

“A Selection of Sacred Hymns”: Singing Women into Citizenship in Zion

by

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ABSTRACT

Among the hundreds of hymnals published in the United States during the Second Great Awakening (1790–1850), the first official hymnal of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a rare example of a hymnal compiled by a woman. The Latter-day Saints wanted a hymnal adapted to their unique beliefs and emerging identity, and Emma Smith—the wife of founding prophet Joseph Smith—was given sole charge of selecting the hymns. The hymnal is also significant because Emma Smith selected and arranged hymns from 1830–1835, years of an emerging rhetoric for the early women’s rights movement. Nevertheless, few studies attend to Smith’s agency and priorities as a compiler, being preoccupied with the contributions of W. W. Phelps, the editor, printer, and most represented poet of the hymnal.

Drawing on Karlyn Kohrs Campbell’s theories of agency and of feminine style as well as Kenneth Burke’s theory of form, this thesis uses close textual analysis and coding to examine the rhetorical strategies Smith employed in the hymnal’s preface and in the organization of the Sacred Hymns section. The analysis reveals the hymnal’s recurring themes as well as the ideas it circulates about sex, gender, agency, and community inclusion/exclusion. It also uncovers tension between Smith’s and Phelps’ priorities for the hymnal, particularly in how Smith and Phelps characterize those who should and should not be included with equal authority in Zion, the ideal community the Latter-day Saints sought to build.

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INTRODUCTION

In July 1830, only a few months after Joseph Smith organized The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon Church),¹ he recorded the following words as revelation from God for Emma Smith: “Thou art an elect lady, whom I have called.... And it shall be given thee, also, to make a selection of sacred hymns...to be had in my church. For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me” (Doctrine and Covenants [2013] 25.3, 11–2). These words are included in what is now section 25 of the Doctrine and Covenants, a book that establishes doctrine unique to the LDS faith. Except for a few passages, Joseph Smith wrote the Doctrine and Covenants between the years of 1823 and 1843, years that overlap with the Protestant revival that swept through the United States. While all the sections in the book lay out principles applicable to the Latter-day Saints generally, several sections address specific individuals, usually recently converted men who were emerging as leaders in the new church. However, section 25 was addressed to Emma Smith, Joseph Smith’s wife, and is “the only one addressed solely to a woman” (Newell and Avery 33). The section also marks the beginning of LDS hymnody as, over the next several years, Emma Smith selected hymns to be printed in the LDS newspaper *The Evening and the Morning Star* before publishing a compiled hymnal in 1835 and again in 1841.

Emma Smith’s commission to select hymns was extraordinary given the sociocultural context in which she lived. Joseph Smith established the LDS Church during the height of the Second Great Awakening, “a sort of coming out party for

¹ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has recently requested that its official name or approved shortenings (i.e., the Church or The Church of Jesus Christ) be used (“Style Guide”). However, as there are many churches with similar names, I will use the designation *the LDS Church* for clarity’s sake.

women” after “centuries of female passivity in religious settings” (Bradley 59–60). At last it was common and acceptable for women to speak in church instead of having to wait to speak to “their husbands at home” as mandated by the Apostle Paul of the New Testament² (Bible, 1 Cor. 14.35). The Second Great Awakening sparked advances that increased white, middle- and upper-class women’s authority in religious communities and provided a foothold for first wave feminists to advocate for increased social justice (Dicker). However, newly accepted norms concerning women’s public presence did not catalyze enough social change to give these women equal authority to men in even the limited sphere of faith—despite the general assumption that these women had natural and superior spirituality (Welter).

What is even more remarkable than the fact of Smith’s assignment is that her task was neither secretarial nor editorial in nature (J. Smith). She was recognized as *the* person authorized to select and compile hymns for the LDS Church. Not only does she appear, by name, in the Doctrine and Covenants³ (a book Latter-day Saints regard as scripture), she also receives sole credit on the title page of the 1835 hymnal. Moreover, it appears that male church leaders filled supportive roles to her executive one. For instance, in 1832, Joseph Smith and his associates asked poet and publisher W. W. Phelps to edit and print the hymns Emma Smith selected—at first in installments in his newspaper and later in a compiled hymnal (Hicks, “1841 Hymnbook”). In 1839, a church council voted to

² As Paul’s words have been used to silence women in Christian churches for well over 1,000 years, the complete text seems worth including: “Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church” (Bible, 1 Cor. 14.34–5).

