
From Pentecost to Administration: A Reappraisal of the History of the Hosanna Shout

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On the front page of the 9 October 2000 issue of the *Deseret News* was an image of Gordon B. Hinckley, President and Prophet of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, demonstrating the Hosanna Shout, a scene never before depicted by the press in Utah. The picture was taken from a televised broadcast of the Sunday morning session of the Church's 170th Semiannual General Conference that took place on 8 October at the Conference Center in Salt Lake City. As part of this meeting, a ceremony was held for the purpose of dedicating the newly constructed Conference Center. Attendant to this meeting, the Saints gave the Hosanna Shout, which was led by President Hinckley in the conclusion of the dedication.¹

As demonstrated by the Church's Prophet, the current practice of this ritual consists of the congregation's standing and exclaiming in unison, "Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna, to God and the Lamb," repeated three times, followed by "Amen, Amen, and Amen." This cry is accompanied by the worshiper's waving a white handkerchief in unison to the words.² With feelings of praise, thanksgiving, and joy, participants are instructed and led in giving the shout by a presiding priesthood authority.³ Similar to all ordinances and rituals of the Church of Jesus Christ, the Hosanna Shout is regarded as a holy and sacred practice. As indicated by President Hinckley at the dedication, this ritual of shouting is a "sacred salute to the Father and the Son."⁴

Typically, the shout has been reserved for occasions representing monumental progress of the Church or kingdom of God upon the earth. The most recurrent instances in the twentieth century have been connected with

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Latter-day Saint temple dedications. With the dedication of the Conference Center, a united shout was given after the dedicatory prayer was offered. The practice of shouting “Hosanna” has experienced only minor changes in the wording during the past century.⁵ However, during the nineteenth century, the Hosanna Shout was subject to substantial alterations in both its meaning and form. Moreover, its practice was concomitant to many occasions not connected with temples.

Because of the rarity of its use and the lack of authoritative doctrinal commentary, such as a revelation or an explanatory message from the First Presidency about its origin and meaning in Church history, the Hosanna Shout remains an obscure practice to many lay members of the Church. To fill the void of understanding in recent years, Latter-day Saint religious authors and General Authorities have given the shout a canonical foundation by noting the parallels between the Church ritual and the shouts given in the Old and New Testaments.⁶ Similarly, in academic publications specializing in Latter-day Saint topics, there are several discussions of its history. These studies include theories of the shout’s Latter-day Saint origins, parallels in biblical history, documentation of its numerous manifestations during the history of the Church, and changes in its form. Little analysis, however, has come forth successfully explaining its latter-day origin or the various changes in the shout’s character illuminated by historical context.⁷

Typically, members look to the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, the first Latter-day Saint temple, as an example of the classical practice and the origin of the shout.⁸ Although the shout’s phrasing at that event is similar to that of the current shout, members assume a doctrinal and practical continuity between then and now. Like other practices and doctrines of the Latter-day Saint faith, the Hosanna Shout has passed through different stages of transition. These changes match the development and standardization of other doctrines and practices in Church history.⁹ The use of the shout at the dedication of the Conference Center, in addition to the current acceleration of temple building and the broadcasting of temple dedications to members in congregations throughout the world, makes a renewed historical evaluation timely. The object of this study is to reexamine the theories of the shout’s origin and review the context for changes in its meaning and form throughout Church history.

Hosanna: Ancient History and the Latter-day Saint Canon

Appearing early in Latter-day Saint terminology, the word *hosanna* occurs a number of times in the 1830 publication of the Book of Mormon and in three early revelations received by Joseph Smith in 1830 and 1831.¹⁰

“Hosanna” is a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew phrase “O deliver” appearing in the Hebrew Psalm 118:25.¹¹ During temple times in Israelite history, this psalm was part of a recitation known as the *Hoshanot* and was chanted as Jewish participants marched in circumambulation around the temple altar during the seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles celebration.¹² This Jewish festival commemorated the annual harvest and the Israelites’ wanderings in the desert after their escape from Egypt.¹³ The *Hoshanot* typically included requests for deliverance and was accompanied by the beating of willow branches on the ground. In addition, it opened and closed with the congregation exclaiming “Hoshana.”¹⁴

In the King James Version of the Bible, the word *hosanna* appears in connection with Jesus’ triumphal entry into Jerusalem in the New Testament. On that occasion, those present cried, “Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest” (Matthew 21:9; see also Mark 11:9–11 and John 12:13). Accompanied by the waving of palm branches or *lulub*, this event is a reminiscent alteration of the activities performed during the Feast of Tabernacles.¹⁵ On another occasion, the followers of Christ praised the Lord using the term “hosanna.” Like the shouts of praise given to Jesus at His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, this occasion was also a cry of praise in response to miracles that had been performed by the Lord in the temple (see Matthew 21:15).¹⁶ Juxtaposed with the Jewish ritual requesting redemption, the events in the New Testament are expressions of praise.

The appearances of *hosanna* in the Book of Mormon text and in several early revelations given to Joseph Smith are similar to the New Testament expression of praise to the Lord as opposed to the Old Testament cry for salvation and redemption. In the Book of Mormon, Nephi sees the Spirit in a vision in which “the Spirit cried with a loud voice, saying: Hosanna to the Lord, the most high God” (1 Nephi 11:6). Later, at the time of the resurrected Lord’s visit to America, the Nephites gave a similar cry, shouting, “Hosanna to the Most High God” (3 Nephi 4:32).¹⁷ In the 1830 and 1831 revelations included in both the Book of Commandments (1833) and the Doctrine and Covenants (1835), it was commanded that the gospel be proclaimed with shouts of “Hosanna.”¹⁸ For example, in March 1830, Martin Harris was exhorted to “declare the truth, even with a loud voice, with a sound of rejoicing, crying—Hosanna, hosanna, blessed be the name of the Lord God!” (D&C 19:37). It is significant to note that the first documented shouts given by the early followers of Joseph Smith, before and after the Church’s official organization in 1830, were expressions of praise. However, these shouts were not usually given as part of proclaiming the message of the restored gospel.

Saluting the Heavens, 1829–35

The first and earliest shouts given by the early followers of Joseph Smith were spontaneous and individual without organization or standard wording. Usually accompanied by intense spiritual manifestations, these shouts came from an unrestrained desire within an individual to praise God. These cries were a product of the religious expressions associated with the second great awakening and the revivalism of the early nineteenth century. This awakening emerged in the aftermath of the American Revolution and a breakdown of traditional religious structure of offices and authority. The religious freedom spawned by this era led to the infiltration of American folk religion and the previously restrained and “vulgar” expressions of religious feeling.¹⁹ Shouting was one of the prevalent expressions to surface during this era. Shouts were considered to be an outward gesture of feeling the spirit of what was being seen and heard. In addition, the shouting was sometimes accompanied by different body movements such as jumping, running, barking, or spinning.²⁰ During the religious enthusiasm of the second great awakening, several religions, including Mormonism, were born in New York.²¹ Interestingly, Joseph Smith mentioned this phenomenon while describing his struggle with the religious turmoil of the age. He said that he wanted to “feel and shout like the rest but could feel nothing.”²² The first members and leaders of the early New Testament Church, like Joseph Smith, would have been familiar, among other things, with the religious expression of shouting. Thus, it is expected that some of the characteristics of revivalism, such as shouting, would appear in early Mormonism.²³

Although spontaneous and unorganized shouting has not generally been acknowledged as part of the Latter-day Saint religious or historical traditions, examples of early Saints shouting praises to God are nonetheless abundant. The earliest documented shout of this type took place in 1829 before the publication of the Book of Mormon and the revelations commanding the Latter-day Saints to shout. On this occasion, Martin Harris, one of the Three Witnesses of the Book of Mormon, received an angelic confirmation of its truthfulness. It is recorded in the *History of the Church* that “Martin Harris cried out apparently in an ecstasy of joy, ‘Tis enough; ’tis enough; mine eyes have beheld; mine eyes have beheld; and jumping up, he shouted, ‘Hosanna,’ blessing God, and otherwise rejoiced exceedingly.”²⁴ Ebenezer Robinson, in October 1835, noted in his journal the events of his baptism: “Brother Joseph Smith, Jr., baptized [me] by immersion, and as [I] arose from the water . . . shouted aloud, ‘Glory to God.’”²⁵ In addition, after being administered to by David Whitmer on 11 October 1835, Joseph Smith Sr. “arose and . . . shouted, and praised the Lord.”²⁶

Some of the events illustrating the presence of spontaneous shouting in early Church events give a false impression that the words “God and the Lamb” were part of these religious expressions as early as 1831. For example, Heber C. Kimball gave an account in 1864 of his and Brigham Young’s hearing the gospel for the first time from the mouth of the missionaries in the fall of 1831. He wrote: “These things caused such great joy to spring up in our bosoms, that we were hardly able to contain ourselves; and we did shout aloud, Hosannah to God and the Lamb.”²⁷ “The spirit of the Lord sensibly attended the ministration,” wrote John Murdock of his baptism of 5 November 1831. “I came out of the water rejoicing and singing praises to God and the Lamb.”²⁸ President Seymour B. Young, during a general conference address in April 1915, recounted an experience of his father Joseph Young, the brother of Brigham Young, during Zion’s Camp in 1834. He explained that after praying for relief from cholera that afflicted the camp, “Hyrum Smith rose to his feet and began to shout ‘Hosanna to God and the Lamb forever.’”²⁹

