet recorded in 1835:

> On the Sabbath previous to the fourteenth of February, Brothers Joseph and Brigham Young came to my house after meeting, and sung for me; the spirit of the Lord was poured out upon us, and I told them I wanted to see those brethren together, who went up to Zion in the camp, the previous summer, for I had a blessing for them.[1]

Joseph Young later recorded that this was a touching occasion, when the Prophet wept over those who had died in the ill-fated march of Zion's Camp, from Kirtland to Missouri.[2] On this occasion he told Brigham he would be appointed one of the twelve Special Witnesses, meaning the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, organized the following week. Incidently, when this momentous step was taken of establishing the second highest authority in the Church, a significant hymn was chosen, and later reprinted in full in the official record because it "was peculiarly suited suited to the occasion."[3] This hymn was as follows:

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[1] Joseph Smith, History of the Church, II,180.

[2] Joseph Young, History of the Organization of the Seventies in 1878, p. 2, cited in Joseph Smith, History of the Church, p. 181.

[3] B. H. Roberts, History of the Church, I, 375.

Hark, listen to the trumpeters!
They sound for volunteers,
On Zion's bright and flowery mount
Behold the officers.

. . . . . .

We want no cowards in our band,
Who will our colors fly,
We call for valiant-hearted men
Who're not afraid to die.[1]

On the final occasion when a song brought solace to the Prophet, he and his brother, Hyrum, and two companions, John Taylor and Dr. Willard Richards, lay in the jail at Carthage, Illinois, on the afternoon of June 27, 1844. "The prisoners felt unusually dull and languid. Their spirits were depressed and gloomy, and they were possessed with indefinite ominous forebodings."[2] "The Prophet was depressed."[3]

> Seeing this, John Taylor, to cheer him up, sang "A poor Wayfaring Man of Grief," a favorite song of the Prophet, and popular in Nauvoo previous to the martyrdom. Soon after, Hyrum Smith asked Elder Taylor to sing the song again. Elder Taylor said: "Brother Hyrum, I do not feel like singing." And Hyrum said: "Oh, never mind, commence singing and you will get the spirit of it."[4]

It was not long after the song was sung the second time that the mob attacked the jail. "Three minutes after the attack was commenced upon the jail, Hyrum Smith lay stretched upon the floor of the prison--

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[1]Hymn No. 253, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Improvement Association Song Book [Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1887], foreword to p. 23.

[3]George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, pp. 10-11.

[4]Ibid.

dead; John Taylor lay not far from him severely wounded; the Prophet was lying outside the jail by the old well curb--dead."[1]

A poor wayfaring man of grief
Hath often crossed me on my way. . . .

Once, when my scanty meal was spread,
He entered, not a word He spake. . . .

In prison I saw Him next, condemned
To meet a traitor's doom at morn. . . .

My friendship's utmost zeal to try,
He asked if I for Him would die. . . .

He spake, and my poor name He named,
"Of Me thou has not been ashamed;
These deeds shall thy memorial be,
Fear not, thou didst them unto Me."[2]

The martyrdom of the Prophet, it may be noted here, was lamented by his companion, John Taylor, in a ballad which subsequently was included in every edition of the hymnal:

The Seer, the Seer, Joseph the Seer!
I'll sing of the Prophet ever dear; . . .

He's free! He's free! the Prophet's free!
He is where he will ever be;
Beyond the reach of mobs and strife,
He rests unharmed in endless life; . . .[3]

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[1]B. H. Roberts, History of the Church, II, 286.

[2]Hymn No. 233, [Fourteenth Edition].

[3]Hymn No. 290, [Fourteenth Edition].

In addition to this elegy, frequently sung as a solo, the martyrdom produced a paen of "Praise to the Man" which the Church sings with fervor and enthusiasm at every conference:

> Praise to the man who communed with Jehovah;
> Jesus annointed "that Prophet and Seer"
> Blessed to open the last dispensation;
> Kings shall extol him and nations revere.
>
> [Chorus]
> Hail to the Prophet, ascended to heaven;
> Traitors and tyrants now fight him in vain;
> Mingling with Gods, he can plan for his brethren;
> Death cannot conquer that hero again.
>
> Praise to his mem'ry, he died as a martyr!
> Honored and blest be his ever great name;
> Long shall his blood, which was shed by assassins,
> Stain Illinois, while the earth lauds his fame.
>
> Sacrifice brings forth the blessings of heaven;
> Earth must atone for the blood of that man;
> Wake up the world for the conflict of Justice;
> Millions shall know "brother Joseph" again.[1]

The relation of church leadership to the evolution of a unique hymnody was manifested not only in these personal experiences and panegyrics, but also in a profusion of verse that appeared in church periodicals and eventually in hymn compilations. One may now examine the chief events of hymn book publication during these two decades.

The responsibility for compiling the first hymn book was assigned to Emma Smith, wife of the prophet, by divine revelation, just three

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[1]Hymn No. 282, [Fourteenth Edition].

months after the organization of the Church:

> And verily I say unto thee that thou shalt lay aside the things of this world, and seek for the things of a better. And it shall be given unto thee, also, to make a selection of sacred hymns, as it shall be given them, 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]

Pyper has commented:

> Though there are numerous references in holy writ to use and value of music and song, this is the only instance on record where the Lord, by revelation, has directed the compilation of hymns and recognized the power of song.[2]

Moved by this divine imprimature, the church leaders proceeded to construct a hymnody that is distinctive even today. Its evolution in this period is marked by three volumes: [1] an edition containing ninety hymns, prepared by Emma Smith and W. W. Phelps, which appeared in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835; [2] a subsequent enlargement to include three hundred and four hymns published in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1841; and [3] the English edition, published in Liverpool, England in 1840, from which lineage has stemmed the present day hymnal.[3]

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[1] Doctrine and Covenants, 25:10-12.

[2] George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 191.

[3] This conclusion by the writer is based upon a comparison of the index of Emma Smith's edition of 1841 with that of an old English edition, which disclosed in the latter only 128 hymns from Mrs. Smith's book. It would appear that the collection which Emma Smith and W. W. Phelps deemed expressive of the faith differed from the conception held by three members of the Quorum of the Twelve who edited the English book. Certainly the influx of British converts into the Utah colonies would perpetuate the English-made collection.

These were all word books only, since the Church did not issue any edition containing music until the appearance of the Psalmody in 1889, as will be related in Chapter IV. The tunes originally used were either traditionally known, or easily learned.

Hymn books, like all other volumes of church literature, found ready sale in the hands of persuasive missionaries. Parley P. Pratt, writing from New York to Joseph Smith, November 22, 1839, announced:

> There is a great call for hymn-books, but none to be had. I wish Sister Smith would add to the old collection such new ones as is best, and republish them immediately. If means and facilities are lacking in the west, send it here, and it shall be nicely done for her; and at least one thousand would immediately sell in these parts wholesale and retail. The Book of Mormon is not to be had in this part of the vineyard for love or money; hundreds are wanting in various parts hereabouts, but there is truly a famine in that respect.[1]

The next month brought some action, in a resolution of the Presidency and High Council "that ten thousand copies of a hymn book be published."[2] This was six months after the revision of the book began, for Joseph had noted that on July 8, 9, 10, "I was with the Twelve selecting hymns, for the purpose of compiling a hymn book."[3]

By November, paper and other materials for the new publication

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[1]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, IV, 22.

[2]Times and Seasons, [Nauvoo, Illinois], December 1839, p. 25.

[3]Joseph Smith, History of the Church, IV, 3.

had been procured in Cincinnati, Ohio, but Emma Smith published a notice in the Times and Seasons to secure additional hymns:

> Hymns! Hymns! . . . It is requested that all those who have been endowed with a poetical genius, whose muse has not been altogether idle, will feel enough interest in a work of this kind, to immediately forward all choice, newly composed or revised hymns. In designating those who are endowed with Poetical genius, we do not intend to exclude others; we mean all who have good hymns that will cheer the heart of the righteous man, to send them as soon as practicable, directed to Mrs. Emma Smith, Nauvoo, Illinois. POST PAID.[1] [Italics and caps. in original].

That this collection was never intended to be complete nor final is suggested in the preface:

> . . . it is sincerely hoped that the following collection selected with an eye single to His glory, may answer every purpose till more are composed, or till we are blessed with a copious variety of the songs of Zion.[2]

The compilation of a hymn book for use in the British mission challenges greater interest, both for its content and for the prestige of its editors, Brigham Young and John Taylor, who later succeeded Joseph Smith as presidents of the Church, and Parley P. Pratt of literary fame. These brethren quickly sensed the missionary value of a distinctive Mormon hymnal which would be easily accessible. As

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[1]Notice published in Times and Seasons, November 1, 1840.

[2]Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs [Nauvoo, Illinois, 1841], preface.

Brigham Young wrote from England:

> Concerning the hymn book, when we arrived here we found the brethren had laid by their old hymn books, and they wanted new ones; for the Bible religion, and all is new to them. . . . When I came to learn more about carrying books into the States, or bringing them here, I found the duties were so high that we should never want to bring books to the States.[1]

The purpose of the book was stated in the preface to this first English edition of three thousand copies, published in July, 1840:

> The Saints in this country have been very desirous for a Hymn Book adapted to their faith and worship, that they might sing the truth with an understanding heart, and express their praise, joy, and gratitude in songs adapted to the New and Everlasting Covenant.
>
> In accordance with their wishes, we have selected the following Volume, which we hope will prove acceptable until a greater variety can be added. . . .[2]

That a variety was already present is suggested by the following classifications under which the 371 hymns appeared: public worship, doxologies, sacramental hymns, baptismal hymns, funeral, priesthood, second coming of Christ, gathering of Israel, evening, morning, farewell, and miscellaneous hymns.[3] Joseph Smith gave his approval a few

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[1] Evening and Morning Star, [Independence, Mo.], 1:122.

[2] Hymn Book [Manchester, England], preface. A copy of original seen in Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[3] For some reason this early system of organizing the contents as to appropriate use was dropped by the music committees which edited music-and-text hymnals of recent decades.

months later: "I have been favored by receiving a Hymn Book from you, and as far as I have examined it, I highly approve of it, and think it to be a very valuable collection."[1]

Twenty-nine thousand copies were sold in ten years, with the last ten thousand books being distributed in eighteen months, according to Franklin D. Richards who revised the ninth European edition in 1851.[2] He removed sixty hymns and added seventy-six, prepared an index, increased the page size, and "induced the extension of the present issue to twenty-five thousand, which with the eight former editions numbers fifty-four thousand published and for sale in the short period of eleven years".[3] The next revision came with the twelfth edition, May 16, 1863, when George Q. Cannon substituted forty-four hymns "mostly by our own Authors, in the stead of a number selected from other collections which were scarcely so well adapted for the worship of the Saints."[4]

Meanwhile this English edition was apparently supplied to the Utah Saints by reprint, for Orson Pratt recorded that "We have been instructed by Pres. Young to publish in New York ten thousand each of Book of Mormon, Book of Covenants, and hymn book, intended expressly for the

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[1] Times and Seasons, January 1, 1841.

[2] Latter-day Saint Hymn Book [Ninth Edition, Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1851], preface.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, [Twelfth Edition, Liverpool: George Q. Cannon, 1863], preface.

Valley."[1] It is interesting to note that in 1871 the first book published in Utah Territory from movable type, cast in the territory, was the fourteenth edition:

> Which differs from the two which precede it in one respect only, there have been fourteen hymns added. . . in the last part of the book, so as not to interfere with the use of the other editions in common with this. . . .[2]

One hymn may be cited as a product of English hymn book development, which illustrates the vitality of the missionary movement as caught by a humble spokesman:

> On a certain Sunday at Sheffield, one of the members of the branch, Brother William Fowler, who was employed as a polisher and grinder in a cutlery works, brought in a song he had composed and requested that the choir learn to sing it. The first line of this song was "We Thank Thee O God for a Prophet." This beautiful song is now perhaps the best known and most frequently used of any of the hymns sung by the Latter-day Saints.[3]

The human desires for new experience, security, recognition and response are voiced in this hymn:

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[1] Journal History of the Church, November 22, 1852, cited in Millennial Star, [London, England] January 15, 1853.

[2] Latter-day Saint Hymn Book [Salt Lake City: Fourteenth Edition, 1871], preface.

[3] Preston Nibley, Presidents of the Church [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941], p. 241. Citing Joseph F. Smith who was the missionary first to be given Fowler's hymn sometime between 1860-1863.

We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet,
To guide us in these latter days;
We thank Thee for sending the Gospel;
To lighten our minds with its rays;
We thank Thee for every blessing
Bestowed by Thy bounteous hand;
We feel it a pleasure to serve Thee;
And love to obey Thy command.

When dark clouds of trouble hang o'er us
And threaten our peace to destroy,
There is hope smiling brightly before us,
And we know that deliv'rance is nigh;
We doubt not the Lord nor His goodness,
We've proved Him in days that are past;
The wicked who fight against Zion
Will surely be smitten at last.

We'll sing of His goodness and mercy,
We'll praise Him by day and by night,
Rejoice in His glorious Gospel,
And bask in its life-giving light;
Thus on to eternal perfection
The honest and faithful will go,
While they who reject this glad message
Shall never such happiness know.[1]

Dominant Characteristics of Early Hymn Texts

The development of Mormon hymnody under Joseph Smith, from 1830 to 1844, has been presented in the foregoing pages as a cultural expression of nineteenth century America, and as a socializing implement of personal interest to church leaders. Specific examples have been

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[1]Hymn No. 152, [Fourteenth Edition]. Although composed by a follower of Brigham Young, this hymn is also found as No. 415 in the official Saints Hymnal of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [Herald Publishing House, Independence, Missouri, 1933], which rejected Young's leadership.

drawn from the common hymnody of the people, and the evolution of a published hymnal has been outlined.

Since the hymn collection as used by the Church prior to the 1870's was essentially fashioned in this first period, it may be pertinent to ascertain what the hymn book contained in addition to the score of hymns already quoted. Table I which follows classifies the essential subject matter of the hymns contained in the Latter-day Saint Hymn Book, Fourteenth Edition. It was derived from a preliminary analysis, and the tallys represent a subjective judgment on each hymn. Because of the rambling nature of some hymn texts, the variable length and number of stanzas, the use of figurative language, and the unavailability of scientific technics, it was very difficult to classify certain hymns. However, the major trend of thought was usually quite obvious.

The general subject headings of Table I offer a clue to the uniqueness of Mormon hymnody in the formative decades of the Church. They suggest an integration of belief with action, reveal a unity of philosophy and movement, and tend to support the view that early hymns were socially relevant. Over fifty per cent of the hymns are found in three of the eight subject headings: trust and faith in Deity, a militant call of the Restored Gospel, and praise to God for blessings enjoyed. The fourth division of Second Coming and Zion shows every tenth hymn to be concerned with this imminent event. There were twenty-

TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF L.D.S. HYMNS, FOURTEENTH EDITION*

Subject of the Hymn	Number of Hymns: Sub-Total	Number of Hymns: Total Number	Percentage of Hymns
Trust and Faith		70	20.3
Faith in God, Holy Spirit	43		
Communion	24		
Crucifixion	3		
The Restoration		69	20.0
Missionary calls and Farewells	54		
Faith in church and leaders	15		
Praise to Deity as voiced in rejoicing in salvation, and gratitude for protection.		40	11.6
The Second Coming and Zion		37	10.6
Brotherhood, fraternal living		21	6.0
[Mountain Home, Utah Period only]		19	5.5
Special Occasions		31	8.6
Baptism	14		
Funeral	14		
Blessing of Infants	3		
Unclassified		61	17.4
Totals		345	100.0

*This edition shows little deviation in scope from the first English edition, which was edited by elders who became the second and third presidents of the Church. It reflects a sustained authoritative sanction.

one hymns of brotherhood, and the book offered a profusion of songs for the special events of baptism, funeral and the blessing of infants. Seventeen per cent of the hymns could not be classified in the above categories.

Kimball Young has classified gospel songs by dominant psychological appeal.[1] Subject to the same limitations as the present study, Young was striving to classify three thousand revival songs by psychological appeal rather than by philosophical content. He made a strategic choice of sentimental camp-meeting songs to support his premise that infantile formulations play a role in adult religious experiences.

In Table II will be found Young's classification, with which the Mormon classification may be compared on two points. Young found that infantile return to God and a future reward was the dominant motive of 58 per cent of his nearly three thousand songs. The Mormon classification, however, gives only 20.3 per cent of hymns of faith in God, hymns which might agree with the sentiment of "Jesus, Lover of my soul, let me to Thy bosom fly." The future reward motive in Mormon philosophy is subordinate to that of perfecting this earth for the Second Coming, and not readily located in song. The greatest contrast between the two schedules lies in the field of exaltation or joy in religion--

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[1]Kimball Young, "The Psychology of Hymns," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, January 1926, 20:391-406.

TABLE II

CLASSIFICATION OF ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF PROTESTANT GOSPEL SONGS BY DOMINANT PSYCHOLOGICAL APPEAL*

Dominant Appeal or Motive of Songs	Number of Songs	Per Cent of Songs
Infantile return to God	963	33.0
Future reward	722	24.7
Sinfulness	246	8.4
Exaltation in religion	239	8.1
Struggle	157	5.3
Masochistic projection, Crucifixion	151	5.1
Redemption and salvation	144	4.9
Purification	88	2.8
Devaluation of things of world	57	1.9
Sadistic projection	41	1.4
Other appeals, Gf. original	114	4.4
Totals	2,922	100.0

*Kimball Young, "The Psychology of Hymns," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 20:391-406, January, 1926.

the Protestants with 8.1 per cent and the Mormons indicating a combination of "Restoration" and "Praise" that exceeds 31 per cent. Contemplation of the Crucifixion, which dominates 5.1 per cent of the morbid songs of traditional Christianity, falls to a low of 0.9 per cent in Mormon song.

In Table III the twenty-seven hymns quoted in the Joseph Smith period are classified by subject matter in order of their presentation in this chapter. Under six headings these hymns manifest the ideology and the activities of making converts, the "gathering" to Zion, earliest persecution, temple use, instruction, and church leadership. The significance of these hymns for the present study lies in their effectiveness of emotional expression. They voice the sorrows of missionary and homeland farewells, the search for new experience, joy in finding salvation, exhilaration in the New Movement, discouragement in proselyting, interest in the Indian, hopes for Zion and return of the Redeemer, national pride in the land, grief in mob persecution, pentacostal fervor in the temple, arrogance in a unique theology, yearning for eternal peace, calls to courage, and love for their prophet.

In other words, these were songs [1] of determination, [2] of dangers met and hazards overcome, [3] of comfort and strength amidst sorrow and conflict, [4] of realistic struggle with poverty and enemy, and [5] of unremitting faith in ultimate victory. If social communication through music enabled these followers of Joseph Smith to release

TABLE III

CLASSIFICATION BY ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF HYMNS QUOTED IN JOSEPH SMITH PERIOD

Subject Matter	First Lines of Hymns
Missionary activities	1. Farewell our wives and children 2. Ye chosen twelve 3. The gallant ship is under weigh 4. I'm a Saint, I'm a Saint 5. Ye Elders of Israel, come join now with me 6. The morning breaks, the shadows flee 7. Adieu to the city where long I have wandered 8. Yes, my native land, I love thee 9. O stop and tell me, Red Man
Gathering to New Jerusalem	10. The cities of Zion soon shall rise 11. Redeemer of Israel, our only delight 12. This earth was once a garden place
Persecution in Missouri	13. Torn from our friends and captive led 14. Come, Oh Thou King of Kings 15. Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation 16. Come to me where there is no destruction
Temple building and dedication	17. The Spirit of God like a fire 18. Ere long the veil will rend 19. Ho, ho, for the temple's completed
Instructional activities	20. If you could hie to Kolob 21. The God that others worship 22. The Word of Wisdom 23. O My Father, Thou that dwellest
Role of church leadership	24. Hark listen to the trumpeters 25. Poor wayfaring man of grief 26. The Seer, the Seer, Joseph the Seer 27. Praise to the man

their combined energies toward group objectives, who can deny their hymns a place in the pages of history, alongside Ein' Festé Burg, the Marseillaise, and the Battle Hymn of the Republic? And as their physical and mental experiences poured forth in song, who can deny the folk-hymns of these frontier people a dynamic role in the movement which forever changed their lives?

SUMMARY

This chapter has demonstrated the role of hymnody in six dominant activities of the Latter-day Saint movement. These activities were peculiar to the movement, and distinctive of the period in which Joseph Smith headed the Church. They were presented in the verses of hymn writers and in the paralleled chronicles of historians under these classifications: [1] an expanding missionary movement, [2] a result-group conflict with neighbors of the frontier, [4] temple building and worship activities, [5] group educational activities, and [6] social activities. This parallel evidence justifies a conclusion, well stated by Benson who recognized Mormon hymnody as being "apart from that of the historic church," and affirmed that it "presents almost every phase and important event of that history as imbedded in contemporary hymns or songs."

An examination of specific hymns under the preceding classifications, and an analysis of the contents of a representative hymnal showed the particular role of hymnody to be one of educative force.

This force was manifested especially in song that [1] persuaded and convinced adherents, [2] gave instruction, [3] recorded historical events, and [4] reinforced a will to do. The first of these sub-roles was illustrated by the missionary successes in which the use of appropriate hymns operated to intensify individual emotions through crowd response. Its role was prepared by the high suggestability of a "stammering century" and was perfected in the mental life of a crowd where individual emotions can be stirred to a pitch seldom or never attained under other conditions. The profusion of missionary songs and the reported impatience of the elders to make song books available suggest an early acceptance of this dominant role. "To give breadth and persuasion to religious conviction" was not an uncommon use of music, according to Rourke,[1] and in the words of Benson,[2] Mormon hymnody displayed "virility and contagious enthusiasm" in the upbuilding of Zion.

The specific content of many peculiarly Mormon hymns made them effective in the process of education for new and old members alike. This was not only ideological but emotional education too, for in their songs the group began to rehearse the sentiments arising from conflict and frustration. In addition, the Mormons were making history and caught the idea of their eminence as "saviours on Mount Zion." This en-

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[1]Constance Rourke, Roots of American Culture, p. 3.

[2]Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn, pp. 433-34.

shrining of historical occasions extended to dedications of temples and community sites, in which crowd response was easily unified through song and shouts. These high points of exaltation likely employed tunes and instrumental music which took on significance beyond the ideology of words. This particular gift of music, as Santayana has observed, is pointed up in incidents which can serve as a fitting symbol for pure, radiant, exultant joy. The tunes must reinforce the texts, for a poet who should try to imitate music in this matter could do little but write the word "joy" with exclamation marks.[1]

Finally, music appears to have sustained hope and courage during hardships, to have reinforced the will when all appeared lost. As G. Stanley Hall commented on this power of music:

> Through music we realize our insignificance and the power of fate and iron necessity which holds things in its bounds and yet we feel that not only all that man has been and done in the world we could do, but vastly more.[2]

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[1] Brian Wibberley, Music and Religion, p. 278. Quoting "Music and Other Arts," Times Literary Supplement, September 7, 1922.

[2] G. Stanley Hall, Educational Problems, I, 93. Quoted by C. M. Diserens, The Influence of Music on Behavior [Princeton University Press, 1926], p. 67.

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATIVE ROLE OF HYMNODY UNDER BRIGHAM YOUNG, THE COLONIZER

> There is one thing stronger than all the armies in the world; and that is an idea whose time has come.[1]

A crisis in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was precipitated when Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, fell dead at the hands of their enemy neighbors June 27, 1844. As early as 1835 revelation had declared the Council of the apostles to be equal in authority with the First Presidency,[2] but six weeks passed before the claims of various leaders had been rejected by the people, in favor of sustaining the Twelve to act as First Presidency, with Brigham Young as senior member.

In this succession of authority, the use of one hymn was involved, according to Quaife:

> The entire church organization and faith was centered in the existence of a prophet in the flesh, and the Saints were accustomed to sing lustily, in their religious gatherings, the hymn beginning, "A church without a Prophet is not the church for me." Now Joseph was gone, and no one save Strang even pretended to have any divine commission to succeed him. . . .
>
> Brigham Young refused to issue revelations at all. . . . Strang's taunt that the Brighamites had ceased to sing "A

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[1]Victor Hugo, final entry in his diary on the night he died, May 28, 1858. Cited in a news letter from The Nation, April 15, 1943.

[2]Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants [Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1920], Section 107.

church without a Prophet" could not be answered, and the difficulty was finally solved . . . by the election of Young as President in December, 1847.[1]

Thus did the apostles contradict themselves to satisfy a pressing need--the Mormons wanted a prophet. But unable to justify the procedure, Brigham was cautious about claiming prophetic powers. Once he said: "The brethren testify that Brother Brigham is Brother Joseph's legal successor. You never heard me say so. I say I am a good hand to keep the dogs and wolves out of the flock."[2]

Since the personality of Brigham Young the colonizer dominates every scene in this epoch of the Church, his relation to the Mormon group might be analyzed here. "It was well that a change of leadership should come at this time," says Ericksen:

The situation demanded it. Joseph Smith was a spiritual-minded idealist; he seemed to serve the purpose of his group when the conflict was social, religious, and spiritual. Brigham Young was a materialist, very practical-minded and well prepared to direct the Mormons in their struggle with material problems. It seems proper that Joseph Smith should be the founder of a religion and that Brigham Young should be the founder of a state.[3]

The force of many minds acting and thinking at the same time produced results, such as mass migration and colonization. Ericksen

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[1]Milo M. Quaife, The Kingdom of Saint James [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930], pp. 30-31.

[2]George D. Arbaugh, Revelation in Mormonism [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932], p. 175. Quoting Journal of Discourses, 8:69.

[3]E. E. Ericksen, Mormon Group Life [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922], p. 35.

observes that Brigham Young:

> . . . was inspired by his group just as much as was his predecessor. . . . He saw visions and uttered predictions just as did Joseph Smith and they came as did those of the latter from the powerful inspiration of the group.[1]

The leaders merely responded to a different set of group stimuli; the first prophet to the emotional excitement of his people; the second prophet to the practical attitude of his people toward their immediate problem.

Brigham's influence lay in his real sincerity, for even a bitter apostate of the church later wrote:

> Brigham may be a great man, greatly deceived, but he is not a hypocrite. . . . For the sake of his religion he has over and over again left his family, confronted the world, endured hunger, come back poor, made wealth and given it to the Church. He holds himself prepared to lead his people in sacrifice and want, as in plenty and ease. No holiday friend nor summer prophet, he has shared their trials as well as their prosperity.[2]

The problems which faced this new type of leadership were chiefly economic, according to Ericksen,[3] whose doctoral study of Mormon group life was found in the present research to be more often listed than

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[1] Ibid, pp. 47-48.

[2] John Hyde, Jr., Mormonism, Its Leaders and Designs, p. 170. Cited by Halbert Spencer Greaves, "Public Speaking in Utah, 1847 to 1869," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1930], p. 427.

[3] Ericksen, op. cit., p. 36.

any other work about the Mormons:

[1] How were the thousands of Mormons to be transported from Illinois to the Rocky Mountains?
[2] How were they to survive when they got there?
[3] In their isolation how could they maintain permanently, as a community, an independent industrial and commercial life?

Because answers to these questions are found in the music of the people as well as in their journals, this chapter will proceed as follows:

A. Phases of conflict, as manifest in migration, the Utah war, and polygamy;
B. Colonization, the mountain home, community life;
C. Cooperation, as seen in irrigation, mercantile solidarity, and the United Order;
D. Social development, as revealed through music in the community, home, and Church.

Trends which commenced near the end of Brigham's period will be discussed in the succeeding chapter, when cultural maturity and auxiliary expansion appeared as the chief characteristics.

PHASES OF CONFLICT

Mormon group life has been classified roughly into three periods,[1] each heightened by crises in a particular form of conflict: Joseph Smith's period--conflict between Mormons and their Gentile neighbors; Brigham Young's period--conflict between Mormons and nature; and the

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[1]Bricksen, op. cit.

third generation--maladjustments between new thought and old institutions. Certainly the role of conflict in Missouri and Illinois created group consciousness, definitely formed the Mormon social ideal of Zion, and hurled the Saints across the Great Plains.

The Mormon Migration

Exodus from Nauvoo. For several years the Mormon leaders had looked thoughtfully toward the far west. On August 6, 1842, the Prophet Joseph went on record as saying:

> I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.[1]

The fulfillment of this prediction may be followed in the fascinating variety of songs which arose in the actual migration. When everything northwest of the Great Divide was known as "Upper California," the talented John Taylor produced a rollicking ballad that was sung for years:

> The Upper California, O! that's the land for me;
> It lies between the mountains and the great Pacific sea;
> The Saints can be supported there,
> And taste the sweets of liberty
> In Upper California--Oh, that's the land for me.

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[1]Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah, 1847 to 1869 [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940]. Citing B. H. Roberts, History of the Church, V, 85. Cf. II, 182.

We'll go and lift our standard, we'll go there and be free
We'll go to California and have our jubilee
A land that blooms with beauty rare,
A land of life and liberty,
With flocks and herds abounding--Oh, that's the land for me.

We'll burst off all our fetters and break the Gentile yoke
For long it has beset us, but now it shall be broke;
No more shall Jacob bow his neck;
Henceforth he shall be great and free,
In Upper California, O! That's the land for me.

We'll reign, we'll rule and triumph, and God shall be our King,
The plains, the hills and valleys shall with hosannas ring;
Our towers and temples there shall rise
Along the great Pacific Sea.
In Upper California, Oh, that's the land for me.[1]

To the tune of Old Dan Tucker, another song brought relief around the campfires on river bottoms in 1847:

Now in the spring we'll leave Nauvoo
And our journey we'll pursue,
Bid the robbers all farewell
And let them go to Heav'n or Hell.

[Chorus]
On the way to California,
In the spring we'll take our journey,
Pass between the Rocky Mountains,
Far beyond the Arkansas fountains.

Down on Nauvoo's green, grassy plains,
They burn'd our houses and our grain
When they tho't we were hell bent,
They asked for aid from the Government.

Old Governor Ford with mind so small,
He has no room for a soul at all,
He neither can be "damned or blessed,"
If Heav'n or Hell should do its best.[2]

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[1]Hymn No. 299, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Pioneer Songs [Salt Lake City, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1932], p. 192.

The westward migration was begun in the cold of winter. Mob violence compelled an exodus in February, 1846, when the Mississippi was frozen over. The sufferings far exceeded those of 1847 when the goal was not a Winter Quarters on the Missouri, but a resting place in the Great Basin.[1] A friendly observer of this decade, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, recorded that the Saints, traveling in great privation, and amidst constant dying and dead,

> found a sort of comfort in comparing themselves to the Exiles of Siberia, and sought cheerfulness in earnest prayings for the Spring--longed for as morning by the tossing sick. . . .
>
> They were materially sustained, too, by the practice of psalmody, keeping up the songs of Zion and passing along doxologies from front to rear, when the breath froze on their eyelashes.[2]

Eliza R. Snow was one whose emotional activity found vent in song:

> As this refined woman was on the way through the wilderness, she sang, with the sweetness of a soul touched by divine fire, songs that glorified the journey, and cheered the weary hearts around her with the promise of coming recompense.[3]

Miss Snow's diary for February 19, 1846, records, "Amused myself

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[1] Neff, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[2] Thomas L. Kane, The Mormons [Philadelphia; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1850], p. 15.

