Changes in LDS Hymns: Implications and Opportunities

Douglas Campbell

A hymnbook is as good an index to the brains and to the hearts of a people as the creed book.

—Alexander Campbell

In this essay I examine changes in the following four hymnals¹ published under the imprimatur of the First Presidency: (1835) A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints, (1927) Latter-day Saint Hymns, (1948) Hymns: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and (1985) Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I examined these hymnals because I was curious about possible changes that had occurred over time; I report what I found because I was surprised.

I had known that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints operates in a constantly changing world, that the interplay between the world and the church's message is dynamic. For example, as general conference has switched from telegraphic coverage, to radio coverage, to television coverage, general authorities have had to adjust their delivery

^{1.} I do not examine semi-official or unofficial hymnbooks such as the 1841 Nauvoo hymnal, the Manchester hymnal, the Latter-day Saints Psalmody, Songs of Zion, The Children's Primary Hymn Book, the Deseret Sunday School Union Music Book. I have added all italics. I do not examine reasons for deleting hymns such as: difficult to sing, poorly composed, generate too much enthusiasm, or rarely sung.

(a) to written-in-advance talks (to permit instantaneous translation into other languages and to permit rapid printing of the talks), (b) to prescribed length limits (to maximize exposure to constrained commercial time slots), and (c) to live without the benefit of relaxed and thoughtful revision (the talks are taped and can be compared to the original).

I wanted to see if the church's hymnals reflected this interplay. I wanted to see how the hymnals changed, and if I could detect patterns in the changes. As I proceeded, I was fascinated to see the changes in the hymnal that reflect increased sensitivity by the church music committee to blacks, Native Americans, and women. I found that the church music committee had used ingenious methods to modify the hymns to reflect changes in the social, cultural, and political milieux in which the church disseminates its message.

In the process I discovered many changes in the 1985 hymnal from gender-exclusive language to gender-neutral language. After doing a careful count, I found that nearly two-thirds of the hymns were gender-neutral. I examined patterns in the 102 hymns that did use male gender-exclusive language. Despite the church music committee's numerous changes (made explicitly to create increased gender-neutrality), I was surprised to find that the ratio of male gender-exclusive language to female gender-exclusive language was 147 to 2. This data is reported as observation not criticism.

THE 1835 HYMNAL

Emma Smith was commanded (D&C 25:11) to choose the 90 hymns that constituted the 1835 hymnal. Fifty-five were retained in the 1927 hymnal,² thirty were retained in the 1948 hymnal,³ and twenty-six were retained in the 1985 hymnbook.⁴ In this section I consider three interesting reasons for hymn deletions from the 1835 LDS hymnal: doctrinal, lin-

^{2.} First number is the 1835 number; second number is the 1927 number: 1:37 / 4:383 / 5:186 / 6:231 / 7:161 / 10:11 / 11:283 / 12:273 / 13:184 / 14:22 / 15:188 / 16:66 / 17:182 / 18:218 / 19:47 / 21:13 / 22:330 / 23:237 / 24:116 / 26:154 / 28:63 / 29:221 / 31:200 / 32:398 / 35:102 / 38:170 / 43:128 / 44:30 / 46:345 / 47:197 / 48:219 / 49:129 / 50:177 / 51:106 / 54:115 / 55:134 / 57:135 / 58:46 / 59:151 / 63:64 / 65:214 / 66:149 / 68:121 / 70:27 / 74:187 / 75:215 / 77:304 / 79:290 / 80:410 / 82:329 / 83:249 / 84:89 / 85:174 / 86:41 / 90:127.

^{3.} First number is the 1835 number; second number is the 1948 hymn number: 1:90 / 4:244 / 6:195 / 10:263 / 11:30 / 13:57 / 14:266 / 15:89 / 18:118 / 21:250 / 23:389 / 24:92 / 26:132 / 43:238 / 46:59 / 54:108 / 57:125 / 65:303 / 66:262 / 68:12 / 70:234 / 74:40 / 79:95 / 82:66 / 86:123 / 90:213 / 59:227 / 32:183 / 44:265 / 85:102.

^{4.} First number is the 1835 hymn number; second number is the 1985 hymn number: 1:240 / 4:46 / 6:6 / 10:192 / 11:87 / 13:83 / 14:57 / 15:201 / 18:3 / 21:32 / 23:49 / 24:146 / 26:25 / 43:167 / 46:164 / 54:234 / 57:175 / 65:38 / 66:41 / 68:65 / 70:77 / 74:268 / 79:136 / 82:85 / 86:31 / 90:2.

guistic, and cultural metaphors.

Doctrinal

Hymns were deleted from the 1835 hymnal when church doctrine was later clarified.

Example 1. In 1835, 56:3,⁵ read: "Jehovah saw his darling Son"; 56:5: "This is my Son, Jehovah cries"; and 3:4: "The name of Jehovah is worthy of praising,/ And so is the Savior an excellent theme." These 1835 hymns suggested that Jesus was Jehovah's son. In current LDS doctrine, however, Jesus is Jehovah himself.

Example 2. In 1835, 39:2, we read: "Then would my soul of heaven's parent sing." This hymn suggests only one heavenly parent, Heavenly Father. Three current (1985) First Presidency-sanctioned hymns teach of a Heavenly Mother: 292:3, "In the heav'ns are parents single?/ No, the thought makes reason stare!"; 292:4, "Father, Mother, may I meet you/ in your royal courts on high"; 286:4, "When our heavenly parents we meet"; and 311:3, "That we, with heavenly parents, May sing eternally."

Linguistic

Hymns were deleted when the meaning of a word changed.

Example 3. In 1835 it was possible to use "pitiful" to mean "full of pity." In 78:4, we sang of "A Savior pitiful and kind." Presently, however, "pitiful" is derogatory, indicative of not deserving respect (such as when a team plays a pitiful game). Some non-Mormons do not believe we are Christian; imagine what they would say if we still sang about a pitiful savior.

Cultural

Hymns were deleted from the 1835 hymnal when cultural metaphors changed.