These accounts describe events that transpired before the ritualized Hosanna Shout introduced in January 1836 at Kirtland by Joseph Smith, yet some contain several elements of the wording established at that time. One possible reason for this is that they are descriptions of past events—in some cases, many years had passed between the event and the time when an account of the experience was given or written. In an attempt to illustrate the character of the shout uttered, the authors may have included the familiar wording of the ritualized shout. Moreover, rewording or mislabeling cases of spontaneous shouting has continued into the twentieth century because of misinterpretation.³⁰

Further evidence that some of these early shouts were mislabeled also is found in the history behind the Hosanna Shout’s phrasing. As discussed earlier, the word *hosanna* appeared early in the Latter-day Saint canon of scripture as well as in the New Testament. These scriptural accounts make it plausible for *hosanna* to appear in the Latter-day Saint vernacular before the official wording introduced by Joseph Smith in 1836. This is illustrated by the cries of “Hosanna” given by Martin Harris in 1829. Joseph Smith also used the word in the context of “singing hosannas,” describing the joys of individuals who repent of their sins, in June 1835.³¹ In addition, he also used the word in a blessing he gave to Zera S. Cole in March 1835, saying, “You shall hear many cry Hosanna, Hosanna, because they heard the truth at your mouth. Amen.”³²

The uniquely Latter-day Saint phrase “God and the Lamb” does not appear in either the Old or New Testaments. It appears before 1836 in the book of Helaman in the Book of Mormon: “Many did preach with exceed-

ingly great power and authority, unto the bringing down many of them into the depths of humility, to be the humble followers of *God and the Lamb*" (Helaman 6:5; emphasis added). Later, the phrase was part of a revelation known as "The Vision," which was given in 1832 to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon: "And to *God and the Lamb* be glory, and honor, and dominion forever and ever" (D&C 76:119; emphasis added). In these instances, the phrase "God and the Lamb" does not appear in the context of shouting.

The expressions *hosanna* and *God and the Lamb* did not appear together until 1835 when the inspired words were penned to the Latter-day Saint anthem, "The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning," by William Wines Phelps. This hymn was written specifically for the Kirtland Temple dedication but was sung in Church meetings before that time. The details of this hymn's creation are obscure.³³ In particular, it is unknown if Joseph Smith imparted to Phelps the shout's wording or if it was Phelps's creation, which was later borrowed for the wording of the Hosanna Shout. Joseph Smith was impressed with the new hymn, and it was included among the collection of sacred hymns Emma Smith was commanded to gather. It was available as early as the spring of 1835 and later was reprinted before the dedication in the Church's publication, *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, in January 1836.³⁴ Phelps's song was one of many hymns in the first hymnal that made references to shouting. His wording, however, was completely original, employing the words "Hosanna," "God and the Lamb," and "Amen," which together comprise the fundamental expressions in the Hosanna Shout.³⁵

Evidences illustrating the mislabeling of these early accounts also become apparent in the number of times the phrasing was repeated. All the early sources that describe spontaneous shouting among early Saints, whether or not they contained "hosanna" or "God and the Lamb," were exclaimed only once. However, after the shout introduced by Joseph Smith in 1836, in which the phrases were repeated thrice, the spontaneous shouts, which continued to the end of the nineteenth century, typically mimicked the organized shout by the worshipers' repeating the phrases three times.

After 1835, specifically during the three months before the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in March 1836, there are many instances in Joseph Smith's journal that document these spontaneous shouts containing the phrases coined by Phelps.³⁶ To Lael J. Woodbury and Steven H. Heath, the first authors to analyze the history of the Hosanna Shout, if I understand them correctly, these and the earlier shouts represented an anomaly. These events make sense if we assume they were erroneously explained as forerunners or part of a developmental period influential in the creation of the Hosanna Shout introduced by Joseph Smith in 1836.³⁷

The Kirtland Temple and the Organized Ritual

It was not until 1836 with the introduction of the first temple ordinances at the Kirtland Temple that an organized tradition of shouting was established. In contrast to the spontaneous shouts, these were directed by priesthood leadership, using consistent language and partially standard physical motions, and played an important role in temple anointing ordinances. During the months of January, February, and March 1836, an organized Hosanna Shout took its place in the Kirtland Temple ordinance under the direction of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon.



Kirtland Temple

Photo courtesy of Community of Christ Archives, Independence, Missouri

On 21 January 1836, in what seems to be the introduction of the first organized Hosanna Shout, as participants witnessed several spiritual manifestations, the *History of the Church* records, “Many . . . brethren who received the ordinance . . . saw glorious visions. . . . Angels ministered . . .

and the power of the Highest rested upon us, the house was filled with the glory of God, and we shouted Hosanna to God and the Lamb.”³⁸ Later the same evening, spontaneous shouts were given as well. “The visions of heaven were opened to them. . . . Some of them saw the face of the Savior, and others were ministered unto by holy angels, and the spirit of prophecy and revelation was poured out in mighty power; and loud hosannas, and glory to God in the highest, saluted the heavens.”³⁹ After the organized shout was introduced, the spontaneous shouts, involving similar wording, continued to echo throughout the temple during and after the three prededicatory months. However, from the above passages, the difference between the ritualized and spontaneous shouts can be only vaguely identified. In the next few months, however, as clearer accounts detailed the procedure and function of the Hosanna Shout, the difference between both forms of shouting can be easily seen.

The activities in the temple the next evening on 22 January further illustrate the procedure for the new ritual. After those attending the temple had received their anointings, “President Rigdon arose to conclude the services of the evening by invoking the blessing of heaven upon the Lord’s anointed, which he did in an eloquent manner; the *congregation shouted a long hosanna*.”⁴⁰ Edward Partridge, who was a witness to these events, gives insightful commentary concerning the shout that was given by the congregation that evening. He wrote: “Prest. J. S. Jun., requested Prest. Sidney Rigdon to ask the Lord to accept the performances of the evening, *and instructed us, when he was done, to shout Hosannah, Blessed be the name of the Most High God*. These things were performed; the shout & speaking in unknown tongues lasted 10 or 15 minutes. During the evening, more especially at the time of shouting, a number saw visions as they disclosed unto us.”⁴¹

These accounts represent the original or first appearances of the ritual that became known as the Hosanna Shout. As illustrated by the above quotations, the shout, from the beginning, was led by a priesthood authority and was given as a congregation. Both characteristics have continued as standard procedure for the performance of this ritual. Moreover, they represent a maxim for distinguishing the organized from the spontaneous shout. They also illustrate the critical differences between the shouting practiced by Protestant religions of the day and the ritual introduced by Joseph Smith.

One week later, on 28 January 1836, the shout was incorporated into the ordinances themselves. To understand the function of the shout in these early temple ceremonies, we must understand a little about the ordinances being performed. Unlike the endowment, which would be introduced by Joseph Smith during the Nauvoo Era, in May 1842, these rites were limited

to the Church hierarchy and not to the general membership. They were also relatively simple by comparison, typically consisting of prayer, blessing and sealing the individual, and washing and anointing the body and the feet of the candidate.⁴² The purpose of these anointings was to “seal” the participant to eternal life.⁴³ Giving the shout performed an important element to the sealing portion of these ordinances. Illustrating its use, on 28 January 1836, Joseph Smith recorded that after the ordinances had been performed, he “called upon President Sidney Rigdon to lead the congregation in *sealing them with uplifted hands; and when he had done this, and cried hosanna*, that all the congregation should join him, [and they] shout[ed] hosanna to God and the Lamb, and glory to God in the highest.”⁴⁴ On 2 March, the Kirtland Elder’s Quorum Record gives a more descriptive role of the shout to these ordinances: “The *blessings were . . . sealed* by a prayer from the president, *and a shout of Hosanna.*”⁴⁵ In this sense, the shout was given in connection with a “sealing prayer,” signifying the divine sanction of the ordinances and blessings that had been given. Moreover, in addition to being led by a priesthood authority and shouting as a unified congregation, the participants performed the shout with uplifted hands.⁴⁶ This experience typified the style in which the shout was used in the numerous anointings given during the Kirtland era.⁴⁷

During these temple rituals, there are several occasions in which the role of the Hosanna Shout, as a sealing agent, highlighted other experiences in the Kirtland Temple. On 30 March 1836, Joseph Smith and others prophesied concerning the destruction of the enemies of the Church in Jackson County, Missouri, in the midst of the temple ordinances. After giving these prophecies, they were sealed with a “hosanna and amen.”⁴⁸ In addition to sealing prophecy, covenants were also sealed with the cry of “Hosanna.” In one instance, Joseph Smith exclaimed, “I want to enter into the following covenant, that if any more of our brethren are slain or driven from their lands in Missouri, by the mob, we will give ourselves no rest, until we are avenged of our enemies to the uttermost.” The *History of the Church* indicates that “*This covenant was sealed* unanimously, with a hosanna and an amen.”⁴⁹