³ Doctrine and Covenants [2013] 25.1

destroy hymnals printed by a recent convert and to forbid then-missionary Brigham Young from printing his own edition in England⁴ (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*; Madsen; Newell and Avery). While at least eight LDS hymnals were in circulation by 1844 (most of which drew heavily on Emma Smith's 1835 collection), Smith's 1835 and 1841 editions "were the only officially sanctioned hymnals of the Church" in and out of the United States (Poulter, *First Ten Years* 3). Michael Hicks, a scholar of LDS hymnody, attributes these decisions to uphold Smith's hymnals directly to the 1830 revelation recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants (*Mormonism and Music*). Due to these and other factors, Smith's role can be regarded as spiritual, creative, and executive in nature (J. Smith). Moreover, as I will argue, her role was distinctly rhetorical since hymns selected for a particular community identify and characterize who will and will not belong.

Recent feminist scholarship has examined women's involvement in the burgeoning of hymns and religious poetry in the United States and Britain during this period (De Jong; Stokes). Other studies have examined the LDS Church's "feminist" roots and subsequent anti-feminist trends (Basquiat; Foster; Ulrich). However, little has been done to investigate the rhetorical role hymns and hymn selection played in the development of the LDS Church. This gap is especially intriguing considering that (1) Emma Smith selected hymns while LDS doctrine was still being written and (2) women during the Second Great Awakening were developing and testing the limits of their public voice. Therefore, the LDS 1835 hymnal provides a fuller picture of how

⁴ As it turned out, Young did not hear the decision in time, and his British edition was ultimately approved as there was a growing population of converts in that area (Madsen). However, the council's initial decision reveals its strict interpretation of the Doctrine and Covenants, making Smith the authority over hymnals.

marginalized groups such as LDS women can and do use available means to shape their communities.

As scholarship treating LDS hymnody as rhetorical is scarce, my review of literature demonstrates the need to examine Smith's hymnal by first establishing hymnody as an innovative genre that acted as a foothold for women's voices. I then discuss the role of hymnody in the Second Great Awakening generally and the LDS faith particularly. Following that, I argue that both the lack of literature investigating the rhetorical nature of Smith's task and the LDS Church's history with feminism establish the need for a feminist methodology in approaching the following research questions: (1) What ideas about sex, gender, and agency are circulated through Smith's selection? (2) How does the 1835 hymnal characterize those who do and do not belong with the Latter-day Saints? (3) How does the organization of the hymnal contribute to its purposes and messages? (4) What does the hymnal reveal about Smith's priorities as she performed the role of compiler in this new faith?

To answer these questions, I conduct a close textual analysis of the hymnal's preface and first section, informed by theories of agency, feminine style, and form (Campbell, "Agency," *Man Cannot Speak*; Dow and Tonn; Burke). The analysis of the preface suggests that Smith prioritizes (1) building a Zion community in which women have power and (2) demonstrating that women's contributions can not only be affective and effective but also intellectual and executive. The analysis of the first section confirms Smith's priorities but also reveals the 1835 hymnal as a site of contradiction and conflict. Strident hymns entrenching the LDS community in attitudes hostile to the outside world are juxtaposed with meditative hymns exploring an individual's connection to God.

These contradictions indicate that the official authority Smith was accorded, although extraordinary, was nonetheless bounded by the realities of her position as a woman in nineteenth-century America. Campbell's theory of rhetorical agency, which explicitly accounts for "material and symbolic" externals that "constitut[e] and constra[n]t," helps make sense of Smith's agency,⁵ especially as she worked with the hymnal's editor and publisher, W. W. Phelps ("Agency" 7). The obstacles Smith faced in delivering the messages she valued make it exceptionally significant that the message receiving the highest priority in Smith's hymnal is the need for a religion that balances a sense of community with respect for an individual's agency.