[3] Jakeman's Daughters of the Utah Pioneers and Their Mothers, p. 9. Cited in "Pioneer Diary of Eliza R. Snow," The Improvement Era, March, 1943.

by writing the following:

> Although in woods and tents we dwell
> Shout, shout, O Camp of Israel!
> No Christian mobs on earth can bind
> Our thoughts, or steal our peace of mind.
>
> [Chorus]
> Though we fly from vile aggression
> We'll maintain our pure profession,
> Seek a peaceable possession
> Far from Gentiles and oppression.
>
> We've left the City of Nauvoo
> And our beloved Temple too,
> And to the wilderness we'll go
> Amid the winter frost and snow.[1]

"This was a song which the Saints sang with hearty zest," according to Jensen.[2]

A Camp of Israel Song for Pioneers, Number 2, written a few days later, supplies details of camp life on the western bank of the Mississippi:

> Lo! a num'rous host of people
> Tented on the western shore
> Of the noble Mississippi
> They for weeks were crossing o'er.
> At the last day's dawn of winter,
> Bound with frost and wrapt in snow,
> Hark! the sound is onward, onward!
> Camp of Israel! rise and go.

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[1]Eliza R. Snow, "Pioneer Diary of Eliza R. Snow," Improvement Era, 46:142, March, 1943.

[2]Andrew Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1901], I, 696.

All at once is life in motion--
Trunks and beds and baggage fly;
Oxen yok'd and horses harness'd,
Tents roll'd up, are passing by.
Soon the carriage wheels are rolling
Onward to a woodland dell,
Where at sunset all are quarter'd--
Camp of Israel! All is well.

Thickly round, the tents are cluster'd
Neighb'ring smokes together blend--
Supper served--the hymns are chanted
And the evening pray'rs ascend.
Last of all the guards are station'd--
Heav'ns! Must guards be serving here?
Who would harm the houseless exiles?
Camp of Israel! Never fear.[1]

It is characteristic of a mind, numbed by sorrow and frustration, to rehearse the events of recent tragedy. This, too, is found in a hymn persisting into present day hymnals though rarely known:

How many on Missouri's plains
Were left in death's embrace,
Pure honest souls, too good to live
In such a wicked place. . . .

And in Nauvoo, the city where
The Temple cheered the brave,
Hundreds of faithful Saints have found
A cold yet peaceful grave. . . .

Our Patriarch and Prophet too
Were massacred, they bled
To seal their testimony,
They were numbered with the dead. . . .[2]

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[1]Eliza R. Snow, "Pioneer Diary of Eliza R. Snow," Improvement Era, 46:142-43, March, 1943.

[2]Hymn 325, [Fourteenth Edition].

The capacity of people to sustain hardship would be hard to fathom without sidelights on their emotional behavior. Chief among the factors for maintaining morale was the famed and beloved Nauvoo band, which Brigham Young kept close to himself:

> Captain Pitt and his band left Nauvoo with Brigham Young, crossing the Mississippi on the ice, and with him journeyed that day to the "Camp of Israel," which waited for the leader on Sugar Creek. At night, though the weather was bitter cold, the trumpet called the camp out to a concert in the open air, and the Nauvoo brass band performed its best selections, after which the pilgrims joined in the dance, and the music was as joyous as at a merry making.[1]

When the journey of the pioneers brought them anywhere near an Iowa town that first year, the band would send an agent ahead, engage a hall and give a concert and some of these events brought notable additions to the stores of the pioneers.[2]

The mission of this band has been poetically told by a modern writer of the church:

THE NAUVOO BAND

> Above the plains that knew the hungry howl
> Of preying wolves, the Redman's warring scream,
> And honk or swishing wings of migrant fowl
> Ascended notes that wove a stranger theme,

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[1]Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, and Its Founders. Cited by Levi Edgar Young, Founding of Utah [New York: Scribner's, 1923], p. 366.

[2]H. G. Whitney, "Music in Early Utah," Young Woman's Journal, [Salt Lake City], 24:418, July, 1913.

For when the refugees from sad events
Disposed of jewelry and tableware,
Musicians did not barter instruments--
They would as soon have thought of selling prayer.
They knew that music has the power to lift
Discouraged hearts, bowed heads, the dragging limb;
And, nightly, with the campfire smoke, would drift
Quadrille and schottische, anthem, or grateful hymn.
Though hands and lips are stilled, a city grew
For every tune beyond their lost Nauvoo.[1]

The native love of music which British converts brought to the new movement also is reflected in this pioneer band. One can imagine the pleasure Colonel Kane took in recounting this as he addressed the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1850:[2]

> Well as I knew the peculiar fondness of the Mormons for music, their orchestra in service on this occasion astonished me by its numbers and fine drill. The story was, that an eloquent Mormon missionary had converted its members in a body at an English town, a stronghold of the sect, and that they took up their trumpets, trombones, drums, and hautboys together, and followed him to America. . . .
>
> Their fortunes went with the Camp of the Tabernacle. They had led the Farewell Service in the Nauvoo Temple. Their office now was to guide the monster choruses and Sunday hymns; and like the trumpets of silver made of a whole piece "for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camps," to knoll the people in to church. Some of their wind instruments, indeed, were uncommonly full and pure toned, and in that clear dry air could be heard to a great distance. It had the strangest effect in the world, to listen to their sweet music winding over the uninhabited country. Something in the style of a Moravian death-tune blown at day-break, but altogether unique. It might be when you were hunting a ford over the

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[1] Eva Willes Wangsgaard, "The Nauvoo Band," Improvement Era, 45:218, April, 1942.

[2] Colonel Thomas L. Kane, The Mormons, p. 32.

> Great Platte, the dreariest of all wild rivers, perplexed among the far-reaching sand bars and curlew shallows of its shifting-bed:--the wind rising would bring you the first faint thought of a melody; and as you listened, borne down upon the gust that swept past you a cloud of the dry sifted sands, you recognised it--perhaps a home-loved theme of Henry Proch, or Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, away there in the Indian Marshes!

The movement of the Nauvoo Saints was naturally a matter of concern to the Saints abroad, who had remained loyal to Brigham and the Quorum. Even this international reflection of American history found its way into the British and subsequent Utah editions of the hymnal:

> O hear us for the pilgrim band
> Who, o'er yon dark blue sea,
> Self-exiled from their native land,
> Are borne to worship Thee!
>
> Father of men! Almighty Power!
> Guard them from every ill,
> And in temptation's trying hour,
> O keep them faithful still!
>
> Be Thou their guide, till, peril past,
> Where rest and joy belong,
> On Zion's distant hills at last,
> They join Thy ransomed throng.[1]

The Mormon trek in 1846 was essentially an emergency move to find safety in flight from Illinois mobs. Slow progress was made in transporting twelve to fifteen thousand people, three thousand wagons, and thirty thousand head of oxen into the Trans-Mississippi West.

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[1]Hymn No. 319, [Fourteenth Edition].

Intermediate stations were set up in Iowa, with advance parties planting crops for later companies to harvest.[1] The majority of the Saints succeeded in reaching the Missouri river this season, where Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Winter Quarters, near the present site of Omaha, sprang into being.

The Mormon Battalion. One incident of the migration, the formation of the Mormon Battalion in July, 1846, gave tangible evidence that the Mormons were still loyal to the Stars and Stripes. Five hundred men were mustered into service, at the call of President Polk, who wished to invade New Mexico and California to defeat Mexico. This call entailed a great sacrifice, says Creer,[2] coming as it did, when the Saints were in the heart of an Indian country, amidst an exodus unparalleled for dangers and hardships, "when every active man was needed for defense and when because of scarcity of men, even delicate women had been seen driving teams and tending stock."[3]

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[1]Neff, op. cit., p. 55.

[2]Leland H. Creer, Utah and the Nation [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929], p. 42.

[3]Speech delivered at Council Bluffs by Brigham Young, July 13, 1846. B. H. Roberts, "History of the Mormon Church," Americana, 7:500-504. "The President of the United States has now stretched out his hand to help us and thank God and him too. It is for us to go and I know you will go. . . . I think the President has done us a great favor by calling upon us. It is the first call that has been made upon us that ever seemed likely to benefit us." Cited by Creer, op. cit., p. 43.

Soldiers were never sent off to battle with a more memorable farewell than were these. Colonel Kane who officially participated in the mobilization has given us a word picture of the farewell cotillion:

> There was no sentimental affectation at their leave-taking. The afternoon before was appropriated to a farewell ball; and a more merry dancing rout I have never seen, though the company went without refreshments and their ballroom was of the most primitive. . . .
>
> The chiefs of the High Council, gravest and most trouble-worn, seemed the most anxious of any to be first to throw off the burden of heavy thoughts. . . . To the canto of debonnair violins, the cheer of horns, the jingle of sleigh-bells, and the jovial snoring of the tambourine, they did dance! . . .
>
> Light hearts, light figures and light feet, had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp skyline of the Omaha hills. Silence was then called and a well cultivated mezzo-soprano voice, belonging to a young lady with fair face and dark eyes, gave with quartet accompaniment a little song, the notes of which I have been unsuccessful in repeated efforts to obtain since--a version of the text, touching to all earthly wanderers:
>
> By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept,
> We wept when we remembered Zion.[1]
>
> There was danger of some expression of feeling when the song was over, for it had begun to draw tears; but breaking the quiet with his hard voice, an Elder asked the Blessing of Heaven on all who, with purity of heart and brotherhood of spirit, had mingled in that society, and then, all dispersed, hastening to cover from the falling dews.[2]

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[1] This hymn was very likely "Down by The River's Verdant Side," still found though rarely known in the latest Latter-day Saint Hymnal [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927], Hymn No. 278.

[2] Colonel Kane, The Mormons, p. 29.

The march of two thousand miles, from Council Bluffs to San Diego, brought more pain than that of parting. The autobiography of Christopher Layton contains one song he wrote as a soldier of his Lord and country:

> In forty-six we bade adieu
> To loving friends and kindred too;
> For one year's service, one and all
> Enlisted at our country's call,
> In these hard times.

Twelve more stanzas detail the trials suffered, concluding with this prayer:

> A "Mormon" soldier band we are;
> May our great Father's watchful care
> In safety kindly guide our feet,
> Till we again our friends shall meet,
> And have good times.[1]

The minstrel of the band was Levi W. Hancock, who piped "The Girl I Left Behind Me" as his company started on a twenty-two mile stretch the first day.[2] Layton's journal noted:

> Our cheerful camp singer, Levi W. Hancock, ofttimes amused and entertained us while around our campfires--and often composed songs to fit the occasion as the following will show:

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[1]Christopher Layton, Autobiography [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1911], pp. 97-99.

[2]Journal History of the Church [Unpublished record day by day of events concerning the church since the year 1830], July 22, 1846.

THE DESERT ROUTE

While here, beneath a sultry sky,
Our famished mules and cattle die;
Scarce aught but skin and bones remain
To feed poor soldiers on the plain.

[Chorus]
How hard to starve and wear us out
Upon this sandy, desert route.

Our hardships reach their rough extremes,
When valiant men are roped with teams,
Hour after hour and day by day,
To wear our strength and lives away.

And teams can hardly drag their loads,
Along the hilly, sandy roads,
While travelling near the Rio Grande,
O'er hills and dales of heated sand.

We see some twenty men or more,
With empty stomachs and foot-sore,
Bound to one wagon plodding on,
Through sand beneath a burning sun.[1]

Winter Quarters, to Great Salt Lake. After wintering on the threshold of the Great Plains, the body of Saints were impatient to push on to their mountain retreat:

The time of winter now is o'er,
There's verdure on the plain,
We leave our sheltering roofs once more
And to our tents again.

[Chorus]
O Camp of Israel, onward move;
O Jacob, Rise and sing;
Ye Saints the world's salvation prove,
All hail to Zion's King.[2]

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[1]Christopher Layton, Autobiography, p. 63.

[2]I. B. Richman, John Brown Among the Quakers [Des Moines: Historical Department of Iowa, 1894], p. 189.

Chandless observed the more pleasant aspects of such a migration:

> It was a pretty sight to watch them [a Mormon caravan] starting off for the day's march; great numbers of women and children walking in advance gaily, the little ones picking flowers, the boys looking for grapes or plums if there were trees near, and the mothers knitting as they went; all seemed willing to endure hardship, looking upon the journey as a pilgrimage to the promised land, where they should have rest.[1]

The Hymn of the Plains. Evidences too numerous to be cited express the dependence of the leaders on Deity for guidance, but Brigham summed it up when he informed the brethren that "in relation to our movements we should be dictated by the Spirit of God, and I said if the brethren were humble and pliable all would be well."[2] This recognized need to be humble before leadership, and pliant in unremitting cooperation was not accomplished solely through prayer and sermon. The previous spring had brought into common use one of the greatest social implements of the pioneer trek, the hymn "Come, Come Ye Saints."[3] In these four

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[1] William Chandless, Visit to Salt Lake City, p. 54. Cited by Katherine Coman, Economic Beginnings of the Far West [New York: MacMillan, 1912], p. 199.

[2] Neff, op. cit., p. 78.

[3] Believed by most Mormons to be an entirely original creation of William Clayton, a musical and overworked secretary of Brigham Young, this hymn may be termed a metamorphosis of a doleful lay published by one J. T. White of Georgia in 1844, now republished in Twelve Folk Hymns [New York: J. Fischer and Bro., 1934]. Pyper, Stories of L.D.S. Hymns, summarized this history upon information supplied to him by the present writer in 1937. William Clayton's Journal [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1921], pp. 19-20 notes for Wednesday, April 15, 1846, only that "This morning I composed a new song--'All is well'," and then details his day-long celebration of the birth of a new son. It is possible that Brigham Young commissioned his secretary to write a hymn of succor, as legend relates.

stanzas were distilled all the group tribulations, the faith, courage, and unconquerable spirit of the Mormon Pioneers. By the aid it gave to frontier migration and settlement, this hymn proved its incalcuable value. Its popularity continues unabated.

Come, come ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear,
But with joy wend your way;
Though hard to you this journey may appear
Grace shall be as your day.
'Tis better far for us to strive
Our useless cares from us to drive;
Do this, and joy your hearts will swell--
All is well, all is well.

Why should we mourn, or think our lot is hard?
'Tis not so; all is right!
Why should we think to earn a great reward,
If we now shun the fight?
Gird up your loins, fresh courage take,
Our God will never us forsake;
And soon we'll have this tale to tell--
All is well! All is well!

We'll find the place which God for us prepared,
Far away in the West;
Where none shall come to hurt, nor make afraid
There the Saints will be blest.
We'll make the air with music ring--
Shout praises to our God and King!
Above the rest these words we'll tell--
All is well! All is well!

And should we die before our journey's through,
Happy day! All is well!
We then are free from toil and sorrow too;
With the just we shall dwell.
But if our lives are spared again
To see the Saints their rest obtain,
O how we'll make this chorus swell--
All is well! All is well![1]

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[1]Hymn No. 47, [Fourteenth Edition].

One pathetic incident may be repeated of a part this hymn played on the plains:

> One night as we were making camp, we noticed one of our brethren had not arrived and a volunteer party was immediately organized to return and see if anything had happened to him. Just as we were about to start, we saw the missing brother coming in the distance. When he arrived he said he had been quite sick; so some of us unyoked his oxen and attended to his part of the camp duties.
>
> After supper, he sat down before the camp-fire on a large rock and sang in a very faint but plaintive and sweet voice, the hymn "Come, Come Ye Saints." It was a rule of the camp that whenever anybody started this hymn all in the camp should join; but for some reason this evening nobody joined him. He sang the hymn alone. When he had finished I doubt if there was a single dry eye in the camp.
>
> The next morning we noticed that he was not yoking up his cattle. We went to his wagon and found that he had died during the night. We dug a shallow grave and after we had covered the body with the earth we rolled the large stone to the head of the grave to mark it--the stone on which he had been sitting the night before when he sang: "And should we die before our journey's through--Happy day! All is well! . . ."[1]

Emigration and Handcarts. Two details of Mormon emigration should be noted before turning to a second phase of conflict. The first concerns the Perpetual Emigration Fund, a plan incorporated in 1850[2] to assist impoverished converts in Europe to "gather" with the Church in Utah, through contributions of teams, supplies, labor, and money from

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[1]Heber J. Grant, "Our Favorite Hymns," Improvement Era, 17:777-78, June, 1914. Cited by Pyper, Stories of L.D.S. Hymns, pp. 22-23.

[2]Neff, op. cit., p. 580.

the growing commonwealth. No less than seventy thousand emigrants[1] were assisted during three decades by the "P. E. F."; but it was during a financially deficient year that a colorful episode of emigration appeared in the form of the Handcart companies.

Three companies started from Iowa City in June, 1855.[2] They averaged about two hundred persons, fifty handcarts, and five ox-team wagons to the company. They took along cows to have milk for the children, or for meat if other food ran low.[3] These companies traveled from ten to fifteen miles a day, each handcart being loaded with about three hundred pounds of food and clothing.

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[1]Gustave O. Larson, "History of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company," [unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1926].

[2]Nels Anderson, Desert Saints [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942], p. 155.

[3]Mary Ann Hafen, A Handcart Pioneer [Denver: published privately, 1938], pp. 25-26, relates a heart-warming incident of hunger and its effect on children. "My brother John, who pushed at the back of our cart, used to tell how hungry he was all the time and how tired he got from pushing. He said he felt that if he could just sit down for a few minutes he would feel so much better. But instead, father would ask if he couldn't push a little harder. When we got that chunk of buffalo meat, father put it in the handcart [saying] we would save it for Sunday dinner. John said, 'I was so hungry and the meat smelled so good to me while pushing at the handcart that I could not resist. I had a little pocket knife and with it I cut off a piece or two each half day. Although I expected a severe whipping when father found it out, I cut off little pieces each day. I would chew them so long that they got white and perfectly tasteless. When father came to get the meat he asked me if I had been cutting off some of it. I said, 'Yes, I was so hungry I could not let it alone.' Instead of giving me a scolding or whipping, father turned away and wiped tears from his eyes."

The Territory's need for increased population was matched by the eagerness of converts to "gather" to Zion, and the process of instituting the handcart groups was unmistakably aided by a number of songs. The most popular of these expressed the economic distress of Europe's lower classes[1] and begat a group enthusiasm undampened by frontier hazards. All the desires for new experience, security, recognition, and response found voice in this song:

THE HANDCART SONG

Ye Saints who dwell on Europe's shore
Prepare yourselves, for many more
To leave behind your native land,
For sure God's judgments are at hand.
For you must cross the raging main
Before the promised land you gain,
And with the faithful make a start,
To cross the plains with your handcart.

[Chorus]
For some must push and some must pull
As we go marching up the hill;
So merrily on the way
We go until we reach the Valley.

The lands that boast of modern light
We know are all as dark as night,
Where poor men toil and want for bread
Where peasant hosts are blindly led.
These lands that boast of liberty
You ne'er again would wish to see,
When you from Europe make a start
To cross the plains with your handcart.

As on the road the carts are pulled
'Twould very much surprise the world

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[1] T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt, Early Mormon Leader," [unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1932], pp. 70-71.

To see the old and feeble dame
Thus lend a hand to pull the same.
And maidens fair will dance and sing--
Young men more happy than a king,
And children too, will laugh and play
Their strength increasing day by day.

When you get there, among the rest
Obedient be and you'll be blest;
And in God's chambers be shut in
While judgments cleanse the earth from sin.
For we do know, it will be so,
God's servants spoke it long ago;
We say it is high time to start,
To cross the plains with our handcart.[1]

The eagerness to emigrate by this novel plan engendered even greater confidence in divinely appointed leadership, as revealed by this ballad, sung to the tune, A Little More Cider:[2]

Oh, our faith goes with the hand-carts
And they have our hearts best love;
'Tis the novel mode of travelling,
Devised by the Gods above,
And Brigham's their executive,
He told us the design;
And the Saints are proudly marching on,
Along the hand-cart line.

[Chorus]
Hurrah for the Camp of Israel!
Hurrah for the hand-cart scheme!
Hurrah! Hurrah! 'Tis better far
Than the wagon and ox-team.

Sometime in the 1850's, Eliza R. Snow sought to encourage those

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[1] Pioneer Songs, p. 21.

[2] M. R. Werner, Brigham Young [New York; Harcourt, Brace Co., 1925], p. 275.

abroad who were not able to join their emigrating neighbors:

> Ye Saints who dwell on Europe's shore,
> Let not your hearts be faint;
> Let each press on to things before,
> And be indeed a Saint!
>
> Your Brethren in America
> Are one in heart with you,
> And they are toiling night and day
> For Zion's welfare too.
>
> They even now are driven forth
> To track the wilderness;
> They leave the country of their birth
> For truth and righteousness.[1]

The first year of the handcart experiment brought to Utah about sixteen hundred souls;[2] but efforts with this enterprise were slackened by the death of two hundred others who were caught by winter blizzards. The accomplishments of one year provoked a significant amount of song, suggesting the imaginative appeal and empathy this form of migration held for all brothers and sisters of the faith. These were songs of ambition and action, that served with an inheritance of earlier hymns to unite participant and witness alike.

If song could be employed to attract immigrants to Utah, it could also aid in the process of adjustment and assimilation. The dreams for a heaven on earth should not be assumed a reality, just because aspiring converts had accomplished the difficult journey across

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[1]Hymn No. 37, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Anderson, op. cit., p. 157.

the world. As Eliza R. Snow aptly put it:

> Think not, when you gather to Zion
> Your troubles and trials are through--
> That nothing but comfort and pleasure
> Are waiting in Zion for you:
> No, no; 'tis designed as a furnace,
> All substance, all textures to try--
> To consume all the "wood, hay and stubble"
> And the gold from the dross purify.
>
> Think not, when you gather to Zion,
> That all will be holy and pure--
> That deception and falsehood are banished,
> And confidence wholly secure;
> No, no; for the Lord our Redeemer
> Has said that the tares with the wheat
> Must grow, till the great day of burning
> Shall render the harvest complete.
>
> Think not, when you gather to Zion,
> The Saints here have nothing to do
> But attend to your personal welfare,
> Always be comforting you;
> No; the Saints who are faithful are doing
> What their hands find to do, with their might;
> To accomplish the gath'ring of Israel,
> They are toiling by day and by night.
>
> Think not, when you gather to Zion,
> The prize and victory won--
> Think not that the warfare is ended,
> Or the work of salvation is done;
> No, no; for the great Prince of Darkness
> A ten-fold exertion will make,
> When he sees you approaching the fountain
> Where the truth you may freely partake.[1]

The efforts put forth by the struggling colonists to assist their immigrating brethren are depicted in a final ballad which, like many a companion of its day, recounts a tragic incident typical of

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[1]Hymn No. 327, [Fourteenth Edition].

common experiences. To the doleful tune of "Just Before the Battle Mother," many a campfire or front parlor audience heard how:

> We the boys of Sanpete County
> In obedience to the call,
> Started out with forty wagons,
> To bring emigrants that fall. . . .
>
> [Chorus]
> To accomplish our great mission
> We were called to fill below,
> We left our friends and dear relations
> O'er the dreary plains to go.

Seven stanzas detail the fruitless efforts to swim their cattle over the Green River, and the flood which upset the ferry, causing six to drown:

> These six boys from parents taken,
> And from friends whom they did love,
> But we soon again shall meet them,
> In that better land above.[1]

The psychological effect of the entire plains episode has been summarized by Bricksen. Isolation did not lessen memories of enemies and hardships. "Saints naturally regarded their poverty and misery and the loss of their loved ones as results of the injustice imposed upon them by their Gentile enemies."

> On the other hand, the thoughtful supervision of Brigham Young and the leaders of the group and the kind helpfulness manifested by the brethren developed a consciousness of Providential care. It is in just such situations of extreme

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[1] Pioneer Songs, p. 150.

> suffering, with the accompanying feeling of dependence upon others for sympathy and assistance, that the Providential Spirit comes to consciousness. At such times the representative of the group, the prophet, the bishop, the elder, became clearly the representatives of God. Whatever else Providential care may be, it is certainly the spirit of comfort in times of distress.[1]

The great migration was also a splendid discipline for the extensive colonizing enterprises which followed. The careful organization necessary for the moving of such a great body of men, women, and children proved equally efficient in the establishment of numerous small colonizing companies in the mountain valleys. The role of music and hymnody in Mormon conflict will be followed through the episodes of the Utah War and polygamy before presentation of its role in colonizing and cooperative enterprises.

The persistent sense of conflict with the world grew out of a particular Mormon point of view, as Neff has noted:

> The Mormons themselves believed that they were performing an experiment of the greatest importance to mankind, and that it was incumbent on them to secure their particular corner of the world for those who would cooperate in their religious venture.
>
> . . . The thought processes of the Saints led them to the conviction that they were being persecuted primarily because of their allegiance to the true and living God. . . .[2]

This view was manifest not only toward the world in general but to

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[1]Erickson, op. cit., p. 39.

[2]Neff, op. cit., p. 460.

representatives of the world in person. Out of 615 Mormon poems published in the early Utah period, more than one hundred referred to struggles between members of the Church and their neighbors, according to Washburn.[1]

The Utah War.

The greatest display of emotion toward their American neighbors was unfolded in the events of 1857, and expressed in a torrent of public address, poetry, songs, and action. This was the year of the "Utah War." In all of Utah's history the most bitterly resented act of the federal government was the sending of troops against the Territory.[2] President Buchanan had been led to believe that his appointed territorial authorities were greeted with open rebellion in Utah, and without investigation he ordered the campaign which his political foes termed "Buchanan's Blunder."

The fears of the Saints were voiced by George A. Smith, August 2, who declared:

> They will send men here . . . to interfere with the rights of the people of this Territory with fifteen hundred

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[1] J. Niles Washburn, "A Critical Study of Latter-day Saint Poetry," [unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1936], p. 61.

[2] B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church [Salt Lake City: published by the Church, 1930], IV, 236-238, gives a dramatic account of how the news of the marching expedition was received amidst a tenth anniversary celebration of Pioneer Day, high in the canyons, where bands and singers led the festivities.

> or two thousand bayonets to back them up . . . and this they are doing to crush down a little handful who dwell in the midst of these mountains and who dare to worship God as they please, and who dare to sing, pray, preach, think, and act as they please.[1]

Brigham Young had said several times that if the Mormons were given ten years of peace in Utah they would ask no odds of their enemies.[2]

Entrance of soldiers was resisted because it would result in subjection to continued persecution of the kind that had driven the Saints from Missouri and Illinois; soldiers would encourage immorality in Utah; and the Expedition marked the worst in a long line of discriminations against the people. Said Brigham, "You might as well tell me that you could make hell into a powder house, as to tell me that you could let an army in here and have peace."[3]

The Mormon strategy was to avoid bloodshed if possible, and fight a delaying action, but "scorched earth" would greet any real invasion, as this war song detailed:

> If Uncle Sam's determined
> On his very foolish plan,
> The Lord will fight our battles
> And we'll help Him if we can.
>
> If what they now propose to do
> Should ever come to pass,
> We'll burn up every inch of wood
> And every blade of grass.

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[1] Deseret News [Salt Lake City, Utah], 7:182.

[2] Ibid, 7:229.

[3] Ibid, 7:228.

We'll throw down all our houses,
Every soul shall emigrate,
And we'll organize ourselves
Into a roving mountain state.[1]

The degree of unity in face of conflict is evinced by the fact that one year later:

> Thirty thousand people were abandoning their homes, taking with them all their movable property and driving before them their cattle, horses, sheep and even pigs, leaving behind only a sufficient number of guards "to set fire to the houses, orchards, and farms, if a door latch should be lifted or a gate unswung by a hostile hand.[2]

Fortunately the misunderstandings were corrected and the soldiers made peaceable entry, establishing Camp Floyd some miles out of Salt Lake City.

Two ballads from the war camps and a battle hymn from England grew out of this apparent invasion. The advancing foe was hobbled and ridiculed too, as this first song reliably informs us:

When Uncle Sam, he first set out
His Army to destroy us:
Says he, "The Mormons we will rout,
They shall no longer annoy us."
The force he sent was competent to "try"
And "hang" for treason,
That is I mean it would have been,
But don't you know the reason?

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[1]Anderson, op. cit., p. 175.

[2]Creer, op. cit., p. 152.

[Chorus]
There's great commotion in the East,
About the Mormon question;
The problem is to say the least,
Too much for their digestion.

When they got within two hundred miles,
The old boys they were saying,
"It will be but a little while,
Till the Mormons we'll be slaying."
"We'll hang each man who has two wives,
We've plenty of rope quite handy."
That is, I mean they would have had,
But Smith burned it on "Sandy."

Then on "Ham's Fork" they camped awhile
Saying "We'll wait a little longer
'Til Johnston and his crew come up,
And make us a little stronger.
Then we'll go on, take Brigham Young,
And Heber his companion,"
That is, I mean, they would have done,
But were afraid of Echo Canyon.

Now Uncle Sam take my advice,
You'd better stay at home, Sir!
You need your money and your men,
To defend your rights at home, Sir!
But if, perchance, you need some help,
The Mormons will be kind, Sir.
They've helped you once, and will again,
That is, if they've a mind, Sir![1]

So generally was this chantey relished and circulated, that five years later, John Woodhouse, going east with relief to aid poor immigrants gathered on the Missouri, recalled the third stanza as he passed the "Sandy" in Wyoming:

> At the Sandy we saw the place where Captain Lot Smith had burned the government wagon trains during the

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[1] Pioneer Songs, pp. 84-85.

"Utah War." The circle was marked by bits of burned wood, pieces of iron, and other debris. As I gazed upon the spot, a verse of an old song drifted into my mind:

> "We'll hang each man that's got two wives,
> We've got the ropes right handy,
> That is to say, we had, you know;
> But Smith burned 'em, out on Sandy."[1]

Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races" had penetrated the West, when the Utah guards in Echo Canyon wrote this parody to his tune:

> Come brethren, listen to my song, Doo-dah, doo-dah,
> I don't intend to keep you long, Doo-dah, doo-dah day.
> 'Bout Uncle Sam I'm going to sing, Doo-dah, doo-dah,
> He swears destruction on us he'll bring, Doo-dah, doo-dah day.
>
> [Chorus]
> Then let us be on hand,
> By Brigham Young to stand,
> And if our enemies do appear,
> We'll sweep them from the land.
>
> Johnston's army's in a sweat, Doo-dah, doo-dah,
> He swears the Mormon's he'll upset, Doo-dah, doo-dah day.
> But the Mormon people all are one, Doo-dah, doo-dah,
> United in the gospel plan, Doo-dah, doo-dah, day.[2]

No doubt the approaching army improvised jingles expressive of their intentions too,[3] but for electrifying effect no song equalled

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[1]Hamilton Gardner, History of Lehi [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1913], p. 142.