The anointings performed in the temple were preparatory to a great solemn assembly that came on 27 March 1836 in the form of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. Again, the Hosanna Shout was given as a sealing ritual. The dedicatory service included prayer, singing, the partaking of the sacrament, the reading of the dedication prayer by Joseph Smith, and the Hosanna Shout. During the dedicatory prayer, the Saints were instructed to “shout aloud for joy” (D&C 109:80). This instruction had particular meaning in light of the day’s events. As those who were privileged to receive their

anointings at the temple had been instructed in the practice of shouting “Hosanna,” all in attendance at the dedication were instructed in giving the shout.⁵⁰ In his journal, the Prophet revealed the purpose of the shout in connection with the dedication: “We . . . sealed the proceedings of the day by shouting hosannah to God and the Lamb 3 times sealing it each time with Amen, Amen, and Amen.”⁵¹ This shout followed the form given in the temple anointings. It was led by a priesthood authority, in unison, and with uplifted hands.⁵² The wording, at the dedication, was the first in a standardizing precedent for the shouts that would follow. Particularly important to note is the shout’s use in connection with a prayer as a sealing of the dedication. Because of the numerous manifestations of the Spirit and the rituals performed during the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, the event has been described as the “Mormon Pentecost.”⁵³

At times, the *History of the Church* describes the ritual as having one to three shouts of “hosanna,” “glory to God and the Lamb,” “glory to God in the Highest,” “Glory to God and the Lamb and glory to God in the Highest” and from none to three “amens.”⁵⁴ However, the discrepancies in wording may be from the lack of detail in the records themselves. It is clear that Joseph Smith knew the exact wording as early as 6 February 1836 and possibly as early as 1835—if he gave the wording to Phelps for the creation of a hymn for the dedication.⁵⁵ The wording given at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple became the model for similar events in the future. However, after the dedication, there continued to be variations in wording, particularly during spontaneous shouting.

Various accounts indicate that the shout was given with uplifted hands. As illustrated above, Sidney Rigdon typically arose and led the shout with uplifted hands, which was most likely imitated by the congregation. However, the physical motion is not always mentioned in the accounts. There is some evidence that at times clapping of the hands may have accompanied the shout as well. This practice will be addressed later.

Development Versus Revelation

The studies addressing the history and origin of the Hosanna Shout as an organized ritual of the Church agree that its official introduction was attendant to the constitution of the temple ordinances that were first administered to select members during the three months before the Kirtland Temple dedication.⁵⁶ Because of the lack of evidence in the form of revelations or documents describing why the shout was created or how it obtained its form, a full understanding of the shout’s origin is difficult to acquire. Two overlapping theories concerning its creation have resulted. First, the two

major studies of the origin of the shout do not clearly identify where the shout originated. They describe it as originating by means of development. This understanding was reached from sources that illustrate the spontaneous shouts in which the similar “God and the Lamb” terminology was used. Both conclude that during the prededicatory months at Kirtland, spontaneous shouting came to its climactic use and meaning at the temple dedication. Second, both also claim that it was ultimately revealed. This is explained as a development that came line upon line and precept upon precept, though both theories are not fully supported by the evidence given.⁵⁷

Although the history of the Hosanna Shout from 1829 to 1836 superficially indicates a progression in its development, this study differs from the others concerning the impact of the spontaneous shouting upon the organized rite introduced in Kirtland. The spontaneous shouts that highlight many events before 1836 came by means of cultural assimilation at various times and places rather than under the direction of priesthood authority in a progressionary direction. Moreover, there is no evidence in the available source material to indicate that the ritual introduced by Joseph Smith was an amalgamation of various spontaneous shouts given. Therefore, the pre-1836 sources cannot be relied upon as evidence of development. As illustrated above, it was not until the prededicatory months at the Kirtland Temple that the shouting came under the leadership of the First Presidency; and by that time, the Hosanna Shout had already been introduced as a fully developed ritual. In a word, the only characteristic the spontaneous shouts had with the organized shout was shouting the term *hosanna*. If the Kirtland ritual did not originate from the spontaneous shouting, what prompted the introduction of this new rite?

In his article entitled “The Sacred Shout,” Steven Heath suggests that it was Joseph Smith’s translation of the Book of Mormon or the Bible, between 1829 and 1833, that may have triggered questions in Joseph Smith’s mind concerning the ancient shouts given by the Israelites in the Old Testament, the followers of Christ in the New Testament, or the Nephites in the Book of Mormon. Heath argues that these questions resulted in a revelation from the Lord concerning the necessity of such a shout.⁵⁸ This theory is validated by the many instances described by Joseph Smith and others in which a revelation was received by their asking the Lord questions that were inspired by their reading or translating the scriptures. However, there is also a larger fundamental shift in the doctrinal theology of the Church that may have influenced the establishment of the Hosanna Shout as well.

Jan Shipps, a noted scholar in Latter-day Saint history, has identified several phases that characterize the growth of Church doctrine during the life of Joseph Smith. Describing the first phase, characterizing 1830 and

1831, Shippo explains, “Very early LDS theological positions and worship practices differ little, if at all, from those of the popular Protestantism and forms of primitive Christianity of Joseph Smith’s day.”⁵⁹ With exceptions, such as belief in additional scripture and modern revelation, interpretation of scripture and religious practice differed little from other American religious denominations based upon New Testament models. As previously mentioned, the spontaneous shouts given by the early Latter-day Saints resembled the shouts characterizing the revivalism of the early nineteenth century.

The second phase, which Shippo calls the “Hebraic phase,” witnessed the introduction of many Old Testament themes into the Latter-day Saint theology and is identified with the Kirtland era of 1831 to 1838. With the gathering of the Saints to Kirtland, a theological emphasis was placed on the Latter-day Saint kinship with ancient Israel. The doctrines of the gathering, the patriarchal order of the priesthood, anointings, and temple worship were introduced and practiced during these years. In addition, the practice of plural marriage was also secretly initiated at this time. Shippo primarily attributes these developments to Joseph Smith’s translation of the Bible.⁶⁰ Along with the introduction of these Old Testament practices and themes, the Hosanna Shout, an ancient Hebraic temple rite, made its debut as an organized ritual into Latter-day Saint temple worship.

Joseph Smith’s only comment concerning the origin of the Hosanna Shout clearly indicates that it was indeed part of a revelation concerning the Kirtland Temple rituals and ordinances. On 6 February 1836, to increase order in the performance of the ordinances, Joseph instructed each of the quorums in the precise exercise of the temple rituals. Speaking of this, he wrote: “I labored with each of these quorums for some time *to bring them to the order which God had shown to me*, which is as follows: The first part to be spent in solemn prayer before God, without any talking or confusion; and the conclusion with a sealing prayer by President Rigdon, when *all the quorums were to shout with one accord a solemn hosanna to God and the Lamb, with an Amen, Amen and Amen*; and then all take seats.”⁶¹

It is unknown what prompted the revelation given to Joseph Smith concerning these temple rituals. However, the revelation containing instructions on the proper performance of the Hosanna Shout did fall within the doctrinal shift as a characteristic trend of the Kirtland era.

That the Hosanna Shout came as a revelation seems to be the consensus of the first generation of Church leadership. George A. Smith, the Prophet’s cousin, also referred to the revealed origin of the shout. In speaking of the Kirtland Temple, he said that “the Lord poured His Spirit upon us, and gave us some little idea of the law of anointing, and conferred upon us

some blessings. *He taught us how to shout hosannah*, and gave Joseph the keys of the gathering together of Israel.”⁶² Likewise, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball also recognized that Joseph Smith had taught the “correct order” of shouting “Hosanna” at Kirtland.⁶³

There are many references to shouting in the Old Testament; however, there is little description of the ritual performed by the Hebrews as part of the *hoshant* at the Feast of Tabernacles.⁶⁴ That such a ritual was established by Joseph Smith during an era of adapting ideas and practices of ancient Israel into Latter-day Saint doctrine and theology is more than just a coincidence. The shout introduced by Joseph Smith was significantly different from the shouts given by other religions of the time. Moreover, it was given in the temple, as a congregation, and was led by the priesthood and loosely resembled the shout practiced by the ancient Israelites.

Expanding Roles and the Hosanna Shout

One year after the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, the use of the shout was expanded to include meetings known as solemn assemblies. Wilford Woodruff defines these meetings as “a day that is looked upon annually with feeling of greater interest in Celebration of the 6th of April 1830 as upon that day the Church of Latter day Saints was first organised in this last dispensation & fulness of times. Henceforth the Solemn assembly of the Elders of Israel & all official members that can, will meet in the LORDS house annually to attend to the most Solemn ordinances of the house of GOD & of receieving the visions & great things of Heavens.”⁶⁵

On this occasion, Wilford Woodruff records that those present at this meeting participated in the Hosanna Shout. He recorded that “the seal was confirmed upon our heads with a shout of all the anointed with uplifted hands to heaven.”⁶⁶ He also noted that the phrasing is identical to the wording used at the temple dedication in Kirtland.