Example 4. The 1835 hymnal had three different hymns using the cultural metaphor that humans are worms: 61:1, "For such a worm as I"; 89:1, "What timorous worms we mortals are"; and 76:9, "Oh Lord assist thy feeble worms."

^{5.} References of the form x, y:z refer to the LDS hymnal of year x, hymn number y, verse number z. For example, 1835, 56:3 is to the 1835 hymnal, hymn number 56, verse number 3.

Changes from the 1835 to the 1927 Hymnal

From 1835 to 1927 the church had no new First Presidency-sanctioned hymnal. Numerous local versions were created. Other pressing tasks allowed a wealth of local songs and orientations. In September 1920 President Heber J. Grant appointed Elder Melvin J. Ballard of the Quorum of the Twelve to select and head a committee to regulate musical affairs in the church.⁶

Besides the wholesale deletions from the 1835 and other hymnbooks, the 1927 hymnal changed three standard LDS hymns: "Praise to the Man," "O Ye Mountains High," and "The Spirit of God," only the last of which was in the 1835 hymnal. The changes are of two interesting types: good neighbor policy and temple imagery.

Good Neighbor Policy

Example 5. W. W. Phelps's hymn "Praise to the Man" contained in verse 2: "Long may his blood,/ which was shed by assassins,/ Stain Illinois/ while the earth lauds his fame." George D. Pyper has remarked: "When the Latter-day saint Hymn book was compiled in 1927, in order to be in harmony with the 'good neighbor' policy of the Church and nation, the second line was changed to 'Long may his blood,/ which was shed by assassins,/ Plead unto heaven,/ while the earth lauds his fame.""

Example 6. Verse 3 of Charles W. Penrose's "Oh, Ye Mountains High" originally read: "In thy mountain retreat/ God will strengthen thy feet,/ On the necks of thy foes,/ thou shalt tread," and verse 4 originally read: "thy oppressors shall die;/ the gentiles shall bow beneath thy rod." Considering the Old Testament stories (e.g., Joshua 10:24) of conquering Israelites killing captives after standing on their necks, and the events surrounding the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Pyper observed: "It occurred to many of our own people that two lines in the third and fourth stanzas should be revised." They now read: "In thy mountain retreat/ God will strengthen thy feet,/ Without fear of thy foes,/ thou shalt tread," and verse 4 reads: "thy oppressors shall die;/ thy land shall be freedom's abode."

Michael Hicks, Mormonism and Music: A History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 130.

^{7.} George D. Pyper, Stories of the Latter-day Saint Hymns (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939), 100. See 1927, 167:2 / 1948, 147:2 / 1985, 27:2.

^{8.} Pyper. See 1927, 318:3-4 / 1948, 145:3-4 / 1985, 34:3-4. For reactions of some Saints to these changes, read the humorous article by Fae Decker Dix, "Never Change a Song," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 261-66.

Temple Imagery

Verses 4 and 5 of 1835, 90, "The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning," were dropped for the 1927 hymnal: "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." Michael Hicks, in his recent book on Mormon music, remarks that the verses may have been removed for their excessive temple imagery. 9

Changes between 1927 and 1948

Twenty-one years separated the 1927 and the 1948 hymnals. But the Great Depression, World War II, and the dispersion of Saints to California and the East had matured the tastes of the Saints. Some 1927 hymns may have appeared parochial:

- 31 "I Long to Breathe the Mountain Air"
- 95 "There is a Place in Utah, that I Remember Well"
- 137 "Hark! Ye Mortals. Hist! Be Still"
- 139 "Ho, Ho, for the Temples Completed"
- 189 "Deseret, Deseret! 'Tis the Home of the Free"
- 324 "We're Proud of Utah"
- 409 "Farewell, Old England!"

These were among the 200 hymns omitted from the 1948 hymnal.

Deleting a hymn can raise delicate problems. The 1927, 380 hymn, "Father! Lead Me out of Darkness," had been written by John A. Widstoe, a member of the Twelve in both 1927 and 1948. When the time came to revise the 1927 hymnal, the church music committee suggested that the hymn be deleted since it wasn't sung. Alexander Schreiner objected:

After all, these were words written by an Apostle of the Lord. It was decided that I should approach Elder Widstoe, proposing to change the title, which seemed negative, and adjust a few words.

Elder Widstoe said, "You don't understand, Brother Schreiner. It is being sung by a nonmember. I don't want anybody to change the words. Nonmembers are in darkness."

"But Elder Widstoe," I responded, "when you go to stake conference and give an inspirational and enlightening message to the saints, how would you feel if the stake president announced that the closing hymn will be 'Father! Lead me out of darkness'?"

^{9.} Hicks, 132.

Elder Widstoe could then see the point of giving this fine hymn a positive title, with only the rearrangement of a few words. 10

Widstoe was persuaded that what he had intended was not what was communicated. Schreiner's "rearrangement of a few words" was understated: the four-verse, 194-word 1927 hymn became in 1948, 141, and in 1985, 45, "Lead Me Into Life Eternal," a four-verse, 98-word hymn.

ETHNIC REFERENCES

Blacks

70

Example 7. In 1835, 67:3, baptism appeared to affect skin color literally: "And wash the Ethiopian white." The hymn was omitted before 1927.

Example 8. In 1835, 35:4, and again in 1927, 102:4, "There Is Now a Feast for the Righteous Preparing," entire continents are dark and black: "Go pass throughout Europe,/ and Asia's dark regions/ to China's far shores,/ and to Africa's black legions." Although the hymn had been included by the church for more than one hundred years, it was omitted from the 1948 hymnal; its second verse also contained the line: "To cease from all evil/ and leave off loud mirth," which appeared to encourage dourness, solemnity, and a lack of joy.

Example 9. The 1927, 301:2, and 1948, 127:2, "O'er Gloomy Hills of Darkness" hymn, linked the African Negro, the American Indian, and barbarians: "Let the *Indian* and the *Negro*,/ Let the *rude barbarian* see/ That divine and glorious conquest/ Once obtained on Calvary." This hymn was not retained in the 1985 hymnal.