HYMNODY: MAKING PUBLIC SPACE FOR WOMEN'S VOICES

LDS hymnody has not received much of either a rhetorical or feminist treatment so far, partly because hymnody itself is a "largely understudied literary genre in rhetorical studies" (Minifee 1). The genre does not fall under the category of traditional rhetoric. Perhaps hymns have been dismissed due to their status as personal, and frequently sentimental, religious poetry that is not often associated with "great" writers or leaders. However, in response to the call of Royster and Kirsch, an increasing number of rhetoricians are reconsidering texts previously deemed unimportant and are contemplating "the distinct possibility that gold or the gold standards of traditional rhetorical expectations may not always be the only precious metals to be sought, found, desired, or valued" (16). One such scholar, Susan Bordelon, argues that texts that

⁵ Although I chose to rely on Campbell, Deborah Brandt's theory of literacy sponsorship offers additional insight. Brandt recognizes that literacy practices (e.g., compiling a hymnal) are always shaped by "agents, local or distant, concrete or abstract, who enable, support...as well as recruit, regulate, suppress, or withhold literacy—and gain advantage by it in some way" (19). Brandt later continues, "Literacy learning throughout history has always required permission, sanction, assistance, [or] coercion" (19).

traditionally have been passed over offer valuable sites to investigate how muted rhetors use available means to subvert the status quo. Thus, studying a previously dismissed genre such as hymnody opens new windows looking on to the rhetorical activity of those whom traditional scholars have neglected based on the assumption that these subjects lacked the means, ability, or significance to produce valuable texts.

If, in responding to calls like Royster and Kirsch's, contemporary rhetoricians are to seek texts that have been overlooked in the past, Smith's hymnal certainly qualifies. While several scholars have written historical overviews on the development of LDS hymnody, few of these pay special attention to Smith, with one scholar merely summing up his history with the condescending observation, "Emma Smith responded to her call admirably.... Her little collection represented not only the birth, but a vigorous beginning...of Mormon hymnology" (Crisler; Hicks; Moody; Swan; Weight 43). Of the few studies beyond these overviews, one study examines section 25 of the Doctrine and Covenants to make connections to Emma Smith's life, and another traces how women throughout recognized LDS scripture—the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Pearl of Great Price, and the Doctrine and Covenants—have used song as a medium for theological activity (Madsen; J. Smith). Neither of these articles focuses on Smith's hymnal or the choices Smith made in the process of creating it. One of the few studies that engages directly with the 1835 hymnal looks at the doctrinal themes that emerge but with neither a feminist nor a rhetorical lens (Poulter, "Doctrines of Faith").

The scant research on LDS hymnody necessitates an engagement with the history of hymnody to establish the general rhetorical significance of compiling hymns and the exceptional significance of that task being performed by a woman in nineteenth-century

America. Therefore, I trace the role of hymns within the religious movements of the Reformation in Europe, the Second Great Awakening in the United States, and the establishment of the LDS Church.

Hymnody during the Reformation (1517–1648)

Literary critics Claudia Stokes and Paula R. Backscheider and historian Edith L. Blumhofer each discuss hymnody's subversive and egalitarian roots in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Originally, worship services featured psalmody—songs derived from the formal and often obscure verses of the Bible—to aid the religious experience. However, “religious dissenters and innovators” advocated replacing psalmody with hymnody, that is, songs that “wove doctrine and personal experience together” (Stokes 71; Blumhofer 773). The individualism and subjectivity promoted during the Reformation led freethinkers to shift religious music—and, by extension, religious experience—“from God’s word to humankind to the human being speaking to God” (Backscheider 143). Thus, the most important qualities of a hymn were “affective sincerity” and broad appeal rather than intellectualism or traditionalism (Stokes 73). This opened the way for some previously marginalized groups both to gain “an active voice in church, whether by singing or by writing such works themselves” and to bypass clerical authority since hymns “spark[ed] religious feeling...without the mediation of clergy” (Stokes 76).

One of the most powerful notions of the Reformation was that religious power and authority was not located solely in the clergy but in all believers. Significantly, this “notion of the priesthood of all believers coincided with the invention of the printing press, [so] some (privileged) Christians became independent readers of the Bible and

other religious texts” (Tolar Burton 10–1). Predictably, the increased consumption of religious texts by laypeople was accompanied by an increased production of them, both through the traditional channels and through the laypeople themselves. John Wesley, one of the founders of Methodism, especially encouraged his followers to express their religious beliefs because he believed in “the persuasive power of individual experience” (Tolar Burton 4). Significantly, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell points out that the notion of the individual did not fully emerge in the West until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the period of the Reformation) and was fundamental to the development of the concept of agency during the Enlightenment (“Agency”). Thus, as hymns gained popularity and traction, they produced a tangible impact on religious experience and theology, subtly shifting authority away from male religious leaders. Though the clergy still controlled the worship services they led, they did not control who authored religious poetry or who set that poetry to music. Hymns circulated through communities in and outside of church and created religious experience without clergy acting as middlemen guiding parishioners or making biblical interpretations for them. Of course, the hymns themselves still mediated religious experience but in a way that decentered clerical authority by “inciting conversion and moral reform” and “interpret[ing] scripture, offer[ing] theology, and [telling] readers and singers what to feel, think, and do” (Stokes 102, 93–4).