The Prophet Joseph Smith, before his death, took part in only two additional organized shouts of “Hosanna,” both of which further expanded the use of this rite. During a Fourth of July celebration in 1838, the cornerstones were laid for a temple in Far West, Missouri. As recorded in the *History of the Church*, after the cornerstones were laid and an address was given by Sidney Rigdon, those present gave a shout of “Hosanna.” “The oration was delivered by President Rigdon, at the close of which was a shout of Hosanna.”⁶⁷ Apparently, this shout had little to do with the cornerstones but with the remarks of President Rigdon. Parley P. Pratt, in his autobiography, also describes this shout as spontaneous rather than formal. He indicates that the shouting was not part of the cornerstone ceremony; rather, the con-

gregation shouted in approval to the words of Sidney Rigdon.⁶⁸ Although this shout may not have been part of the temple ceremony, it is clear that this set a precedent for shouting “Hosanna” at ceremonies commemorating significant progress in completing the physical structure of temples, such as foundation stones, cornerstones, and capstones during the nineteenth century.

The second event occurred during a “general council” meeting in the Nauvoo, Illinois, Masonic Hall on 11 April 1844.⁶⁹ The hosannas expressed at this meeting are significant for two reasons. First, it seemed to have widened the shout’s use from not only temple-related events but also regular meetings of lesser importance. Second, it illustrates Joseph Smith’s continued use of the Hosanna Shout as a seal to ordinances.

In the *History of the Church*, the reference to the meeting of the “general council” is a cryptic designation for a meeting of what has come to be known as the Council of Fifty. Organized only a month earlier, in March 1844 by the Prophet Joseph Smith, this group functioned as a “shadow government for the Church and city of Nauvoo” and influenced political, economic, and religious decisions for the city with the President of the Church as the standing chairman.⁷⁰ This council was part of the initial steps for building a lasting Latter-day Saint theocracy to be led by Christ during His millennial reign and functioned sporadically until the administration of President John Taylor. Although the *History of the Church* does not explain the substance of this meeting nor why a shout was given, William Clayton recorded in his journal that “President Joseph Smith was voted our P[rophet] and K[ing] with loud Hosannas.”⁷¹ William Marks, who also attended, described this event as an ordinance “in which Joseph suffered himself to be ordained a King, to reign over the house of Israel forever.”⁷²

D. Michael Quinn, in his study of the Council of Fifty, shows that a similar anointing or ordination was also given to John Taylor in 1885 and speculates that Brigham Young was ordained to this position as well.⁷³ Given the evidence, the Hosanna Shout given at this meeting was most likely a seal upon the ordinance given to Joseph Smith similar to the shouts that were given to seal the Kirtland Temple rituals and dedication. With the exception of spontaneous shouts, all the organized Hosanna Shouts in which Joseph Smith participated were a “seal” to either a ritual, a covenant, a prophecy, or a dedication.

After the Kirtland era, spontaneous shouting continued to be a part of Church culture. Although this continued through the administration of President Wilford Woodruff, both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young gave pointed sermons on the uselessness and confusion of physical and vocal religious extravagances, saying that they were not inspired by the Lord, and used

the religious behavior of the Methodists and others to illustrate their points. As a result, the accounts of Latter-day Saint spontaneous shouting were quite tame in comparison to the gestures exhibited by other religious societies and were certainly not viewed by the leadership of the Church to be in the same vein. Just as Joseph Smith and Brigham Young both condemned speaking in tongues and prophecy when done without the right spirit, so too was shouting viewed.⁷⁴

With the solemn assembly of April 1837 and the anointing of Joseph Smith as a king and priest in Nauvoo by the Council of Fifty, references to the term “seal” in connection with the Hosanna Shout ceased.⁷⁵ There are several possible contributing factors to this. First, on 4 May 1842, the full temple endowments were introduced in Nauvoo, ending the necessity for the older Kirtland anointing ordinances, which were sealed with a Hosanna Shout. Second, it is unknown if the shout was to be used as a “seal” in all the subsequent temple dedications, as Joseph Smith did not live to dedicate the Nauvoo Temple. Accounts of the dedication of the Nauvoo Temple on 30 April 1846 do not describe the shout given in the context of a sealing to the proceedings.⁷⁶ Third, in the next fifty years, after the exodus from Nauvoo, the role of the shout expanded greatly, accompanying many events not linked to temples. Because of these factors, the meaning of the organized shout became tantamount to the meaning of spontaneous shouts of “Hosanna” that were expressions of joy and praise to the Lord. This meaning has continued and is the current significance of the shout.

Years of Expansion and Retraction, 1844–92

While living, the Prophet Joseph Smith connected the Hosanna Shout with temple ordinances, various parts of temple completion and dedication, solemn assemblies, and also special meetings, both religious and political in nature. He also participated in a number of spontaneous shouts as well. Under the leadership of Brigham Young, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff, the shout continued to be given at the various times established by Joseph Smith. Between the years of 1844 and 1892, the organized and spontaneous traditions of shouting highlighted many significant events, both temporal and spiritual, in Church history. The shouts continued to be associated with temples and were given at various groundbreaking, cornerstone, capstone, and dedication ceremonies of the Utah temples.⁷⁷ A shout was given at a number of general conferences, solemn assemblies, July 24 celebrations, and significant occasions such as the safe return of the Mormon Battalion and, according to some accounts, at the first casting of iron at Cedar City.⁷⁸ In addition, a shout of “Hosanna” was also given at a territorial party and at

President Wilford Woodruff's seventy-second birthday party.⁷⁹ An unusual shout took place in 1886 under the direction of Lorenzo Snow, then incarcerated in the territorial penitentiary for unlawful cohabitation. Ruder Clawson remembered the scene:

He [Lorenzo Snow] called the brethren together (there were some thirty-five or forty in all) and said in substance: "We have been sent to this place and are associated together in prison. It will be our privilege, if we so desire, to express our feelings to the Lord by offering up unto Him the sacred shout"—that great and glorious shout which has been led by President Snow upon many occasions. . . . He informed these prisoners for Christ's sake that it would be their privilege to raise their voices to the Lord in the sacred shout, if they felt the spirit of it. An expression was taken, and it was the unanimous feeling of the brethren that they avail themselves of this great and glorious privilege. The sacred shout was then offered up within those prison walls—a great and mighty shout to God and the Lamb. The foundations of the prison seemed to shake, and the shout ascended to heaven. I testify to you it is my belief that the great shout was accepted to the Lord and is recorded in the library of the celestial kingdom.⁸⁰

Because of the numerous occasions that were punctuated by a shout, there is not space to discuss each here. Heath gives a semicomprehensive list of shouts given from 1844 to 1900 in his study on the history of the shout. With a few additions to his list, there were no less than seventeen organized and nine spontaneous shouts given during these years.⁸¹

Between the years 1844 and 1892, a number of physical motions accompanied the shout, in addition to those found during the Kirtland era. Two events in particular demonstrate this flexibility. On 9 November 1871, at the groundbreaking ceremony of the St. George Temple, Brigham Young gave instructions in executing the shout. He "referred to the shouts of hosanna used in the Kirtland Temple, and led the shout of hosanna, and in the clapping of hands."⁸² The congregation gave the shout, clapping their hands after each phrase of the ritual. The second event takes place on 6 April 1882 at general conference under the direction of John Taylor. While he was leading the shout, "the large congregation waved one arm above their heads."⁸³ As the physical motions varied at times, the wording also strayed from the Kirtland format from time to time, including the use of such phrases as "glory to God in the highest; for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth" and "Halleluah to God & the Lamb."⁸⁴ However, since Joseph Smith taught the "correct order" of shouting "Hosanna" at the Kirtland Temple, only on rare occasions was the official wording departed from.

During the years of 1844 through 1892, little commentary by Church leaders discussing the nature of the Hosanna Shout can be found. They were silent as to why these years were marked by the shout's expansion into secu-

lar and commonplace events such as conferences and civic meetings in addition to temple-related activities. As discussed above, the Church hierarchy viewed the ritual introduced at Kirtland as sacred and revealed. The years marked by the shout's numerous performances at seemingly insignificant occasions appear to be in complete antithesis to the reverence held for the shout's origin. They are not, however, if viewed from the theocratic setting in which the expansion took place. During the life of Joseph Smith, the organized shout was always given in connection with temples. The one exception was at a "general council" in the Masonic Hall in April 1844, as mentioned earlier. The concept of combining the spiritual with the temporal was able to be fully implemented in Nauvoo. Evidence of this is in the performance of a spiritual ordinance without the walls of the temple. Thus, in this temporal and spiritual meeting, a sacred Hosanna Shout could be given without any detracting from its spiritual connotations.