Native Americans

Example 10. The 1835 and 1927 hymnals contained 63:1 / 64:1: "O stop and tell me, Red Man . . . / Have you no God, no home?"; 63:5 / 64:3: "And so our race has dwindled / to idle Indian hearts"; and 63:4 / 64:4: "And quit their savage customs." Although included by the church for more than 100 years, this hymn was not retained for the 1948 hymnal.

The 1927 hymnal introduced seven hymns mentioning Native Americans. Four of these did not last the twenty-one years to the 1948 hymnal:

77:1 "Great spirit listen to the Red Man's wail!"

^{10.} Karen Lynn Davidson, Our Latter-day Hymns (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1988), 75.

- 77:9 "Not many moons shall pass away before/ the curse of darkness from your skins shall flee"
- 331:13 "The Solid Rocks Were Rent in Twain,/ But their remnants wander far/ In darkness, sorrow, and despair."
- 189:1 "Deseret, Deseret! 'Tis the Home of the Free,/ Where the savage has wandered,/ by darkness debased"
- 324:2 "We're proud of Utah/ Won from a hostile band."

Three of the 1927 hymns mentioning Native Americans continued to the 1948 hymnal. In "O'er the Gloomy Hills of Darkness," 301:2 / 127:2, "Let the *Indian* and the *Negro*,/ Let the *rude barbarian* see/ That divine and glorious conquest/ Once obtained on Calvary." In "For the Strength of the Hills," 118:4 / 241:4, "the *red untutored* Indian/ seeketh here his *rude* delights." In "The Wintry Day, Descending to its Close," 368:4 / 292:4, "where *roamed* at will/ the *savage Indian* band." The only surviving reference to Native Americans in the 1985 hymnal is 38:4, "Come, All Ye Saints of Zion," in which savage Indians have become fearless Indians: "where roamed at will/ the fearless Indian band."

Three years after the extension of the priesthood to blacks in June 1978, in an equally dramatic move the First Presidency authorized a change in the Book of Mormon in 2 Nephi 30:6: "and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white and delight-some people." Since 1981, 2 Nephi 30:6 reads: "and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a pure and delight-some people." Removing hymnal references to Native Americans and blacks has assisted missionary work, which views the field as white, ready to harvest.

REMOVING ADAM-GOD REFERENCES

In April 1852, October 1853, February 1854, March 1855, October 1857, and other times Brigham Young delivered sermons, recorded in the *Journal of Discourses*, which teach what is called the Adam-God theory. On 13 April 1861 the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* published a poem about Adam, "Sons of Michael," with the opening lines: "Sons of Michael, he approaches! Rise; the *Eternal Father* greet." Although the church did not officially accept Young's teachings on this matter, the idea died slowly. The 1927 hymnal converted the 1861 poem "Sons of Michael" to hymn 334. The line with Adam as the Eternal Father was replaced by "Sons of Michael, He approaches! Rise; the ancient Father

^{11.} See David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 15 (Spring 1982): 14-58.

72

greet." The hymn 1927, 334, contained capitalized references to Michael that had not been capitalized in the original poem:

Sons of Michael, He approaches Bow ye thousands, low before Him; Minister before His feet; Sons of Michael, 'tis His chariot Hail, hail our Head Lo, lo, to greet Thee In His paradise again!

The 1948 hymnal removed six of these capitalizations, left one, and introduced a new one: "Hail, hail our *Head*/ In his *Paradise* again!" Thus 1948, 163, had the following capitalized words:

Rise, the ancient Father greet; Hail, hail the Patriarch's glad reign, Hail, Hail our Head with music soft! Endless with thy Lord preside; Like old Ocean's roaring swell, that the Ancient One doth reign, in his Paradise again!

Karen Davidson, a member of the 1985 general music committee for the church, stated,

Some subtle changes made in this text for the 1985 hymnal emphasize the correct nature of Adam's role. Because he is the father of the human race, Adam deserves our love and respect; however, to distinguish this appropriate adoration from the worship we afford our father in Heaven, references to Adam have not been capitalized in this hymn. ¹²

Indeed, in the 1985 version even the capitalization of "Ocean" has been removed. The committee made two other, less subtle, changes. In the 1861, 1927, and 1948 versions Eve presided endlessly with Michael: "Mother of our generations,/ Glorious by Great Michael's side,/ Take thy children's adoration;/ Endless with thy Lord *preside*." The 1985 version replaces this so that Eve "Endless with thy seed abide." Additionally, in the 1861, 1927, and 1948 versions it was Adam who reigned in paradise, while in 1985, 51, Adam reigns "in his father's house." The Adam-God theory, after 124 years, was finally edited out of the hymnal.

^{12.} Davidson, 81.

Types of Changes between the 1948 and the 1985 Hymnals

Between seventy¹³ and eighty-two hymns were omitted between the 1948 hymnal and the 1985 hymnal. Of the retained hymns, many changes in wording reflected church changes. I will illustrate six interesting patterns of changes in this forty-year period: self-perception, compassion, philosophical, literary, gender, and geographical.

Self-perception

Hymns change when the church views itself differently.

Example 11. In 1948, 37:1, "Up, Awake, Ye Defenders of Zion," we sang about our church history in terms of wrongs, fate, God-hating foes, and being despised: "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." In 1948, 37:3: "In wonder the nations will view/ the despised ones in glory resplendent."

In 1985, 248:1, however, we no longer viewed ourselves as despised and had produced a more faithful history: "Remember the *trials* of Missouri;/ forget not the *courage* of Nauvoo./ When the *enemy host* is before you/ stand firm and be faithful and true." Again in 1985, 248:3: "In wonder the nations will view/ Our Zion in glory resplendent."

Compassion

Hymns change as we grow in compassion.

Example 12. In 1948, 58:2: "Only he who does something/ is worthy to live,/ the world has no use for a drone." In 1985, 223:2: "Only he who does something/ helps others to live./ To God each good work will be known."

Philosophical

Hymns change when members write their leaders.