[2]Pioneer Songs, pp. 188-189.

[3]Deseret News, 7:172. Heber C. Kimball, speaking September 27, 1857, reported "Brother Jones" had spied an approaching army and had heard them sing songs describing how they ". . . were going to kill Bro. Brigham and all those who would uphold 'Mormonism' and they seemed to be as crazy as fools. . . ."

the battle hymn which Charles W. Penrose was moved to write in Great Britain. When the news had first come to Utah, the entire Church began to mobilize in defense; the outlying colonists in San Bernardino and elsewhere were summoned to gather with the main body of the Church; the elders laboring in Great Britain were called home for what assistance they could give. President Penrose's hymn was immediately sung by the Church throughout Great Britain and assisted in the collection of six hundred pounds, English money, which the returning elders brought with them.[1]

The hymn was first published in The Millennial Star in 1861, and despite its specific content it continues in the current Latter-day Saint Hymn Book, Number 82:

[Tune: Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean]

Up, awake, ye defenders of Zion!
The foe's at the door of your homes;
Let each heart be the heart of a lion,
Unyielding and proud as he roams.
Remember the wrongs of Missouri;
Forget not the fate of Nauvoo;
When the God-hating foe is before you,
Stand firm, and be faithful and true.

By the mountains our Zion's surrounded;
Her warriors are noble and brave;
And their faith on Jehovah is founded,
Whose power is mighty to save.
Opposed by a proud, boasting nation,
Their numbers, compared, may be few;

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[1]Relief Society Magazine, [Salt Lake City, Utah], 8:242-46. Unsigned article in series of woman's class lessons.

But their union is known through creation
And they've always been faithful and true.

Shall we bear with oppression forever?
Shall we tamely submit to the foe,
While the ties of our kindred they sever?
Shall the blood of our Prophets still flow?
No! The thought sets the heart wildly beating;
Our vows at each pulse we renew,
Ne'er to rest till our foes are retreating,
While we remain faithful and true!

Though assisted by legions infernal,
The plundering wretches advance,
With a host from the regions eternal,
We'll scatter their hosts at a glance.
Soon the "kingdom" will be independent,
In wonder the nations will view
The despised ones in glory resplendent;
Then let us be faithful and true![1]

The methods of an impassioned Mormon poet may be observed in the above example. The first two lines state the cause and the action, and the succeeding figure, "heart of a lion" should arouse any English descendent of one Richard, the Lion-hearted. References to the not-distant events of Missouri and Nauvoo speak volumes, and the Mormon view of opposition crops out in an epithet, "God-hating," as strong as the fear of invasion was real. A writer of Penrose's sensitivity used the strongest tools of expression at hand. One writer in commenting on the origin of this hymn, here remarked, "The pose, I have no doubt, was absolutely true to the feeling of the time, and to borrow a word from John Milton has 'embalmed' the emotional

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[1]Hymn No. 61, [Fourteenth Edition].

content of the period."[1]

The second stanza notes the protection of the mountains and Jehovah's power as defensive assets. The third answers a rhetorical question of "submission?" with a vehement "No!" Finally, hope of victory in the conflict points a positive injunction to "be faithful and true." This song was reported a favorite of the people and of one of their leaders, George A. Smith. Its effect on an emotionally-strained audience, when sung to the tune of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," can well be imagined.

Polygamy

No discussion of social life among the Mormons can omit reference to family life and plural marriage, even though few scholars have endeavored to deal with the subject of polygamy dispassionately.[2] As an issue influencing all phases of life in the Church, it continued beyond the period of Brigham Young, but because of its dominance in the conflict role it is mentioned here as a concluding item of this section. It will be outlined in terms of its practice, the effects

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[1]Relief Society Magazine, 8:244.

[2]Cf. Richard Douglas Poll, "The Twin Relic, A Study of Mormon Polygamy and the Campaign by the Government of the U.S. for its Abolition, 1852-1890," [unpublished Master's thesis, Texas Christian University, 1939]. Robert Joseph Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah [Washington: D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941]. J. E. Hulett, "Sociological and Social Psychological Aspects of the Mormon Polygamous Family," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1939]. Nels Anderson, Desert Saints, Chapter 15.

of federal prosecution, and its defense by the Saints, with reference to the few items of music which approach it.

Next to the concept of God, and literally related to it, no concept of human relations has influenced Mormon philosophy and practice like that of family life. One hymn refers to Deity as "Oh My Father" with the logical, if startling, conclusion that "I've a mother there."[1] Family ties were viewed as projecting beyond the veil of death, if the marriage ceremonies were consummated in the temples for "time and eternity" under the authority of a Restored Priesthood. Since the chief mission of a spirit's sojourn on this sphere is to acquire a physical body and the consequent development of spirit and body, greater glory in the hereafter attached to those parents who generously sought to "multiply and replenish the earth." A premium was thereby placed on one's being well-born, and the mating of the acknowledged leaders of the community with a plurality of equally approved spouses was seen to hasten the process.

The revelation[2] approving resumption of ancient Israel's family pattern was received by Joseph Smith, July 12, 1843, but taught secretly until presented to the Church in Salt Lake City, August 29, 1852.[3] The practice was closely guarded by Church authority and never

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[1]Hymn No. 130, [Fourteenth Edition], Cf. page 61, <u>supra</u>.

[2]Joseph Smith, <u>Doctrine and Covenants</u>, Section 132.

[3]Kricksen, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 75.

widely permitted, and both Robinson[1] and Poll[2] conclude the practice increased in proportion to persecution, and diminished gradually. The decreasing natural resources of the frontier, and a rapid industrialization which followed the advent of the railroad in 1869, would have diminished the practice of multiple large families, without need of legal processes, says Poll.[3]

That the prosecution of polygamists became an international issue is evident from a popular connotation of the name "Mormon." The Saints in their decreasing isolation were well aware of this and in song acknowledged that:

> The trials of the present day
> Require the Saints to watch and pray,
> That they may keep the narrow way
> To the celestial glory.
>
> What though by some who seem devout,
> Our names as evil are cast out,
> If honor clothe us round about
> In the celestial glory.[4]

As the irresistable power of federal action moved to stem the practice by breaking up publicly acknowledged family relations,

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[1]Phillip S. Robinson, Sinners and Saints [Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883], pp. 87-88.

[2]Richard Poll, op. cit., p. 334, concludes that approximately one man in eight, and one woman in three were parties to plural marriages in Utah in 1880.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Hymn No. 126, [Fourteenth Edition].

fathers, and mothers too, went to the penitentiary rather than illegitimatize their children. When words failed to support them, they could plead through song:

To Thee, O God, we now appeal,
Against a nation's evil laws;
Thy power in majesty reveal,
Protecting all who love Thy cause.

A tyrant foe oppression brings,
Forbidding us Thy will to do;
O Lord, accept our offerings,
And bare Thine arm to aid us through.

From off Thy Saints, O, break the bands,
Oppressive tyrants bind in hate;
Their slavish laws, and foul demands,
Forever now, O Lord, abate.[1]

While Eliza R. Snow gently spoke in the second hymn above of "some who seem devout," Charles L. Walker directly referred to Christian efforts to reform Mormon actions in a song he wrote for the Manti Choir in 1881:

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE MORMONS?

They are sending their priest and their preachers
And books by the carload or more,
To evangelize us fallen creatures
Yet our most sacred rights they ignore. . . .

Now, let the fools rage in their madness,
Let preachers and bigots still foam;
We'll make these hills ring with gladness
And thank God for our mountain home.

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[1]Deseret Sunday School Song Book [Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1884], p. 93.

The great God who gives lives eternal
Has commanded and said, "take ye wives."
"And we'll do it, tho' legions infernal
Compel us to lay down our lives."[1]

The vehemence of this verse may be understood in light of certain immoral practices the Saints resented in their persecutors. "If you tell a Christian a Mormon has two wives, he is shocked, even though he takes a fresh woman every night!"--a statement Brigham Young is reported to have made.[2] And the Utah Commission appointed by President Arthur in June, 1882, to deny franchise to polygamists, infuriated the Mormons by wording the registration test oath to read ". . . that I do not live or cohabit with more than one woman in the marriage relation." This oath was interpreted by the Church as an immoral sanction of Gentile extra-marital licentiousness, while prohibiting their own obedience to supernatural revelation. The Commission prohibited, as well, the registration of those who had lived polygamously at any time since 1862.[3] Tappan summarizes a lengthy study of Mormon-Gentile conflict with the conclusion that:

Polygamy was not the basic or real cause of the struggle

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[1]Charles L. Walker, "The Dixie Pioneer Poet," Book of Verse, [Copy of Manuscript, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.], p. 58.

[2]Victor Francis Calverton, Where Angels Dared to Tread [New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941], p. 165, quotes without citing source or circumstances of the speech.

[3]Paul Wilbur Tappan, "Mormon-Gentile Conflict," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1939], pp. 297-98.

> in Utah, but a symbol of divergence through which Utah Gentiles rationalized their aim to gain for themselves an increasing measure of political and social control. . . .
>
> Prejudices and hatreds based essentially upon the factors of rivalry and competition . . . are translated into symbols that are more acceptable. Thus the most apparent deviations of the minority [such as polygamy, hierarchal control, or biological differences] are selected as the ostensible reasons for attack upon it.[1]

It is significant for the present illustration of music as a factor in the conflict role, that most songs touching upon the polygamy question were written and sung under persecution. In their defense of the practice, however, they wrote as early as 1863 a hymn which adequately presents the moral argument and divine sanction:

> How have the nations grown corrupt!
> How, from their natural use,
> Men their life-giving powers pervert
> By wanton, lewd abuse.
>
> The holy ties of wedded life
> Are cloaks for the profane,
> While lust and mammon desecrate,
> Where faith and love should reign.
>
> Adult'rers gain the world's applause,
> As men of honored fame;
> Women, though weak, defenceless, pure,
> Are branded with the shame.
>
> Is there no hope? There is! While men
> Rush on from bad to worse,
> Jehovah speaks, lest all the earth
> Be smitten with a curse;--

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[1] Ibid, p. 475.

"He who one talent has abused,
Hear it! Ye sons of men,
Shall lose it, and it shall be given
To him who improves ten.

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

"Though fools revile, I'll honor you,
As Abraham, my friend,
You shall be Gods, and shall be blest
With lives that never end."

With a statement of the major reasons advanced in its defense, this ever interesting phase of Mormonism may be closed for the purposes of this study:

[1] Polygamy was within the bounds of freedom of religious belief.
[2] It was in accord with biblical command to multiply and replenish the earth, providing noble tabernacles for unborn spirits.
[3] It was a restoration of ancient marriage laws as practiced in Abraham's kingdom.
[4] Jesus sanctioned polygamy.
[5] Polygamy was more the rule than the exception among the people of the earth.
[6] It prevented prostitution and brothels by offering every woman opportunity to become a wife and a mother.
[7] It was strictly a matter of religious principle, with no relation to passion, yet it was to be carefully regulated by the president of the Church.
[8] It assured large families and thus hastened the building up of the Kingdom of God.
[9] It was purely an individual and religious issue; legislators had no business trying to regulate polygamy.
[10] It was instituted by God's command and revelation, and was therefore essential to salvation; the laws of man were conducive to confusion and immorality.[2]

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[1]Hymn No. 326, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Halbert S. Greaves, "Public Speaking in Utah, 1847 to 1869," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1930], p. 264.

COLONIZATION IN THE WEST

Having successfully mastered the problem of how to transport thousands of Mormons overland to the Rocky Mountains, Brigham Young's next question was, "How are we to survive now that we are here?" The men of the initial party who began to plant seed before building shelter knew the answer--till the soil, and build communities where human wants are satisfied. Basic to this program, however, was the strategic location of the new Mormon empire; and it was this appeal of the mountains that concentrated provincial strength behind one of America's greatest village developments.[1]

Our Mountain Home

To hear whole Mormon congregations in village meeting houses on Sundays, shouting their hymns to the mountains, is to realize the love of this people for the country in which they dwell,[2] and to perceive music in the role of emotional custodian. The mountains as a symbol of peace and security have never more eloquently been painted than in the ever-popular hymn by Charles W. Penrose:

> O! ye mountains high, where the clear blue sky
> Arches over the vales of the free,

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[1]Cf. Helmut R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism [New York: Henry Holt, 1929], Chapter VI., on effects of regionalism.

[2]Murray E. King, "Apocalypse of the Desert," The Nation, 114:768, June 28, 1922.

Where the pure breezes blow
And the clear streamlets flow,
How I've longed to your bosom to flee.
O Zion! dear Zion! home of the free:
My own mountain home now to thee I have come;
All my fond hopes are centered in thee.

Though the great and the wise all thy beauties despise,
To the humble and pure thou art dear;
Though the haughty may smile
And the wicked revile,
Yet we love thy glad tidings to hear.
O Zion! dear Zion! home of the free:
Though thou wert forced to fly to thy chambers on high,
Yet we'll share joy or sorrow with thee.

In thy mountain retreat, God will strengthen thy feet;
On the necks of thy foes thou shalt tread;
And their silver and gold, as the Prophets have told,
Shall be brought to adorn thy fair head.
O Zion! dear Zion! home of the free;
Soon thy towers will shine with a splendor divine,
And eternal thy glory shall be.

Here our voices we'll raise, and we'll sing to thy praise,
Sacred home of the Prophets of God;
Thy deliverance is nigh, thy oppressors shall die,
And the gentiles shall bow 'neath thy rod.
O Zion! dear Zion! home of the free;
In thy temples we'll bend, all thy rights we'll defend
And our home shall be ever with thee.[1]

When the above song was first published in 1856, it instantly won acceptance, for it meets the definition of an epigram, "The wit of many expressed in the words of one." A pioneer historian was even moved to relate the effect this song had in stating the Mormon position to the Peace Commission which arbitrated the "Utah War."[2]

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[1]Hymn No. 317, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, pp. 16-17. Citing Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City.

The Saints were more than ready to accept the Mormon Bible exegesis that Isaiah meant Utah when he said ". . . the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains. . . ."[1] Even seventy-seven years before the Church established Zion "with hills surrounded," an Irish, non-conformist preacher provided a hymn to enshrine this sentiment:[2]

> Zion stands with hills surrounded,
> Zion, kept by pow'r divine;
> All her foes shall be confounded,
> Though the world in arms combine;
> Happy Zion, Happy Zion,
> What a favored lot is thine![3]

In the mountain fastnesses Zion could rejoice that "all her foes shall be confounded," and believe, with Penrose,[4] that "On the necks of thy foes thou shalt tread." A second stanza of another beloved hymn, "For the Strength of the Hills," reminds the singers that:

> At the hands of foul oppressors,
> We have borne and suffered long. . . .
> 'Mid ruthless foes, outnumbered,
> Our weary steps we trod;
> For the strength of the hills we bless Thee,
> Our God, our fathers' God.[5]

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[1] Isaiah, 2:3.

[2] George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, pp. 173-75.

[3] Hymn No. 155, [Fourteenth Edition].

[4] Hymn No. 317, [Fourteenth Edition].

[5] Hymn No. 79, [Fourteenth Edition].

The pure beauty of "our mountain home so dear," in peace with all nature, was caught by a later poetess:

> Our mountain home so dear,
> Where crystal waters clear
> Flow ever free,
> While through the valleys wide,
> The flowers on every side,
> Blooming in stately pride,
> Are fair to see.[1]

But cities were to be reared amidst this beauty if Zion were to be established:

> Arise, O Glorious Zion,
> Thou joy of latter days. . . .
>
> Let faithful Saints be rearing
> The city of our Lord,
> On mountain tops appearing,
> According to His word. . . .[2]

Idyllic songs of the mountain beauty followed rather than led the colonizing movement; for the first view of the Valley must have bred both despair and joy in the hearts of the Mormon pioneers. ". . . the pungent sagebrush, the moistless atmosphere, the thirsting soil, the parched and withering plant life, relieved only by a suggestion of green fringing the meandering mountain streams"[3] could not have encouraged those who looked forward to a life of farming. Countless

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[1] Deseret Sunday School Songs, [Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1909], No. 139.

[2] Hymn No. 23, [Fourteenth Edition].

[3] Neff, op. cit., p. 89.

speeches emphasized the threat of drouth and grasshoppers, the need to husband agricultural resources and to strive for self-sufficiency.[1] And despite a peaceable handling of the Indian question, a memorial hymn noted another danger:

> And here in this sweet, peaceful vale,
> The shafts of death are hurled,
> And many faithful Saints are called
> T' enjoy a better world.[2]

Even the gifted singers must toil and pray in times of famine; as the pioneer journal of John J. Davies, Welsh choir-leader, recorded of the grasshopper plague of 1855:

> Many had to dig roots to Sustain life I had to do that myself. I went to the field to watter my corn. I got very week and Started for home and when I got to the house I met my little daughter, Martha, in the door and she aske me for Some bread and there was no bread in the house. This was a trying time for us. I took a Sack and Started out and Said I will get some flower before I'll Come back. I went to Sister Marler all She had in the house was twenty pounds of flower and one lofe of bread. She gave me half of what she had in the house and When I got home my wife Smiled. Then we had a good breakfast.[3]

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[1] Greaves, op. cit., pp.89-90.

[2] Hymn No. 325, [Fourteenth Edition].

[3] John J. Davies, "Pioneer Journal." [Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.], p. 16.

The Mormon Village Plan

The Mormon village stands as a tribute to an empire builder, for Brigham Young was a colonizer without equal in the history of America.[1] In a desert that nobody wanted and that was universally considered a fit home only for coyotes and rattlesnakes, he planned in thirty years over three hundred and fifty towns, and created the technic and made the surveys for others. One hundred of those towns were colonized in the first ten years when transportation was fearfully difficult and expensive, and when the nearest source of many supplies was a thousand miles away. Methodically, as if he were sticking pins in a map, he founded villages at all the strategic points of his empire; and by 1855, eight years after the arrival of the first pioneers, he had virtually taken possession of a territory larger than Texas.[2]

New sites were seized as exploring parties quickly surveyed the potential centers of population, but land was not for sale. "No man can buy land here, for no one has any land to sell," declared Brigham to his party the second day in the Salt Lake Valley. "But every man shall have his land measured out to him, which he must cultivate in order to keep it. Besides, there shall be no private ownership of

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[1]Wallace Stegner, Mormon Country [New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942], p. 65.

[2]Ibid.

the streams that come out of the canyons, nor the timber that grows on the hills. These belong to the people: all the people."[1]

The village plan called for concentration of living within the community, and farm lands, in proportion to the size of families, were located away from the homes. This provided security, cooperative efficiency, advantageous utilization of the land, and maintenance of religious, educational and other social institutions.[2] The Church also favored public improvements, for speeches advocated the railroad, the telegraph, bridges, dams, irrigation, and culinary water systems as soon as the most urgent needs were met.[3]

In the planting of new colonies, Brigham "called" people to go, just as others were called to preach, or to go on missions. A prominent Church man always led the new colony, so that economic and religious life were inseparably connected.[4] The new immigrants went willingly, but sometimes the older settlers were loathe to leave their hard-earned property. Without a sense of humor such as George A. Hicks displayed in this well-known ballad of 1864, some of the calls to move would have been harder to bear. He was evidently bound from the Valley to Utah's

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[1]Nels Anderson, op. cit., p. 68.

[2]Lowry Nelson, Mormon Village [Provo, Utah, Brigham Young Studies, No. 3, 1933], p. 29.

[3]Greaves, op. cit., pp. 563-64.

[4]Lyon, op. cit., p. 82.

tropical section known as Dixie:

Oh, once I lived in "Cottonwood" and owned a little farm,
But I was called to "Dixie," which gave me much alarm;
To raise the cane and cotton, I right away must go,
But the reason why they sent me, I'm sure I do not know.

I yoked old Jim and Bally up, all for to make a start
To leave my house and garden, it almost broke my heart,
We moved along quite slowly, and often looked behind,
For the sands and rocks of "Dixie" kept running through my mind.

And when we reached the Sandy, we could not move at all.
For poor old Jim and Bally, began to puff and bawl:
I whipped and swore a little, but could not make the rout,
For myself, the team and Betsy, were all of us give out.

I feel so sad and lonely, there's nothing here to cheer,
Except prophetic sermons, which we very often hear.
They will hand them out by dozens, and prove them by the Book;
I'd rather have some roasting ears, to stay at home and cook.

I feel so weak and hungry now, I think I'm nearly dead,
'Tis seven weeks next Sunday since I have tasted bread;
Of carrot tops and lucerne greens we have enough to eat,
But I'd like to change my diet off for buckwheat cakes and meat.

The hot winds whirl around me, and take away my breath;
I've had the chills and fever, till I'm nearly shook to death.
"All earthly tribulations are but a moment here."
And oh, if I prove faithful a righteous crown shall wear.

My wagon's sold for sorghum seed, to make a little bread,
And poor old Jim and Bally, long, long ago are dead.
There's only me and Betsy left to hoe the cotton tree,
May Heaven help the Dixieite wherever he may be.[1]

The above was a parody on the popular song, "Sweet Betsy from Pike," and according to Anderson,[2] although banned by one Church

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[1] Pioneer Songs, pp. 94-95.

[2] Anderson, op. cit., pp. 437-38.

authority, it continued to be sung on the sly by many a Saint who would not have given up his Dixie mission whatever the cost. These parties traveled with song, for George A. Smith wrote in a letter to the Millennial Star, England, of a party that "excited much curiosity through the country by their singing and good cheer."[1] Brigham Young usually sent musicians along with each group, one of which was held up several days awaiting the arrival of a handcart company from the East, hoping that there might be a tenor among the newcomers.[2]

While many of these frontier events are perpetuated in folk music, it is to the substantial hymnody of the Church that we must turn to identify the strength of will which kept people faithful to death in their appointed tasks. Juanita Brooks has supplied an example from a story of her grandfather:

> During the summer he lagged a little. He spent more time indoors, musing over the past, or just sitting in that semi-blank state which he called "studying."
>
> One evening he began to sing. That was not unusual for he often sang: Indian songs, hymns and rollicking folk ballads. But this was different. It was "Come, Let Us Anew" but sung with a new feeling. When he came to the last verse:
>
> "I have fought my way through
> I have finished the work
> Thou did'st give me to do"
>
> it was like a death chant of a warrior, an announcement

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[1] Juanita Brooks, Dudley Leavitt, Pioneer to Southern Utah [St. George, Utah: published by the author, 1942], p. 51. Cites Millennial Star, 34:41-42.

[2] E. J. Allen, The Second United Order Among the Mormons [New York: Columbia University Press, 1936], p. 24.

of the end. With the next lines his voice rose in the assurance that his Father would approve of his life's work:

> "And that each from his Lord
> Should receive the glad word
> Well and faithfully done
> Enter into my joy
> And sit down on my throne."

He knew that he was near the threshold, but he had no fear. All his life he had walked by faith; by faith he would take his last step. . . . Now it came as a release, or, as he said, a promotion.

The next morning he did not get up.[1]

While the unifying values of social life in the colonies will be treated later, this period of colonization may well close with references to the advent of the railroad which punctuated the sentence of social change. The Mormon aspiration to "build a wall around Zion" proved no more effective than wishful thinking, for the values of the transcontinental railroad were anticipated by the hierarchy,[2] even though Mormon domination of the Territory would be further disintegrated. Brigham Young took a contract to grade a ninety-mile mountain strip for the Union Pacific, which was immortalized in this song:

> At the head of great Echo, the railway's begun
> The Mormons are cutting and grading like fun;
> They say they'll stick to it until it's complete,
> When friends and relations they're hoping to meet.

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[1]Brooks, op. cit., p. 104.

[2]Neff, op. cit., pp. 745-747.

[Chorus]
Hurrah, Hurrah, the railroad's begun,
Three cheers for the contractor;
His name's Brigham Young.
Hurrah, Hurrah, we're honest and true,
And if we stick to it, it's bound to go through.

We surely must live in a very fast age,
We've travelled by ox teams and then took the stage.
But when such conveyance is all done away
We'll travel in steam cars upon the railway.

The final stanza reveals an ecclesiastical interest in better transportation:

The great locomotive next season will come,
To gather the Saints from their far distant home,
And bring them to Utah in peace here to stay,
While the judgments of God sweep the wicked away.[1]

COOPERATION AMONG THE MORMONS

No pragmatic value of religion looms so high in the Mormon story as that of cooperation, a unity under accepted leadership. Probably no other group of colonizers in America, with the exception of the Calvinists of New England, was so united to a single objective and so completely controlled and directed from a single source.[2] It was a voluntary surrendering of individual wills for the good of the group. The scarcity of capital goods and the necessity of constructing

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[1]Pioneer Songs, pp. 196-97.

[2]John Clifton Moffitt, "Development of Centralizing Tendencies in School Administration in Utah [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1940], pp. 144-45.

irrigation works, roads, and bridges, made this type of organization indispensable to success; it was the all-to-one relationship supreme.[1] The unity which frightened frontier neighbors of Missouri and Illinois is illustrated by a demonstration in 1850, when Brigham asked the Saints to support a managing committee of the proposed Perpetual Emigrating Fund. They voted a hearty yes: and then their "Lion of the Lord" declared: "Gentlemen, that's the terror among the nations! You can NOT get a contrary vote! That's the terror! The UNION OF THIS PEOPLE."[2] The strength of early Mormon faith and solidarity was attested when significant issues were at stake. Resistance to the Utah Army, obedience to counsel in maintaining peaceful relations with the Indians, refraining from participation in the gold rush, and petitions for the removal of unpopular territorial officials were typical examples.[3]

When misunderstandings threatened discord among the brethren, one hymn was a sure cure. C. W. Penrose wrote this for his own consolation in a trying period, but friends, finding comfort in it, persuaded the author to share his song.[4] In much the same way that other popular hymns voiced a church-wide sentiment, this hymn is

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[1]Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village, p. 27.

[2]Deseret News, I:108.

[3]Greaves, op. cit., p. 559.

[4]Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 158.

cherished and easily sung to a familiar tune, The Vacant Chair. It is the most used hymn of twenty-one to be found in this category in the hymnal as may be noted in Table I, page 81:

> School thy feelings, Oh, my brother,
> Train thy warm impulsive soul,
> Do not let its emotions smother
> But let wisdom's voice control.
>
> Hearts so sensitively moulded,
> Strongly fortified should be,
> Trained to firmness, and enfolded
> In a calm tranquility.[1]

This brotherhood was manifest in practical ways, for the Mormons were "never dreamers, monks, nuns, and transcendentalists like so many of the earliest enthusiasts of religious history."[2] Their symbols were the beehive of industry, and a single eye within a circle--the eye of the Lord. They must deal fairly one with the other, for "this was where their religion stepped in to keep straight their industry."[3] Their practices of cooperation in business and arbitration in dispute drew commendation in the east;[4] and tended to distinguish their social order from the individualistic, competitive

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[1]Hymn No. 338, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]George Robert Bird, Tenderfoot Days in Territorial Utah [Boston: Gorham Press, 1918], p. 50.

[3]Ibid.

[4]D. D. Lum, Social Problems of Today [Port Jervis, New York: D. D. Lum & Co., 1886]. pp. 10-11.

environment of the country at large.[1] Their cooperative associations were determined by their needs[2] and progressively passed through the forms of [1] irrigation projects, 1847-1868; [2] cooperative stores, 1868-1890; and [3] industrial cooperation.[3]

A sociologist[4] may admire the way new population was woven into the fabric of the community, "not employed by [but] married to the community," but a world traveler interpreted it as the "brother's keeper" kind of cooperation:

> When a man arrives there, a stranger and penniless, one helps to get together logs for his first hut, another to break up a plot of ground. A third lends him his wagon to draw some firewood from the canon or hill-side; a fourth gives up some of his time to show him how to bring the water on to his ground.[5]

So characteristic of the colonizing period was this cooperative effort that a few more details may be supplied before the role of

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[1]Victor F. Calverton, The Passing of the Gods [New York: Scribners, 1934], pp. 215-16. Also see, G. A. Lundberg, Social Research [New York: Longmans, 1942], pp. 57-58.

[2]F. Y. Fox, "Experiments in Cooperation and Social Security Among the Mormons," [unpublished manuscript, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City], chapter 13, p. 3.

[3]Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," Quarterly Journal of Economics, 31:461-499, May, 1917.

[4]Warren H. Wilson, Evolution of the Country Community [Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1912], p. 70.

[5]J. Cecil Alter, The Storied Domain [Chicago: gratuitously published, 1930], I, 435. Cites Phil Robinson, Sinners and Saints.

music is deduced. Irrigation was a prime project; Beard says ". . . the Mormons in Utah, at first baffled by aridity, took the offensive and mastered it, their irrigation works serving as inspiration to the pioneers about them."[1] Gardner observes that had Church leaders been selfish they could have laid tribute forever by taking control of the irrigation companies.[2] Ericksen appraises the task of constructing canals and pro-rating water "as meritorious as any of the scientific discoveries of significance in the industrial history of the country".[3]

Not only production but distribution should be cooperative, and the later years of Brigham Young were devoted toward this Zionic ideal of plenty for all. When wheat purchased for seventy-five cents a bushel was sold in mining camps for twenty-five dollars, according to Lum,[4] "the channels of trade were being used against social interests," and foreseeing a divorce threatened between the religious and the social elements, Brigham acted by setting up Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institute in 1869. Unfortunately this parent company ignored the Rochdale principle of limiting voting power to one vote per stockholder rather than one vote per share of stock, and control became concentrated.[5] Nevertheless, the manager estimated that during the

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[1]Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization [New York: MacMillan, 1930], II, 151.

[2]Gardner, op. cit., p. 461.

[3]Ericksen, op. cit., p. 40.

[4]Lum, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[5]In 1870 Brigham Young and three other men held 1772 shares out of 1990, according to Hamilton Gardner, op. cit. p.461.

first four years of its existence it had saved the people three million dollars, and later killed a practice which promoted trade to increase the price of an article because of scarcity.[1] While later cooperative efforts were confined to keeping "Utah dollars at home" through sugar factories, life insurance, and hotel companies in which the Church made heavy investment, the most colorful, though less successful, economic experiment was made in communal living, as at Orderville, Utah. A later president of the Church described this ideal relationship called the "United Order":

> The "United order" is a religio-social system communal in its character, designed to abolish poverty, monopoly, and kindred evils, and to bring about unity and equality in temporal and spiritual things. It requires the consecration to the church, by its members, of all their properties, and the subsequent distribution to those members, by the church, of what were termed, stewardship. Each holder of a stewardship, which might be some farm, workshop, store, or factory that this same person had consecrated--was expected to manage it hereafter in the interest of the whole community, all his gains revert to a common fund, from which he would derive a sufficient support for himself and those dependent upon him. The bishop being the temporal officer of the church, received the consecrations of these properties, and also assigned the stewardships; but he performed his duty under the direction of the First Presidency. . . .[2]

This order is regarded as a system patterned after that which the apostles of Christ set up in Jerusalem in which they had all things in common.[3] The Mormons also believed that it was this divine order which

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[1]Ericksen, op. cit., pp. 53-54, citing Parry's Monthly Magazine, 4:195.