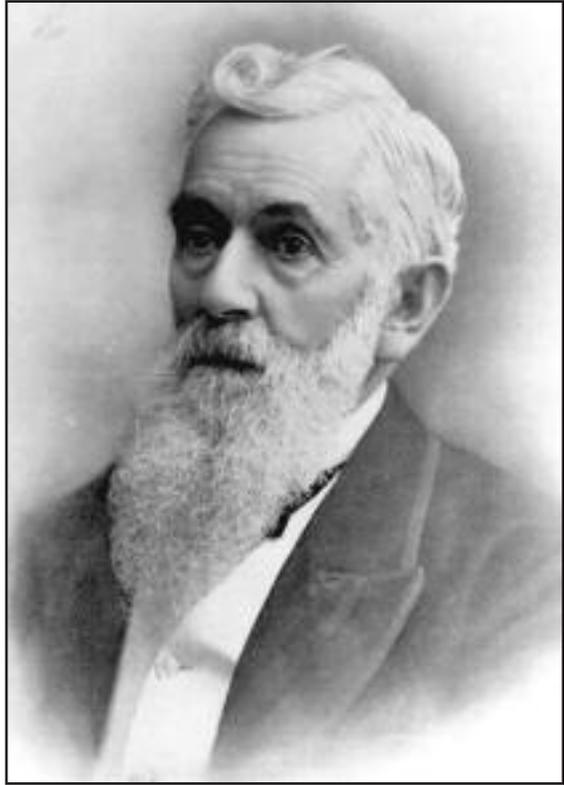
When the Saints entered the Great Salt Lake Valley, the Church's hierarchical influence expanded from a Latter-day Saint city (Nauvoo, Illinois) to an empire (state of Deseret and the territory of Utah) where all things were considered to be of a spiritual nature. This new era of isolation from the outside world, in the desolate valleys of the Great Basin, is described by Jan Shippo as an entrance into "spiritual time." "While Christ had not come to earth to reign," Shippo explains, "nineteenth-century Saints nevertheless lived so clearly in the kingdom, *in illo tempore*, that the sacred and the not-sacred simply cannot be considered separately."⁸⁵ The change of environment made giving the shout at any time or place appropriate according to the dictates of the Spirit. As an illustration of the mixture of the spiritual and the temporal, Heber C. Kimball once claimed, "I never want to see another man dance until he can do it by the power of God. I felt that spirit once & Brother Brigham shouted Hosanna for we were both filled with the spirit."⁸⁶

After the mid-1870s, occurrences highlighted by shouting "Hosanna" were limited with a few exceptions to temple-related ceremonies and general conferences. The absence of references to the shout can be attributed to the infiltration of outsiders or "gentiles" into Zion, its economy, and politics, eventually ending "spiritual time." Shippo suggests that President Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto, initially ending plural marriage among the Saints, was the hallmark closing-out "spiritual time." She writes, "The 1890 Manifesto was a disconfirming event that profoundly altered the character of Mormonism."⁸⁷ The exit from physical and spiritual isolation marked a new beginning of change for Latter-day Saints in doctrine, practice, and identity. The widespread ritual of shouting would no longer accompany civic and community events as it once had. The Hosanna Shout would once again be

confined to the walls of the holy temple.

An Era of Transition and Standardization, 1892–1930

The years spanning 1892 to 1930 represent a time of change and transition for the Church; however, change was long in the wind. As early as the mid-1870s, non-Mormons began populating the valleys, thereby influencing Utah's economics and politics. Presidents John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff both recognized that the Church was in the midst of a period of transition.⁸⁸ But it was ultimately the infamous Edmunds-Tucker Act that brought the effectual end of plural marriage and the Mormon theocracy, previously two pillars of the Latter-day Saint world view, not to mention its strong hold on Utah's economics.⁸⁹



Lorenzo Snow
Photo courtesy of LDS Church Archives

Beyond these significant changes came a reconstruction of Church doctrine, which was part of a conscious effort on the part of the Church hierarchy to introduce organizational stability and norms in the place of a decaying Latter-day Saint sense of community.⁹⁰ The Latter-day Saint concepts of God and man were finally standardized and solidified by the influential writings of James E. Talmage, B. H. Roberts, and John A. Widtsoe and by declarations of the First Presidency.⁹¹ In addition, the doctrinal implications of the First Vision of Joseph Smith became a standard appendage to the explanation of that theophany,⁹² and strict obedience to the Word of Wisdom

became a requirement of faithfulness.⁹³ Simultaneous to the doctrinal reconstruction came the emergence of a standardized form of worship. Practices such as rebaptism for the sick and afflicted and pentecostal manifestations of open prophecy and speaking in tongues came to an end.⁹⁴ The practices of both spontaneous and organized shouting, with their pentecostal overtones, were also standardized both in practice and in doctrine.

The practice of shouting “Hosanna” was standardized by the introduction of a standard physical motion and a reemphasis of the wording taught by Joseph Smith, limiting the shout’s use to only monumental occasions, announcing when it would be given, and instructing the congregation in the procedures of giving the shout. This process began at the capstone ceremony of the Salt Lake Temple on 6 April 1892. At the centennial conference in 1930, almost forty years later, the changes instituted in 1892 still characterized the shout, with a few additions. Although the majority of shouts given after 1892 were attendant to temple dedications, the numerous sources documenting the centennial conference and the October 2000 dedication of the Conference Center provide clear and abundant evidence of the continued reverence by the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles for the traditions established at the capstone ceremony of the Salt Lake Temple.

At the capstone ceremony of the Salt Lake Temple in 1892, Apostle Lorenzo Snow gave these instructions, to the thousands in attendance, concerning the practice of shouting Hosanna:

The words of the shout, Hosanna! To be uttered upon, or after, the laying of the capstone to-day, were introduced by President Joseph Smith at the Kirtland Temple, and were there used at a solemn assemblage where the power of God was manifested *This is no ordinary order, but is—and we wish it to be distinctly understood—a sacred shout, and employed only on extraordinary occasions like the one now before us.* We wish it also to be distinctly understood that we want the brethren and sisters not only to express the words, but that their hearts shall be full of thanksgiving to the God of heaven.⁹⁵

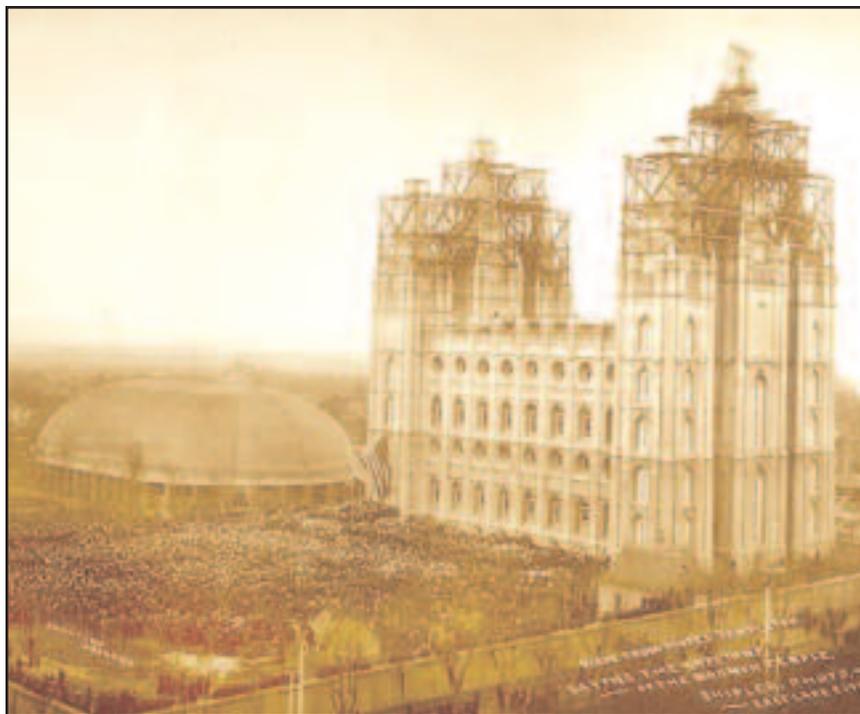
Following his remarks, “*President Snow then proceeded to train the people in the hosanna shout.*”⁹⁶ Snow’s instructions included a reminder of the distinct wording to be used and the sacred nature of the practice. Possibly the most significant change was the introduction of waving the white handkerchief with the recitation of the words. Accounts commenting on the proceedings of this monumental occasion are notably silent with regard to this new practice. It is possible that the lack of commentary on the use of the handkerchief points to its previous use among the Saints; however, there are no documented accounts of the use of handkerchiefs before the capstone

ceremony of the Salt Lake Temple. Wilford Woodruff, who as the President of the Church presided over the ceremony, would have been privy to how and why this new practice was added to the shout. His journal is silent in addressing these issues. However, his journal does note with detail the use of the handkerchief. He writes, "President Lorenzo Snow then arose and preaching to the front of the platform and waving a large silk handkerchief was joined by the multitude in shouting."⁹⁷ *The Salt Lake City Tribune* indicated that there were many who had different-colored handkerchiefs, suggesting little foreknowledge of this practice before this event.⁹⁸ This situation changed in the future. The exactness of the physical motions to accompany the shout is illustrated by an account given in the *Deseret Evening News*. In its coverage of this occasion, the newspaper reported that waving the handkerchief accompanied the words of the shout "except when the names of God and the Lamb were uttered."⁹⁹

Only one year later, after the completion of the Salt Lake Temple, the pattern for shouting "Hosanna" introduced at the capstone ceremony was strictly adhered to at the temple's dedication. During one of the sessions of the dedication, President Wilford Woodruff explained the importance that unity should prevail among the Saints as they gave the shout. Just after the dedicatory prayer was given, he warned that he "would not allow the Hosanna Shout to be given unless he believed their was union in [their] midst."¹⁰⁰ President Woodruff's remarks were similar to the comments of Lorenzo Snow at the capstone ceremony regarding the sacredness of the shout. Both comments illustrate the vital sacredness and strictness that was associated with the shout by the Church hierarchy in the early 1890s.