The 1948, 215, hymn, "Today, While the Sun Shines," refers to today no fewer than twenty-eight times; no one can miss the message of the hymn. The hymn ends with the words "There is no tomorrow,/ but only today," which after twenty-eight repetitions of today meant that we

cannot depend upon a tomorrow in which to accomplish the things we have procrastinated today. But through the years, members of the Church called or wrote the general Music Committee's office to express concern over the

^{13.} Ibid., 21, lists the omissions by first line from the 1950 version. Twelve additional songs had been deleted between the 1948 and the 1950 versions. Hicks, 138.

phrase. Latter-day Saints certainly do believe in an eternal tomorrow. Furthermore, the line almost had the ring of "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die." ¹⁴

The general music committee, sensitive to the weakest of the Saints, altered the line in 1985, 229: "Prepare for tomorrow/ by working today." This example indicates the willingness of the church music committee to remove a phrase, one of whose meanings offended some members, even though twenty-eight repetitions and the title indicated the meaning.

Literary

Hymns change as the meanings of words change. The short fortyyear period between hymnbooks was enough to change the meaning of some words. With work, the general music committee needed only change the word rather than delete the hymn.

Example 13. In 1948, 250:3, read, "When God his strange work would perform." Although we pride ourselves in being different, we do not consider ourselves as strange. Apparently, we no longer view God's work as strange either. In 1985, 32:3, reads, "When God his great work would perform."

Example 14. In 1948, 200:1, we sang that "Sunshine makes the heart so gay." Perhaps, worried that this might be taken to provide justification for alternate sexual preference, the verse became in 1985, 276:1, "Sunshine chases clouds away."

Example 15. In 1948, 187:3, we sang a sacrament song with the words "Oh happy hour! communion sweet." In 1948, for members of the predominantly Utah-concentrated church (a virtually dry state), a "happy hour" was an hour that was happy. In 1985, for non-members of the nationally dispersed church, "happy hour" was associated with something quite different. The verse became in 1985, 176:3, "Oh blessed hour! communion sweet."

Example 16. In 1948, 192:3, our looks were something for which (in song at least) we were held morally accountable: "In our words and looks and actions/ Lie the seeds of death and life." In 1985 people controlled their looks by attention to clothes, the right labels, clothing styles, and facial features modified by cosmetic surgery. Rather than make such "looks" morally praiseworthy, the verse became 216:3: "In our words and thoughts and actions/ Lie the seeds of death and life."

Example 17. In 1948, 250:4, "The Happy Day at Last Has Come," had "And angels, who above do reign, / Come down to converse hold with

^{14.} Davidson, 238-39.

men." The infinitive "to hold" had been split by the noun "converse." By 1985 Americans only used the noun *converse* in reference to a tennis shoe. To increase clarity, 32:4 became "And angels, who above do reign,/ Come down *to speak again* to men."

Gender-neutral

Hymns changed from male gender-exclusive terms to gender-inclusive terms.

Example 18. The 1950, 152, hymnal contained the hymn "O Sons of Zion," written by Robert Manookin. He has commented: "Because over the years it was erroneously considered by many to be a priesthood hymn, it found less use than perhaps could have done otherwise. For this reason, I [Manookin] suggested that its title and text be changed to 'O Saints of Zion." The hymn became 1985, 39, "O Saints of Zion." Similarly, the 1948, 303 hymn, "Come, all ye Sons of Zion," became 1985, 38, "Come, all ye Saints of Zion."

Example 19. In 1948, 184:3, the missionary hymn, "The Time Is Far Spent," exhorted missionaries: "Go brethren, be faithful." In 1985, 266:3, for a church with a significant percentage of female missionaries, the hymn exhorted both males and females: "Go forward, be faithful."

Example 20. In the 1948, 134:2 youth hymn, "Increasing every hour,/ in loyalty and faith we go,/ in manhood, grace, and power." How boys could increase their manhood was not clear; nor is it clear how girls could increase their manhood. In 1985, 134:2, both boys and girls could progress: "Increasing every hour,/ in loyalty and faith we go,/ in honor, grace, and power."

Geography

Hymns change as the church becomes international.

Example 21. The 1950, 207 hymn, "Rejoice, Ye Saints of Latter Days," was written by Mabel Gabbott for the dedication of the Idaho Falls temple. A member of the general hymnbook committee gave the following insight into its 1985 revision: "When the time came for it to be considered for the 1985 hymnal, however, it was clear that its usefulness was limited for two reasons. In the first place, as the author herself expressed it, 'The words seemed slanted to temples in America.'" With the lines, "Another temple to our God/ Now stands upon this chosen sod," the text seemed to ignore temples in countries other than the United States. In 1984, at the invitation of the Hymnbook Committee, the author accepted the chal-

^{15.} Ibid., 69.

lenge of rewriting the text she had written four decades before. The new version 1985, 290, reads, "Rejoice ye Saints of latter days, For temples now in *many* lands," to encompass all the temples that now have been built worldwide. 16

Example 22. The general music committee recognized its obligation to consider a hymn from the standpoint of international Saints, not just the historically dominant American Saints. The 1948, 43 hymn, "Father, Thy Children to Thee now Raise," is a case in point.

Because the 1985 hymnal was to be used by English-speaking Latter-day saints, in many parts of the world, the Hymnbook committee felt it preferable to avoid, wherever possible, references within the hymn texts that were too narrow in terms of geography, or nationalistic sentiment. For this reason, the original second verse of 1948:43

Thankful to thee that a pilgrim band Brought us to dwell in this favored land, 'Led o'er the deserts and plains by thee Here to a land of true liberty; Thankful to thee for the mountains high

was not included in 1985:91.17

New Latter-Day Saint Hymns

The 1985 hymnal includes forty-four new Latter-day Saint hymns. I found four interesting patterns in their inclusions: hymn orientation, religious sensitivity, power of a single word, and increase in gender-inclusive words.

Hymn Orientation

Example 23. The 1973 hymn, "With Humble Heart," was written in the first person plural "we" as a communal sacrament hymn: "we bow our heads," "we take the water," "Help us remember." Before it was added to the 1985 hymnal as 171, all first person plural references were changed to the first person "I." Certainly, singing a communal sacrament hymn and singing a personal sacrament hymn create different feelings in an individual; the personal sacrament hymn involves an individual directly rather than by inference. 18

^{16.} Ibid., 292.