[2]Joseph F. Smith, Out West, XXIII, 244. Cited by Ericksen, op. cit., p. 5.

[3]Acts, 4:34-35.

sanctified the City of Enoch, and therefore enshrined in it all the frustrated ideals of their Ohio and Missouri experiments.

An intimate view of the function of music under the United Order is given in the recollections of one who was born in the 1870's in Orderville where the community ate together for several years. Mrs. Highbee[1] recalls that the village was awakened each morning by Thomas Robertson, the blacksmith and musician, who took down his trumpet, polished off the mouthpiece and then played the hymn, "Oh Ye Mountains High."

> Then came the calls to meals and scores of people could be seen wending their way to the dining hall from all parts of the town to the tune "Do What Is Right, Let the Consequence follow." . . . On Sundays the same bugle called us to Church, but on this day we stepped to the tune of "Come, Come Ye Saints."[2]
>
> Prayers and singing of a hymn was observed morning and evening before meals. "Lord, We Come Before Thee Now" and "Come Let Us Sing an Evening Hymn" remain as familiar memories. On pioneer programs a Sister Crofts would often lead the audience in pioneer songs; four lines of one went:
>
> Then honor well this day of days,
> To God on high our voices raise.
> And for these men we'll give three cheers,
> The glorious, noble pioneers.[3]

The work of Brigham Young to inaugurate a number of these experi-

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[1]Mrs. Emma I. Seegmiller Highbee, "United Order at Orderville," [Library of Congress, Manuscript division, Washington, D.C.].

[2]Ibid, p. 33.

[3]Ibid, p. 38.

mental projects has been studied by several scholars,[1] and while the enterprises were abandoned soon after the Colonizer's death, the humble sacrifices of the people are revealed in this song by Samuel Claridge, which Mrs. Highbee remembered.

Forty years ago and over
God's command was given
Consecrate your earthly substance
Learn the law of Heaven.

[Chorus]
Hallelujah, Hallelujah
Thanks we give to Thee
For the Heavenly Holy Order
Given to make us free.

Unite together, join the Order
Is the call today.
Let us all with hearts rejoicing
Say we will obey.

Live together, work together,
Angels do above;
Each one try to help the other
This will bring true love.

Be ye one in earthly blessings,
No distinctions found,
Bless the widow, help the aged
As one family bound.

We're a little band of workers
Striving with our might
To obey the Prophet Brigham,
For we know 'tis right.

Give us strength Eternal Father
Wisdom too, we pray.
For we are as little children
Learning day by day.[2]

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[1]E. J. Allen, op. cit.; F. Y. Fox, op. cit.; and B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History, V, 484-490.

[2]Highbee, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

The Role of Music in Cooperative Living

The foregoing account, based on a manuscript journal, is worthy of brief analysis here. First of all, it appears from a reading of the entire narrative that the "village blacksmith" made his own choice of hymns to awaken the community and signal their first common meeting on weekdays and Sundays. His choice was evidently felicitous, and men, women, and children awoke to the most powerful symbol of their mountain home:

> Oh ye mountains high, where the clear blue sky
> Arches over the vales of the free,
> Where the pure breezes blow
> And the clear streamlets flow. . . .

The responsibilities of single and group effort to observe the amenities of one "big, happy family" were recalled in the breakfast summons:

> Do what is right; the day dawn is breaking,
> Hailing a future of freedom and light;
> Angels above us are silent notes taking
> Of every action: do what is right![1]

Sunday was set apart by another vivid symbol, forged on the plains:

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[1]Hymn No. 151, [Fourteenth Edition]. This hymn found its way into the hymnal after 1863, because an influential missionary heard it sung in a Scottish conference meeting, and instantly recognized its appeal, especially as sung to the familiar tune--"The Old Oaken Bucket." Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, pp. 84-87.

> Come, come ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear,
> But with joy wend your way,
> Though hard to you this journey may appear,
> Grace shall be as your day.

It is more than coincidental, to the trained Mormon musician, that these three particular songs have always been inseparably wed to strong tunes--tunes which in their opening phrases perfectly match the title-line in accent, rhythm and melodic contour.[1] The village trumpeter was moved by inclination as effedtively as the trained music executive would proceed today.

These hymns and others employed at mealtime devotion not only recalled scenes of the conflict pattern and the mountain home, but set patterns also for ethical relationships on which the Mormon community must survive. Through family participation the children absorbed these educative experiences, for many years later a pioneer daughter could recall them at will. This phenomenon, of course, is not confined to the Mormon scene, for Wilson cites a comparable illustration from abroad:

> Every observer of these Danish Folk High Schools testifies to their religious enthusiasm, their patriotism and above all to the songs with which their lecture hours are begun and ended. A graduate of these schools living

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[1]This very element of distinction and effectiveness in song, whether popular or ecclesiastical, was the subject of comment at a special meeting of the General Music Committee of the Church, held in Salt Lake City, March, 1943, for the purpose of reviewing preliminary findings of the present research.

> for years in America, the mother of children then entering college, said, "Those songs helped me over the hardest period of my life. I can always sing myself happy with them." The spirit which pervades the schools was influential in Danish agriculture, as expressed in the title of Grundtvig's best known hymn, "The Country Church Bells." Under such an influence as this has the agricultural life of Denmark taken the lead over its urban and manufacturing life.[1]

"The strongest bond of any group is in its shared emotional experience." Such was the conclusion of Sanderson and Polson[2] who cite the role of music in effecting this bond. They give as an illustration the experience of some New England villagers who could never get together on the formation of an onion-selling society; then the farmers organized a singing society for fun, acquired the habit of doing things together efficiently; and a cooperative marketing agency was the inevitable result.[3] Although the literature of community organization is replete with similar commendations of music in the social process, few observers were on hand to analyze what must have been an abundance of similar experiences in Utah two generations ago. It may be reasonable to conclude that whereas a music society had to be set up for the onion-growers, the Mormon citizens--like the Danish adult students--enjoyed a commonly shared emotional experience by singing upon manifold

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[1] W. H. Wilson, The Evolution of the Country Community [Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1912], pp. 52-53.

[2] Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, Rural Community Organization [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1939], p. 239.

[3] Ibid. Citing Warren D. Foster, Proceedings, National Education Association. LIV, 52.

occasions.

Music may therefore be appraised as operating in a dual role during this cooperative phase of early Mormonism: [1] as conveyer and teacher of group sentiments and attitudes; and [2] community bonding through shared emotional experience.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS UNDER BRIGHAM YOUNG

Music in Social Life

The genius of Mormon leadership in welding strong and workable social ties is demonstrated in the effective development of recreation as a Church activity. "The world considers it very wicked for a Christian to hear music and to dance," Brigham reminded a dancing party he attended in 1854.[1]

> Many preachers say that fiddling and music come from hell; but I say there is no fiddling, there is no music, in hell. Music belongs to heaven, to cheer God, angels, and men. If we could hear the music there is in heaven it would overwhelm us mortals.[2]

It had taken time for Joseph Smith to gradually come around to the approval of dancing and drama and thus again offend his good neighbors,

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[1]Rex A. Skidmore, Mormon Recreation in Theory and Practice. [Philadelphia: by the author, 1941], citing H. F. Cowley, Wilford Woodruff, p. 354.

[2]Anderson, op. cit., p. 79.

for the Puritan taboos operated on the frontier as late as 1860.[1]

When Young assumed control of the destinies of the Church, he led his people to a new environment where there was no opposition to church recreations. In fact, he joined in a celebration when his return to Winter Quarters crossed the path of John Taylor's party, four hundred miles east of Salt Lake. One hundred and thirty sat down to supper, then cleared away for dancing:

> And soon was added to the sweet confusion of laughter and cheerful conversation the merry strains of the violin, and the strong, clear voice of the prompter directing the dancers through the mazes and quadrilles, Scotch-reels, French-fours, and other figures of harmless dances.[2]

The dances were interspersed with songs and recitations. And at the close of the festivities Elder Taylor's comment was, "We felt mutually edified and blessed."[3] Modern sociologists, too, would have approved this approach to community organization.[4]

Community recreation in early Utah took the form of dances, concerts, plays and social parties, with music as an ever-present factor. The first dramatic company in the Rockies was organized in a

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[1]Beard, op. cit., I, 795.

[2]Skidmore, op. cit., p. 30. Quotes B. H. Roberts, The Life of John Taylor, p. 192.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Dwight Sanderson, and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, pp. 238-39.

bandwagon by members of the Nauvoo Brass Band,[1] and provided both cast and orchestra for early shows given in "The Old Bowery" erected in the southeast corner of what is now Tabernacle Square. The Social Hall was dedicated January 1, 1853, with an unusually excellent orchestra sharing honors with the actors. The culmination of these endeavors was achieved in the erection of the Salt Lake Theater in 1861-62 when the arrival of talented converts provided the architect and scene painter. The labor of making a quarter of a million adobes was matched by forty thousand dollars realized in purchasing and reselling supplies sacrificed by Johnson's Army of the Utah War. Workmen took wages in written promises of future theatre tickets, ". . . hauled timber all summer and attended theatre all winter."[2] Recreation frequently had to give way to realities of frontier life, as seen in a notice published in the Deseret News, September 21, 1850:

> Our patrons will take notice that the concert designed for this Saturday evening, will be unavoidably postponed, in consequence of some of the performers being gone to Ogden City, on the Indian expedition. Due notice will be given when it will take place.—Wm. Clayton.[3]

The gaining of a livelihood took precedence over professional leadership in the arts, unfortunately; for even the most gifted instru-

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[1]George D. Pyper, The Romance of An Old Playhouse [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1928], p. 306.

[2]Ibid, p. 84.

[3]Basil Hansen, "An Historical Account of Music Criticism and Music Critics in Utah," [unpublished Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1932], p. 2.

mentalist of the 1850's, Dominico Ballo, often worked as an adobe maker or a hod carrier by day and did all his musical work by night.[1] Ballo was an Italian convert to the Church and had been bandmaster at West Point before arriving in Salt Lake City in 1851. He at once organized a band of twenty players and a Church orchestra, consisting of violin, trumpet, flute, cello, and clarinet, which played in the absence of an organ.[2] Minutes of the Deseret Dramatic Association in February, 1856, report a pathetic note:

> John M. Jones first violinist of the orchestra, reported that Ballo has written much music for the orchestra and is in need of food. The buying of ten dollars' worth which would be eight or ten pieces was finally referred to President Young.[3]

Prominent social parties were held on anniversaries such as Christmas, New Year's, July 4, and July 24, and sometimes by the Mormon Battalion in reunion, or even as the typographic feast, January 15, 1853, when a loyal printer said the Mormons would set an example for the world when it came to using printing for the dissemination of truth.[4] The legislature held a party January 1, 1855, at twenty-six dollars per couple, and this, like most similar parties, was noted

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[1] H. G. Whitney, "Dominico Ballo," The Contributor, I:335, November, 1879.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Pyper, Romance of An Old Playhouse, p. 48.

[4] Greaves, op. cit., p. 517.

for its length--from three to twelve or fifteen hours.[1] Dignitaries of the Church were serenaded by choirs and bands; one visitor in 1856 related how a brass band in an open carriage serenaded Brigham Young early on Christmas morning.[2]

The degree of community participation in social affairs is established more by the custom in smaller communities of early Utah. Two daughters of Brigham Young have noted that he loved to hear people sing, "and it was a part of his policy to send out with each colony a musical leader to carry on that part of the Sabbath service even if he were a cobbler or a wheelwright during the week, as many of them were."[3] A pioneer journal notes the illuminating detail that the Community of Hebron sent money to emigrate from England a Brother Jas. S. P. Bowler with large family, all singers and shoemakers, and later had a fencing bee to fence in land for this welcome family.[4]

When Prof. John Tullidge, early musical leader, traveled through the territory he appraised the role of leadership, observing ". . .

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Mr., Benjamin G. Ferris, The Mormons at Home [New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856], p. 75.

[3] Susa Y. Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, Life Story of Brigham Young [New York: MacMillan, 1930], p. 245.

[4] Diary of Orson Welcome Huntsman [Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.], I, 165.

wherever I have found a music-loving bishop, I have invariably found a creditable choir, and in many instances, a good band also."[1]

The Deseret News of April 3, 1870, contained an offer from Bishop Hughes of Mendon, Cache County, to give ten acres of the best land in the settlement to a "good basso, tenore, alto, and soprano, who are good members of society, and good readers of music, and will settle at Mendon and attend meeting regularly."[2] Another Bishop nearly provoked an Indian scare in starting a band, according to one of his followers:

> We had no music in the colony at first, but our bishop, Jimmy Leithead, was an expert drummer, so the people sent for one bass drum, two snares and four fifes. The first night they came, the Bishop played the drums until all the Indians about became frightened. They did not know what had happened. I was given one of the fifes, and it wasn't long before I could play many of the tunes. We had a good little martial band in the settlement.[3]

Singing classes and choirs were developed, as at Springville in the winter of 1854-55 when "nearly all the people in town, young and old, turned out to be instructed,"[4] and townspeople paid John

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[1]The Utah Magazine, 3:427, November 6, 1869.

[2]Deseret News, April 3, 1870. Cited in Millennial Star, XXXII, 302.

[3]Price W. Nelson, "Autobiography," [Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.], p. 19.

[4]McNiff, op. cit., p. 160. Citing D. C. Johnson, A Brief History of Springville, p. 26.

Taylor of Provo forty dollars a month to give band lessons in Springville each week during the same winter.[1]

Sometimes a choir suddenly sprang into being with new leadership. "At one of the services in Provo, the bishop found difficulty in starting a hymn," relates a town historian:

> Suddenly, William J. Strong, and English convert who had recently arrived in the settlement, accounced a hymn and began to sing. Several other converts who were seated with him joined in the singing. So successful were they that the "English brethren and sisters" were asked to sing another hymn. This little incident led to the selection of Strong as Provo's first official chorister, and to the organization of the first chorus.[2]

The wide range of choir activity in these villages was noted in Lehi, where the choir began in 1852, "participating in celebrations, exercises, programs, meetings, and funerals. . . . Indeed, it has been the choir that has formed the nucleous of musical development in Lehi" says another local writer.[3]

The "meeting house" served also as community center, built by all the town during winter months, and used for schools, balls, parties, theatres, municipal meetings, in addition to being a house of worship--"the center of life and growth of the community," as

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[1] Ibid.

[2] J. M. Jensen, History of Provo [Provo, Utah: published by the author, 1924], p. 391.

[3] Hamilton Gardner, History of Lehi [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1913], p. 101.

Gardner noted in Lehi.[1] The Tabernacle in St. George was even loaned to Bishop Scanlan of the Catholic Church who wanted to hold mass for his communicants of Silver Reef, a mining camp flourishing nearby. And to cap such hospitality, the Mormon choir spent six weeks learning the Latin mass, under their own director, John MacFarlane, who was beloved also as composer, district judge, surveyor, and builder.[2]

Political rallies also provided entertainment, as Moroni Spillsbury related in his diary:

> O we did have times in early days over politics. We used to get so mad that we wouldn't speak to a Republican if he came into the crowd, and they were mad at us. We used to have rousing mud slinging rallies. They used to bring good singers down from Salt Lake to sing at the rallies and there was lots of drinking. I remember singing:
>
> If you want to get fat
> You Democrat
> Eat a good old American Crow.[3]

Music at Home

Emphasizing always the family unit, the Mormons enjoyed themselves with music at home. One of the play songs is quoted by Pyper:

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[1] Ibid, pp. 99-100.

[2] Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 83.

[3] Moroni Spillsbury, "Diary," [Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.], p. 4.

The Mormon father loves to see
His Mormon family all agree,
With prattling children on each knee
Saying, "Daddy, I'm a Mormon."

[Chorus]
Hey the merry, aye the merry,
Hey the happy Mormon!
I never knew what joy was
Till I became a Mormon.[1]

John Tullidge, who had been a musician in England before emigrating, rejoiced in the number of pianos and organs found in Mormon homes:

> In England, the piano and organ is scarcely ever found except in aristocratic homes; in America, they are more plentiful, being among the luxuries of the "well-to-do" classes; but in Utah the piano and organ are the luxuries in the homes of the "common people."[2]

"Think of the love of music that would justify buying a square piano in St. Louis . . . and having it hauled fifteen hundred miles across the plains by oxen or mule teams!" exclaimed H. G. Whitney in writing much later.[3]

One of those little American cabinet organs, made in Boston, which began to arrive in Utah in carload lots when the railroad was completed, is the subject of an interesting narrative, "The Organ of

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[1]Pyper, Romance of an Old Playhouse, p. 52.

[2]John Tullidge, "Music in Utah," Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine, [Salt Lake City], 1:227, October 1881.

[3]H. G. Whitney, "Music in Early Utah Days," Young Woman's Journal, [Salt Lake City], 24:419, July, 1913.

Juarez."[1] Purchased in Payson, Utah, in 1878 for seventy-five dollars, this little 4-stop reed organ served in the Harper home, and years later was taken to the new Mormon colony in Mexico, "so battered in journey that the customs men set a low duty fee." There in Mexico it was the only organ used for entertainment, being carried to the schoolhouse "where we danced," or to the "band stand by the river where we had it for the Mexican Fifth of May and Sixteenth of September, and our own Fourth and Twenty-four of July." It became the center of all parties, where it was used for the playing of chords to accompany other instruments. Old "Aunt" Fanny Harper recalled:

> We used to have many parties in this very room. Then we didn't have to think of games or ways of amusing people. Conversation meant something then. I've never heard better talk than we had in this house when the town was younger. We interspersed our talk with music. Everybody gathered about the organ to sing.[2]

And when even a broken down organ was unavailable, as a handcart pioneer recalled, "All the girls learned to play the guitar and Albert and Roy learned to play the violin. . . . Almost every Sunday the young people of the town would gather around our front doorstep and sing songs while one of my girls played accompaniment on the guitar."[3]

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[1] Fay Tarlock, "The Organ of Juarez," Improvement Era, October, 1939.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Mary Ann Hafen, Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860, pp. 85-86.

Much of this singing and playing must have indulged human interest in patriotic, folk, and amorous topics. But William Chandless found both in the Mormon home and shop that the serious note was expressed in hymns of the Church. This observant Englishman was accustomed at the close of the day to visit a Mormon family. After the children were lulled to sleep and the economical housekeeper had extinguished the candles, the people talked:

> . . . and between times the women would sing hymns with their clear sweet voices. Mormon hymns they were, yet not all devoid of pathos, at least in these evening hours: one, for instance, that spoke of those whom we should never see "till the resurrection morn." Who has not lost some dear one? And who, turning his thoughts homeward, across mountains and prairies, and Atlantic might not fear some loss yet unknown.[1]

On the first evening that Chandless spent in Salt Lake City, he wandered to the workshop of a shoemaker, where a few Mormons were accustomed to meet. He returned regularly to this shop and found that at these gatherings:

> . . . songs were sung in turn: songs of Zion. The cobbler sang as he worked; his was a stirring air such as would have suited the matchless war-cry, The Sword of the Lord and Gideon. The words too were vigorous, part denunciatory, part hopeful: one could almost have fancied the singer one of the stern old Puritans. I recollected

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[1]W. J. McNiff, Heaven on Earth [Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press, 1940], p. 168. Quoting William Chandless, A Visit to Salt Lake City, p. 238.

one stanza commenced Tremble Ye Nations, and the chorus repeated after each denunciation was:

> "But Zion shall have peace
> Israel must increase
> Glory to the Lord of Hosts
> Israel is free."[1]

Music and Worship under Brigham Young

Services of worship in Latter-day Saint chapels today are indebted to the musical desires of Brigham Young for many of their traditions, such as the employment of choir and organ. During the construction of the Salt Lake Tabernacle in 1866, the President said, "We can't preach the Gospel unless we have good music. I am waiting patiently for the organ to be finished, and then we can sing the Gospel into the hearts of the people."[2] Brigham had already been identified with music, for in August, 1834, the council in Kirtland had decided that he be appointed "to take the lead in singing in our meetings,"[3] and with his brothers he had sung in quartets,[4] as well as in duets for the Prophet Joseph.[5] The world-famed Tabernacle was erected under his personal

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[1] Ibid, p. 159. The hymn referred to is "Israel, Awake from Thy Long, Silent Slumber," Hymn No. 77, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2] Melicent Cornwall, "History of the Tabernacle Choir," [Salt Lake City, manuscript in process of completion], p. 13.

[3] Joseph Smith, History of the Church, II, 160.

[4] Susa Y. Gates, "How Utah's Pioneers Carried Music Across the Rockies," Musical America, 23:13, November 20, 1915.

[5] Supra, p. 60.

direction, and the original organ was designed and built by an Australian convert whom he encouraged.[1]

Before the Tabernacle was available, huge congregations attended services in the open air bowers erected in several communities. Two world travelers, Remy and Brenchly, paid flattering tribute in 1862 to the music heard at one of these services:

> The choristers and band belonging to the choir executed a piece of one of our greatest masters; and we feel bound to say that the Mormons have a feeling for sacred music, that their women sing with soul, and that the execution is in no notable degree surpassed by that which is heard either under the roof of Westminster or the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel.[2]

The exuberance of Mormon song also was noticed by these world travelers:

> The Saints are fond of lively metres, and utterly avoid all doleful and dispiriting music. Even when the terrors of the law are presented, a cheerful strain accompanies the threatening, and the parting hymn always disperses any gloom that may have been cast upon the assembly. The exhilaration of song rather than of strong drink is that in which the Saints delight. The prophet frequently describes his spiritual condition as prompting him to dance and sing.[3]

Pomeroy Tucker brought all his Palmyra prejudices when he visited

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[1]Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, pp. 202-203.

[2]McNiff, op. cit., p. 158. Citing Remy and Brenchley, A Journey to Great Salt Lake City, II, 181.

[3]Jules Remy and Julian Brenchley, "Mormons and Mormonism," The North American Review, 95:227, July, 1862.

the Bowery services early in 1867, but admitted:

> With all this, there is really excellent music--a full choir of well-trained singers of both sexes--accompanied by a first-class band of wind and string instruments. The scene is sometimes indescribably grand in a theatrical sense. Young evidently knows and feels the strength of his power over his vast body of worshippers.[1]

Similar reports were published as early as July 8, 1849, when the New York Tribune published a sketch from a gold-digger.[2] The Evening Star of Washington, D.C. quoted a special correspondent, the daughter of an assistant attorney general, a few decades later, who describes a service with school girl enthusiasm:

> Thenthe organ struck up, and we stared at each other in wonder, for it is the most beautiful I ever heard, and was most admirably played. The "vox humana" stop was too much for me, and I actually wept; it was so exquisitely pathetic and sweet.
>
> A leader stepped to the front and lifted his baton, and the choir of three hundred rose like one man and burst into such a magnificent volume of music as I have seldom heard. . . . After the sermon the choir sang a glorious anthem which I would give anything to hear again, and at the end of it the leader turned so as to face the congregation, and the organist struck up "Old Hundredth," and that vast throng of people sang the dear old tune. . . .[3]

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[1] Pomeroy Tucker, Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism [New York: Appleton, 1867], p. 282.

[2] Basil Hansen, op. cit., p. 7. Citing B. W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City.

[3] Basil Hansen, op. cit., p. 37. Quotes Nanie Belle Maury, "Beautiful Salt Lake City," Evening Star, [Washington, D. C.].

While the musical style of Mormon compositions will be examined in the subsequent period which brought it to maturity, it may be noted here that the Tabernacle music leaned toward a vigorous, emotional expression. If this was what the President ordered, what did he and his associates preach from the pulpit at public services? One visitor has possibly overdrawn the picture, but in 1880, Sala observed that:

> The texts for the sermons, exhortations, and homilies are of an astonishingly miscellaneous character. Sometimes the sermons are on bee-culture, or on the manufacture of "sorgham" molasses; then will come addresses on infant baptism and on the best manure for cabbages; upon the pious perseverance of the Saints; upon the wickedness of skimming milk before bringing it to market; upon the best method of cleansing water ditches; upon the prices of town lots; upon the bathing of children; upon the most efficacious poison for bed-bugs; upon the martyrdoms and persecution of the Mormon Church; upon olive oil as a remedy for the measles; upon the ordination of the priesthood and the character of Melchisedek; upon worms in dried peaches; upon abstinence from tobacco, upon chignons, twenty-five yard dresses and plural marriages; all these being mingled with fierce denunciations, comminations, and invocations of wrath on the heads of Gentile enemies of the Mormons. As a matter of fact every subject is sacerdotally discussed which the president deems it expedient to dilate upon for the material, as well as the spiritual benefit of his flock.[1]

Greaves summarizes the fields of early Utah preaching as Gospel principles, polygamy, Word of Wisdom, tithing, United Order, comprehensiveness of the Gospel, emigration, "our present situation,"

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[1]George August Sala, America Revisited [London: Vizetelly, 1882], pp. 522-23. [Chapter entitled "Down Among the Mormons."].

practical religion--build good fences, avoid lying, be frugal, rotate crops, wear homespun, seek recreation, how to handle people and rear children--and personal reformation.[1] On special preaching tours, like the one of eight hundred and fifty miles in which two apostles each averaged forty-three talks, emphasis was laid on assistance to emigrating Saints, unity in supporting Church authorities, building improvements in houses, schoolsand churches, "and in attending to the education of the youth."[2]

Only the faithful could be moved by much of this address, for a Western traveler of 1874 critically remarked:

> It struck me on hearing all this parade of speech, in these long services, that the whole of Mormon church worship was a matter of "too much speaking." It was speech gone to seed. The flower, perfume and color, was fled as a summer-time past, and the husks of the harvest only were left. I had seen the very opposite of this in religious conventions and reverberations of ceremonial pomp. So goes the pendulum of religious custom, from one extreme to another.[3]

Sermons were generally not prepared in advance or given from notes, and speaking styles have been described as "colloquial, rugged, direct, frank, and clear," with Brigham pictured as no orator, but a master of clear, convincing statement.[4] Substituting appropriate

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[1]Greaves, op. cit., p. 255.

[2]Ibid, p. 128. Quoting Journal History, March 7, 1861.

[3]Bird, op. cit., p. 43.

[4]Greaves, op. cit., p. 211.

words, "Dr. Johnson's description of Shakespeare--that he was always great when greatness was required--would be eminently applicable."[1]

Between them, the poets and the preachers did make a contribution to Mormon thinking that was disclosed in worship activities of this period. Among the many active minds constantly wrestling with the new philosophy was that of Orson Pratt, brother of Parley, who "pioneered the way toward the ultimate conclusions, after Joseph Smith had constructed the skeletal outline."[2] Foremost among the doctrines developed by Pratt are those relating to the philosophy of life, accepted by most Mormons, the ideas of God, pre-existence of spirits, resurrection, salvation, exaltation, the Millennium, the doctrine of plurality of wives, the interpretation of Old and New Testament prophecies to fit the condition of the Latter-day Saints, and the idea of the gathering of the "lost Tribes of Israel" in the "last days."[3]

This category of doctrines was already supported by the body of song developed in Joseph Smith's day,[4] but now and then a new song appeared to amplify some prized interest. John Jaques, a handcart pioneer of 1856, and for many years assistant church historian, was

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[1] Ibid, p. 215.

[2] T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt, Early Mormon Leader," pp. 167-68.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Supra. Table I, page 81, and Table III, page 85.

pondering the words of Pilate, "What is truth," when the following lines were written. They came to him while he was visiting Stratford-upon-Avon during a mission journey:[1]

O say, what is truth?
'Tis the fairest gem
That the riches of worlds can produce;
And priceless the value of truth will be when
The proud monarch's costliest diadem
Is counted but dross and refuse.

Yes, say, what is truth?
'Tis the brightest prize
To which mortals or Gods can aspire;
Go search in the depths where it glittering lies;
Or ascend in pursuit to the loftiest skies;
'Tis an aim for the noblest desire.

The sceptre may fall
From the despot's grasp,
When with winds of stern justice he copes;
But the pillar of truth will endure to the last,
And its firm rooted bulwarks outstand the rude blast,
And the wreck of the fell tyrant's hopes.

Then say, what is truth?
'Tis the last and the first,
For the limits of time it steps o'er;
Though the heavens depart,
And the earth's fountains burst,
Truth, the sum of existence,
Will weather the worst,
Eternal, unchanged, evermore.[2]

The popularity of such a hymn was prepared by a type of open-mindedness, expressed in Joseph Smith's "Articles of Faith" as "If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praise-

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[1]Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, pp. 121-22.

[2]Hymn No. 72, [Fourteenth Edition].

worthy, we seek after these things."[1] That Mormonism contained this and more, was reaffirmed by Brigham Young, speaking December 5, 1853:

> All there is of any worth or value in the world is incorporated in our glorious religion, and designed to exalt the minds of the children of men to a permanent, celestial and eternal station.[2]

Later he remarked: "I want to say to my friends that we believe in all good. If you can find a truth in heaven, earth or hell, it belongs to our doctrine. We believe it; it is ours; we claim it."[3]

In contrast with the philosophical quest, another hymn shows the practical appeal of the Gospel to a toiling brother who saw religion striving to bring "a heaven to each fireside." John Lyon included this verse in a collection of his poems, published in Liverpool in 1853, for the benefit of the Perpetual Emigration Fund:[4]

> Come, let us purpose with one heart
> To follow virtue, and impart
> The bliss of life below--
> That we industriously may live,
> And by our labor have to give
> As Gospel precepts show.

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[1]Joseph Smith, "Articles of Faith," first printed in Times and Seasons [Nauvoo, Illinois], March 1, 1842. Article 13.

[2]Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, I, 341.

[3]Ibid, XIII, 335. Cited in John A. Widtsoe, Word of Wisdom [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938], p. 2.

[4]John Lyon, The Harp of Zion [Liverpool, published privately, 1853], p. 211.

With diligence we'll still pursue
Those acts of grace and mercy due
To toil-worn lab'ring man!
We'll aid the helpless, and secure
The means of life to bless the poor,
And help them all we can.

Still laboring with our head or hands,
We may lay up for just demands,
And honestly provide
For heavenly light and earthly things,
That we may have the joy that brings
A heaven to each fireside.[1]

Poetry

The integrated patterns of life which have been disclosed by music in the community, home, and church, may be traced also in the cultural expression of poetry. The relation of poetry and song is very close, and especially among religiously active people. A parallel may be drawn here between the Mormons and the Hebrews of the Old Testament, for a Mormon scholar of ancient languages has noted how the Hebrew poets sang what was in their hearts.