Hymnody’s power and popularity as a genre arose largely from its accessibility. According to Stokes, “The form was so genuinely bottom-up that professional writers...contributed to the genre only after amateurs had already made it popular and fashionable” (93). Because it made individual experience a source of authority, hymnody stretched the limits of agency experienced by those without the social status (conveyed

by wealth, education, race, and sex) to speak with authority in public. To write a hymn, one did not need a prominent social position, a formal education, or even musical training. All that was required was the ability to set personal, affective words to existing tunes (Stokes 79). These conditions “provided women with an unprecedented religious forum” as they could now “circumvent Pauline prohibition by inviting...the singing congregation...to speak their words for them” (Stokes 93–4). The accessible nature of hymnody persisted into the nineteenth century and carried over into the United States where “poetry was seldom written by ‘poets’” and often “consisted of rhymed reworkings of scriptures or revisions of already popular poems and songs” (Hicks, “Poetic Paraphrase” 64).

Obviously, hymnody did not overturn every social expectation imposed on women. As Campbell asserts, agency is not simply a matter of individual competence but “is constrained by externals, by the community that confers identities related to gender, race, class, and the like on its members” (“Agency” 3). Thus, to participate in hymnody, many women writers had to gesture to social and religious convention by disavowing ambition and displaying humility, modesty, and domesticity as well as piety (Stokes). However, hymnody provided a singular opportunity for previously silenced members of congregations to raise their voices. Significantly, it cleared a path for the words of white, middle- and upper-class women to circulate in public spaces where communities met to transmit and uphold social values.

Hymnody during the Second Great Awakening (1790–1850)

Hymns played an essential role in the Second Great Awakening: they instigated transcendent, religious experiences; swayed religious investigators to join one

congregation over another; and solidified denominational communities through shared, ritual action (Blumhofer; Marini, *Sacred Song*). Hymns were, therefore, instrumental in (re)defining identity and community belonging. Although lyrics were usually written from a private perspective, “the actual social practice of hymn singing was both public and inclusive” (Gallagher 239). The public performance of sacred songs heightened their rhetorical impact. Hymns could “provide identity, move to action, cause dissent, promote growth, alter belief, deepen faith, [and] galvanize or anesthetize worship” (Marini, *Sacred Song* 10). Moreover, hymnody’s influence extended beyond Sunday devotional services. Christian tenets have a long history of overlapping with and bleeding into the American political arena, so it is not surprising that, during times of Protestant revival, religious discourse has often been political discourse. In fact, “during his 1833 tour of the United States, Tocqueville noted that religion was ‘the foremost of the political institutions of the country’” (Gallagher 236). Revivals calling for moral reform provided a foothold for activists such as abolitionists, prohibitionists, and first wave feminists to call for social change (Dicker; Gallagher; Lindman). Therefore, “by taking part in biblical discourse,” women poets had a point of entry to “the American political community” (Wolosky 209).

Among many marginalized groups, women had severely restricted access to recognized political discussions, but church membership during the Second Great Awakening gave some women a place to establish their right to speak publicly and with authority. Religion for a white, middle- or upper-class woman meant “an ideal of spiritual equality” and “individual identity” (Lindman 143). In this public space, “a woman’s husband, son, or father did not intervene or speak on her behalf... [She] stood alone

before the church...[and] recount[ed] her conversion experience in personal and visceral terms” (Lindman 143). Martha Sonntag Bradley calls this move into public (i.e., white male) territory *seizing sacred space*. She describes women ascending the pulpit

to expound their own spiritual experiences and call others to repentance, speak in tongues, and exercise other spiritual gifts.... And for a time male religious leaders played on this newfound female power and called on women to...organize [benevolent societies], to speak and to pray, and to take the lead in moral leadership in their communities. (Bradley 60)

Religious poetry was another way to seize sacred space. Hymns were hugely popular, and much of “the steady demand for new material” was met by white, middle- and upper-class women (Blumhofer 780). Women poets used the Bible to not only justify a public voice but also to claim religious authority through the poet–prophet motif.