^{17.} Ibid., 120.

^{18.} Hicks, 144.

Example 24. The church music committee has invited composers to create hymns for special purposes, for example, funeral hymns. However, the composer's artistic freedom can enlarge an assigned, narrow topic. In this light, the background to 1985, 293, "Each Life that Touches Ours for Good," is enlightening. It was designed to reflect the experience of singles, part-members, single parents, and other non-traditional family units.

When the 1985 Hymnbook Committee expressed a wish for a hymn that could be used at funerals, I realized that such a hymn could also be an opportunity to express thanks for the blessing of human relationships. At various times during my life, my work and schooling have taken me into many different places and circumstances. I was a single woman for many years, living in dormitories, apartments, and finally a home of my own, moving quite often to a new city and a new ward or branch. . . . One truth has emerged from all these experiences: any geographical location, marital status, professional activity, and Church assignment can be a component of a happy life. ¹⁹

Religious Sensitivity

Example 25. President John Taylor had five hymns in the 1927 hymnal, three in the 1948 hymnal, and one in the 1985 hymnal. One of his omitted 1927 hymns was added to the 1985 hymnal for a men's chorus missionary hymn. Displaying increased sensitivity to the non-members to whom they are sent, the 1927, 253:4, version was changed from "Then the heathen, long in darkness,/ By the savior will be crowned."

Sensitivity to One Word

Example 26. I share a story from which I infer the sensitivity of the leaders of the church to the difference that one word can make to a hymn. Naomi Randall, author of the 1985, 301 hymn, "I am a Child of God," shares her insight as to why church hymns, written under inspiration, may still go through an evolutionary process:

Spencer W. Kimball, a member of the Quorum of Twelve, attended a conference in Elko, Nevada, where the primary sang "I Am a Child of God." On the trip home, he expressed his love for the song, then stated that there was one word in the chorus that concerned him. He wondered if the author would change the line

^{19.} Davidson, 295.

Teach me all that I must know to live with him some day.

to

Teach me all that I must do to live with him some day.

The author gladly made the change, but wondered why she hadn't included that thought at the time the lyrics were first written. She records, "I came to feel that this was the way the Lord wanted the song to evolve, because it became a teaching moment for members all over the Church."

President Kimball was fond of saying, "Naomi Randall wrote most of the words, but I wrote one!" 20

Gender-Inclusiveness

Example 27. "Called To Serve," 1985, 249, was the last hymn added to the 1985 hymnbook. 21 For twenty-four years the 1951 Primary songbook, The Children Sing, had asked Primary boys and Primary girls to sing, "Called to know the richness of his blessing—/ Sons of God, and children of a King." By 1985 nearly 20 percent of missionaries were female. Therefore, to make the language more inclusive, before it was added to the hymnbook, the verse was changed 22 to "Called to know the richness of his blessing—/ Sons and daughters, children of a King."

Example 28. In 1985, 263, is the missionary hymn "Go Forth with Faith," written as farewell remarks by Ruth Gardner, the mother of a missionary called to Japan. The hymn's original title and orientation was "Go Forth, My Son"; the author changed the title and orientation to "Go Forth with Faith" to be more gender-inclusive before she submitted it for inclusion.

Example 29. At least one author of a new hymn was motivated by gender issues from personal experience with the 1948 hymnal. Jan Underwood Pinborough, author of 1985, 310, wrote: "I became aware that the 1950 hymnbook had no hymns specifically about or for women." She wrote the hymn, "A Key Was Turned in Latter Days," specifically for the 1985 hymnbook. It is part of the women's choral songs 310-18, not the general congregational singing.

Example 30. The King James translators often used gender-exclusive language. Malachi 4:6 reads: "turn the heart of the fathers to the children

^{20.} Ibid., 303-304.

^{21.} Ibid., 256.

^{22.} Ibid., 256.

^{23.} Ibid., 311.

and the heart of the children to their fathers." Yet we know that genealogy is done for both fathers and mothers. The author of 1985, 291:3, "Turn Your Hearts," overcomes the gender-exclusive language of the translators by writing: "Turn your hearts toward your parents—/ generations gone before." Two additional gender-balanced verses that belong to the same hymn have not been added to the hymnbook. These included the lines: "Turn your hearts to Eve and Adam,/ Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Ruth/ Turn to Joseph and to Emma."

INAPPROPRIATE GENDER-BASED BEHAVIOR

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints stresses the same standard of chastity for men as for women. The church offers salvation and exaltation for women as well as for men. It preaches that all are children of God, and all are valued equally in his eyes.

Our hymns come through the world around us, through the language, history, and traditions of our parents. As the social milieu around us changes, we become aware of unconscious anachronisms. The accidental, unwilled, historical pattern of male gender-exclusive language in a hymnal sends the accidental, unwilled, subtle message which can be interpreted by youth, converts, single parent families, widows, married and unmarried women that men are more important.

I was reminded of this when on 7 April 1993 Brigham Young University circulated to all faculty members a document entitled, "The University's Unlawful Sexual Harassment and Inappropriate Gender-Based Behavior Policy." Three items in the document caught my attention:

- 1. BYU is committed to maintain an environment where the dignity of each individual is recognized and respected.
- 2. Behavior which uses a person's gender to violate individual dignity is inappropriate gender-based behavior, particularly if the conduct is excessive, pervasive, or part of a continuing pattern.
- Members of the University community who engage in inappropriate gender-based behavior are to be counseled about the discomfort and harm which such behavior causes.

With this injunction, I examined the possibility of excessive, pervasive, or continuing pattern of gender-based language in the 1985 hymnbook.

The following data do not include hymns 309-37. Hymns 309-18 are labeled for women; hymns 319-37 are labeled for men. Although men have twice as many hymns as women, since these hymns are labeled for a specific gender I did not examine any of them for gender-based language. Nor did I record male gender-exclusive language if it referred to a specific male (Joseph Smith, Moroni, the current president of the church)

or to God or Jesus Christ.