> As with other peoples the poetry of the Hebrews expressed their soul. Strangely enough, in the literature of the Old Testament there is no word for "poet" . . . There is [however] . . . a close connection between poetry and prophecy. The Hebrew poet was a singer and for that reason all Hebrew poetry in terms of English literary art is lyric poetry. Hebrew poets were spontaneous in their art. When under inspiration they wrote down or sang out immediately what was in their hearts without making any attempt to control and polish the product as did the ancient Greeks.[2]

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[1]Hymn No. 113, [Fourteenth Edition].

[2]Sidney B. Sperry, The Spirit of the Old Testament [Salt Lake City: Department of Education, 1940], pp. 57-58.

Fortunately for our porposes, a detailed study has been made of Mormon poetry that came into print mostly in the Millennial Star, that assiduous organ of the British Mission, from 1847 to 1877. Washburn[1] found that of the six hundred and fifteen poems he examined, fifty per cent are religious, and center on these themes: Zion, Church leaders, gathering of Israel, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, pioneer movement, Book of Mormon, doctrines, striking concepts as in Oh My Father, and If You Could Hie to Kolob, death, and temples. References to Jesus are less than might be expected, due to the Mormon rejection of the doctrine of salvation by grace alone. However, about fifty refer chiefly to the Second Coming. The non-religious themes, incidently, deal with nature, people, literature, criticism, and occasionally with humor.

As literature, they may be appraised as frequently imperfect in rime, composed usually in Iambic meter [474 out of 615 poems], averaging six stanzas, mostly of the lyric and song type; considerable use is made of extravagant and ornate language. "The impression lingers . . . that the writers had little formal education . . . [but] they had a relatively wide acquaintance with books and a splendid grasp of events."[2]

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[1] J. Niles Washburn, "A Critical Study of Latter-day Saint Poetry," p. 77.

[2] Ibid, p. 85.

The reason why these contemporaries and followers of Brigham Young wrote poetry has also been studied. It was not to create great literature, says Washburn,[1] for they had no time for leisure, for thought and retrospection, time in which to re-live and thus see in perspective the experiences of their lives. They wrote chiefly to "buoy up the spirit of people of God," often addressing fairly definite audiences and definite occasions. One poetess, Hannah Cornaby, recalled Paul's injunction to Timothy to "neglect not the gift that is in thee."[2]

The period gave birth to a great deal of sentimental poetry, but the criticism "might be said in a way to apply only to the poetry, not to the poets."[3] The language employed suggests the passion aroused in Eliza R. Snow, for instance, and the rest of the Saints by their bereavement, the sense of utter loss and stupefaction, "but the reader does not feel the same sense of pain; he is not desolated."[4] It is simply the record of an epoch; it does not transcend all boundaries; it is <u>not for all people of all time.</u>

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[1] <u>Ibid.</u> p. 69.

[2] <u>Ibid.</u> In scanning one hundred manuscript pioneer journals, the present writer was impressed by one author's reasons for keeping a family diary. This frontiersman was taught how to read and write by his wife, after their marriage, so he could keep a record as did Lehi and other Hebrew prophets of Mormon scripture.

[3] <u>Ibid.</u> p. 96.

[4] <u>Ibid.</u> p. 97.

> As an expression of emotions and passions it might be unrivaled. As the pronouncement of a religious philosophy it measures up well with others. It is broad; it is deep; it is genuine.[1]

Washburn's criticism of this poetry as literature tends to support an assumption of the present thesis that Mormon-centered song offers valid evidence of group emotional life:

> . . . It follows too closely doctrinal details. No other themes under heaven are grander than the love and praise of God. But poetry must not become altogether the vehicle of propaganda; it must be entirely free from all implication of narrowness.
>
> The poetry is full of earnest devotion, of sincere attachment to goodness, of valiant striving for that which is novel. It reveals the burning of souls, the fierce, unbending desire that transforms puny men into giants, the passion that metamorphoses atoms of humanity and makes them martyrs, that lifts them out of the age and gives them to the ages.[2]

SUMMARY

The educative role of hymnody under Brigham Young continued to project the trends commenced under Joseph Smith: namely, hymns that persuaded, instructed, rehearsed the role of conflict and enshrined historical occasion, and reinforced a will to do. These trends became reoriented under the Colonizer, however, as group consciousness or socialization deepened in the Western environment. This high degree of socialization was seen to arise in three conditions: there

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[1] Ibid, p. 120.

[2] Ibid.

was intense polarization around Brigham Young, readily transferred from Joseph Smith and heightened by economic dependence upon a successful leader. Second, the self-feeling of individual members was enhanced and their loyalties to the group fixed by successful pursuit of certain ideals, such as cooperative living, temple ordinances, and celestial marriage. Third, a brotherly love and appreciation and a consciousness of Providential care grew from the distress of conflict with nature and mankind.

In this social process the educative role of hymnody was manifested in three phases: [1] as a morale agent, [2] as a medium of emotional response, and [3] as an aid to integrating the individual with his community. The need for morale building was established by crises which shadowed the Mormon movement all through this period and which were resolutely met by action from a group that recognized realities. The physical hardships on the plains, for instance, and in temporary settlements, could have easily daunted the "fierce, unbending desire" of various leaders. If morale may be understood to mean the degree to which the individual feels competent to cope with the future and to achieve his goals, then songs which voiced those goals, aided by the unifying activity of singing together served to localize the immediate burdens, to minimize discouragements, and thus to build morale.

Apart from its role as a morale agent in the presence of conflict, music voiced the high emotional excitement of realizing a new mountain

home. This role of emotional response that relieved "the heart overcharged with emotion" obtained among the Saints in England too. A grateful though humble grinder could speak for the entire Church of several generations by inscribing the hymn "We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet." Another brother could see an economic millennium dawning with Mormonism as he wrote "Come Let Us Purpose With One Heart." A philosophical missionary was certain of the answer, when seated at Stratford-upon-Avon, he penned "O Say What Is Truth."

Finally, an integrative role of music was seen in the cooperative enterprises and social recreations, in the "shared emotional experience" which forged out the strongest group bonds. Public worship frequently became great community demonstrations in which preacher and choir vied for dramatic effect, and "the parting hymn dispersed any gloom and fear." "The exhilaration of song rather than of strong drink is that in which the Saints delight" as the French travelers observed. Music, like poetry, was made to be used here and now, and "not for all people of all time."

The creation and use of socially relevant music in this period was noted in the words of observers, poets, and participants. In Table IV the thirty-six hymns selected as representative of this period are classified by subject matter and in the order of presentation in this chapter. These hymns and songs signify the group problems of an epochal migration, of threatened invasion by United States

troops, of cultural conflict in marriage patterns, of colonization and home-making, of cooperative living and worship in temporary isolation. Hymnody was therefore still the distinctive product of a dynamic movement, and forceful by reason of its identity with every-day aspirations, difficulties, and achievements.

TABLE IV

CLASSIFICATION BY ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF SONGS QUOTED IN BRIGHAM YOUNG PERIOD

Subject Matter	Songs, by First Lines
The Mormon Migration	
Exodus from Nauvoo	1. The Upper California, Oh! that's the land for me
	2. Now in the spring we'll leave Nauvoo
	3. Although in woods and tents we dwell
	4. Lo! a num'rous host of people
	5. How many on Missouri's plains were left
	6. O hear us for the pilgrim band
	7. By the rivers of Babylon we sat down
Mormon Battalion	8. In forty-six we bade adieu to our loving friends
	9. While here, beneath a sultry sky [The Desert Route]
The Great Plains	10. The time of winter now is o'er
	11. Come, come ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear
The Handcart Companies	12. Ye Saints who dwell on Europe's shore
	13. Oh, our faith goes with the hand-carts
Emigration assistance	14. Think not, when you gather to Zion
	15. We the boys of Sanpete County
The Utah War	16. If Uncle Sam's determined
	17. When Uncle Sam, he first set out
	18. Come brethren, listen to my song
	19. Up, awake, ye defenders of Zion.

TABLE IV [continued]

CLASSIFICATION BY ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF SONGS QUOTED IN BRIGHAM YOUNG PERIOD

Subject Matter	Songs, by First Lines
Polygamy Conflict	20. The trials of the present day
	21. To Thee, O God, we now appeal
	22. They are sending their priest and their preachers
	23. How have the nations grown corrupt
Colonization	
Our Mountain Home	24. O ye mountains high, where the clear blue sky
	25. Zion stands with hills surrounded
	26. For the strength of the hills we bless thee
	27. Our mountain home so dear
	28. Arise O glorious Zion
	29. And here in this sweet, peaceful vale
New Settlements	30. Oh, once I lived in Cottonwood
Railroad Construction	31. At the head of great Echo, the railway's begun
Cooperation	32. School thy feelings, Oh, my brother
The United Order	33. Forty years ago and over
Social Interest	34. The Mormon father loves to see
Worship	35. O say, what is truth
	36. Come, let us purpose with one heart

CHAPTER IV

MORMON MUSIC ATTAINS CULTURAL MATURITY

> The arts have always traveled westward, and there is no doubt of their flourishing hereafter on our side of the Atlantic.[1]

"Every man is engaged in some industrious pursuit," commented Thomas Jefferson in 1813, although "now and then a strong mind arises, and at its intervals of leisure from business emits a flash of light."[2] "But the first object of young societies is bread and covering," he added at another time.[3] Brigham Young lived to see this first object attained, in fact, he found answers to the three chief problems which confronted the Saints in Illinois: transportation to the West, survival there, and establishment of industrial and commercial life. After 1877 the successors of Brigham Young in the councils of the Church found that his hand had definitely directed the Church's attitude in ecclesiastical, economic, and cultural matters. By 1877 the mould had been set.[4]

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[1]Benjamin Franklin, in writing to the struggling young artist, Charles Willson Peale, soon after the Revolution. Cited by Constance Rourke, The Roots of American Culture [New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942], p. 3.

[2]Constance Rourke, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Wm. J. McNiff, Heaven on Earth [Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press, 1940], p. 24.

The arts literally traveled westward, for with the immigrant stream from the British Isles, particularly, came talents to enrich the "cultural island"[1] founded in the Rockies by Brigham Young. While this movement may be studied in terms of formal education,[2] economic history,[3] group life,[4] a planned society,[5] and the arts of speech[6] and stage,[7] music provides one of the most successful examples. British-born Saints, for example, contributed the words of more than half of the hymns, and the music for more than three-fourths of a total of four hundred and twenty-one hymns in the current hymnal.[8]

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[1]According to Paul W. Rappan, "Mormon-Gentile Conflict," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1939], p. 38, Kimball Young and others have defined this as a minority, lacking status, but sturdy through in-group loyalty and cohesion, and localized in the larger culture.

[2]M. Lynn Bennion, Mormonism and Education [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939]. John C. Moffitt, The Development of Centralizing Tendencies in Educational Organization and Administration in Utah [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940].

[3]Andrew L. Neff, History of Utah [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940]. Katharine Coman, Economic Beginnings of the Far West [New York: MacMillan, 1912]. F. Y. Fox, "Experiments in Cooperation Among the Mormons," [unpublished manuscript, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City].

[4]Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village [Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Studies, No. 3, 1933]. Reed Bradford, "A Mormon Village," [unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1939].

[5]McNiff, op. cit.

[6]Halbert S. Greaves, "Public Speaking in Utah," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1930].

[7]George D. Pyper, Romance of An Old Playhouse [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1928].

[8]Richard L. Evans, Mormonism in Great Britain [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1937].

MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Granting that a frontier economy had to advance to maturity first, the musical maturation grew from the efforts of certain leaders, who, through their old-world musical traditions and personal sacrifices for a cause, produced the first official collection of music for Church singing, led in choir and congregation song developments, stimulated musical criticism, and lent willing hands to the auxiliary song books which followed. This period of approximately 1870 to 1900 is characterized by a maturity of musical art, and the expansion of auxiliary organizations to meet growing needs of a maturing Church.

The headship of the Church now seemed less influential; three years, for instance, were required to name a successor to Brigham Young, although any issues of succession which arose were settled behind closed doors, to the credit of the Church's maturity, says Anderson.[1] John Taylor was named president in October, 1880, but died seven years later, in hiding because of the polygamy dispute. Two more years elapsed before Wilford Woodruff was named to the highest office at the age of eighty-two. Issuance of the "Manifesto" in 1890, and admission of Utah to the Union in 1896--which concluded Mormon resistance to anti-polygamy legislation--marked his nine year

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[1]Nels Anderson, Desert Saints [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942], p. 299.

incumbency. Lorenzo Snow, at the age of eighty-five, was named president after only eleven days hiatus, and served three years until released by death in 1901.

The First Tune Book

When the Latter-day Saints Psalmody, a book of some three hundred and fifty tunes with three stanzas each, appeared in May, 1889, it marked not only the "labor of love and principle" of Careless, Beesley, Daynes, Stephens, and Griggs, but also bore fruit from seeds which John Tullidge planted in England in 1857. Tullidge was the first publicist for music improvement in the Church, and in writing to the Millennial Star in his native England, he stated the object of his first little psalmody--a book containing thirty-eight easy anthems:

> My object in composing the "Latter-day Saints' Psalmody" was to give them a selection of music which would harmonize with the words; also to avoid the frequent appeal to tunes that were in many respects objectionable; and, lastly to supply a volume of their own.[1]

With the same vigor and evangelistic viewpoint that produced a unique collection of sacred verse, Tullidge voiced a popular desire for a unique musical medium:

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[1]John Tullidge, Letter to the Millennial Star [England], 22:11.

> On the other hand, the "Mormon" spirit, in its freshness and vigour, needs a different style of music to that dolorous, whining class, so incompatible with praise from full and grateful hearts. But in the absence of music composed expressly for the services of the Saints, an error has often been committed in selecting tunes which, although lively, are non-adapted.[1]

In fact, the readiness of English Saints and American missionaries to appropriate any "lively" tune known to all, violated a divine injunction to sing "with the heart and with the understanding also." "Instance the obscenity and low slang twang of the original words from which we have transferred the music to our useful and favorite hymn 'Come all ye sons of God'," he argued.[2]

Upon John Tullidge's emigration to Utah in 1864, he commenced his potent campaign to create a body of distinctive music. As musical editor of the Utah Magazine he wrote in 1869:

> Next to the necessity of congregations of religionists having their own Hymn Book, is that of having their own Psalmody. Their hymns are burdened with the subject of their Church, breathe the genius of the people, and inspire them with the sentiments of their faith. It is very evident then that those hymns require a kindred interpretation in music. If like those of the latter-day Saints, they are simple in theme, vigorous in style and exultant in prophetic spirit. . . .[3]

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[1] Ibid, p. 12.

[2] Ibid, p. 11.

[3] J. E. Tullidge, "Needed--Zion's Psalmody," Utah Magazine, 3:39, May 22, 1869. It is interesting to note that the same magazine for May 8, 1869 presented as the first piece of music ever published in the Rocky Mountains, a part song for soprano, alto, bass, "Hail! Young, Beautiful Spring," by Professor John Tullidge.

The concern of Tullidge and his followers to provide a musical vehicle of higher artistic value was based on a keen appreciation of the importance of hymn tunes. After Washburn had studied the early poets of Utah he excused himself from appraising their songs:

> It is difficult to evaluate the songs because it is almost impossible to dissociate the lyrics from the melodies. Indeed, it is possible that the words considered alone might appear commonplace. No data were compiled for the songs.[1]

A modern scholar of church music in England goes so far as to say that all hymns are judged by their tunes rather than by their words. For "the vast crowd which sings 'Abide With Me' before a Cup Final football match is not thinking at all about the words, which are as unsuitable as they could possibly be."

> But they know they like the tune, which serves as an outlet to their pent-up excitement. In the same way, when a congregation sings a hymn in church with gusto it is the tune that bears them along. Many of them have only a vague general idea as to what their favorite hymns are about.[2]

That the question is more apparent than real is suggested in Dr. Phillips' conclusion that "It is not so much what a hymn is or says that counts, as what it means to the individual who sings or

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[1] J. Niles Washburn, "A Critical Study of Latter-day Saint Poetry from 1847 to 1877," [unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1936], p. 117.

[2] C. S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present [New York: MacMillan, 1937], p. 252.

hears it." Certainly it would be absurd to generalize from the football situation, where any commonly familiar air would serve, or from a perfunctory Church of England service where ritual has reduced all life to prayer-book forms.

The Nature of Mormon Tunes

In Mormon hymnody the words came first, and while these pioneer musicians often succeeded in creating a musical mate for their beloved verses, they quite as often proved resourceful in adapting evangelical songs to their purposes. Evan Stephens, talented Welsh-born musician of the last century, made it plain that "we lay no claim to exclusive inspiration in the matters of songs or music," but rather from the great poets and composers "we freely cull the materials most suitable and expressive of our religious thoughts and emotions."[1]

There is evidence that occasionally verses were deliberately written to fit well-known tunes. As a matter of fact one of the reverend critics of the church in 1871 sorrowed at this perversion:

> "Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah" becomes a prayer not to be led heavenward, but Utahward; and the glad anticipations of spiritual freedom and happiness . . . become mere worldly aspirations after political independence and earthly possessions.
>
> . . . they have written hymns to be sung to tunes that have received special honor among the people from whom

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[1]Evan Stephens, "Songs and Music of the Latter-day Saints," Improvement Era, 17:765.

they seek adherents. Whatever may be thought of the taste, it can not be denied that among certain classes hymns sung to the airs "God Save the Queen," "Hail to the Chief" and "Star Spangled Banner" will and do have a power from patriotic associations. Certain home songs have also been utilized in this way and we have, among others, what may almost be called parodies of "Home Sweet Home" and "There is a place in childhood that I remember well." The hymn to this latter air begins with the words "There is a place in Utah that I remember well."[1]

Stenhouse, who was even more traveled in Utah, commented that at services in the Tabernacle "a great volume of human voice is well directed in the rendering of some familiar air, or it may be some Mormon adaptation of a new popular melody."[2] In an early Church periodical Smucker recognized the popular tune, "The Sea, the sea, the open sea" to be a conveyance for this hymn, now fortunately forgotten:

> The sky, the sky, the clear blue sky,
> O how I love to gaze upon it!
> The upper realms of deep on high,
> I wonder when the Lord begun it![3]

The whole question of what is and what is not properly regarded as sacred music may endlessly be argued by savants, but the Mormon

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[1]Reverend H. D. Jenkins, "The Mormon Hymn Book," Our Monthly [Cincinnati, Sutton & Scott], December 1871, p. 422. It is likely that from the tune mentioned here, "Hail to the Chief," was derived the stirring vehicle for "Praise to the Man" with its chorus, "Hail to the Prophet."

[2]T. B. H. Stenhouse, The Rocky Mountain Saints [New York: D. Appleton, 1873], p. 696.

[3]S. M. Smucker, History of the Mormons [New York: C. M. Saxton, 1856], p. 59.

called all of life "religious" and shrunk from no tunes for fear their secular associations were not easily supplanted by new sacred texts. Martin Luther faced the identical problem in implementing vernacular song, and took the same solution of borrowing from what was familiar. That popular song can move on, and leave its remnants safely invested in hymnody, is attested by a Protestant tune to the most profound Lenten hymn, "O Sacred Head Now Wounded," originally a love ballad in Luther's day.[1]

When Lowell Mason, of Boston, vented his inexhaustible energies in school and church music, he sought to borrow European culture by popularizing Mendelssohn and Handel as goals for New World adoption, and produced a profusion of tunes and adaptations. Among these was his compilation of tunes, The American Tune Book, known in Utah soon after its publication in 1869 in Boston.[2] A predecessor of this book was Asaph, or the Choir Book,[3] which contained at least one hymn still cherished by Mormon congregations, "God Speed the Right." Borrowed tunes did not long compete with the home-grown product for even

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[1]Karl Nef, An Outline of the History of Music [New York: Columbia University Press, 1935], p. 128.

[2]Lowell Mason, The American Tune Book [Boston: O. Ditson Co., 1869]. A copy examined by the writer in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, contained about 120 Mormon hymns listed on a fly leaf, with tune of appropriate meter as given in Mason's book. Among them: Rock of Ages, Softly Now the Light of Day, Austrian Hymn, and others. The book was initialed C. J. T., possibly for C. J. Thomas, veteran Utah musician.

[3]Lowell Mason and William Mason, A Collection [New York: Copyright, May, 1862].

classical associations such as the tune, "St. Anne" with the hymn, "O God Our Help in Ages Past," were severed to encourage a Mormon tune that had at least the recommendation of being born within the fold. On the other hand, the vigor of choir and congregational singing was maintained by a constant search for more useful tunes, and many phases of regional color were made indelible only by the encouragement given to local composers.

Sometimes a text had such strength and appeal that the ideal tune was sought for decades. Such an example is provided by the early hymn "Oh, My Father," which was first sung to the tune of "Gentle Annie," a melody Brigham Young often requested. Then the tune "Harwell" from the American Tune Book was tried, which is reported still a favorite of Heber J. Grant, present head of the Church. The public chose its favorite when a popular tenor appropriated the gospel tune, "My Redeemer," for the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893. The purist who scorns this tune as sentimental and trivial has yet to identify the elements of popular acceptance which escaped ten Mormon composers[1] who sought to provide a more "artistic" setting.

Hymn tunes were born under the same variety of circumstances which produced verses. Eliza R. Snow's hymn, "Though Deep'ning Trials," proved so encouraging to George Careless in his own distress, that he

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[1]George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939], pp. 6-7.

was moved to match it with an equally popular setting.[1] The same composer dashed off a spirited tune for Parley Pratt's hymn, "The Morning Breaks," at the invitation of the sea captain who brought him over in 1864, writing on a barrel-head and rehearsing a choir of emigrants from the rough copy. Mormon tune writing was born with less travail than Mormon texts, however, and differs less from evangelical songs of the period than do the more specific verses.

The Reverend Jenkins, who searched all through Salt Lake shops in 1871 and could find no hymnal priced less than two dollars, made an apt observation of both tunes and texts when he said:

> I think that possibly the first point which strikes one . . . is that a loud roaring chorus is a grand recommend in the eyes of these Mormon compilers.[2]

Struck also by the prevalence of "peculiar meters" [no less than forty-one are marked "P.M."] he vividly described the result of his analysis:

> A stanza will sometimes consist of four or six staid dignified lines, followed by two or three more that must be executed in something very like the time of a plantation jig. A series of easy and smooth anapests and iambics will suddenly reverse the accent, and disappear in a whirlwind of dactyls and trochees.[3]

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[1] Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, p. 139.

[2] Jenkins, op. cit., p. 422.

[3] Ibid.

Further light is shed on the origin and development of Mormon hymnody by comparing the diverse products of the group which Brigham Young led to the Rockies, with that of the remnants who in 1860 gathered in Wisconsin to form the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Having in common the same Prophet Joseph, the Book of Mormon, and original theology, but rejecting temple ordinances, plural marriage, and authority of the Twelve in matters of succession, the "Josephite" branch has produced a hymnody at striking variance with the "Brighamite" body. The Reorganized group have avoided any "gathering" or community building, and their hymn book [1] reveals a parallel accomodation to the Protestant middle West.

In contrast with the Utah book, there are many more hymns dealing with the Savior and His Atonement, set to tunes which are also common property of Protestanism. The music is generally more singable by congregations, employing lower keys and fewer choral devices, all of which contrasts markedly with the efforts of the choir-minded Englishmen who sought to make over Utah's hymnody in the 1870's and 80's. While this summary appraisal is based on casual comparison, a student of the Reorganized hymnody adds these confirming notes:

> No exclusive inspiration or honor is claimed by the Latter-day Saints [Reorganized] for the music for their hymns. They are endebted to Haydn, Handel, Mendelssohn and other composers. . . . Most of the hymn tunes are derived from Calvinis-

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[1] The Saints' Hymnal. [Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1953].

> tic sources. . . . They have uncomplicated harmonies often monotonous. The melodies are simple and singable. . . .[1]

One further distinction in the music of these separated groups of a common faith might be noted here. It will be recalled that choirs and organs were eagerly sought in early Utah, and the English musicians were acclaimed also for the sight-reading technics and instruction they brought. Cheville has provided an interesting comparison of music in the identical decades, in his penetrating analysis of the Reorganized Church and its relationship to the social order:

> . . . note singing and choral music were called into question. They were innovations, marks of worldliness, and seeds of disruption. Arguments were spicy and specific. The choir at Plano, Illinois, one of the first to be established, was not admitted without contest. Joseph Luff, a former apostle, has pictured in his autobiography, the growing pains in the Independence, Missouri, congregation as choir and organ were branded "high falutin'" and worldly. So tense did the situation become that a revelation to the church gave counsel on the cultivation and use of musical instruments. It is a long way from the informal congregational singing of a Conference in an Illinois barn to a service with printed program with music by a robed *a cappella* chorus singing Palestrina and Bach.[2]

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[1]Virginia M. Whitlock, "Music in the Mormon Church During the Sojourn in Nauvoo," [unpublished Master's thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1940], pp. 36-37.

[2]Roy A. Cheville, *The Latter Day Saints and Their Changing Relationship to the Social Order* [Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1942], p. 32.

Choir and Congregational Singing

Considering the number of participants and their influence on the larger number of listeners, choral activities stand next to the establishment of a music hymnody as the peak of cultural attainment in Utah's "Victorian" age. The efforts of John Tullidge, George Careless, and others to establish sight-singing classes in the English Sol-fa tradition inevitably bore fruit in choral societies and choirs. Careless made history when he organized two hundred ladies and gentlemen into a society which produced Handel's oratorio, "The Messiah," at the Salt Lake Theater, almost on the desert, in June, 1875. This was the first performance given between New York and San Francisco,[1] and patrons gladly parted with twelve hundred dollars the first night and nine-hundred and fifty dollars the second, according to box office history.[2] William Minturn, an English traveler, witnessed this event, according to McNiff, and made an observation that penetrated beyond the ordinary view of Mormonism when he wrote:

> This [giving of musicales] is a great move, and one cannot but think that if there is something wrong in this society, it will be eradicated by the elevation of the general taste of the people,--and what elevates the taste as does music.[3]

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[1] Pyper, Romance of an Old Playhouse, p. 144.

[2] Ibid. Cf. Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City [Salt Lake City: Star Printing, 1886], p. 774.

[3] McNiff, op. cit., p. 194. Citing William Minturn, Travels West [London, 1877], p. 141.

In the 1860's the Tabernacle choir rose above the status of a country church choir under C. J. Thomas,[1] and after the great Tabernacle was opened in October 1867, became the subject of official comment. The Deseret News of May 9, 1870, hailed the progress shown at a recent conference:

> Several of the pieces which were most liked, were composed by Professor Careless, expressly for the choir. . . . Music is destined to reach a high degree of perfection. . . . Times are changing in respect to music; the taste of the people, thanks to the exertions of Professors Calder, Thomas, John Tullidge, sen., Careless and others is improving and the transition state now being passed through, promises before long to be followed by one as strongly characterized by taste, skill and proficiency, as that of the past by a lack of these qualities. Success to the professors of the divine art and to the sweet singers of Israel.[2]

By 1892 a contributor to the Deseret News could say, "There is scarcely a ward in our entire community without a choir of some sort," but provision of a comfortable room for regular rehearsals and "plenty of suitable music" which should include "hymn tunes [the psalmody], anthems, choruses and glees" to the number of one copy for every two members, was enjoined upon the bishops.[3]

This dependency upon skilled leadership raised a question that is never settled in the Mormon Church: shall trained leaders give unceas-

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[1] E. W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 771.

[2] Item, Deseret News [Salt Lake City], May 9, 1870. Reprinted in Millennial Star, [Liverpool], 32:375.

[3] Item, Deseret News, January 29, 1892.

ingly without financial compensation, even as do all other lay leaders? The overburdening of the talented ones was recognized by a writer in 1882, who advocated auxiliary choirs but cautioned against imposing further on ward choir leaders:

> The extra pound you would put upon them, by making them leaders of Association choirs, might break their backs; for be it remembered that with all the loads, no one ever thinks of offering a prop. The carpenter would be paid for making a coffin for the poorest and most disabled of our brethren and sisters, but the singing master must spend his time and talents to aid the ablest of the people free of charge.[1]

A similar view was expressed to the present writer by a prominent college music leader in 1936, who observed that while a dentist might be appointed as Sunday School superintendent, he was not asked to practice his profession free by filling teeth at church. Ergo, the musician with only his time and talent to dispose of for a living, should not be expected always to go without a "prop."

The obligation to give enthusiastically of himself was implicit in Evans Stephens' definition of a "Mormon musician":

> First, he should tingle to his finger tips with a passion for music. He should be saturated with music, without losing the spirit of the gospel. Then he should have an intense love for the community--have a desire to give them the best he can gather. He ought to be endowed abundantly "with that all-pervading love to control him

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[1]Article by "Musicus," The Contributor, 4:73, November 1882.

so that he will desire to get only in order to give out again--to want all merely to impart."[1]

It is hardly necessary to point out that all social accomplishments of Mormonism have depended upon this unreserved enthusiasm and devotion, for the will is ever paramount to the way. A musical leadership that is essentially amateur can become potent with increasing leisure time and artistic ambition, especially as wise supervision by socially-minded experts gives it direction and purpose.

Despite the attention consistently given to Mormon choirs, there were eager minds focused on development of congregational singing too, and the musical depressions were publicised, as John Tullidge attempted to do in the Utah Magazine in 1869:

> How delightful it would be to hear at the General Conferences of the Saints ten thousand voices of the congregation join in the praises of God in some soul-stirring hymn of Zion . . . rather than exclusive choir singing amid the silence and general apathy of the assembly. . . .
>
> Formerly the Saints were more given to the use of their own hymns, adapted to their own familiar tunes. Though they were neither expressly happily allied to the old clothing of popular songs, yet sung by the Saints with full hearts and vigorous voices, they were very inspiring. For our part, to this day we would sooner hear "The Spirit of God Like A Fire is Burning" sung well by the congregation than an anthem sung badly by a choir.[2]

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[1] J. H. Evans, "Evan Stephens--Great Commoner in Music," Improvement Era, [Salt Lake City], 23:274-75. See also, Ina T. Webb, "Congregational Singing," [unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1927], p. 78.

[2] Article by John Tullidge, The Utah Magazine, 3:22, May 15, 1869.

This critique constitutes also an admission that artistic developments were being made at the expense of "full hearts and vigorous voices." Tullidge later quoted from another magazine:

> The attractiveness of congregational singing consists in its magnificent volume of sound. Call it noise if you please; but it is grand. Its very quantity buries up its defects. It is only half-way congregational singing that offends the ear. . . .
>
> Another attraction is the heartiness and sociality of congregational singing. For an assembly to read together is something; but how leaden is the ring of their voices till they strike together into a musical note, and then into a full swelling harmony of notes![1]

Two decades later this criticism was still in order:

> The Saints should not leave all the work and all the joy and reward of singing spiritual songs to the choir, either, but should carry their hymn books with them and join in this most beautiful part of the worship. . . .[2]

The same speaker criticised the three-verse rule, by which the congregation was always limited to singing only the three stanzas published in the music Psalmody. He objected also to the careless choice of song which led a meeting of the sisters to sing "For we are the true born sons of Zion," and emigrants now gathered in Zion still to intone "so distant from the land I love."[3] The sisters noted

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[1] The Utah Magazine, 3:139, July 3, 1869. Citing from The Christian Banner and Tract Journal.