Although this motif had appeared in literature before, it made a strong reappearance with the Romantic poets of England in the early 1800s, years that coincide with the Second Great Awakening. Authors such as Blake, Wordsworth, and Coleridge cast their roles as visionaries standing apart from the rest of the world. As poets, they received inspiration for a populace out of touch with natural and spiritual truths due to social, commercial, and other manmade cares (Watson). While few women made any overt claims to spiritual stature in their poetry, Shira Wolosky contends that several women-authored poems of the nineteenth century imply that, if poets are prophets and women can be poets, women can be prophets—“a role by definition public, communal, and potent” (207).

Wolosky’s argument stops short of establishing what ground or religious influence women actually gained through poetry. Rather, she discusses how women used the Bible to defend their right to speak, a necessary preliminary step. But the question follows, if women were speaking more, did they have an audience who was listening

more? That is, did these texts have audiences exercising *rhetorical listening*, “a stance of openness” with the intent to “promote productive communication” (Ratcliffe 1, 25)? Such a question is crucial to understanding a rhetor’s agency, for, “whatever else it may be, rhetorical agency refers to the capacity to act...in a way that will be recognized or heeded by others in one’s community” (Campbell, “Agency” 3). Though difficult to measure, rhetorical listening in this context can in some part be assessed through an examination of nineteenth-century, American hymnals since they provide a sense of which texts were valued.

Mary De Jong’s study of nineteenth-century hymnals found that these collections did not represent women’s contributions to religious verse. In fact, in an examination of seventy hymnals approved for formal worship, only 8.7% of the texts included were attributed to women (De Jong 144). This is not to say that the remaining hymns were all authored by males; women may have used pseudonyms, and many hymns did not have an author’s name ascribed to them at all. Thus, it is possible that some women writers were included at the cost of losing credit. It is also worth noting that, of the hymns known to be authored by women, only 1.7% were by identifiably American women. De Jong explains this percentage with the reminder that British literature had more prestige and was not protected by international copyright laws, so compilers could freely include already respected hymns. Another explanation for hymnals’ low percentage of women-authored texts can be gleaned from the scholarship of Edith Blumhofer:

While mainline denominations revised their hymnals every few decades, nondenominational publishers catered to the appetite for new and up-to-date materials...every few months.... The vast majority of gospel songs were short lived...and use dictated survival. Very gradually, a handful of widely used gospel songs found a place beside older selections in denominational hymnals. (785–6)

Taken together with De Jong's study, Blumhofer's remarks on the realities of compilation and publication practices can explain the apparent disconnect between the explosion of women-authored texts and the scarcity of those texts in hymnals. Hymns that had already been canonized in denominational hymnals had a greater chance of surviving the selection process for new hymnals, so women writing during the Second Great Awakening faced daunting challenges to having their words sustained.

Not only were women virtually excluded from hymnals, those whose writings were included also had their work routinely altered and "defeminized" by editors who (1) assumed women's writing would be verbose and uncontrolled and (2) thought to ensure a hymn's broad relatability by "minimiz[ing]...indication[s] of the poet's sex...[but only] if the imagery or voice was marked as female" (De Jong 149). Paula Backschieder asserts that these editors—who were white, middle- and upper-class men—acted "to protect a masculine genre and canon" and reclaim a position that hymnody had been eroding since the Reformation (24). Claudia Stokes demonstrates how clergymen used hymnals to reassert authority:

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, various Protestant denominations began to compile and issue their own sectarian hymnals...to oversee this populist form and reinforce the primacy of hierarchical authority. The hymnal editor, typically a member of the clergy, scrutinized hymns for content and quality before allowing them admission to their collections. (79)

These claims by Backschieder and Stokes tally with De Jong's findings that 99% of all hymnals published in the nineteenth century were compiled by men, mostly clergy (147). De Jong uses this percentage to support her contention that "hymnody manifested clerical power" and that "the poems in the hymnbooks articulate experiences and perspectives approved by white male ministers" (142–4). Scholars such as Backschieder, Stokes, and

De Jong complicate decisive claims that hymnody allowed women to achieve greater equality and voice during the Second Great Awakening. As the Protestant revival progressed, clergymen used the compilation process to control women-authored texts. This control is especially sobering considering Backscheider's assertion that it is canonicity that confers agency. When a text is selected as worthy of compilation, the author's authority increases, and her subsequent work is less likely to be rejected or altered. Thus, inclusion in a hymnal gives an author more freedom to make conscious, rhetorical choices in future writing. With women's writing frequently not "making the cut," women's agency remained limited.