Of the 312 hymns examined, 210 are gender-neutral. The remaining 102 hymns, 32 percent of all hymns, are not gender-neutral. 24

type	male	number	female	number ²⁵
collective	brethren	3	_	0
sibling	brother	10	sister	0 (1)
parent	father	14	mother	2 (5)
pronoun	he	4	_	0
possessive	his	7	her	0 (10)
child	son	20	daughter	1 (5)
one adult	man	24		0
adults	men	58	_	0
humanity	mankind	7		0
Total		147		3 (21)

Female Gender-Based Words in the 1985 Hymnal

I found four female gender-exclusive words: daughters, her, mother, and sister. No women (Eve, Sarah, Rachel, Mary, Emma) are named in the hymnal.

female gender word	number of occurrences
daughters	6
her	10
mother	7
sister	HILL COMMUNICATION TO BE STOCKED

daughters	46:2	well supply thy sons and daughters
daughters	192:1	And Israel's daughters wept around
daughters	238:1	Behold thy sons and daughters
daughters	245:3	Here may our sons and daughters
daughters	249:2	Sons and daughters, children of a King
daughters	287:3	As thy faithful sons and daughters

^{24.} The following hymns have one or more male-gender words: 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 32, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 58, 60, 62, 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 78, 80, 81, 84, 88, 105, 118, 122, 133, 134, 135, 140, 141, 145, 146, 155, 158, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 191, 192, 198, 199, 200, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 219, 220, 223, 228, 235, 236, 238, 240, 244, 245, 246, 249, 252, 253, 255, 257, 268, 269, 272, 273, 275, 281, 287, 288, 291, 308, 338, 339, and 340.

^{25.} In section 10 the reader may check that twenty-one of the twenty-four female-gender based terms are either symbolic or references to women and men.

her (Zion)	5:2	On Zion's Hill her light should
her (Zion)	7:2	Come to Zion, and within her walls rejoice
her (Zion)	39:3	For Zion is All nations to her flow.
her (Zion)	47:1	Zion soon will rise to meet her God.
her (Zion)	49:2	While Zion spread herself
her (Zion)	49:3	her fame was known from east to west
her (Zion)	49:3	her peace is pure and great
her (Babylon)	7 :1	Babylon the Great all her towers over-
		throw
her (grave)	182:3	The grave yield up her dead.
her (Earth)	201:1	Let earth receive her king
mother	43:2	Mothers cease their own to cherish
mother (Eve)	51:3	Mother of our generation
mother (earth)	62:4	Dear Mother earth, who day by day
mother (simile)	70:3	As with a mother's tender hand
mother	95:2	Who from our mothers' arms hath blessed us
mother (simile)	104:2	As a mother stills her child
mother (Mary)	204:1	round yon virgin mother
sister	92:3	human love, brother, sister, parent, child.

Five of the six references to daughters refer to sons and daughters, not to daughters themselves. The sixth reference to daughters is historical in reference to the Crucifixion.

All ten of the "her" references are to non-females: Zion, Babylon, the grave, the Earth.

Of the seven references to mother, two are to historical women, two are similes, one is to a non-female (the earth), and two are to ordinary females.

The one reference to sister is juxtaposed with brother.

MALE GENDER-BASED DATA IN THE 1985 HYMNAL

I found the following male gender-exclusive words: brethren, brother, father, he, his, man, men, mankind, son, and sons.

male gender word	number of occurrences
brethren	3
brother	10
father	14
he	4
his	7

man	24
mankind	7
men	58
son	20

brethren

27:chorus	He can plan for his brethren;
178:4	As brethren, let us ever live
185:3	With thy brethren be at peace

my brother

140:2	Did you plead for grace, my brother
220:3	I would be my brother's keeper
220:4	Savior, may I love my brother
273:4	If I love my brother dearer
273:5	When I saw my brother's failing

a brother

235:2	in idle pleasure trifle with a brother's fame
273:3	If thou art a friend, a brother

brother

219:1	With every brother that I see
246:2	Brothers lift your voices
246:3	Brothers we are treading

our fathers' God

35:chorus	For the strength of the hills we bless thee, Our God	
	our fathers' God	
245:1	This house we dedicate to thee, Our God, our fa-	
	thers' God.	
339:4	Our fathers' God, to thee, Author of liberty	

God of our fathers

76:1	God of our fathers, we come unto thee
78:1	God of our fathers, whose almighty hand
80:1	God of our fathers, known of old
133:3	God of our fathers, strengthen every nation

faithful fathers

39:3	tread the paths Your f	faithful fathers trod.
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our fathers ²⁶	
84:1	Faith of our fathers, living still
84:2	Faith of our fathers, we will strive
84:3	Faith of our fathers, we will love
84:chorus	Faith of our fathers, holy faith,
255:1	On the rock our fathers planted for us
my fathers	
339:1	Land where my fathers died,
he	
145:4	He enters heav'n with prayer
145:5	And cry, "Behold, he prays!"
223:2	Only he who does something helps others to live.
272:3	The scepter may fall from the despot's grasp
	When with winds of stern justice he copes
his	
4 8:1	As himself each loved his neighbor
145:4	His watchword at the gates of death
145:5	Returning from his ways
228:3	To your enemy in <i>his</i> need
228:3	And his burden you will share
228:3	As you lift <i>his</i> load of care
240:1	
to man	
7:3	And to man their pow'r extending,
11:3	God is just to every man.
39:2	words of truth Revealed again to man.

^{26.} Hymn 84, "Faith of Our Fathers," is an interesting example of male gender exclusive language. Clearly, all of us have had female ancestors that have had great faith. More women than men join the church; more women than men stay active in the church; more women than men perform acts of human kindness through the auxiliaries of the church. Singing only of the faith of our fathers excludes the female members of the church as they recall the faith of their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers.

But the song is not about parental ancestors. What we sing is not what the author intended. The author, Frederick Faber, originally a clergyman in the Church of England, wrote the hymn after converting to Catholicism. When he wrote about the "faith of our fathers," he meant the Roman Catholic Church. Faber's hope was that England might be restored to the Catholicism that had once been her religion. One of the omitted verses makes this clear: "Faith of our fathers! Mary's prayers shall win our country back to thee." When we sing this hymn about the faith of the fathers, we sing lines that refer to the restoration of England to the fathers of the Roman Catholic Church. See Davidson, 114.