[2] Thomas Hull, "Hymnology," The Contributor, 13:382, June 5, 1892. [An address given at Y.M.M.I.A. Conference, Tabernacle, Salt Lake City].

[3] Ibid.

their own shortcomings on the occasion of services in memory of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum, when a thoughtless chorister announced and the choir sang--"Don't kill the little birds."[1]

Musical Criticism

Another indication of artistic maturity may be seen in the rise of musical criticism during the final third of the century in Utah. In 1876 the success of song instruction in the growing Sunday Schools prompted the Utah Musical Times to ask why this "most welcome, easy and entertaining" exercise was excluded from the day school.[2] Six years later "Musicus" was dreaming in The Contributor of the next decade when street corner gangs would give way to family choruses and orchestras, ward assembly rooms thronged by special choruses, grand oratorios in learning for the Tabernacle, and music rooms replacing billard parlors.[3] A month later "Musicus" was asking whether we have a regular choir "or do we call on the member sitting in yonder corner, with his stock of two or three pieces"? "If the latter be the case," he concludes, "this part of the exercises falls, as dew from heaven only more condensed, like cold water upon those assembled."[4]

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[1] Relief Society Magazine, [Salt Lake City], 2:444.

[2] Utah Musical Times, 1:106, September 15, 1876. Nineteen years later a Panguitch farmer was still asking "why is it an exceedingly rare thing to see music in the schools of these out-of-the-way places?" in a letter to the Editor, Deseret News, March 7, 1895, signed, Jas. B. Sarrow.

[3] Article by "Musicus," The Contributor, 3:362-365, September 1882.

[4] Ibid, 4:70-73, November, 1882.

Brother Evan Stephens had permission of the First Presidency, October 6, 1884, to demonstrate his teaching methods with several hundred children, at the close of a conference session, "to urge and encourage musicians and teachers throughout the Territory to take up the work of teaching the youth to read music."[1] By 1895 a citizen was lamenting that "we seem to be dissolved from possessing a first-class musical society. . . . Who will start the enterprise for an old-fashioned singing school where one can study 'Messiah' and other works of God's experts without any reference to politics, religion or the Colorado Utes?"[2]

"Our musical status, 1900" was at "the low ebb of adversity," according to an annual chronicle in the Deseret News, and even the Tabernacle choir was as "a neglected, wilted plant, bearing its precious flowers with difficulty, the more or less faithful servant of a more or less united twenty-four wards."[3] This may have been written by a discouraged conductor, but intimates a decline of interest from the days of the community Messiah performance in 1875.

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[1]Journal History of the Church, October 1, 1884, p. 3.

[2]Basil Hansen, "An Historic Account of Music Criticism and Music Critics in Utah," [unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1933], p. 39. Quotes "Musical Depression," Salt Lake Tribune, January 6, 1895.

[3]Hansen, op. cit., p. 40. Citing item, Deseret News, December 15, 1900.

AUXILIARY EXPANSION

The chief evidence that frontier society was maturing to a point where it had to expand its community services is seen in the rise of "auxiliary organizations" as the Sunday School, the youth and the women's activities of the Church are termed. Today these specialized institutions are headed by general boards of educators, centered in Salt Lake City, with subsidiary boards in each diocese or "Stake of Zion" to execute plans and programs within the individual congregations.

The development of the Sunday Schools and the Mutual Improvement Associations for youth illustrates two principles of growth in the Mormon society: first, an experimental testing of ideas on a small scale, with democratic acceptance and church-wide adoption upon pragmatic proof of success; and, second, the vigor and vitality of such folk-inspired movements to assume functions of earlier rigid institutions established by "revelation" or administrative order.

Development of the Mormon Sunday School and Its Music

The first Mormon Sunday School grew out of the conviction of one Richard Ballantyne, who felt "that the Gospel was too precious to myself to be withheld from the children," and who in his humble adobe cottage, December 9, 1849, commenced a movement which now enrolls over half the entire Church population and is charged with theological in-

struction and the conduct of Sunday morning worship. With pioneer mothers forever engaged in child-bearing, and in producing and processing the food and clothing of the frontier family, the numerous offspring stood in need of the new institution. Notwithstanding, only thirteen individual Sunday Schools existed when the approach of Johnson's army in 1858 and the temporary "move" southward canceled this effort.[1] The sagacious George Q. Cannon had observed the missionary success of Sabbath schools abroad, and by means of the monthly Juvenile Instructor, inaugurated in 1866, and the commissioning of a "Deseret Sunday School Union" in 1872 with ninety schools throughout the territory, and the holding of general Sunday School conferences after 1884, he advanced the movement to effective status.

Whereas the original little school of fifty children met at eight in the morning, and dismissed before Sunday worship at ten, the Sunday Schools eventually were given the entire morning, and utilized choirs as well until the general song practice was instituted after 1900. Thus did the greatest "auxiliary" of the Church arise to answer a social need, securing such support from a sympathetic authority as to supplant a previous administration of morning worship. Measured by volume of attendance and potential impression upon younger minds, the Sunday School has never ceased to surpass the evening Sacrament Service which is administered directly by the highest local

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[1] Jubilee History of Latter-day Saints Sunday Schools [Salt Lake City: 1900], p. 14.

authority of the Church.

This point is significant to the present study, for it marked a new era in music development, a "reform" from the choir-centered tendency of the music professionals to the congregational song-centered usage of earlier decades. Whereas the priesthood fraternity of the Church could boast but a handful of songs after a century of quorum meetings, the Sunday School in one third that time published seventy songs of praise and gratitude for the Sabbath School.[1]

The details of this vigorous espousal of song shed further light on such a deduction. They begin with the motivation in writing and learning new songs as derived from the inauguration of Jubilee Festivals on July 24, 1874. The very first publication of the newly commissioned Sunday School Union consisted of ten thousand five hundred copies of Original Songs and Music for the celebration,[2] and the second publication consisted of over one hundred twenty thousand music cards, each containing two songs set to music, issued periodically in editions of five thousand after March, 1877. This wholesale production of music found precedent in the official magazine, The Juvenile Instructor, for Tullidge[3] conceded that "Though others of our home magazines have appeared with a few sheets of music type-setting, to the Juvenile

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[1]Cf. Table VII, listed on p. iv.

[2]Jubilee History of the Latter-day Saint Sunday Schools, p. 40.

[3]E. W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, Appendix, p. 11.

Instructor office belongs the honor of sustaining a semi-musical magazine."

With the first Jubilee borne to fame on a wave of song books, the next flood of music cards was itself supported by a message from the First Presidency, published just prior to Brigham Young's death in 1877:

> It is very desirable that the children in the Sunday School be taught the art of singing. The cultivation of this art will make the schools more attractive to the children themselves. . . . And if in our Ward meetings and conferences congregational singing were encouraged and practised more than it is, our worship would be no less acceptable. . . .[1]

An editorialist in the Utah Musical Times felt safe in presuming from this official statement that:

> . . . in the reorganization of the Stakes of Zion the musical education of the Church seems very near in importance to the setting in order of the quorums for the better working of the ministry.[2]

Sounding for other musical channels, the Union encouraged the organization of a number of fife and drum bands, especially arranging and printing music for them in 1881.[3] The most important result of all this musical activity came with the publication, January 17, 1884,

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[1] Utah Musical Times, 2:105, October 1, 1877.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Jubilee History of the Latter-day Saint Sunday Schools, p. 28.

of the first Deseret Sunday School Union Music Book of eighty-eight pieces, "mostly the production of our home composers and authors."[1] The enterprising Union had offered several hundred dollars in prizes to stimulate this response, but four years later met an increasing demand by producing a book containing words only of 199 hymns, with an index code showing where the music to each hymn might be found in the following current sources: Jubilee Song Book of 1874, the series of twenty-four music cards, the Music Book of 1884, the Primary Tune Book, and the Juvenile Instructor, Volumes 17-23.[2]

At a time when Church leaders were either imprisoned[3] or exiled because of an approaching climax in the polygamy conflict, it is interesting to note their concern for their children, as the preface of this 1888 word book reveals:

> The Children of the Latter-day Saints should be joyous and happy. The promises they have received, their present surroundings and their future prospects are all most favorable to them. It is natural that happiness should find expression in songs and hymns of praise. Singing, when properly conducted, is true worship. The heart overcharged with emotion finds relief in appropriate melodies. Not only,

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[1] Ibid, pp. 40-41.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid, p. 34. "In 1888, while serving a term of imprisonment for conscience sake in the Utah penitentiary, General Superintendent George Q. Cannon found opportunity to establish a Sunday School there, which he did by permission of the warden."

> however, are songs and hymns suitable for those whose hearts are filled with happiness; they lift up the soul and bring peace to the spirit in times of depression and sadness.[1] [Italics mine].

All the words and tunes in use were next assembled in the third edition of 1899, a total of 216 pages which now included the hymn, "Come, Come Ye Saints." This printing amounted to the grand total of thirty-five thousand copies of the music edition, and sixty thousand of the word edition, all within fifteen years. With a Mormon population in Utah of about one hundred twenty thousand in 1893[2] absorbing most of this printing, at least every other home had its copy of Zion's newest hymnody. These books were made to be used, for the first general convention of Sunday School workers, held in the Assembly Hall, November 28, 29, in 1898, opened each of its six sessions with a thirty minute song practice![3] The proceedings of this gathering, incidently, explain that the Sunday School choirs then in vogue were composed of the young and inexperienced who might be advanced to the ward choir later. Their attention was called to hymns that are devotional as well as to "pieces with vim."[4]

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[1] Hymns and Sacred Songs, Designed for the Use of the Children of the Latter-day Saints, [Salt Lake City: Sunday School Union, 1888], preface.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, History of Utah [San Francisco: The History Company, 1889], p. 692.

[3] Jubilee History of the L.D.S. Sunday Schools, pp. 35-36.

[4] Thomas C. Griggs, "Sunday School Choirs and Their Relationship to Congregational Singing," [Salt Lake City: Proceedings of the First Sunday School Convention, 1899].

One striking characteristic of an expanding organization may be found in its concern with becoming rigid in form. A writer at the close of this period, in the Juvenile Instructor, expressed fear that:

> . . . our schools [and other meetings as well] are falling into the formal routine of hymns for opening, hymns for prayer, hymns for dismissal—there you are, style! Three songs, no more, no matter how much the school may feel like singing; no less, no matter how poorly it may sing. Would it not be well at times to sing, one, two or even three hymns before prayer, as a practice and as a heart opener; or if colds are prevalent, have a nice duet, trio, quartet, or part-song sung by scholars who are not so afflicted; or a nice voluntary played by the organist.[1]

There need have been no fear that rigor mortis was affecting the content of the books at least, for talents even more generously than those of the first generation were writing the new hymnody. An examination of the early Sunday School music books discloses songs which revere Church leadership, but without the tone of adult conflict found elsewhere:

> I'll strive from every evil
> To keep my heart and tongue—
> I'll be a little "Mormon"
> And follow Brigham Young.[2]

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[1]H. A. Tuckett, "Hymns in the Sunday School," Juvenile Instructor [Salt Lake City], 39:150, March 1, 1904.

[2]Deseret Sunday School Union Music Book [Salt Lake City: published by Sunday School Union, 1884], p. 57.

This song must have had earlier stanzas, for elsewhere, in same meter and style, is found this reference:

> Though I am young and little,
> I, too, may learn forthwith
> To love the precious gospel
> Revealed to Joseph Smith.[1]

While these jingles disappeared from later editions, a narrative of "Joseph Smith's First Prayer," written by George Manwaring, probably in the 1880's remains a favorite:

> O how lovely was the morning! . . .
> When within the shady woodland,
> Joseph sought the God of Love.
>
> . . . While appeared two heavenly Beings,
> God the Father and the Son, . . .
>
> Oh, what rapture filled his bosom,
> For he saw the living God![2]

There is a dearth of Mormon songs dealing specifically with the heaven of gold-paved streets which Protestants envisioned, but one writer projected the gregarious instinct in answering "what will it be there?"

> To share in the joys of that land,
> Shake each of our friends by the hand,
> And unite with the holy band,
> That's what it will be to be there.[3]

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[1] H. M. Beardsley, Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire [New York: Houghton, Miffin, 1931], headpiece to Chapter VII.

[2] Deseret Sunday School Songs [1909 edition, Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1909], p. 41.

[3] Ibid, [1906 Edition], p. 11. [1909 Edition], p. 3.

It is beyond the purpose of the present study to illustrate the peculiarities of this auxiliary song book, but a quotation from Pyper will demonstrate how some of the songs were created to fit specific needs:

> Brother Townsend is one of those who seek retirement. "Let Love Abound" was produced to counteract too many frivolous and critical groups in our villages. . . .
>
> "Beautiful Words of Love" was the response to the good sentiments expressed and beautiful songs sung at a conference of the Latter-day Saints.
>
> Actual work in a large Sunday School suggested the need of better order while partaking of the Sacrament. "I Do Remember Thee," and "Reverently and Meekly Now" were written for the express purpose of quieting the nervous disorders of many pupils.
>
> "Kind Words Are Sweet Tones of the Heart" . . . was composed [when] . . . he heard a number of fault-finding remarks among the people. It occurred to him how much finer it would be if he could hear kind words spoken oftener.[1]

A comparison of essential subject matter between this and other song books of the Church will be found in the succeeding chapter of this study.

While the Sunday School broadened its scope to include all ages, its original clientele consisted of children who also required religious attention on week days. Boys were particularly neglected, for in herding cattle they heard and practised rude expressions dropped by "gold seekers" and formed other careless habits.[2] A resourceful

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[1]Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns, pp.111-12.

[2]Rex Skidmore, Mormon Recreation [Philadelphia: published by the author, 1941], p. 64.

mother in Farmington meditated over the problem and projected a week-day auxiliary that won Church approval and was inaugurated in 1878 as the Primary Association. Girls too, were included, "for as singing was necessary, it needed the voices of little girls as well as little boys to make it sound as well as it should."[1]

Eliza R. Snow made a selection of hymns and songs from various authors, which was published for the Primary Associations in 1880.[2] Both from this and the Sunday School collections many useful songs were used, the minutes of the Salt Lake Third Ward Primary for 1880 showing such selections as "Let Us All Be Good and Kind," "We Thank Thee, O God, For a Prophet," "I'll Be a Little Mormon," "Do What Is Right," "We Are the Children of the Saints."[3] Local Primaries added their own contributions, as when C. L. Walker produced a tithing song for the St. George Primary.[4] The Primary Association today is distinguished by its flexible and generous use of music in recreation and moral training, publishing not only a superior song book but constantly adding to the repertoire through the monthly organ, The Children's Friend.

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[1] Ibid. Citing The Children's Friend [Salt Lake City], 39:167, April, 1940.

[2] Hymns and Songs [Salt Lake City, by the Church, 1880].

[3] "Primary Minute Book," Third Ward [Salt Lake City; seen in Church Historian's Office, Record No. 2568].

[4] C. L. Walker, "The Dixie Pioneer Poet," [Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.], p. 121.

Rise of the Mutual Improvement Associations and Their Music

For two generations the Church has placed its stamp upon Mormon youth by means of the Church-wide Mutual Improvement Associations. The movement really originated in the home of Brigham Young, who sought to curb extravagance in dress, speech and deportment, and cultivate habits of order, thrift, industry and charity among his numerous daughters through a family club known as the "Cooperative Retrenchment Association."[1] The idea spread, and by 1875 was paralleled by a young men's association which grew out of existing literary societies, debating clubs, and young men's social clubs. While the motives of Church authority have been questioned in seizing control of these various elements,[2] there can be no question but what the youth have been better served educationally and socially by a coordinated effort than by isolated attempts. The training and play opportunities for self-development caused R. T. Ely to observe in 1903 that "roughly speaking, every Mormon, male or female, can talk in public meeting, and pray and sing."[3] In describing Salt Lake City, he said, "Doubtless there is no other city of the size in the Union where one can hear a

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[1]B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930], V, 453.

[2]McNiff, op. cit., p. 201, suggests that beyond any inherent love of culture Church leaders wanted to control every agency that might be a possible opponent of the faith. "The desire to secure the happiness of the people was mixed with the desire to control all of Utah life."

[3]Skidmore, op. cit., pp. 78-79. Citing article in Harpers Magazine, 106:674-75, April, 1903.

larger number of excellent and fairly trained voices."[1]

Much of this musical training was motivated by competitions, when choruses, quartets, solos, [even for cabinet organ] and ward brass bands were acclaimed in tournaments of 1891 and 1892. The "M. I. A." served as each community's agency for cooperative recreation, with the result that the direction of all recreation in the Church is now entrusted to the Associations. This auxiliary, too, turned to the production of its own custom made song collection in 1887, when Ebenezer Beesley, director of the Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir generously edited a selection made from books and pamphlets already out of print.[2] It would appear that some of the same depth of feeling which stimulated heavy debates, lectures, and a scholarly magazine, appeared also in new songs. One which has not been seen in any other than this original collection, is here submitted as an expression of the times:

Pain's furnace-heat within me quivers,
God's breath upon the flames doth blow.
And all my heart in anguish shivers,
And trembles at the fiery glow;
And yet I whisper: As God will!
And in His hottest fire, hold still.

He comes and lays my heart all heated
On the hard anvil, minded so
Into His own fair shape to beat it
With His great hammer, blow on blow;
And yet I whisper: As God will!
And at His heaviest blows, hold still.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The Improvement Association Song Book [Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1887], preface.

Why should I murmur? For the sorrow
Thus only longer-lived would be.
Its end may come, and will to-morrow,
When God has done His work in me.
So I say, trusting: As God will!
And, trusting to the end, hold still.

He kindles for my profit purely,
Affliction's glowing, fiery brand,
And all His heaviest blows are surely
Inflicted by a Master-hand;
So I say, praying: As God will!
And, hoping in His love, hold still.[1]

Evan Stephens, who succeeded Beesley as director of the Tabernacle Choir, also edited a Y.M.M.I.A. and Missionary Hymn and Tune Book, in 1899. It consisted of seventy-two pages, pocket size, flexible cover, with all songs in male voice arrangement, and doubtless served well its immediate purpose. In addition to lesson materials, the Young Men published also a literary magazine, The Contributor, "a magazine that will make a book to be bound and kept, with something in it worth keeping."[2]

Feminist Movements

While the women members of the Church have always been obliged to defer to their husbands and brethren in the priesthood, they have been articulate and active to a degree quite unappreciated by their solici-

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[1] Ibid, p. 69.

[2] B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History, V, 482-83. Quoting President John Taylor.

tous sisters outside the faith. Woman's place in Utah was popularly epitomized in the concept that a Mormon was a "sort of leering, horned beast, who would steal your wife, marry your daughter and baptize your baby while you were not looking."[1] The Woman's Relief Society of Nauvoo days became moribund for twenty years, but responded to new stirrings on the frontier. Political activities of these women became evident in their magazine, The Woman's Exponent, founded in June, 1872, just two years after woman suffrage was granted by the Utah legislature. While every outraged woman who visited Utah from 1860 to 1880 wrote a book on the horrors of having half a husband, and dedicated it "To the Suffering Women of Utah," these energetic sisters were hewing out their own demands for equal rights. One of their songs invited all comers:

> Oh, come, come away. . . .
> To join the woman suffrage ring,
> And help us both to talk and sing
> Of either light or weighty things. . . .
>
> In equal rights we take delight,
> Our own we view with favor bright,
> We'll have them, too, without a fight. . . .[2]

The meeting of the Suffrage Association, February 3, 1894, closed with this song:[3]

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[1] M. R. Werner, Brigham Young [New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925], p. viii.

[2] Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book [Salt Lake City: Woman's Exponent, n.d.], p. 7.

[3] Woman's Exponent [Salt Lake City], February 15, 1894, p. 92.

HELP THE WORKINGWOMEN

Oh, ye fair ones, whose feet
Walk in pathways so sweet . . .
Many wrongs you may right
Many burdens make light
By the strength of your lily-white hands.

In your warm homes secure,
Think what they must endure
Who, unarmed, life's grim battle must fight,
Who must toil, pinch and strive,
That their dear ones may live,
All the day, and perhaps, half the night. . . .

Half-paid labor is all they may know. . . .
Do you pity this toil-weary band?
Would you lighten their load?
Would you smooth their rough road?
Then for true equal rights take a stand.[1]

Musically, the women of the Church were touched by every influence previously mentioned, and the need of a specialized hymnody was partially met in this and in earlier periods by the standard hymns of the Church.

SUMMARY

The period of Mormon history, roughly comprehended by the years 1870 to 1900, was marked by a cultural maturity that found expression in the efforts of gifted musical leaders. With but little direction from the three elderly men who in turn succeeded Brigham Young, the English-born musicians trained choirs, taught music classes, and finally produced a music book to accompany the standard hymns. Their

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[1]Utah Woman Suffrage Song Book, p. 9.

efforts to create an indigenous style tended toward vigorous expression that alternated with sentimental melody. Musical criticism centered on the neglect of congregational singing, and the failure of day schools to emulate the singing of the Sunday Schools.

A steadily expanding movement to train the children of the Church burst into a Church-wide adoption of the Sunday School, which in turn became the new fountain head of a congregation-centered use of songs. Extensive editions of songs, competition awards for new compositions, jubilee celebrations and conventions promoted the new auxiliary. A week day auxiliary to guide the recreation of children arose in the Primary Association, and the Woman's Relief Society was supplemented by a temporary Suffrage movement which employed militant song. The literary and social expansions of a maturing economy were coordinated in the Mutual Improvement Associations which emphasized self-development through music as well as by other activities.

Historically the period was highlighted by a decrease in immigration, and the continuance of industrial and commercial activity; politically by defeat of the Church in its practice of polygamy, and the resulting admission of Utah to the Union in 1896. The Salt Lake Temple, forty years in the building, was dedicated in 1893 by use of music inherited from the past. Educationally the territory advanced toward public schools which only a state government could properly finance, and by the year 1900, Utah and the Church were concentrated

upon the opportunities of a hustling twentieth century.

Educative force was defined for the purposes of this study as a religious power, released by an agent like music. At the turn of the century this potential power of song, this educative force, was curtailed by two trends: first, a preoccupation with "artistic refinement" of the tunes, to the neglect of problem-centered texts, and, second, a simultaneous employment of music to enhance the attractions of the vigorous new auxiliary movements. "Pieces with vim" and "appropriate melodies" were prized by the Sunday Schools, as contributing to an emotional enthusiasm which found no direct channels of action as in frontier days. The anomaly is presented of more people engaged in singing, to a less fruitful purpose. Progress toward artistic achievement has its value, but in merging with the world of art, the Church may have abandoned its most useful agent of religious force.

CHAPTER V

THE HYMNODY FALTERS AS MORMONISM FACES BOTH WAYS

At the turn of the century Mormonism had solved two phases of conflict which were constant factors in the growth of the Church and its members: the conflict with neighbors which blazed a trail from Palmyra, New York, through Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois to Utah, and came to a formal conclusion when Utah was accepted by her sister states in 1896; and the struggle with an inhospitable frontier which was shortened by heavy immigration and cooperative labor to establish Zion in the Rocky Mountains. This temporal success was later attested by the First Presidency, who in 1907 declared that the Church was out of debt.[1] Subsequent statements by the President of the Church in 1915,[2] and 1943,[3] for instance affirmed that never was the Church in a "better condition, spiritually and temporally."

For seventy years the attention of the entire Mormon group had been concentrated on these central problems, with the possible effect of adding prestige to the leaders and magnifying the importance of

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[1] Report of Conference Proceedings [Salt Lake City: Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 5, 1907], pp. 5-6.

[2] B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930], VI, 431.

[3] News Item, Deseret News [Salt Lake City], April 5, 1943. Report of President Heber J. Grant's message.

historical events and places.[1] This holds meaning for a survey of the first four decades of the twentieth century, for as Ericksen has observed:

> A long history of such centralizing group consciousness accompanied by great emotional excitement has created strong Mormon sentiments toward the past and its accumulations of institutions so that it is difficult to direct attention upon present-day problems. Many of the Mormons seem to live by themselves in a world constructed out of their past group life, a distinct world of discourse.[2]

"The Mormon group was most active when it centered its attention upon something outside of itself," he continues, "upon an opposing group or upon some obstacle of its environment."[3] The group possessed wonderful vitality: it built cities, as it were, in a day; it endured great privation; it met and surmounted a variety of obstacles. "But it is with a social group as with an individual, it tends to lose its vigor as soon as it becomes self-conscious," this Mormon scholar concludes.[4]

Due to the increasing complexity of society and the absence of historical perspective any analysis of Mormon social life from about 1900 to 1943 is necessarily speculative and limited. The affinity of

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[1] E. E. Ericksen, The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922], p. 98.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid, p. 99.

[4] Ibid,

early Mormon music with social movement seems to disappear with a breakdown in group isolation. Particularly obscure appears any causal relation between the role of music and a third phase of conflict projected by Erickson--maladjustments between new thought and old institutions. This internal strife he views in four important human relations: education, economic, political, and family.[1] Despite their rational appeal, these classifications are not easily supported by available data. The present chapter will proceed, therefore, to enumerate problems of the period as they fall under the Church functions of [a] preserving religious institutions, [b] serving a new social order, and [c] music in the social process.

PRESERVING RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE PAST

The relationship between Church authority and laity in this period is complicated by two obvious but allied facts: a tremendous increase and dispersion in population and a secularization of individual living. The first is disclosed in a 332 per cent increase in Church enrollment between the years 1900 and 1938.[2] With a population in the Church of 236,316 in 1900, 73 per cent lived principally in Utah, while of the 784,764 members in 1938, only 49 per cent resided in Utah.[3] Despite the use of automobile, train and radio, high Church

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[1] Ibid, p. 59.

[2] Milton R. Hunter, The Mormons and the American Frontier [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940], p. 253.

[3] Ibid.

authorities have lost much of the personal contact that existed in early primary relationships. As Church members now turn to men of science, education, and politics for leadership in these realms, Church authority must operate within a steadily diminishing sphere.

Authority and Leadership

Brigham Young and Joseph Smith could command when the prophet of today may only advise and counsel within certain limits fixed by group sentiments. When he reaches into political and industrial affairs he meets with opposition from those who do not feel the old group sentiments.[1] Statehood for Utah was granted only upon surrender of the earlier theocratic rule, and in 1907 the First Presidency further acknowledged the delimitation by declaring for "The absolute freedom of the individual from the domination of ecclesiastical authority in political affairs."[2] While one author[3] has said the Mormon church began as a young man's movement, with Joseph Smith becoming head at the age of twenty-five, and Brigham Young at the age of forty-three, yet future heads are likely to be elected from among senior apostles over eighty years of age. It should be noted, however, that the greater

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[1]Bricksen, op. cit., p. 93.

[2]B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, VI, 436. By contrast, three young Mormon elders were excommunicated thirty-seven years earlier for not believing that "President Young has the right to dictate to you, in all things temporal and spiritual." It was impossible to honestly differ from the presiding priesthood, according to an account in Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine, 1:22. Cited by Bricksen, op. cit., p. 61.

[3]Nels Anderson, Desert Saints, [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942], p. 41.

body of leadership today is vested in young men who serve for brief periods as bishops and stake presidents. The loyalty of this leadership cannot be questioned, even though the fields of authority are reduced by changed in group sentiment.

This change in relationship proceeds in spite of symbols of the past. President Heber J. Grant once remarked that day after day he had attended conferences where the people heartily voiced the old hymn:

> We thank Thee, O God, for a prophet
> To guide us in these latter days. . . .

but the guidance they would accept was confined to fields of their own choice.[1] It would be unwise to discount the value of the hymn in this instance, however, for only two out of the twenty-four lines refer to the leader, while all others voice faith and confidence in Deity for manifold gifts. As a hymn of thanksgiving it differs from a pledge of allegiance to traditional authority.

Closely allied with the institution of authority is the role of lay leadership which has been a necessity as well as a matter of choice, says Lloyd in an excellent study of this unique development.[2]

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[1]Heber J. Grant, Gospel Standards [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941], p. 172. Quoting The Improvement Era, 44:255.

[2]Wesley P. Lloyd, The Rise and Development of Lay Leadership in the Latter-day Saint Movement [Photo-lithographed summary of Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1937], p. 7.

Originating as a class of the "economically disinherited"[1] the Mormons had to be interested in serving their Church, especially when any program for economic betterment drove them hard to satisfy fundamental human needs.[2]

> The new test for this type of leadership comes as Latter-day Saints develop large numbers of people who attain high social status and financial respectability. Such conditions make new demands upon the organization. The call comes for better preaching, for more dependable local counseling, for skillfully directed church services, and for leadership in fields where secular agencies cannot compete. . . . The mere donation of services will not answer the need.[3]

While stalwart figures have always stood at the head of the Church and commanded not only the loyalty but the affection and admiration of most of the members, the Church in its numerical expansion has lost that polarity toward a single man which marked the days of Brigham Young and Joseph Smith. Thus the institution of the prophet remains, but his "church family" and its primary contacts has expanded to become a nation with only secondary relationships.

Theology

In the preservation of its theology the Church has naturally looked to its inheritance from the past as well as to its opportuni-

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[1]Cf. H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism [New York: Henry Holt, 1929], whose concepts have influenced many studies of religious development in America.

[2]Lloyd, op. cit., p. 7.

[3]Ibid.

ties to teach in the future. This theology has always tended to exalt the educated man, and is demonstrated in the remarkable educational attainments of Utah[1] and its citizens.[2]

The more basic doctrines of the Church, as we have seen, center around such questions as the creation of man, the literal interpretation of the Bible, the authority of the priesthood, the divine and eternal nature of Mormon institutions, God's commandments as absolute moral laws, and revelation through the prophet as the only source of all religious truth. The scientific viewpoint has come to influence public education however, and tends to establish human experience as the only source of knowledge. There appears to be slight opportunity for compromise here, but in a late study, Lloyd recognizes that:

> As it now meets an educational world which is dominated by naturalistic approaches and the scientific method there is a tendency for large numbers of the educated laity to accept new interpretations of theological concepts. In a system which stresses lay leadership so much it is imperative to retain the most widely educated and best trained people so that they will be available for the high type of leadership desired.[3]

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[1] John Clifton Moffitt, The Development of Centralizing Tendencies in Educational Organization and Administration in Utah [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940], pp. 144-45.