It is important to note that the changes taking place in the next forty years in Latter-day Saint practice and doctrine did not come without difficulty. Although the changes in the practice of the Hosanna Shout were not as controversial or as radical in the repercussions in altering Latter-day Saint identity as other changes made during the years of 1892 to 1930, there is nonetheless some evidence of struggle to change. President John R. Winder, during his address at the general conference in 1902 restrained his desires to shout. In conclusion to his remarks, he said, "I have felt several times like shouting Hosanna, Hosanna, to God and the Lamb!"¹⁰¹ In the years before 1892, shouting of "Hosanna" in general conference was not unusual. As a member of the First Presidency, President Winder led the example in restraining his jubilation. Yielding discretion to the First Presidency as to when and where it was appropriate to give the shout was understood as the new order of the day.

At the general conference held in April 1930, almost forty years after the capstone ceremony of the Salt Lake Temple, the sacred shout was given



*Laying the Capstone of the Salt Lake Temple.
Notice the waving white handkerchiefs.
Copy of Shipler photo courtesy of Nelson B. Wadsworth*

in commemoration of the Church's centennial year. The decision to give the shout on this occasion was made by the "Centennial Celebration Committee," including members from the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Quorum of the Seventy, and others.¹⁰² The shout was to be given not only at the conference in Salt Lake City but also at all branch, ward, and stake chapels not participating in the proceedings via radio broadcast. To ensure uniformity in "all Branches, Wards and Stakes and Missions throughout the World," copies of the program, the central address, and the Hosanna Shout were sent to all the appropriate leaders.¹⁰³ One day before the conference, an article appeared in the *Deseret News* announcing that the shout would be given. Moreover, the article provided a short history of the shout and explained why it would be given and how it was to be performed.¹⁰⁴ Before the shout was given at the Sunday forenoon session, President Heber J. Grant also gave instructions for how the shout was to be given, repeating the words, thus continuing the pattern for rigidly outlining the function, purpose, and pattern of the shout.¹⁰⁵

Construction of the Doctrine of the Hosanna Shout

As the Hosanna Shout was in the process of standardization, beginning in the late nineteenth century, a doctrinal or canonical background supporting the practice was also established. This was similar to the reconstructions of other Church doctrines during that era. However, two key differences made the doctrinal standardization of the shout unique. First, as previously discussed, the first four Presidents of the Church were silent concerning all aspects of the latter-day practice and of the shouts given in ancient times; therefore, there was no doctrine to standardize or reconstruct. Second, this process of building a doctrinal foundation for the shout was not championed by a major study of a gospel scholar or solidified by a message from the First Presidency, as was the case with both the doctrines on the origin of man and the roles of the Father and the Son in Church theology.¹⁰⁶

Constructing the doctrine of the Hosanna Shout came in piecemeal fashion over the next century. On 2 July 1899, during a solemn assembly in the Salt Lake Temple, the Prophet Lorenzo Snow was the first to teach that the shout was linked with Old Testament concepts. He stated that at the creation of the world when “all the sons of God shouted for joy,” Job was describing the first shout of “Hosanna” (see Job 38:1–7). James E. Talmage mentions the Latter-day Saint Hosanna Shout as part of his discussion of the Lord’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem in his monumental work *Jesus the Christ* originally published in 1915. His views seem to be the dominant understanding of the shout’s biblical history throughout the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁷ In later general conferences, the shout was linked to the ritual performed by the Israelites during the Feast of Tabernacles, the Lord’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the Savior’s appearance to the Twelve in Jerusalem following His resurrection, and the Lord’s visit to the Nephites in America after His resurrection.¹⁰⁸ Further, the *Deseret News*, announcing that the shout would be given at the April 1930 centennial conference, stated that “The idea was used when the children of Israel shouted praises to God in Solomon’s temple for blessings he had bestowed upon them” (see 2 Chronicles 5:11–14).¹⁰⁹ However, the words *hosanna* or *shout* are not mentioned in this passage. In addition, the account also claimed that there was evidence the shout was used in early Christian times as illustrated in the *Clementine Liturgy* and in a book entitled *The Teachings of the Twelve Apostles*.¹¹⁰

Bruce R. McConkie, in *The Promised Messiah*, has offered possibly the best religious discussion of the similarities between the ancient shout of the Jews and its practice in this dispensation.¹¹¹ More recently, many Latter-day Saint authors and scholars have also freely associated the Hosanna Shout to

the biblical, Book of Mormon, or Doctrine and Covenants references, often without regard for historical accuracy, without providing references, or without identifying myths concerning the history of the Hosanna Shout. This lack of scholarly approach continues to be the case with the recent, short, and superficial histories that have appeared on the Internet.¹¹² On 22 April 2001, at the dedication of the Winter Quarters Temple, L. Tom Perry of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles gave a short sermon on the ancient shout of the Israelites and its restoration in our day. Oddly enough, this is the longest and most direct public discussion of the Hosanna Shout and its restoration by a General Authority in the history of the Church.

Conclusion

As the story has unfolded, research has revealed a fundamental problem with the earlier historical discussions of the Hosanna Shout. By misinterpreting the character and origin of the pre-1835 shouts, some individuals created a myth that the Hosanna Shout, as introduced by Joseph Smith, was partially the result of development. As this article has shown, the complete opposite is the case. This was the most striking finding for me because I began my research with the notion that the shout was a product of development. History has once again vindicated the prophetic calling of Joseph Smith, the Prophet of the Restoration.

The concept of development pursued in the other studies generated a misconception of the spontaneous shouts that were a part of the nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint tradition. This was done by writers lumping them all into one generic class of shouts of hosanna. When these two traditions are mixed into one, the events leading to the transition and standardization of this practice are obscured.¹¹³ As research continues in Latter-day Saint history, no doubt new references to the shout will be uncovered—both spontaneous and organized. It is hoped that this study will provide a criterion by which to judge these new sources.

Is the Hosanna Shout the same today, in the Latter-day Saint tradition, as it was in the days of Joseph Smith? In practice, yes. Although standardized, it is still led by priesthood authority and given as a congregation, and it still uses the original Kirtland wording and is sacred in nature. Although its occurrences are fewer in number, it is still given at temple dedications and on other rare occasions. However, its meaning has changed. As introduced by Joseph Smith, the Hosanna Shout was part of the Kirtland Temple rituals—more specifically, as a “seal” upon those rituals, including the temple dedications and other occasions. At some point after the death of Joseph Smith, this concept was consciously dropped or lost with only one exception

in 1899. Ironically, its meaning today is tantamount with the meaning of spontaneous shouts that were ultimately of non-Latter-day Saint origin.

When the organized and spontaneous shouts flourished most, during the Kirtland and early Utah periods, they were practiced along with the spiritual gifts of open prophecy and speaking in tongues—both common in the nineteenth-century Church of Jesus Christ. Members of the Church today are separated from that time by over a hundred years, and they most likely fail to recognize that part of the Hosanna Shout tradition reaches back to early nineteenth-century American revivalism. At the dedication of the Conference Center, broadcast via television, radio, and Internet, the world and members witnessed the standardized tradition of shouting patterned after the shout given at the capstone ceremony of the Salt Lake Temple, a practice that was established in Pentecost and standardized in administration.

Notes

1. Maria Titze, "A Jubilant Gathering of Saints," *The Deseret News*, 9 October 2000, A1, A6.
2. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 368. McConkie excluded an "and" between the second and the third "amens."
3. Typically, this task is assumed by one of the First Presidency or Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the two highest presiding quorums in the hierarchy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
4. Gordon B. Hinckley, "This Great Millennial Year," *Ensign* 30, no. 11 (November 2000), 69.
5. At some point between 1930–66, the shout was streamlined, excluding two sets of triple "amens" that followed the first two exclamations of "Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna, to God and the Lamb."
6. For religious discussions noting the parallels between the ancient and modern Hosanna Shout, see Reed Durham, "What Is the Hosanna Shout?" *New Era* 3, no. 9 (September 1973): 14–15; Bruce R. McConkie, *The Promised Messiah: The First Coming of Christ* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978), 433–34 (hereafter cited as *Promised Messiah*); and James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1915, reprint 1990), 486. The most recent addition was at the dedication of the temple at Winter Quarters, Nebraska, in April 2001. Elder L. Tom Perry of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles addressed the history of the shout performed among the Israelites and its connection to the practice established by Joseph Smith.
7. For historical discussions on the history of the Hosanna Shout among the Latter-day Saints, see Steven Heath, "The Sacred Shout" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19, no. 3 (fall 1986): 115–23; and Lael J. Woodbury, "The Origin of the Hosanna Shout," *Third Annual Church Educational System Religious Education Symposium, 16–18 August 1979* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), 18–22.
8. One reason for this may be that the many histories containing discussions of the Kirtland era and Joseph Smith limit their discussion of the Hosanna Shout to the dedi-

cation of the Kirtland Temple. For example, see Karl Ricks Anderson, *Joseph Smith's Kirtland: Eyewitness Accounts* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 181; Keith W. Perkins, "Kirtland Temple," in *Church History: Selections from the Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 291–93; Elwin C. Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historical Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997); and James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992). Amazingly, some histories of the shout begin with the Kirtland Temple dedication. See Reed Durham, "Questions and Answers: The Hosanna Shout," *New Era* 3, no. 9 (September 1973): 15.