53:3	But love to God and man abound
62:3	That give to man both warmth and light
198:1	a grave that burst Proclaimed to man
that man	
146:1	That man may rest, that man may rest
173:3	That man might not remain a slave
175:2	That man should him desire
191:1	That man may live and glory win.
209:2	Born that man no more may die
for man	
176:1	To suffer, bleed, and die for man!
177:1	To suffer, bleed, and die for man!
186:2	With man to live, for man to die,
189:1	Ordained a sacrifice for man
man	
21:3	'Tis not in man they put their trust
74:3	Why should I make a man my trust
88:5	Blest is the <i>man</i> that trusts in thee
175:2	By man least understood
175:4	And be like <i>man</i> almost
199:1	Death is conquered, man is free.
223:2	'Tis noble of man to work and to give;
240:1	That God will force no man to heaven.
all mankind	
81:1	With love of God and love of all mankind!
211:1	I bring to you and all mankind.
288:2	All mankind it would save
of mankind	
4:1	Burst the fetters of the mind
	From millions of mankind!
141:2	O Savior of mankind!
	•
mankind	
25:3	God's commandment to mankind
84:2	Mankind shall then be truly free
	-
to men	
9:2	Bring to men the glorious gospel;

11:2	Yes, it came of old to men.
12:2	Was given of God to men;
47:2	Through the revelations given by God to men,
134:2	Who said to men:
207:1	Peace on earth, good will to men
208:2	And peace to men on earth
212:4	Peace on earth, good will to men;
214:1	Of peace on earth, good will to men.
214:2	Of peace on earth, good will to men.
214:3	Of peace on earth, good will to men.
214:4	With peace on earth, good will to men.
214:5	Of peace on earth, good will to men.
268:1	Shall we, to men benighted,
288:2	And taught to men anew.
all men	
11:1	To all men, all tongues and nations
12:1	All men, all tongues, all nations would
28:3	All men must before him bow.
37:4	Invites all men to its security
58:1	When all men from sin shall cease,
73:1	Let all men in earth rejoice.
73:2	Wondrous love to all men shown.
291:2	promises that bind you to all men
mortal men	
69:2	And mortal men and all things created
134:2	'Mid mortal men, his earthly kin,
that men	
22:1	That men might learn to find the path
70:4	That men may hear the grateful song
275:2	He would not that men should pine.
men	
8:1	burst like a dawn over the children of men!
12:3	The powers of heaven are opened wide to men of God
25:2	For a blessing unto men
32:4	Come down to speak again to men.
38:4	Tho wicked <i>men</i> and devils exert their power
47:2	Given by God to <i>men</i> ,
49:1	And men did live a holy race
	•

53:2	The day by holy <i>men</i> foretold,
54:3	To plowshares men shall beat their swords,
60:2	He is sifting out the hearts of men
60:3	As he died to make men holy
60:3	Let us live to make <i>men</i> free,
105:chorus	the storm-tossed sea or demons or men or whatever
122:6	Nor men not devils can revoke
135:2	The one bright hope of <i>men</i> on earth
155:2	To serve our fellow <i>men</i> ,
158:3	To mingle with my fellow <i>men</i> ,
191:2	While guilty <i>men</i> his pains deride
192:3	The Lord of glory died for men.
212:chorus	<i>Men</i> shall unite in the strains sublime:
215:3	Ring in the valiant <i>men</i> and free,
216:2	Trodden under foot of men;
236:2	Yet he witnessed unto men
240:3	Freedom and reason make us men;
244:1	Most men can be led,
246:4	Through countless ages men and angels sing.
252:1	The world has need of willing men
269:4 chorus	then shall rise from men of every tongue
308:1	By this shall men know ye are my disciples
340:3	thus be it ever, when free men shall stand
son	
187:4	My will to his, like son to sire
187:4	Be made to bend, and I, as son,
sons of men	
39:2	That all the sons of men
40:2	To all the sons of men
134:4	To rule among the sons of men.
200:1	Sons of men and angels say
257:3	Arise and sing, ye sons of men;
sons of earth	
184:3	To all the sons of earth
209:2	Born to raise the sons of earth
sons of Michae	1
51:1	Sons of Michael he approaches!
51:2	Sons of Michael 'tis his chariot
51:3	Raise a chorus, sons of Michael,
02.0	Traine a citorao, bono of tritoraot,

sons	of	day
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15:1 To cheer the sons of day.

sons of Joseph

253:2 Sons of Joseph, Israel's band

sons of God

118:1 And mock the sons of God?

sons and daughters

46:2	Well supply thy sons and daughters,
238:1	Behold thy sons and daughters,
245:3	Here may our sons and daughters
249:2	Sons and daughters, children of a King
287:3	As thy faithful sons and daughters

GENERAL AUTHORITY HYMNS

Hymns by general authorities are reviewed, omitted, and changed by the general music committee. The following table tabulates how fashions change.

Name	1927	1948	1985
Parley P. Pratt	38	10	8
Orson Whitney	21	2	2
Charles Penrose	8	4	4
John Taylor	5	3	2
Joseph Fielding Smith	3	1	1

The 1985 hymnal contains thirty-eight²⁷ new latter-day Saint compositions between numbers 1 and 308. Four were written by general authorities alive in 1985.

Recall that 32 percent of all hymns in the 1985 hymnal exhibit male gender-based words. Thirty-six percent, fourteen of the thirty-eight new hymns, also have male gender-based words. I was surprised that the new hymns had a slightly higher percentage of male gender-exclusive words than the old hymns.

^{27. &}quot;New Latter-day Saint Compositions" (Davidson, 18): 8, 22, 28, 47, 71, 81, 113, 123, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 148, 151, 154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 198, 220, 253, 261, 263, 277, 279, 281, 287, 290, 291, 293, 295, 297, and 298. Hymns 309, 310, 311, 320, 325, and 329 are also new but belong to the data that are labeled for women or men which was omitted from my study.