[2] Milton R. Hunter, op. cit., p. 263, summarizes Thorndike's study showing that Utah has produced one and a half times as many "Men of Science" per capita as any other state in the Union, although only 32 per cent of those born in Utah now live there. Cf. E. L. Thorndike, "The Production, Retention and Attraction of American Men of Science," Science, 90:137-141, August 16, 1940.

[3] Lloyd, op. cit., p. 15.

In its fine social-religious centers now located near many high school and college campuses in the West, the Church faces the alternative of offering religious courses that are either doctrine-centered or problem-centered. A notable study of religious conflict among seniors in Utah colleges reveals some points of this divergence. From a study of 564 students who responded to nearly three hundred items of a religious inventory form, Larsen[1] found that 51 per cent of the students feel there is no way of determining what is true about religion, 31 per cent feel that some of the beliefs and practices of the Church are too narrow or unimportant for their acceptance, 28 per cent are unable to harmonize their own ideas of evolution and the teachings of the Church, 20 per cent doubt the truth of the sacred books of the Church, and 25 per cent feel that some course in school has left them upset in their religious thinking. Conformity is found however in the more than 90 per cent who like to attend church and who feel that religion should be an important factor in their lives, who agree with the Church on the non-use of tobacco and alcohol, and who feel that their school environment does not hinder their religious development.

Ericksen sees the Church employing at least one hymn in its defense;[2] and there is likely complete agreement among all leaders that

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[1]Vernon Fred Larsen, Development of a Religious Inventory for a Specific Study in Higher Education [Photo-lithographed Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1942], p. 32.

[2]Ericksen, op. cit., p. 91.

few "social implements" have proved more useful or enjoyable in this period than "True to the Faith":

> Shall the youth of Zion falter,
> In defending truth and right?
> While the enemy assaileth,
> Shall we shrink, or shun the fight? No!
>
> [Chorus]
> True to the faith that our parents have cherished;
> True to the truth for which martyrs have perished;
> To God's command, soul, heart, and hand,
> Faithful and true we will ever stand.[1]

Although first published in the Juvenile Instructor in 1905, this song is one of the latest to come into general use, and reflects the interaction of composer and community. Evan Stephens, then conductor of the Tabernacle Choir, strolled alone up City Creek Canyon following a Sunday afternoon service which had been addressed by President Joseph F. Smith. Pondering over the sermon, "The Third and Fourth Generations," he sat down on a rock, and was moved to pencil the above words and their martial tune. According to Pyper, Stephens later remarked:

> It isn't words or music to dream over, it is that pulsating with the life and action of today. Yesterday was the dreamer's day. Today belongs to the wide-awake worker, and our religion is preeminently in harmony with today and its unparalleled activity. Our songs and music, to a degree, at least, are here again [sic] in harmony with our religion, as they should be. . . .[2]

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[1] Deseret Sunday School Songs [Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1909], No. 179.

[2] George D. Pyper, Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939], pp. 118-119.

Whatever Stephens may have lacked in compositional technic he made up in alertness and enthusiasm; and in responding to the prophet's perception he voiced a group sentiment which was eagerly acclaimed by the people as their own.

Social Control Technics

This discussion of preserving Church institutions may conclude with mention of social control as a method. An over-all definition by Tappan recognizes social control as "any process whereby the will of an individual or group is exercised over another individual or group in the assumed interest of either."[1] In earlier periods the Church authorities relied heavily upon direct contact forms, such as discourses voiced in conferences and through Church periodicals. Supernatural and moral sanctions were the chief support to these controls, aided by economic, political, and social pressures.[2] The Mormons, by reason of their geographical compactness and strong community spirit could use primary means of control quite intensively. In fact, says Tappan, "The technics of gossip, discussion, and of personal interaction were used most successfully by them."[3] These controls ramified virtually every area of behavior, social and personal, with a strength unknown outside of religion. Until group life began to disintegrate

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[1] Paul Wilbur Tappan, "Mormon-Gentile Conflict," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1939], pp. 434-35.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

with the dispersion of Church population and cessation of out-group conflicts, apostasy from the faith incurred not only the risk of eternal damnation but suffering from other more immediate controls such as ostracism and political, economic, and social restrictions.[1]

As the forms of social control are modified by many factors, it is interesting to note how the expressions conveyed through familiar hymns lose their potency. Like the frozen creeds of traditional religion the inherited songs become less true to the facts of human experience. To quote a sociologist, "One of the results is that the common daily expressions of religion are largely conventional and traditional, merely repetitions of old phrases, catchwords or terms that carry no present-day conviction."[2] Evan Stephens tacitly admitted that in the immediacy of his new composition, "our songs and music, to a degree at least, are here again in harmony with our religion, as they should be."[3] This view will be detailed in the conclusion of this chapter.

SERVING A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

"Science today is religion's overwhelmingly successful competitor in showing men how to get what they want," says Harry Emerson Fosdick.[4]

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[1] Ibid, pp. 435-36.

[2] George Willis Cooke, The Social Evolution of Religion [Boston: The Stratford Company, 1920], pp. 323-24.

[3] Supra, p. 223.

[4] Quoted in Recent Social Trends [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933], II, 1010.

Perhaps it is due to the broad scope of Mormon philosophy, combined with a realistic acceptance of demonstrated truth, that the Church has experienced no overt conflict between science and religion. Even though the area of the unknown is being so rapidly reduced by science, the Church has wisely maintained that religion is necessarily concerned with all of life.[1] Whether or not the present day hymnody reflects this concern with changing life will be discussed in the analysis of this generation's hymn book, at the close of this chapter.

Leadership must be considered not only in its relation to preserving institutions of the past, but also in light of its continuing responsibility to serve the new order. Leadership can function only when two factors coincide--an acutely felt need for change, and a personality adapted to the particular situation.[2] Attempts to lead in the absence of sufficient pressure for change have usually miscarried, as when Brigham Young sought to substitute the shorthand "Deseret Alphabet" for English orthography in the 1850's, or to institute the United Order in the 1860's. Some causes have awaited ages for leadership, even as the Latter-day Saints believe God was shaping world events to culminate in the Restoration movement with Joseph Smith as leader.

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[1] Cf. C. F. Potter, The Story of Religion [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1929], p. xx, who notes that religion and life were so inseparable in ancient times that the Old Testament does not contain the word "religion."

[2] Richard Schmidt, "Leadership," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, pp. 282-286.

Rephrasing the Goals of Religion

The function of leadership is to state the group aims. At least two Mormon scholars agree that the time has already arrived for a reorientation of Mormon group goals. Ericksen believes that:

> What Mormonism needs today is the vitalization of its institutions, which need to be put into use rather than merely contemplated. They should function as means rather than be analyzed as ends. When Mormonism finds more glory in working out new social ideals than in the contemplating of past achievements of the beauty of its own theological system, it will begin to feel its old-time strength. The group spirit will reappear in a new form.[1]

Lowry Nelson expressed a decade later the idea that:

> . . . our effective handling of ourselves as a Mormon society during the next hundred years will hinge to a large extent upon the statement of aims. It is an interesting sociological phenomenon that people have to be told where they are going. Moreover, they have to be told again and again. Their aims have to be rephrased every so often in order for them to feel at ease.[2]

A dominant objective of the early Church was to "build Zion." Nelson further observes that "we today, are not polarized around that objective with the same literal and unanimous devotion,"[3] but that community building in the larger concept could knit together for co-operative effort the vast complex social organization that is the Mormon Church.

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[1] Ericksen, op. cit., p. 99.

[2] Lowry Nelson, "The Next One Hundred Years," Improvement Era, 36:117, December, 1932.

[3] Ibid.

> Why should we not have more and better writers, artists, musicians, scholars, and creative intellects in general. . . . a Mormon society [to] lead out in the stupendous task of eradicating poverty, crime and other social diseases? . . .
>
> The achievement involves the recognition of our changed economic and social outlook, the development of technics of group discussion and of cooperation, the recognition of the world-wide spread of the Church, and the diffusion throughout our social group of a spirit of tolerance.[1]

Church leadership did step out to rephrase a goal of religion in 1936, by seeking to provide food, clothing, and shelter to those members suffering from the economic depression. This goal, incidently, acknowledges that the core of a community must be economic, that its members "might have life . . . more abundantly."[2] As a rural sociologist has phrased it, "This simplest religious craving is for economic assurance of supply: 'The Lord is my Shepherd: I shall not want'."[3] The Church Welfare Program was faced with very real problems in 1936, according to a scientific appraisal made two years later,[4] problems which are basic to a pioneer philosophy and concerned with national patterns as well.[5] The fuller solution will have to be sought for many

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[1] Ibid.

[2] John, 10:10.

[3] Warren H. Wilson, The Evolution of the Country Community [Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1912], Chapt. VI.

[4] Mayola Rogers Miltenberger, "Some Aspects of the Welfare Activities of the Church," [unpublished Master's thesis, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1936], pp. 86-87.

[5] Cf. H. A. Wallace, Statesmanship and Religion, pp. 6-7, 91-92, 120-121. Cited by R. H. Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought [New York: Ronald Press, 1940], p. 307.

years to come.

Seeking a Revised Basis for Homogeneity

A decline in group homogeneity complicates the effective handling of this and other sociological problems of today. America closed in on Mormon isolation and exclusiveness, infiltering the intellectual environment of current ideas, opinions, phrases, news, and releasing industrial and commercial forces which change the incentives, habits and social organization.[1] In the scope of the press alone, this dispersal of interest is obvious, for Church issues which dominated the front page of The Deseret News in 1850 are relegated to inside columns ninety years later. In contrast, it should be noted that a religious group thrives best, as such, when it has a few distinctive topics and employs them with emotional fervor, when it builds up a stock of phrases with sentimental attachment.

Homogeneity as found in group definition also suffers from infusion of manifold factors. As Cheville illustrates it:

> Some could explain the hard times of the dust bowl as due to "sin" and leave it there but this was not enough for those who knew something about agronomy and atmospheric conditions. Generally speaking, the more extended the range of experience and the consequent increase in number of factors called in to consider a proposition, the slower the expression of dogmatism. The sense of multiple causation is hard on the simple sectarian spirit.[2]

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[1] M. E. King, "Utah, Apocalypse of the Desert," The Nation, 114:768, June 28, 1922.

[2] Roy A. Cheville, The Latter Day Saints and Their Changing Relationship to the Social Order [Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing Company, 1942], p. 25.

The loss of homogeneity is related to the departing social isolation. As much as commerce, mining, and industry aided in diluting Utah's concentration of Mormon population, the desire for isolation feels its most violent impact with the establishment of heavy war industry in the Rocky Mountains during 1940-43. Dr. Harold T. Christensen, professor of sociology at the Brigham Young University, described this social earthquake as upsetting the equilibrium of population, disrupting the stability of social institutions and inflicting a psychological shock on personalities.[1] A change in the attitude toward religion, the school, and the family is brought about by the inter-related effects of population shifts, he declared.[2]

Homogeneity is further lost as these rapidly shifting forces accelerate the process of accomodation, a process which is characteristic of a maturing religious sect. Reuter and Hart have described the process, which figures in this contemporary Mormon period:

> . . . the larger the group becomes, through securing new converts, the more variation there is within it; it grows in tolerance as it increases in members. As it becomes more tolerant persecution declines and the group is accepted or tolerated on the same basis as other rival

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[1] Harold T. Christensen, "Utah faces necessity of revising its desire for isolation," News item, Ogden Standard-Examiner, May 2, 1943. [Reporting the annual meeting of the Utah Academy of Arts and Sciences at Ogden, Utah].

[2] Ibid.

organizations. At this stage the sect has evolved into a denomination.[1]

Ironically, internal cohesiveness may be further dissipated as the Church consciously seeks to lessen the appearance of conflict between Mormons and other religionists. This reverse trend is noticeable in a few hymns: while still lustily singing the hymn "Praise to the Man," the vindictive line "Long shall His Blood which was shed by assassins, Stain Illinois" has been modified in recent years to read "plead unto Heav'n." The hymn of peculiar theology, "The God that Others Worship" was dropped after the 1871 edition, perhaps also to avoid giving offense to non-Mormons. The emphasis in missionary work has changed from a voice of warning, to a respectful and friendly invitation based on common interests. One result of leadership accepting a revised order is seen in the improved public relations which have been sought through the offices of community music and national broadcasts from the Salt Lake Tabernacle, and by willing cooperation with movie and press services. The prestige of its members in educational and vocational achievements has been helpful in correcting hostile attitudes toward the Church.

In the process of accomodation certain trends in population have also operated to enervate group homogeneity. As the frontier economy reached the saturation point through immigration and high birth rate,

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[1]E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, Introduction to Sociology [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933], p. 516.

members of the Church were obliged to move away. Zion was redefined as any "place where the Saints live," and the "Gathering" was reversed by discouraging emigration at its sources and by encouraging members to establish themselves where vocational opportunities might beckon. A significant doctoral study of what happens when these products of an intermountain, rural culture move to a metropolis like Los Angeles, has been made by Done.[1]

Dr. Done found that fully 95 per cent of the Mormons in Los Angeles came to better themselves economically, entering practically all the fields of business, industrial, and professional life. By means of 1574 questionnaries, the degree of community participation was ascertained to be substantially the same as enjoyed "back home." The "liberal and progressive" members were found within a higher economic faction, socially identified with the "out" group.

> This greater activity in the community is reflected unfavorably in their religious life. They are less strict in their adherence to such standards as tithing and the Word of Wisdom. Their general religious attitude is less orthodox than that of those of the more humble wards. In this group is found the majority of those who find living their religion harder here than in the intermountain region.[2]

While the majority of members have realized an increased Church activity in Los Angeles:

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[1]C. Byron Done, "The Participation of the Latter-day Saints in the Community Life of Los Angeles," Abstracts of Dissertations [Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1939], pp. 118-122.

[2]Ibid, p. 120.

> The evidence gathered in this study justifies the observation that the greatest threat to the Church solidarity and the perpetuation of its cohesive group life and consciousness in Los Angeles lies in the social participation [interaction] of its members in dances, parties, card playing, clubs, lodges, and business associations with their non-Mormon friends. Continuous social identification with the "out" group is inimical to the success of the Church in Los Angeles.[1]

Only as the individual recognizes his "unlikeness" to others in the depth of his religious sentiments, attitudes, and habits, is he likely to maintain his religious identity. The slow, unconscious, and subtle influences of intimate daily associations with the "out" group, as opposed to the ideal social control of isolation and insular inheritance, is most evident in the high intermarriage rate of the Mormon and non-Mormon populations.

> . . . for in this city approximately forty per cent of Latter-day Saint marriages are with non-Mormons. This is twice that of the Church at large and three times greater than the intermarriage rate in Salt Lake City. Yet only 4.3 per cent of the members in Los Angeles believe that the Church advises against such a practice too much.[2]

If this intermarriage rate is any criterion, the Church seems to be emerging from the status of a conflict group, which it occupied in the intermountain region, into the role of an accomodation group among the religious denominations of a great metropolitan area, "at a rate exceeding twice that of the Mormon Church at large and three times that

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid, p. 121.

of the Church in Salt Lake City, and the women of the Church, both in Los Angeles and Salt Lake, intermarry at a rate of over twice that of the male members."[1]

Renewed emphasis on social life may become a basis for homogeneity in the urban scene. Done concludes that the Church has found in the dynamic change, mobility, and instability of the urban life of Los Angeles a conflict of cultures, and he suggests the need for a special program to meet the social and intellectual needs of the group, which are different in many ways from those of the rural, intermountain country. He believes the Church should reclaim and keep interested the hundreds of highly trained college and professional members in the Los Angeles group, for within this group are the potential leaders of the Church, notwithstanding their Church loyalty was found to be lowest.[2]

Suggestions for securing social identification with their own kind were made by members of the group, but in the four years following completion of the study no action has been taken by the Church authorities, nor awareness of the problem indicated. The facts revealed by scientific study now may become apparent to anyone twenty years later, but by that time a redefinition of goals and institutions

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[1] Ibid, p. 122.

[2] Ibid.

could prove impotent. The challenge posed by the Parable of the Ninety and Nine differs from this situation only in arithmetic, and undoubtedly, Church leaders see the problem more easily than they visualize its solution.

Many parents have a personal interest in the solution, for it has been conservatively estimated that Mormon communities have "exported" as many as one hundred thousand of their sons and daughters since 1900.[1] That sum would equal the number of emigrant converts brought to Utah from the east and abroad during the pioneer period, and surpass the number of Utah-born citizens now religiously active outside the inter-mountain area.

Social Reorientation

The strain placed upon Church institutions, to serve members in the present transitional age, is but an instance of the fundamental problem of our era which Harry Elmer Barnes calls "the unprecedented gulf between machines and institutions."[2] The social effect of transportation alone may be comprehended in this observation: when European converts first arrived in Utah by train in 1870, the cost

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[1]Nels Anderson, op. cit., p. 444, in a comprehensive chapter on "The Mormon Way of Life."

[2]Harry Elmer Barnes, Society in Transition [New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939], p. 2, who continues, "Voltaire or Thomas Jefferson would have been more at home in the material culture of ancient Egypt than either would be today in Paris or New York City." This fascinating volume surveys the Industrial Revolution, and Rise of Secularism in two chapters, pp. 2-66.

of transporting a bushel of grain in Europe was so great as to prohibit its sale beyond a radius of two hundred miles from a primary market. By 1883 the importation of grans from the virgin soil of the western prairies in the United States had brought about an agricultural crisis in every country in western Europe.[1]

Unfortunately, no complete and faithfully executed picture of Mormon social life in this frame of a transitional age is available. Presumably the Church is not seeking social data through scientific study, or the research facilities of western universities may be inadequate or unavailable for the job. Reference to the attached bibliography will disclose the names of scholars within or outside the Church who could shed further light through up-to-date studies. One might hope for a survey that would report "Recent Social Trends" in the Mormon Church, as detailed as President Hoover's committee summarized trends for the entire United States,[2] or one should anticipate an analysis of some Mormon "Middletown in Transition," such as the Lynds made for the nation.[3] Perhaps some useful analogy may be drawn from the latter work.

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[1] Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924], p. 620.

[2] Recent Social Trends in the United States [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933]. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends.

[3] Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown in Transition, A Study in Cultural Conflicts [New York: Harcourt Brace, 1937].

Taking the Lynds' discerning study as an outline, the writer might attempt to generalize on the Mormon scene, with no validity other than the experience of growing up in a half-Mormon city of Utah and the perspective of a decade spent in and out of the state. Mormontown, like Middletown, judges success by material earnings; the aphorisms of "every tub on its own bottom" and "if a man doesn't make good it's his own fault,"[1] were first sounded by a frontier society. The boasts of a classless society are similarly based on the two facts of universal suffrage and vertical mobility up the pecuniary ladder.[2] While no "X family" dominates the town, there is a corporate practice of the hard-headed ethos of Protestant capitalism.[3] "Caring for the unable" bears the socially enlightened stamp of Mormon group life.[4] Unlike Middletown, status depends not solely on what money can buy, for making a home is still a major interest of this applied religion. Moral crusaders might say some percentage of youth are like Middletown's "kids, going ahead to rescue from their world more of the reassurance that personal intimacies can be made to yield."[5] Utah's schools, too, probably operate in the widening area of conflict between [1] the spirit of inquiring youth, and [2] the

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[1] Ibid, Chapt. I.

[2] Ibid, p. 72.

[3] Ibid, p. 76.

[4] Ibid, Chapt. IV.

[5] Ibid, p. 168.

spirit of do-as-we-say-and-ask-no-questions.[1]

"What a people does with its leisure, like the way it trains its young, affords a sensitive index to its values,"[2] and those values will likely ever stand high in Mormon culture. Perhaps no other church has so consistently espoused wholesome recreation nor worked toward such a highly centralized and supervised social system.[3] The current problem lies not in idealism but in adapting practice to social trends, and both credits and debits have been noted in a study of Utah's capital city.[4] A trend toward passive leisure is now met by installing moving picture equipment in many Latter-day Saint recreation halls, but Mormon parents insist that their children see as much trash at Church movies as at the equally indiscriminating commercial theaters. While Church leaders protest to the movie industry at the over-emphasis on drinking, smoking, and vulgarity[5] no Church periodical offers constructive guidance through film estimates of acceptable, current movies. The church, the school, and the home

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[1] Ibid, Chapt. V.

[2] Ibid, p. 292.

[3] Rex A. Skidmore, Mormon Recreation in Theory and Practice [Philadelphia: published by the author, 1941], pp. 126-127.

[4] Arthur L. Beeley, Boys and Girls in Salt Lake City [Salt Lake City, University of Utah, 1929], pp. 90, 100-101.

[5] News item, Deseret News, [Salt Lake City], November 28, 1942. "Church protests picturization of smoking, drinking, vulgarity in films; auxiliary heads urge banning of evils."

have a common field of interest in recreation, and will doubtless coordinate their activities. Otherwise the better organized interests of Hollywood and Radio City will establish their supremacy, and Mormontown will have "relinquished to other agencies leadership in the defining of values."[1]

In civic government, the modern Mormontown unfortunately fares little better than Middletown. Vice rings and indicted city fathers are common enough to bring shame to pioneer descendants. In acceding to a divorce from political domination, the Church may have forfeited also its interest in righteous civic government. In the vivid figures of the Lynds, the inland town may also be said to jog along in its civic affairs, "riding uneasily with one foot on the back of each of the ill-gaited horses of Democratic Symbol and Urgent Reality" wondering "how long will the two horses continue within leg-stretch of each other?"[2]

In recognition of the higher light by which he is guided, the Mormon citizen remembers this aphorism, "where much is given, much is expected," and is reproached by any intimation that his institutions face some readjustment to reality. Because he lives by his inheritance from the past, he properly faces both ways, and would resent comparison

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[1]Lynd, op. cit., p. 318.

[2]Lynd, op. cit., p. 372.

with any people who "walked reluctantly backwards into the future, lest a worse thing should befall them."[1]

In a scientific study of the "Response of a Mormon Village," a famed scholar of Mormon antecedent, has appraised the relative effectiveness of the Church auxiliaries, such as the Sunday School, Relief Society, Primary, and M. I. A.:

> Is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints going to continue to play the important role in the lives of its members in the future which it has played in the past? Will these various organizations be able to compete successfully with the many new influences such as the moving picture, the radio, the automobile, etc., which are creeping in and bidding for a fair proportion of the time and attention of the members of the church?
>
> Are the methods of procedure and the curriculum of the various organizations adapted to present-day social and spiritual needs, or is there a tendency to crystallize the material into dogmas and dead formulas which to a certain extent have lost their meanings, and fail to function in the lives of the people.[2]

A renowned Mormon sociologist has commented on the need for social research in future planning:

> From the standpoint of Mormon culture a comprehensive program of social research can be of inestimable worth . . . [to] a program based upon realities. These realities can be revealed only through patient research. For example, the

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[1] Lynd, op. cit., Chapt. XIII. Citing R. H. Tawney, Equality, p. 127, with regard to the ruling class in Europe after the French Revolution.

[2] Nathan L. Whetten, "Response of a Mormon Village Population to Religious Institutions, As Measured by Attendance at Meetings," [unpublished master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1928], p. 95.

> Mormon group is very solicitous of the welfare of the family as a social unit. Yet there is nobody who knows exactly how that solicitude might be effectively expressed. Nobody knows what is happening to the family. Many people have opinions about the subject, but precise factual data are lacking. To set up a program of action based upon opinion and casual observation might easily do more harm than good, and result in a great waste of human effort as well as money. A well-planned and well-executed research project on the family would reveal valuable data upon which a program could be established. This same logic applies to all phases of our social life.[1]

In the absence of adequate data, the present study can summarize the transition toward secularization only in the following generalized trends. First, the economic background is basic to all other trends, and in the approximately seventy years since the Church auxiliaries came into being, the following movements may be implied:

From home employment and ownership,
    to farm tenancy, industry and business.
From youthful farm labors,
    to specialized training and delayed employment.
From home industry and thrift,
    to corner-store shopping and installment buying.
From a job for every hand,
    to government relief and Church Welfare Program.

Intellectual stimulation has followed in the wake of these transitions:

From rural academies,
    to comprehensive tax-supported public education.
From remote visitations,
    to Church conferences around the home radio.

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[1]Lowry Nelson, Some Economic Social Features of American Fork, Utah," [Brigham Young University Studies, Provo, Utah, 1939], p. 73.

From longhand epistles,
to typewriter, high-speed presses, and air-mail.
From wagon trails,
to paved highways, railways and airways.
From local news and back-fence gossip,
to international press and shortwave.

Social relationships fall into new patterns of behavior control:

From church and family-centered socials,
to distant movies, dances and sports.
From social controls of church and home,
to commercial appeals and sanctions.
From a Church school system,
to public education and off-campus religious study.
From home-town courtships,
to cosmopolitan marriage relations.
From large rural families,
to restricted city birthrates.
From pioneer Sabbath observance,
to commercialized Sunday work and recreation.
From religious folk faith,
to scientific and materialistic sophistication.

Somewhere between these measures of identification may be found characteristics of Mormon social life today. These ever-present changes are creating derivative problems which must somehow be "lived through," and the speed up of daily life has multiplied the fears, anxieties and conflicts of individual and group life. It would be absurd to conclude that technology has lessened the problems of living by merely erasing frontier hardships.

A young adult Mormon might seek to discover some of the problems of living in which his Church could assist him to greater degree today.

Very likely his problems would differ from those of his grandparents only in form and not in substance. Such a self-inventory might begin with this outline:

I desire:
- A testimony of Divine guidance in my personal life.
- To be in closer fellowship with my church group.
- To find a life partner who shares my religious beliefs.
- To find spiritual security in my religious questionings.
- Guidance to reconcile my religious and my secular fields of knowledge.

I have fears for:
- The welfare of distant loved ones.
- My success in pursuing a congenial vocation.
- My success in achieving a happy home.
- Maintaining my health under existing loads and conditions.

I am confronted with doubts as to:
- The necessity of marrying only within the Church.
- Strictly observing the "Word of Wisdom."
- Maintaining belief in all traditional phases of the Gospel.
- Ability to find my social life within the Church.
- The necessity of my paying an honest tithing.

I have regrets for:
- Having caused injury to others for which I have not made amends.
- Having neglected Church responsibilities.
- Having refused opportunities to serve others.
- Not measuring up to my self-expectations.

I hope to see:
- Unrestricted opportunity given for development of individual personality and talent.
- Economic and class conflicts adjusted through fraternity and fair play, as taught by the Gospel.
- Youth, with its honest doubts and questionings, led to an understanding of the vital application of the Gospel to current problems.

If the individual is to find assistance in his religion and his social group to help him make the necessary adjustments, the role of music could be involved in the social process. A brief examination of the current hymnal and musical trends may reveal the degree of divergence between the problems of living and the current role of music.

MUSIC IN THE SOCIAL PROCESS

While sociological data for the period of Mormon history, dating from 1900 to about 1943, could be expanded in a full exposition, the music data by contrast are exceedingly limited. The production of song books continued along two diverse lines which originated in the previous periods. It will be recalled that the official hymnody of the Church grew essentially from a compilation first edited in the British Isles in 1840 by general authorities then abroad on missionary work. Subsequent additions and minor revisions continued until this book was first printed in the Territory of Utah in the Fourteenth edition, dated 1871. Hymn texts were still the product of a widespread enthusiasm and emotional excitement that centered in the group life of the Church. After 1870 this source of religious expression began to dry up as attention was turned to the artistic accomplishments of refining and publishing suitable music editions. The new Psalmody of 1889 arbitrarily limited every hymn to the number of three stanzas, which could be conveniently published within the three-stave

format of the new choir music edition. Music books in the hands of the song leader and choir, with small word books in the hands of the congregation, became the established pattern for "sacramental" services of worship.

Discontinuance of separate books for choir and congregation was anticipated in the revision of 1927, known as "Latter-day Saint Hymns." This compilation of 421 hymns was made by the Church Music Committee which had been organized in 1920. Among the eleven members of this committee were two past conductors of the Tabernacle Choir who had assisted with publishing the Psalmody thirty-eight years previously, two conductors and two organists from the Tabernacle, [1927], and five non-professional musicians. The viewpoint of the choir leader predominated over that of the congregation in this still current revision, for a number of familiar hymns were transposed to higher and more brilliant keys, and many tunes obviously exceeded other vocal limitations of an average congregation. Generous encouragement was afforded home talent however, for among the 127 authors and 95 composers appear a majority of names familiar throughout the Church.[1] Two older members of the editorial committee contributed between them 149 of the 421 tunes published. That this compilation was more closely identified with the past than with the future is implied by the death of eight out of

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[1]As noted previously, British-born Saints contributed more than half the texts and three-fourths of the tunes found in this edition, according to Richard L. Evans, A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1937], p. 236.

eleven editors within sixteen years after the date of publication. It is a tribute to the devotion of these musicians that all the work was done in their spare time, and without special employment or remuneration.

The essential subject matter contained in this 1927 edition has been classified in Table V. More than 64 per cent of the hymns are contained within the initial three headings of Trust and Faith, The Restoration, and Praise to God. It may be assumed that in the first and third divisions, the Latter-day Saints, like all other Christians, address most of their hymns toward heaven, and a secondary number to their associates and the world at large. The subject of the Restoration ranks second and is proclaimed to the world in about every seventh hymn. Hymns that instruct and counsel closer fraternal living comprise the fifth division, being almost as numerous as hymns about the Second Coming. While songs about their mountain home numbered only sixteen, it is safe to conclude that the attention to home-building and colonizing made these more frequently used than hymns about any remote home in another world. The small number of twenty-three hymns designed for holiday use and special functions implies that observance of Christmas, Easter, and national days would either be minimized in public worship, or supplemented by special music from other sources.

Certain trends of the current hymnal are projected by a comparison with the edition of 1871, which arose in the days of Joseph Smith and

TABLE V

CLASSIFICATION OF ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF L.D.S. HYMNS
EDITION of 1927

Subject of Hymns	Total Number	Per-centage
Trust and Faith	140	33.3
Faith in God, Holy Spirit		
Communion		
Crucifixion		
The Restoration	67	15.7
Missionary calls and farewells		
Faith in Church and leaders		
Praise to Deity	65	15.5
as voiced in rejoicing in sal-vation and gratitude for protection		
The Second Coming and Zion	42	10.0
Brotherhood, fraternal living	43	10.2
Mountain Home, Utah period only	16	3.8
Special Occasions	23	5.5
Baptism		
Funeral		
Blessing of Infants		
Unclassified	25	6.0
Totals	421	100.0

was augmented in those of Brigham Young by the accretion of songs about "our mountain home." Examination of Table VI reveals that twice as many hymns of Trust and Faith, with a percentage increase of thirteen, are found in the latest edition, suggesting an emphasis on more music for public worship. Hymns proclaiming the Restoration are approximately the same, but more songs of praise to God have been introduced, possibly for choir use in the "Sacrament Service" or evening worship. More hymns of brotherhood have arisen, but since 1871 the subjects of the Second Coming and "mountain home" have become static. It may be significant that the first hymnal offered much greater variety of topics and occasions, since 17 per cent, or sixty-one hymns, cannot be classified in the seven most common divisions. This diversity would also reflect a more spontaneous bursting into verse over manifold events of religious life.