Considering how regularly women hymnists were denied agency through canonization, it is astonishing that Emma Smith should have received the commission to compile the first LDS hymnal. As authors, women were dismissed or muted but still ubiquitous. But a woman compiler, undeniably exercising agency in her exclusive rights to select hymns, was an obvious anomaly. Admittedly, Latter-day Saint publisher and poet W. W. Phelps was instructed to help Smith, and it is not known exactly how far he interpreted or carried that role (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*; Weight). However, Phelps was not instructed or authorized in the Doctrine and Covenants to choose the hymns; this honor was Smith's (Poulter, "Doctrines of Faith"). Taken together, hymnody's origins, authors, audience, and intents created a unique rhetorical situation for Smith to access. Nevertheless, her 1835 hymnal has remained unexamined as a field of rhetorical activity, as demonstrated by a review of the literature on LDS hymnody.

Hymnody during the Restoration (1820–1844)

Both the Reformation and the Second Great Awakening paved the way for the Restoration, the term Latter-day Saints use to refer to the early days of their church before the settlement of Utah Territory. Smith performed her task during this Restoration period—a time when the church was still hot on the anvil as her husband, founding prophet Joseph Smith, wrote scripture and established doctrine and as the Latter-day Saints were repeatedly unsettled as they grew in number and were driven place to place. However, there is a general lack of scholarship on LDS hymnody that gives Smith’s role as compiler more than a cursory treatment. Rather, research focuses in two areas: (1) how hymns were authored or altered to reflect distinct LDS doctrine, shape LDS identity, and build the new LDS community and (2) hymns’ origins and continued use (Blumhofer; Crisler; Hicks; Marini, *Sacred Song*; Poulter, “Doctrines of Faith”). Research in the first area dominates, and since W. W. Phelps was a substantially contributing poet of the 1835 hymnal, its editor and publisher, and one of the church’s “most influential leaders”—both “an official Church spokesman and theologian”—studies in this first category frequently focus on him (Poulter, *First Ten Years* 19). Phelps is heavily featured in the second category as well since he authored or adapted at least 39 of the 90 hymns in the 1835 hymnal and at least 12 of the 25 hymns from it that remain in use today (Poulter, *First Ten Years; Hymns*).

In 1995, Mary D. Poulter completed a master’s thesis that traced, where possible, the authorship and origins of the ninety hymns within the 1835 hymnal and the reappearance of those hymns in LDS hymnals compiled in the first ten years of the church. Her work is invaluable in locating the authorial and denominational influences on

the 1835 LDS hymnal. For instance, Smith had been raised Methodist, yet most of the hymns without LDS origins came from either Independent (16) or Baptist (13) traditions, all of the former having been borrowed from Isaac Watts, a prolific hymnist during the Reformation (Poulter, *First Ten Years*). Had Methodism disaffected Smith somehow? What tone or themes in hymns from these other traditions drew her? Poulter's meticulous work makes it possible to ask, if not answer, these intriguing questions. Moreover, Poulter's thesis reveals that Smith's original selection of hymns had a profound influence on the hymnals, officially sanctioned or not, circulating within the first decade of the church. Brigham Young, for instance, used nearly all of the hymns from the 1835 hymnal in his edition for the British Latter-day Saints (Poulter, *First Ten Years*). The thesis establishes, therefore, not only that Smith was inclined to certain kinds of hymns but also that her inclinations influenced worship in a growing number of congregations on both sides of the Atlantic. The thesis does not, however, examine the hymns to discover what messages were circulating through Smith's selection.

Poulter later analyzed the 1835 hymnal to find doctrine important and distinctive to the new church ("Doctrines of Faith"). This is a significant topic of study considering that a major purpose of creating a specifically LDS hymnal was to ensure that LDS congregations had hymns reinforcing their unique beliefs. Poulter identifies several themes, such as the Second Coming of Christ, the Restoration, Zion, and personal agency, but does not address which are prioritized or why Smith might have selected them. In fact, although titled "Doctrines of Faith and Hope Found in Emma Smith's 1835 Hymnbook," the article is primarily concerned with W. W. Phelps' contributions and influence over the doctrine and faith of early church members.