^{28.} These are 8, 22, 28, 47, 81, 134, 135, 155, 198, 220, 253, 281, 287, and 291.

However, 75 percent, three of the four hymns from general authorities alive in 1985, have male gender-based words. None of the four hymns have female gender-based words. I point out four possible reasons: (1) four hymns form a small sample, (2) the hymns are not written by hymnists, (3) the issue of male gender-based language is relatively new, and (4) the three hymns with male gender-exclusive language are classified in the back of the 1985 hymnal as Easter hymns, a topic in which ten of the twelve hymns show male gender-exclusive language.

Bruce R. McConkie	134:2	mid mortal men
	134:2	who said to men
	134:4	to rule among the sons of men.
Gordon B. Hinckley	135:2	the one bright hope of men on
-		earth
Loren C. Dunn	137	none
Marion D. Hanks	198:1	Proclaimed to man

How to Create Changes

Let us suppose the First Presidency were to give the church music committee a charge to reduce male gender-exclusive language. The committee has already displayed many ingenious ways to modify a hymn.

- 1. Omit the hymn (19 of 21 hymns by Orson Whitney of the Quorum of Twelve disappeared from 1927 to 1948).
- 2. Add a verse that was never in the original (see 1985, 21:4).
- 3. Omit verses from previous hymnals (the entire v. 4 of 1948, 241, with its remark about red untutored Indian, is omitted from 1985, 35).
- 4. Add capitalizations (1927, 334); remove and add capitalizations (1927, 334 to 1948, 163); remove all capitalizations (1985, 51) to the same hymn.
- 5. Combine verses (six verses of 1948, 290, are merged into four verses in 1985, 118).
- 6. Change the order of verses (vv. 5 and 6 of 1985, 195, are interchanged from 1948, 68).
- 7. Omit verses from classics (two verses of "Onward Christian Soldiers" contradict our church teachings—1927, 318 / 1948, 128 / 1985, 246).
- 8. Change the meaning of a phrase (Eve no longer presides with Adam—1985, 51:3; there is a tomorrow—1985, 229).
- 9. Revise hymns that are too nationalistic (1985, 91) or too North American in their geography (1985, 290).

- 10. Commission hymns when a need is perceived (1985, 293).
- 11. Request a total re-writing with a change in person (1985, 171).
- 12. Acknowledge explicitly a change from the copyright holder's version (1985, 86).

HOW ARE GENDER-NEUTRAL HYMNS CREATED?

How do the two-thirds of gender-inclusive hymns in our hymnals work? Let me point out four techniques used in the 1985 hymnal: communal language, personal language, general language, and parents and children versus fathers and sons.

Communal language: us, we, our

- 3 Now let us rejoice
- 19 We thank thee oh God for a prophet
- 31 O God, our help In Ages past
- 119 Come we that Love the Lord

Personal language: mine, me, I, my

- 16 What glorious Scenes mine Eyes behold
- 45 Lead me unto Life eternal
- 89 The Lord is my Light
- 98 I need thee every hour

General Orientation

- 281 Behold a royal Army
- 254 True to the faith that our parents have cherished
- 256 As Zion's Youth in Latter days
- 260 Who's on the Lord's side?

Parents and Children versus Fathers and Sons

- 299 Children of Our Heavenly Father
- 96 Dearest Children, God is Near You
- 254 True to the faith which our parents have cherished
- 301 Given me an earthly home with parents kind and dear

GENDER-BASED TOPICS

Gender-based language appears to cluster around certain topics.

Pages 415-28 of the 1985 hymnal lists hymns by topic. I considered a topic if and only if it had at least six hymns. This left 87 topics. The percentage of gender-based hymns for each topic was computed.

%	Торіс	gender-based	number of hymns
0%	Jesus Christ Shepherd ²⁹	0	6
0%	Word of Wisdom	0	9
4%	Guidance	1	23
6%	Jesus Christ Friend	1	17
8%	Chastity	1	12
10%	Home	2	21
10%	Evening	1	10
10%	Wisdom	1	10
10%	Scriptures	1	10
10%	Preparedness	1	10
47%	Christmas	7	15
50%	Brotherhood	5	10
50%	Patience	3	6
50%	Truth	10	20
50%	Pioneers	3	6
50%	Re-activation	4	8
57%	Joseph Smith	4	7
60%	Judging	3	5
67%	Resurrection	8	12
83%	Easter	10	12
86%	Patriotism	6	7

The above table indicates that gender-exclusive language is not a peculiarly Mormon phenomenon. One of the high gender-exclusive topics is Christmas. But who writes the Christmas songs found in the hymnal? Thirteen of the fifteen Christmas hymns are written by non-Mormons; they reflect stereotypical, nineteenth-century (or earlier) phrasing of the gospel message. There are cases when the gender-exclusive language of the scriptures is meant to be limited to men. I have in mind Doctrine and Covenants 93:39; using this as a scriptural charge, the church music committee need not preserve errors in hymns that come "because of the tradition of their fathers." 30

^{29.} Jesus Christ has six topic headings: Creator 33 percent, Example 38 percent, Friend 6 percent, Savior 32 percent, Second Coming 40 percent, and Shepherd 0 percent. Two of these topics are among the most gender-free in the hymnal. Home, the Word of Wisdom, chastity, and the scriptures are among the most gender-free topics.

^{30.} Interestingly, both of the LDS Christmas hymns contain male gender-based words.

In a similar note, all seven hymns on patriotism in the hymnal are written by non-Mormons; they reflect stereotypical, nineteenth-century (or earlier) phrasing of a time when women could not vote, could not hold property, could not hold political office, could not hold jobs, could not attend universities, and could not join the armed forces.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to determine how much of the gender-exclusive language in our hymnal is due to the inclusion of non-LDS hymns.

CONCLUSION

I found considerable pleasure in reading the hymns carefully with my wife Jill whose help and encouragement I acknowledge. I look forward to the time when my wife, daughters, and mother can sing hymns in which they appear directly, not by inference, so that their sense of value as individuals may be increased.