9. Both James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander have traced the development, reconstruction, and standardization of fundamental Church doctrines such as the First Vision of Joseph Smith and the Godhead. They indicate that some doctrinal issues took shape over time rather than during the life of Joseph Smith. See James B. Allen, "Emergence of a Fundamental: The Expanding Role of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Religious Thought," *Journal of Mormon History* 7 (1980): 43–61; and Thomas G. Alexander, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine," *Sunstone* 22 (June 1999): 15–29.

10. 1 Nephi 11:6, 3 Nephi 4:32, and 3 Nephi 11:17; D&C 19:37; 36:3; 39:19.

11. Gospel commentaries discussing the word "hosanna" differ slightly in wording from the original Hebrew phrase. However, the meanings of the phrases are the same. In the King James Translation, the phrase in Psalms 118:25 appears as "Save now."

12. Temple times in Jewish history spanned from roughly 965 B.C. with the completion of Solomon's Temple to the destruction of Herod's Temple by the Romans in A.D. 70.

13. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion* (Israel: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 371.

14. *Ibid.*, 192–93.

15. The final day of the feast (the Hoshana Rabbah) included the participants beating willow branches in symbolism of the rain. See Werblowsky and Wigoder, *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion*, 192–93.

16. Matthew 21:15.

17. At least one Latter-day Saint scholar claims that the shout given by the Nephites in 3 Nephi 11:17 was more akin to the Old Testament shout rather than the examples in the New Testament. Victor Ludlow, *A Companion to Your Study of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 261–62.

18. D&C 19:37; 36:3; 39:19. In the Book of Commandments published in 1833, these sections appear as chapters 16, 38, and 41. When the Doctrine and Covenants was published for the first time in 1835, these chapters were placed as sections 44, 57, and 59. See Percy Livingstone Myer, "Correlation of the Chapters of the Book of Commandments with the Sections of the Doctrine & Covenants," manuscript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

19. See Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* 41 (October 1980): 370.

20. John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 160–65. See also Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957), 9.

21. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," 360–62.

22. Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D.

Appleton, 1867), 28, cited in Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 54.

23. O'Dea, *The Mormons*, 13. For more information of the influence of revivalism and the Second Great Awakening on Mormonism, see Marvin S. Hill, "The Rise of Mormonism in the Burned-over District: Another View," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 411–30.

24. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 1:55 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

25. *The Return* 1 (May 1889): 74, as cited in Karl Ricks Anderson, *Joseph Smith's Kirtland* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 90.

26. *History of the Church*, 1:289.

27. Heber C. Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 26, no. 32 (6 August 1864): 504.

28. John Murdock, "An Abri[d]ged Record of the Life of John Murdock, Taken from His Journal by Himself," 16, Perry Special Collections. The date Murdock began this work is unknown. However, it contains information on his life until his death in 1871.

29. Seymour B. Young, in *Eighty-Fifth Annual Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1915), 126.

30. One example of histories discussing the Hosanna Shout and mislabeling events where a shout is given is the arrival of Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow into the Great Salt Lake Valley. On 21 July 1847, the pair looked upon the valley for the first time. Pratt recorded in his journal, "Beholding in a moment such an extensive scenery open before us, we could not refrain from a shout of joy which almost involuntarily escaped from our lips the moment this grand and lovely scenery was within our view." Elden Jay Watson, *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: Elden Jay Watson, 1975), 453. This reference was reprinted in "Over the Pioneer Trail: The Original Record of Prof. Orson Pratt," *The Improvement Era* 15, no. 10 (August 1912): 944. Histories of the Hosanna Shout erroneously include these references as evidence of a shout. See Heath, "Sacred Shout," 119; and Woodbury, "Origin of the Hosanna Shout," 21. Similarly, George A. Smith once characterized an event with the similar terminology of another when describing the rituals that took place in the Kirtland Temple describing them as the "Kirtland endowment." George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 7:114–15 (hereafter cited as *Journal of Discourses*).

31. *History of the Church*, 1:229.

32. Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, eds., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1996), 104.

33. George D. Pyper, *Stories of Latter-day Saint Hymns* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1939), 88.

34. *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 4 (January 1836): 256. For a discussion about the hymn, see Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 206–7; and Karen Lynn Davidson, *Our Latter-day Hymns: The Stories and the Messages* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 30.

35. Nine of the ninety hymns collected by Emma Smith contained references to shouting or similar phrases. Two of those use the word "hosanna." See Emma Smith, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio: Fredrick G Williams, 1835, reprint Herald Heritage, 1973), 27, 29, 15–16, 17, 77, 103–4, 106, 115, 120–21.

36. These instances begin on 21 January 1836 when Joseph Smith introduced the anointing rituals to Church leaders and continued until 27 March 1836 when the Kirtland Temple was dedicated.

37. Both Woodbury and Heath make references to the pre-1835 shouts containing the phrase “God and the Lamb.” However, neither explains this paradox. See Woodbury, “Origin of the Hosanna Shout,” 19; and Heath, “Sacred Shout,” 116.

38. *History of the Church*, 2:381.

39. *Ibid.*, 2:382.

40. *Ibid.*, 2:383; emphasis added.

41. Edward Partridge, Journal, 21–22 January 1836, typescript, 2–3, Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives), as cited in David John Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 17; emphasis added.

42. Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness*, 11.

43. Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, ed., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1996), 6–7. To seal an individual is considered the power to perform ordinances that are ratified by divine sanction. For a more in-depth discussion of the Latter-day Saint development of the word *seal*, see Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness*, 1–8.

44. *History of the Church*, 2:386; emphasis added. See also 2:427–28.

45. Lyndon W. Cook and Milton V. Backman Jr., ed., *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record: 1836–1841* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985), 9.

46. For examples of the participants standing and giving the shout with uplifted hands, see *History of the Church*, 2:386; and 2:391. These accounts make no specific comments about how the shout was performed. However, it can be deduced by these accounts that the congregation followed Sidney Rigdon by standing and shouting with uplifted hands. In April 1837, Wilford Woodruff records his experience of receiving his temple anointings at a solemn assembly. He wrote: “The seal was confirmed upon our heads with a shout of all the anointed with uplifted hand to heaven.” Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898*, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 1:132 (hereafter cited as *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*).

47. On 6 February 1836, the *History of the Church* gives insight into the importance Joseph Smith placed on observing these ordinances with exactness. It reads, “I labored with each of these quorums for some time to bring them to the order which God had shown to me, which is as follows: The first part to be spent in solemn prayer before God, without any talking or confusion; and the conclusion with a sealing prayer by President Rigdon, when all the quorums were to shout with one accord a solemn hosanna to God and the Lamb, with an Amen, Amen and Amen; and then all take seats.” *History of the Church*, 2:391. Supporting evidences of the necessity of the Hosanna Shout to these ordinances are the anointings of Apostles Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor. One year after the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, on 6 April 1837, Elder Woodruff received his anointings in the Kirtland Temple. He records: “The seal was confirmed upon our heads with a shout of all the anointed with uplifted hand to heaven Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna, to God & the Lamb, Amen, Amen, & Amen * Hosanna Hosanna, Hosanna, to GOD & the LAMB, Amen, Amen, & Amen. * Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna, to GOD & the LAMB, Amen, Amen, & Amen.” *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 1:132. Several years after the Saints had left Kirtland, on 17 November 1839, Brigham Young anointed Elder Taylor at the Kirtland Temple. It is recorded that the anointings were “sealed with the shout of Hosanna.” *History of the Church*, 4:21.

48. *History of the Church*, 2:431.
49. *Ibid.*, 2:432; emphasis added.
50. Stephen Post, *Journal*, 27 March 1836, Church Archives, as quoted in Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness*, 21.
51. Dean C. Jesse, ed., *The Papers of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 2:181; emphasis added.
52. Stephen Post, who was also in attendance at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, wrote, “President Sidney Rigdon offered a short prayer and then led the way, followed by the whole congregation acknowledging the Lord to be King, this is the sample of the shout with uplifted hands unto the most high.” Stephen Post, *Journal*, 27 March 1836, Church Archives, as quoted in Buerger, *The Mysteries of Godliness*, 21.
53. Jan Shippo, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 82.
54. For examples, see *History of the Church*, 2:381–82, 2:386–87, 2:391, 2:427–28.
55. *History of the Church*, 2:391.
56. See Heath, “Sacred Shout,” 116; and Woodbury, “Origin of the Hosanna Shout,” 19.
57. See Heath, “Sacred Shout,” 116–17; and Woodbury, “Origin of the Hosanna Shout,” 19.
58. Heath, “Sacred Shout,” 116–17.
59. Shippo, *Mormonism*, 80. Shippo is not alone in her characterization of the first years of Mormon theology. Thomas G. Alexander in his study on the reconstruction of Mormon doctrine describes the early Mormon understanding of God and man as “Quite close to those of contemporary Protestant denominations.” Alexander, “Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine,” 15.
60. Shippo, *Mormonism*, 80–84.
61. *History of the Church*, 2:391; emphasis added.
62. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:215; emphasis added.
63. “Dedication of St. George Temple Site,” *Millennial Star* 36, no. 16 (21 April 1874): 255.
64. If Joseph Smith borrowed the ritual of the Hosanna Shout from Jewish writings, it would have had to come from the Old Testament or the writings of Josephus. Descriptive accounts in the Old Testament concerning the rituals performed at the Feast of Tabernacles can be found in Leviticus 23:34–43, 1 Kings 8:2, 2 Chronicles 5:3–14, 7:8–9, Nehemiah 8:14–17, and Zechariah 14:16–19. However, little information can be obtained as to the specific procedures of the ancient rites.
- The current understanding of the practice of this ritual has come from several extra-biblical sources. The works of Flavius Josephus, including *The Antiquity of the Jews* and *The Wars of the Jews*, both contain some discussion of this Jewish celebration. However, little is revealed that is not already known from the Old Testament. Joseph Smith had copies of the Old Testament and most likely could obtain a copy of *The Works of Josephus*, which has been translated in English since 1736. William Whiston, *The Works of Josephus* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999 reprint), ix. The more important extra-biblical Jewish works are the Mishna and the Talmud. Both contain extensive discussions of the ritual requirements for celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. While both give insight into the ancient practices of this celebration, the focus is given to the practices of post-temple (A.D. 70) Judaism. In the mid-1830s during the Kirtland era, a copy of the Mishna (one volume), written in Hebrew, or the Talmud (nearly forty volumes), written in Aramaic and Hebrew, were difficult to come by.
- The first semicomplete English translations of these works were also simply not