The later book has been increased by seventy-six more hymns, largely the musical product of contemporary writers. One wonders how this added cost was justified to present day congregations, since little effort was apparently made to eliminate hymns of "museum" value. Among the latter might be cited early English missionary songs, such as "The Gallant Ship Is Waiting"[1] and "Yes, My Native Land,"[2] and many others for which the present generation can find little use. It would be un-

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[1] Latter-day Saint Hymns [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927], No. 129.

[2] Ibid, No. 106.

TABLE VI

A COMPARISON OF ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF HYMNS IN THE EDITIONS OF 1871 and 1927

Subject of Hymns	1871 Hymnal		1927 Hymnal	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Trust and Faith	70	20.3	140	33.3
The Restoration	69	20.0	67	15.7
Praise to Deity	40	11.0	65	15.5
The Second Coming	37	10.6	42	10.0
Brotherhood	21	6.0	43	10.2
Mountain Home	19	5.5	16	3.8
Special Occasions	31	8.6	23	5.5
Unclassified	61	17.4	25	6.0
Totals	345	100.0	421	100.0

fair to criticise any hymn book for its function as a repository of sentiments and meanings of the past as long as all the hymns convey meaning either as symbols or as current experiences. It is the hymns which make no difference to the singer that can be criticized, and not such hymns as "Abide With Me" and the Psalms, for they hold enduring value through succeeding generations.

Only one reference has been made to the question of theological changes appearing in successive hymnals.[1] The comparative youthfulness of the Mormon religion renders this a problem less pertinent than the greater one of social change. However, a significant study of changing theological concepts has been made of the five editions of the Methodist Hymnal appearing in the past century. Crawford found that the Methodist revision of 1935 included among its 564 hymns only 76 from the edition of 1836;[2] whereas the latest Mormon hymnal might show an inheritance of two-thirds of its first hymns. In contrast with Mormon songs, the hymnody of Methodism reveals a definite trend away from a specific evangelism and individualistic interest, moving toward a stately worship and world application of the "social gospel."[3]

The present status of Mormon song derives less from its official hymnody of the preceding century than from the auxiliary expansion

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[1] Supra, pp. 53-54.

[2] Benjamin Franklin Crawford, Our Methodist Hymnody [Carnegie, Pennsylvania: Carnegie Church Press, 1940], p. 47.

[3] Ibid, p. 167.

which produced a dynamic Sunday School movement. As this new institution gathered momentum through Church-wide jubilees and conventions, music led the way as the first publication and as the happy medium of group expression. As noted in the preceding chapter, ninety-five thousand copies of Sunday School song collections were published by 1899, and with the latest revision of 1909, this auxiliary book became the source of practically all congregational singing.[1]

In Table VII a classification of essential subject matter of Deseret Sunday School Songs in the latest revision, 1909, discloses some elements not apparent in the more traditional hymn book. Out of a total of 111 songs devoted to expressions of praise, seventy are embodied in terms of "Thanks for the Sabbath School" and "Welcome, Welcome Sabbath Morning." Sixty-seven songs voice a trust and faith in God, but in distinction to the hymn books, these have stressed the common Protestant idea of "We're marching on to Glory . . . To that bright land afar." This idea of an eternal home is represented largely by generous borrowing from the gospel song books common to many other Sunday Schools. Moral teachings rank third, and barely exceed the abundance of songs about "our mountain home." Songs about the Restoration and the Second Coming are conspicuously in the minority, rank-

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[1]While the total number of Sunday School song books sold from the first edition to the present time is reputed to be a half-million copies, the only figures available from the publisher reveal a sale of 192,310 copies from 1930 to March, 1943, compared with a sale of 48,633 L.D.S. Hymnals for the same period. Figures supplied by A. Hamer Reiser, manager, Deseret Book Company, Salt Lake City, April 3, 1943, in memorandum to the writer.

TABLE VII

CLASSIFICATION OF ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF SUNDAY SCHOOL SONGS
Deseret Sunday School Songs, 1909

Subject of Hymns	Sub-total	Total Number	Per-centage
Praise to Deity		111	37.4
The Godhead	41		
Thanks for Sunday School	40		
Enlistment Appeal	30		
Trust and Faith		67	23.0
God, Holy Spirit and Heaven as eternal home	31		
Communion, and Saviour	36		
Brotherhood, fraternal living and moral teachings		32	10.8
Our Mountain Home		27	9.0
The Second Coming		10	3.7
Special Occasions		24	8.1
The Restoration Proclaimed		13	4.4
Unclassified		11	3.6
Totals		295	100.0

ing sixth and seventh, respectively.

In Table VIII, the distinction of Sunday School songs is revealed by comparison with collections of L.D.S. Hymns of 1871 and 1927. Table VIII shows that hymns of faith and trust rank first in the Hymnals, but second in the Sunday School songs, while the latter jubilantly acclaim the Sabbath School and praise Deity as their prime function. Designed essentially for youth and children, but therefore assimilated by all ages, the Sunday School book relegates the Second Coming to seventh position, and elevates to third rank the subject of moral improvement and fraternal living.

While a comparison of the tunes of the current Sunday School book with that of the latest hymnal cannot be tabulated, familiarity with both books reveals a preponderance of easy, singable, rhythmical tunes in the children's book. Every song was evidently selected for congregational use, and the strategic reinforcement in 1900 of a general song practice on Sunday mornings insured that every Mormon congregation would sing, and sing extensively from just one book--the Sunday School book. A few of the most traditional and popular hymns of the Church are found in both books, but the avoidance of duplication was evidently a concern of the hymnal editors in 1927.

Only one effort has been made so far to combine the merits of both books. In 1912 the nine American missions of the Church, located chiefly outside the intermountain region, jointly published an inexpensive

TABLE VIII

COMPARISON OF ESSENTIAL SUBJECT MATTER OF L.D.S. SONGS

Official Hymnals of 1871 and 1927 and
Deseret Sunday School Songs, 1909, by percentages

Subject of Hymns	1871 edition	1927 edition	1909 Des. S.S.
Trust and Faith, in God Heaven, Communion	20.3	33.3	23.0
The Restoration Proclaimed and Church and Leaders acclaimed	20.0	15.7	4.4
Praise to Deity, Joy in Salvation Gratitude, [Sunday School Enlistment]	11.6	15.5	37.4
The Second Coming and Zion	10.6	10.0	3.7
Brotherhood and Fraternal Living Moral Teaching	6.0	10.2	10.8
Our Mountain Home	5.5	3.8	9.0
Special Occasions, Functions	8.6	5.5	8.1
Unclassified	17.4	6.0	3.6
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0

collection of 269 "Songs of Zion." A wide range of usefulness was anticipated, but discontinuance of publication has been charged to the competition it provoked with the Sunday School book. The place of "Songs of Zion," and of the "L.D.S. Psalmody" and the small hymn book was intended to be taken by the hymnal of 1927.[1]

A page by page analysis of the chief song books published by the Church since its inception leads to the inescapable conclusion that no future revisions can be drawn on "auxiliary" lines. The book used in Sunday School will inevitably find its way into evening worship, and week-day auxiliary gatherings. The interest of Church choirs may better be served by up-to-date arrangements of L.D.S. hymns, or anthem settings of favorite hymn texts, purchased only as needed. Youth and adults will be served more economically by an "adult book" of sufficiently broad scope, while the recreational and religious needs of children in Primary and in the newer "Junior Sunday School" organization is met by a "junior book" in the hands of the teachers. This opinion is not an original discovery, for in a Church where every seventh member functions in an office of responsibility many minds are focused on obvious readjustments.

The role of hymnody in this period may be seen chiefly in its usefulness in preserving group sentiments of the past, sentiments which appear to be fading so far as social relevance is concerned.

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[1] Latter-day Saints Hymns [1927 edition], preface.

The hymns have apparent values, for as Faris has described means of cultural communication, even the architecture of a church has a lesson to be learned, effective because inarticulate and therefore not of the nature of logic.[1] Among other media are:

> . . . war monuments, memorials, statues and portraits . . . as well as the poems and songs that emphasize or glorify some incident or period of the past--these are but silent voices speaking to young and old, but especially to the young in emotional phrases that cannot be contradicted and that serve to fashion the personalities in accord with the dominant sentiment.[2] [Italics mine].

Hymns, however, may lose their meaning because of obsolescence. This has been recognized in the present instance by Bennion in a text book for college classes in religion. He names a few of the most common hymns of the Church, and then asks his student readers to name some recent hymns written by Church members, and particularly, to "suggest some inspiring theme for songs of today comparable in meaning to us as the above mentioned ones were in their day."[3]

The current stream of Mormon music is not confined within the covers of hymn books, however, for Mormons who make music have also deepened the channel by which it flows. Recognizing that the musical

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[1]Ellsworth Faris, Nature of Human Nature [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937], p. 30. Statements on the place of music in Society are further given in Appendix A, infra.

[2]Ibid, p. 31.

[3]Lowell L. Bennion, The Religion of the Latter-day Saints [Salt Lake City: L.D.S. Department of Education, 1940], p. 178.

life of a congregation is limited by the preparation of chorister and organist, the First Presidency authorized and generously financed a program of leadership training which the General Music Committee inaugurated in 1935. Skillful class instructors were employed to meet groups of organists and song leaders in Church centers, located in western states from California and Arizona north to Alberta, Canada. The amateur leaders were given introductory and practical work in the specific needs of their congregations, and made acquainted with a dozen anthem collections and organ books originated and distributed by the Church. Although now curtailed by wartime restrictions of movement, the work has already reached nearly ten thousand students, and been acclaimed by music educators.[1]

The centralized authority which facilitates these enterprises has also encouraged notable developments in recreational music, as in the Church-wide festivals of song and social dancing, held with the June Conferences of the Mutual Improvement Associations. Massed youth choirs in the Tabernacle, directed by nationally-famed conductors, succeeded a briefly useful music competition movement. Present stress in choir festivals is laid upon a renewed interest in local ward choirs, embracing all musical talent of the congregation. Future developments are closely related to the availability of trained leaders, the encouragement of presiding authorities, and the music developments of community and public schools.

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[1]Tracy Y. Cannon, "How to Secure Adequate Leadership," [paper read before the Music Educators National Conference, Los Angeles, March 31, 1940].

The goal of musical performance within the Church has always been set by the distinguished example of the Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir and organ, enjoyed by the Church at large through attendance at semi-annual general conferences. The ambition of an early organist to play the great organ more frequently is said to have resulted in the institution of free organ recitals. These coincided with the expansion of missionary representation on Temple Square, Salt Lake City, and a new tourist business. Concert tours by choir and organists brought favorable attention to the Church through appearances at various World Faris. The institution of free organ recitals and a fine chapel choir in the nation's capitol in 1933, marked further employment of musical performance as a means of making friends for the Church. The most familiar phase of Mormon music in America today derives from a weekly network broadcast, which has originated from the Salt Lake Tabernacle continuously since July, 1929.[1] In developing this role of music in public relations, the Church implies that <u>music can change attitudes</u> and thus modify human behavior outside of as well as within the Church.

SUMMARY

So far in this chapter, an attempt has been made to indicate the scope and complexity of new social problems confronting the Mormon

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[1]Cf. Pyper, <u>Stories of L.D.S. Hymns</u>, pp. 196-205, and Melicent Cornwall, "History of The Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir," [unpublished paper, Salt Lake City].

group. At the same time that the outside pressures of conflict were removed, internal distractions arose with a breakdown of isolation and consequent trend toward complete secularization of living. Church populations multiplied and shifted with the changing economy, while centralized Church authority and lay leadership faced some readjustments in operation.

Reliance upon education as a social implement inevitably projected potential conflict between theology and science, as evidenced in one campus religious study. Religious institutions felt the strain and the Church lost some of its primary technics of social control in the process of accomodation to secular influences. In defense of the old faith, one hymn-writer sought to bolster a conventional hymnody with a vigorous song that recognized the challenge, "Shall the Youth of Zion Falter."

In rephrasing the goals of religion, the Church was seen to concentrate on the fundamental one of economic welfare. In this as in any other group endeavor, the Church operated against a decline in group homogeneity. The few distinctive topics of community focus in early Utah lost their emotional fervor in the solvent of cosmopolitan news today. Finally a social earthquake was felt in the Mormon state by the establishment of heavy war industry, and even the desire for isolation was subject to revision, according to a scientific spokesman of the group.

In terms of music, the keynote of this period was intoned as a treasure lost. In the welter of economic, intellectual and social readjustments, with interdependence stretched to a world-wide community, the young Mormon of this generation stands confused. His problems are not reducible to the solution of following a prophet across the plains and doing as commanded. He is supported by certain group sentiments, becoming weaker with age and dilution, but his will is not always tuned to that of his father's God. He has faith in the Gospel way of life, but somehow his fundamental desires are not met in religious group activity. His parents knew and shook hands with a Prophet of God, they heard their Maker speak often in the Prophet's voice. But that was back in the mountains, in the home town, where God's voice was distinct and His words simple.

His parents, and his grandparents too, had replied to their Maker in songs of holy praise; they had "told the world" of a triumphant Restoration, of an imminent Second Coming, and they had sung, too, of their beloved Joseph, and of the enemies who took his life. They had blazed the Mormon Trail with song, and acclaimed their mountain home in new psalms; they had chanted defiance to their oppressors, and implored Heaven for guidance amidst deepening trials. To them, and through them the Lord had sung His way; this they knew, for after the song their strength was as of ten.

The young Mormon who is born into a Church that his forbears helped to establish, finds only a vicarious experience that is trans-

mitted through story, precept, and song. He can project himself into the prairie setting of "Come, Come Ye Saints," but other figures leave him untouched. He has seen the airplane that flies the mail overhead, but "The Gallant Ship is Under Weigh" speaks only of forgotten days. He has marveled at the voice of short-wave radio, but approaches his hymnal only to hear "We'll sing and we'll shout."

Agreeing with the view that symbolic meanings of the past are valuable but incomplete, this summary may close with three observations on social relevancy as a factor in Church-centered song. The divergence between an inherited hymnody and present group needs is highlighted by these examples:

Vigorous health, a goal of right living:

> For a century the Church has taught a "Word of Wisdom" which promises health and strength in return for dietary moderation and the non-use of stimulants and narcotics. To the prestige of prophecy has been added the authority of modern science, and to their combined proclamations are marshalled sermons, writings, and youth activities--but never a song.

Social controls of Church and family:

> Modern youth has an automobile to speed him away from the social controls of Church and family; he is besieged by the ruthless, sophisticated advertising of a world which sanctions indulgence in many forms. Tin pan alley supplies an influential background for the automobile excursion, for the tavern and dance hall. Against this commercially exploited life stand healthful sports and wholesome recreation, supported by pleas, pamphlets, and pulpits--but never a song.

Or, to take another precept which is inherent in the Mormon religion:

Employment, according to an individual's maximum abilities and education:

> "It has always been a cardinal teaching of the Latter-day Saints that a religion which has not the power to save people temporally and make them prosperous and happy here, cannot be depended upon to save them spiritually, to exalt them in the life to come."[1]
>
> But the frontier life and rural economy which afforded employment for every human being has yielded to a national pattern of fluctuation and economic maladjustment. Recognizing the spiritual defeat inherent in this, the Church was spurred to revive its pioneer granaries, storehouses and cooperative enterprises, its self-help exchanges and welfare planning agencies. Committee organization, endless meetings, and conferences, talks, films, and papers have been employed to spread the movement throughout the Church, to quicken a spirit of sharing and sacrifice, to strengthen the will "to bring a heaven to each fireside"--but never a song.

Unchanged in form or content for thirty-four years, the chief song book of the Church has accompanied the people of the Church through a decade of economic depression, one world war and the advent of a more terrible human conflict. Few voices are raised in the Church to renew the mission of music, to sharpen up the implements of prophets and empire builders. The hymnodic fertility of a pioneer folk which seems

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[1]John Henry Evans, Joseph Smith, An American Prophet [New York: MacMillan, 1933], p. 225. Quoting Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and sixth President of the Church.

to lie buried with their tired bodies may yet be born anew in the hearts and minds of their grandchildren. Impulsive programs, however, which ignore the lessons of the past will never restore the mission of Mormon song: direction must grow from spiritual insights which are nourished by knowledge as well as by inspiration.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This historical study was an attempt to discover the basic relationships between the developing group life of the Mormon Church and the unique hymnody which evolved with it. The purpose was to identify the factors which produced a distinctive body of song, to disclose the varying role played by music in succeeding periods, and to establish a social basis for future hymn book revision.

The term hymnody was used to include all sacred or secular songs which embodied group sentiments and beliefs. Music was considered to operate as an educative force when it released group power or energy toward certain objectives; that is, when it served to modify human behavior.

A search was made for every reference to music and to events of group significance, as recorded in official histories of the Church, in pioneer journals, in numerous books of observation on Mormon social life, and in modern, scientific studies of the movement. The official hymnals of 1871 and 1927, and the influential Sunday School song book of 1909 were examined for content, and nearly one thousand hymns classified by essential subject matter. The background of American culture and social history was investigated for environmental framework, and the literature of musicology and social psychology was surveyed for insights and procedures.

In organizing these extensive data, it became apparent that Mormon social history and its parallel hymnody fall into four broad periods: [1] theological structuring and missionary expansion under Joseph Smith, [2] migration to the Rocky Mountains and community building under Brigham Young, [3] cultural maturation and auxiliary expansion up to 1900, and [4] readjustment to changing social relationships of today. Within these frames of reference, the creation and use of group music was studied for its social relevancy and contribution to the developing Latter-day Saint movement.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The distinctive hymnody of the Mormon Church was established by 1841, as a result of its close identification with six characteristic phases of the movement: [1] a missionary program expanding abroad, in which specific hymns were created to persuade followers, and employed to make converts through crowd response, [2] the "gathering" of disciples to establish a Zion in Missouri, in which special hymns voiced the common goals and reinforced a will to succeed, [3] a resulting conflict with neighbors on the American frontier, in which original hymns gave courage and built morale, [4] temple building and worship, both emotionally enshrined in song, [5] group educational activities, with hymns that instructed new and old members, and [6] social activities in which Church leaders employed music as a recreational aid.

Classification of these early hymns by essential subject matter showed that in the Fourteenth Edition every fifth hymn proclaimed a "Restored Gospel" to the world and comforted loved ones separated by missionary and "gathering" activities. Another 20 per cent voiced trust and faith in God, and 11 per cent offered up praise and gratitude. Every tenth hymn dealt with the Second Coming of Christ to these Latter-day Saints, and the establishment of Zion on earth.

Under Joseph Smith, hymnody played an educative role in that it aided the group in finding direction, courage, comfort, and determination to solve their common problems. The very close identification of hymn texts with the experiences of those who sang them gave force to this role. Under the socializing influence of their music, these early Mormons were made to "feel that not only all that man has been and done in the world we could do, but vastly more."

Under Brigham Young, the Colonizer, hymnody as an educative force was advanced by its part in perfecting the destiny of the new movement. Music was the constant companion of the people through their heroic trek across the plains, through the crisis of the Utah War and a Mormon-Gentile conflict symbolized by polygamy.

For the last time in a century of Mormonism the hymnody was seen to operate in the triple functions of morale agent, medium of emotional response, and integrative social aid. The dynamogenic potency of ideas was freed by a force which relieved aching bodies and tired hearts;

goals and rewards were sung over and over, and dreams made to come true as the Mormons planned their "heaven on earth." Joy in establishing their new mountain home, and gratitude for a workable religion found international utterance in an expanding hymnody. Music to be used here-and-now grew from the "shared emotional experiences" and served to forge stronger group bonds. Town, home, and Church were united by common uses of an integrated, Church-centered hymnody.

After 1870, a cultural maturity flowered in the first published Mormon tune book, the Psalmody. Into this endeavor and into the development of fine choirs were poured the talents and training of a score of English-born converts who became a musical hierarchy. The need for new Church institutions was met through "auxiliaries" to the priesthood, notably in the dynamic Sunday School Union which soared on wings of song, and the Mutual Improvement Associations which strode to eminence in recreational and cultural leadership. Simultaneously, the creation and the congregational use of Church song flowed away from the artistic ambitions of the psalmodists and into the vigorous new Sunday School activities. "Pieces with vim" and the exhilaration of song were employed as ends rather than as means. Educative force was neither sought nor secured as this period drew to a close in 1900.

After the turn of the century, the hymnody of the Church faltered as Mormonism faced both its distinguished but completed past, and its challenging new future. It could assist in the effort to preserve religious institutions of authority and theology, but the changing needs

of a nearly secularized world summoned no hymns of new experience. New requirements arose from such changes as the removal of conflict and outside pressures, the loss of social homogeneity, the reversed current of migration, problems posed by the process of accomodation, and a consequent desirability of rephrasing the goals of religion.

In this welter of economic, intellectual, and social readjustments, the hymnody was seen to have lost its original vigor and purpose. It appeared practically frozen by tradition and hard-bound covers; it was accepted as a symbol of the past rather than as an essential need of the present. The role had shifted from a Church-centered educative force to an artistic accomplishment and a medium of improved public relations. Social relevancy was viewed as a lost element, and the medium of song a dulled implement. While the ideals and ambitions of vigorous health, moral control, and economic welfare, for instance, were re-emphasized by the Church, the voices of social communication were heard in pleas, pamphlets, and pulpits--but rarely in song.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present impairment of hymnody as an educative force in the Latter-day Saint movement is attributed to a variety of circumstances, two of which may be phrased as a general decline in group vitality and an obscurity of group goals. The present casual adaptation of music to purposes equally indefinite is viewed here as the close of a cycle

which the magnificent resources of a centralized organization could successfully regenerate. Undoubtedly, the power of song among the Latter-day Saints could be revitalized and could once more operate as an educative factor in religious development.

If a review of the Church's past can give direction to its future, a significant role for music may well be shaped along three functions: [1] to define new group goals, [2] to activate group action, and [3] to educate new generations. This first function, to assist in formulating new sentiments, to stimulate and unify the group mind, could be accomplished by telling the people where they are going, and telling it in such attractive, effective terms that the heart of every singer would respond. Among these rephrased goals and sentiments might be placed the ideal of a new Zion, expanded to embrace all this "chosen land," with America the Beautiful resounding as vividly as O Ye Mountains High. This could be called a religiously-activated patriotism which inspires people to vote for and to cherish social morality, as well as to fight and die for their little used freedom.

A companion sentiment to implement this community expansion and civic leadership could be found in renewing the emphasis on brotherhood, a solvent to remove conflict between labor and capital, a will to sacrifice for larger group goals. The priesthood fraternity suffers for the lack of stirring group songs, of calls for "stout-hearted men" to meet the personal and common needs of Mormon men. Can a priesthood call itself the core of the Church and its Sunday School

the "auxiliary" when the latter bursts into seventy songs of praise while the men and boys weakly abide by their handful of faded missionary hymns?

The second function, to activate group action, could utilize all the commendable attainments of artistry and trained leadership as now employed in developing a more formal worship. The emphasis should be, however, upon a singable, meaningful folk-centered hymnody resulting in possibly the kind of hymnal outlined in Appendix B. A successful program of improvement must be grounded on scientifically conducted surveys of present usage and needs, with experimental testing of new hymns and tunes, new choral devices, and improved methods of song leadership. Without a defensible philosophy of revision, any future production of song books will only perpetuate weaknesses, and complete the disintegration of a once powerful hymnody.

Finally, the third function to be prescribed for Mormon song--to educate new generations--would proceed from attainment of the above objectives of clarified goals and revitalized group action. All three objectives would be furthered by the skillful employment of educational aims, vocabulary scales, and the arts of creative writing. Among the gifted educators, poets, and artists of the Church could be found those who might rephrase the goals of home, family and Church life, and vivify the truth that comes by music. Theology, Church history, group ideals and sentiments applied to meeting human problems today--these are the substances of a Church body to which music can give life as an educative force.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

STATEMENTS OF SCHOLARS ON THE PLACE OF MUSIC IN SOCIETY

The following statements have given the author certain insights and direction, and while not directly applicable to the entire study, they are appended here for possible similar interest to the reader.

1. Music and emotion as viewed by an educator:

> Philosophers may be ruled by reason, but the masses are controlled by their emotions. Nothing is more certain than that our characters are created in the image of that to which we give most of our feeling. Art, and music in art, is to education what the heart is to the individual.[1]

2. Hymnody and the frontier as viewed by a sociologist:

> . . . The numberless songs used by the Protestant churches in converting or holding frontier America to the Christian faith represent, sociologically, one of the remarkable achievements of collective effort. It is noteworthy, too, that when martial or political effort reaches its most exalted states, it draws heavily upon religious music.[2]

3. Hymnody and the frontier as viewed by an historian, who has said that next to a theology of man's equality, and a suitable religious literature, Methodism's larger frontier influence was due to

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[1] J. H. Beveridge, Omaha Public Schools Course of Study in Music for Elementary Grades, [Omaha, Public Schools, 1921], foreword.

[2] David Snedden, Educational Sociology, [New York: Century Co., 1922], pp. 584-85.

its emphasis upon singing:

> Often religion sang its way into the hearts of the people, just as it had done in England. Methodists sang their hymns in their homes, about their work, at their family altars, as well as in their more formal religious meetings. The Discipline [1805] advised that "in every large society let them learn to sing, and let them always learn our tunes first." In the Christmas Conference to the question, "How shall we reform our singing?" the answer was "Let all our preachers who have any knowledge in the notes improve by learning to sing true themselves, and keeping close to Mr. Wesley's tunes and hymns."[1]

4. Music as the most social of the fine arts, as viewed by a philosopher:

> Music is at once the most personal and the most social of the fine arts; it searches down the heart of the individual being and calls out emotions far too deep for words to embody. Music is an art we enjoy together, the more persons present, the greater the joy for each one. It is a social art. Music sweeps, fuses, and unites.[2]

5. The Power of music in religion, as viewed by a scholar of the church:

> Music has power unmatched by other fine arts, to act as an illuminator of thought and of life because it is an art of progressive action . . . not fixed, static, rigid . . . [but] a twin-sister of speech, especially poetic speech. . . .
>
> The mind must rest with definiteness on certain images, memories, needs, hopes, cravings, aspirations, ideals, such as

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[1]Wm. W. Sweet, Methodism in American History [New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1933], p. 151.

[2]Edward Howard Griggs, "Music in the Cultural Life of America," Music Educators National Conference Yearbook [Chicago: Music Educators National Conference, 1938], p. 16.

only words can embody with precision . . . but mere language is weak. As everyone knows from his efforts to express himself in prayer, mere words often break down in setting forth certain religious attitudes of the soul. The lack in our spoken prayers of an adequate expression of the emotion that envelops and permeates the thought we have is often due not so much to any real deficiency of feeling in us as to the inherent inadequacy of verbal speech. Music . . . is a true extension of language, giving the latter a scope and intensity impossible for it by itself. . . .

"Music is love in search of a word." We know what infinite meanings Sidney Lanier gave to "love" and how he meant by it all that the best spiritual thought could require. And what he affirmed of love might also have been affirmed of hope and peace and joy and all the other cardinal sentiments of the inmost spiritual life.[1]

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[1]Waldo Selden Pratt, Musical Ministries in the Church [New York: Revell Co., 1901], p. 37.

APPENDIX B

SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS FOR A REVISED LATTER-DAY SAINT SONG BOOK

Two purposes were realized by the writer when he examined in detail a thousand pages of Mormon song contained in the three official hymnals employed in the present study: he secured data for this dissertation, and found many ideas and songs to try out on his friends. Among the latter were counted the twelve hundred members of a Mormon congregation in Washington, D.C. whom he served as musical director during six years. Talented choir singers, Sunday School classes, evening congregations--all patiently responded to the experimental use of many old songs and a few too recent to be found in the books. The needs of this intelligent, largely youthful congregation were studied in the light of available congregational songs. The use of every hymn in six years was recorded, as well as the reactions of director, organist, and singers.

Purely as one individual's conception of an ideal song book for youth and adults assembled in city or country, Sunday and week-day gatherings alike, the following outline is appended to this dissertation. It is based on a book of about 350 pages, with approximate allocations of music under seven divisions:

THE L.D.S. HYMNAL

	Number of Selections
I. HYMNS OF GREETING, to open and close sacred services, emphasizing the "we" approach to worship and activity.	100
II. HYMNS OF COMMUNION, administration of the Lord's Supper, meditation, as in "Abide With Me"	60
III. HYMNS OF LIFE AND SERVICE, subjects touching the mission and teachings of the Church, individual and group life: tithing, Word of Wisdom, chastity, celestial marriage, family life and love, labor and industry, welfare, etc.	40
IV. HYMNS FOR SPECIAL SEASONS, observance of Christmas, New Year's, Easter, Mother's Day, Memorial, Independence, Pioneer, Labor and Thanksgiving Days.	40
V. ORGANIZATION SONGS, touching the specific purposes of Priesthood: men, men and boys, boys voices alone Sunday School M.I.A. [including "Carry On" in unison key] Relief Society	40
VI. CHOIR MATERIALS, easy, one and two-page anthems, for the beginning mixed, treble, and male choirs, employing simple choral devices of humming, sectional solos, alternation of male and treble voices.	30
VII. ORGAN VOLUNTARIES: Examples of appropriate prelude and sacrament music Processional marches and postludes Interludes to accompany Sacrament recitations Transpositions, and full piano or organ accompaniments for specific songs used also by priesthood, or in festival services.	20

Introductory sentences or scriptural citations at the head of most hymns to suggest historical or philosophical content and background.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For aid in formulating this problem the writer is indebted to Dr. John A. Widtsoe, Salt Lake City, who suggested the general field; to Professor Jesse A. Sprowls and Dean Harold Benjamin who sponsored preliminary research studies; to Professor John B. Holt for analytical counsel; and to Professor Arnold E. Joyal for direction in the supporting course work.

For guidance in developing the problem and procedures of research, the writer is directly indebted to his sponsor, Professor Harold C. Hand, whose personal enthusiasm for the problem and its potential usefulness kept the beacon alight. Upon Dr. Hand's enlistment in the armed services, the writer turned to Professor Alvin W. Schindler for invaluable assistance in the writing and final preparation of the dissertation. For study facilities and access to essential materials, appreciation is expressed to the Librarian of Congress and his efficient, courteous staff; to Mr. A. William Lund and his associates in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City; to the staff of the New York Public Library; and to many others whose generosity is not forgotten.

For personal encouragement and counsel, the writer is indebted to his esteemed colleagues, J. Spencer Cornwall and Tracy Y. Cannon, and to other Church authorities of Salt Lake City. For constant aid and inspiration as companion, research assistant, and typist, the writer is most deeply indebted to his wife, Edna C. Wheelwright.