available to Joseph Smith. The Mishna was first available in 1843 and was published in England, while the first English translation of the Talmud was published in England in 1878. Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), v–vi. With no English translations available to Joseph Smith, this illustrates the difficulties he would have had in obtaining data from these works.

However, did Joseph Smith during his study of Hebrew become acquainted with these works? During the winter of 1835 and 1836, a small group of elders including Joseph Smith began the study of Hebrew under the tutelage of Joshua Seixas. Oliver Cowdery was sent to New York to purchase books for this purpose. In his journal, Joseph Smith wrote of Cowdery's return: "He presented me with a Hebrew bible, lexicon & grammar, also a Greek Lexicon and Webster's English Lexicon." Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:87. As the group continued to study, the lack of books was a problem to the progression of the school. In February 1836, Joseph Smith wrote, "We have a great want of books but are determined to do the best we can." Later, he wrote, "[We] concluded to divide a bible into several parts for the benefit of said classes." Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:169. Because of the lack of elementary literature obtained for the study of Hebrew and because neither the Mishna nor Talmud was ever mentioned, it is highly unlikely that Joseph Smith ever had the means or the pleasure of studying these works. Louis C. Zucker, in his study entitled "Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew," also addressed the implausibility of Joseph Smith's study of these works. After examining Joseph Smith's study of Hebrew and its effects on the shaping of Mormon doctrine, Zucker concluded, "Joseph had no idea of post-biblical Hebrew literature: so far as he was aware the Hebrew of the Jewish scriptures was all the Hebrew there was." Louis C. Zucker, "Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 2 (summer 1968): 48.

In conclusion, when we consider the implausibility that Joseph Smith ever obtained the Mishna or Talmud, that they were not translated into English during the Kirtland Era, that they were never mentioned, and that nothing in the doctrine taught by Joseph Smith points to his studying these works, the Hosanna Shout ritual is not a product of his studying the Old Testament, *The Works of Josephus*, the Mishna, or the Talmud.

65. Wilford Woodruff's *Journal*, 1:131.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *History of the Church*, 3:42.

68. Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985 reprint), 149–50.

69. *History of the Church*, 6:331.

70. Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 292.

71. George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 129.

72. William Marks, "Beloved Brethren," *Zion's Harbinger and Baneemy's Organ* 3 (July 1853): 53, as quoted in D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," *BYU Studies* 20, no. 2 (winter 1980): 186.

73. Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members," 185–89.

74. See O'Dea, *The Mormons*, 156–60; *History of the Church*, 4:571–73; and Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 4:354.

75. There is one other occasion after these events in which the Hosanna Shout is given as a "seal." During a solemn assembly in the Salt Lake Temple on 2 July 1899, President Lorenzo Snow administered a covenant to the General Authorities to pay a full tithe. After the covenant was given, those present sealed the covenant with a shout. See Thomas C. Romney, *The Life of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse Press, 1955),

444.

76. See *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:579; and Elden J. Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846–1847* (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971), 147–48.

77. On various occasions, just before and after work was begun, Church leaders mentioned they expected to shout “Hosanna” at the completion of the Salt Lake Temple. See James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 1:341–42; and John Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:40.

78. See William S. Harwell, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young 1847–1850* (Salt Lake City: Collier’s Publishing, 1997), 64, 228; “Brigham City,” *Millennial Star* 37, no. 35 (30 August 1875), 550; Richard Harrison, *Diary, 1838–67*, typescript, 8, Perry Special Collections.

79. See *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 4:102; 7:467–68.

80. Rudger Clawson, “Funeral of President Lorenzo Snow,” in *Seventy-First Semi-Annual Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1901), 95. The funeral report is included in a special section at the end of the published proceedings. See also Melvin L. Bashore letter, “Unheard ‘Shout,’” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 2 (summer 1987): 5.

81. See Heath, “Sacred Shout,” 119. In addition to the list given by Heath, either a spontaneous or an organized shout was given on the following occasions: (1) The dedication of the Nauvoo Temple on 30 April 1846 led by Brigham Young. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 3:41. (2) The safe return of the Mormon Battalion on 30 July 1847. Harwell, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 64. (3) A camp meeting in the Great Salt Lake Valley on 30 July 1847. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 4:244. (4) The July 24 celebration in the Great Salt Lake Valley on 24 July 1849. Harwell, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 228. (5) The first casting of “Fire Dogs” in Cedar City on 17 March 1853. Harrison, *Diary*, 8. (6) A group of Mormon emigrants on the deck of the ship *Enoch Train* on 24 April 1856. “Report from the ‘Enoch Train,’” *Millennial Star* 18, no. 23 (7 June 1856): 353–56. (7) Wilford Woodruff’s seventy-second birthday celebration in St. George on 1 March 1879. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 7:467–68.

82. “Dedication of St. George Temple Site,” *Millennial Star* 36, no. 16 (21 April 1874): 255. It is interesting to note that while Brigham Young apparently instructed the congregation in how the shout was given in the Kirtland Temple, none of the sources describing the shouts given at that place mentions the clapping of hands. However, clapping hands during shouting was mentioned in an affidavit against Joseph Smith on the “affairs in Missouri” reprinted in the *Times and Seasons* of July 1843: “They would slap their hands and shout hosanna, hosanna, glory to God.” See Hyrum Smith, “Missouri vs Joseph Smith,” *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 16 (1 July 1843): 255.

83. “Fifty-Second Annual Conference,” *Millennial Star* 44, no. 22 (29 May 1882): 342.

84. See “Fifty-Second Annual Conference,” *Millennial Star* 44, no. 22 (29 May 1882): 342; and *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 2:580.

85. Shipps, *Mormonism*, 125.

86. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 4:510.

87. Shipps, *Mormonism*, 126.

88. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:127; and Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1993), 261.

89. Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 11, 37. See also Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic*

History of the Latter-day Saints 1830–1900 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993 reprint), 353–79.

90. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 94.

91. For a more detailed discussion of doctrinal reconstructions to take place during this era, see Alexander, “Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine,” 15–29.

92. For a more detailed discussion of doctrinal development behind the First Vision, see Allen, “Emergence of a Fundamental,” 43–61.

93. See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 258–71.

94. *Ibid.*, 290–92; 304–5; 293–95.

95. Brian Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses*, 5 vols. (Burbank: B.H.S. Publishing, 1989), 3:40; emphasis added.

96. *Ibid.*; emphasis added.

97. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9:193.

98. “The People Shout,” *The Salt Lake Tribune* (Salt Lake City), 7 April 1892, 5.

99. “The Capstone Ceremony,” *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City), 6 April 1892, 8.

100. Joseph West Smith, *Journal*, 9 April 1893, as quoted in Stuy, *Collected Discourses*, 3:272.

101. John R. Winder, in *Seventy-Third Semi-Annual Conference Report of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902), 83.

102. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 6:536–37.

103. James, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5:272–73.

104. “Hosanna Shout Scheduled in All L.D.S. Chapels April 6,” *Deseret News*, 5 April 1930, Centennial Section, 5.

105. See “Priesthood of Church Gives Shout,” *Deseret News*, 7 April 1930, 5.

106. See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 276, 280.

107. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, 486.

108. Harold B. Lee, in *The One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1955), 17; also B. H. Roberts, in *The Ninety-Eighth Annual Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1928), 112–13.

109. This is referring to 2 Chronicles 5:11–14.

110. “Hosanna Shout Scheduled in All L.D.S. Chapels April 6,” 5.

111. McConkie, *Promised Messiah*, 433–34.

112. See Stephen E. Robinson and Dean H. Garrett, *A Commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 1:124; and David Kenison, “The Hosanna Shout,” <http://www.ldsworld.com/gems/>, [accessed April 2001].

113. See Heath, “Sacred Shout,” 116; and Woodbury, “Origin of the Hosanna Shout,” 19–20.