Poulter rightly acknowledges Phelps' influence on the LDS Church since he authored or adapted nearly half of the hymns in this first hymnal, including the vast majority of the forty originally LDS hymns (Poulter; Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*). However, the compilation was put in Smith's hands, so not taking her positionality and influence into account is a significant oversight. This is especially true considering Poulter's own brief suggestion that Smith's organizational strategy was distinct from Phelps'. Poulter bases this idea on the fact that the 1835 edition appears to have two separate personalities involved: the first two-thirds of the hymns are organized under subject headings while the last third is entitled "Miscellaneous" and has no apparent method ("Doctrines of Faith"). Her suggestion is strengthened by the observation that the 1841 edition compiled by Smith—in which Phelps was not involved—is uniformly organized by subject headings. Based on this, Poulter claims it is fair to assume that the organizational strategy was Smith's, not Phelps' ("Doctrines of Faith"). Kurt F. Kammeyer has suggested that most of the Miscellaneous section consists of hymns Phelps wrote or arranged while living in Missouri and while the Smiths were living in Kirtland, Ohio. Phelps did not arrive in Kirtland until May of 1835, the year the hymnal was published⁶ (Kammeyer). Putting Kammeyer's and Poulter's claims together, it is possible the Miscellaneous section represents the hymns that Smith did not have time to organize before the hymnal was printed.

In a more recent article, Julie M. Smith discusses sacred songs as "a central venue for women's theological activity" throughout scripture, beginning with the Old

⁶ The 1835 hymnal was not available before 1836, but given the time-consuming process of type-setting, the inconsistency between the date on the title page and the actual publication date is not surprising (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*).

Testament and concluding with Emma Smith's 1830 commission (56). Importantly, J. Smith points out the rhetorical power of hymns by commenting that "often, long sermons are forgotten...but texts expressed in the rhythms of poetry and music are easily memorized and can become an integral part of a belief system" (62). Thus, Emma Smith's "work in selecting hymns formed the early Saints' understanding of their doctrine and beliefs to a great extent" and determined doctrines that would be promulgated as the church continued to develop (J. Smith 62–3). However, J. Smith neither discusses hymn selection as a rhetorical move nor seeks to uncover what doctrines and themes Emma Smith emphasized through her selection and organization. Given the power hymns had in forming, or at least informing, early Latter-day Saints' faith, there is a need for scholarship that discusses Emma Smith's hymn selection and organization as significant rhetorical acts.

One final study must be discussed before a rhetorical analysis of Smith's 1835 hymnal. In 2012, Michael Hicks closely examined Smith's 1841 hymnal, looking specifically for its *character*. After reminding readers that "most studies of early Mormon hymnbooks focus on the hymn's authorship, derivation, continued use, or distinctively Mormon doctrines," he states, "What scholars tend not to do is explore what the character of any given hymnbook was: its pervasive tone, its general manner, the 'feel' of the words overall" (Hicks, "1841 Hymnbook" 13). Later, he speculates as to why Smith "slanted her hymnbook's character in the direction she did" (Hicks, "1841 Hymnbook" 24). Thus, Hicks comes closest to studying the rhetorical nature of Smith's work, though not in so many words. He finds that Smith leans "to familiar hymns of personal solace and the intimate, graceful Savior" as opposed to "bold, millennialistic, group-oriented

hymns” (Hicks, “1841 Hymnbook” 24). Hicks’ study of Smith’s 1841 hymnal is invaluable for any investigation of her 1835 hymnal. While her preferences and priorities would not have remained static in the intervening years—not with the rise of polygamy and her growing rift with Brigham Young (Newell and Avery; Ulrich)—Smith’s second compilation is nonetheless an essential point of reference for those seeking to understand her priorities and organizational choices. Hick’s conclusions regarding the 1841 hymnal thus indicate that the divided nature of the 1835 hymnal is almost certainly due to Phelps’ involvement.

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

The welter of factors complicating this research area—hymnody’s subversive history, the increased writing opportunities for women, the need to gesture to social and religious expectations, and the challenges of achieving canonization—necessitate a methodology that treats women as agents and rhetors. Of all possible feminist methods available, I have elected to use the feminist methodology of Royster and Kirsch since they offer several strategies for studying muted rhetors with the “core intention” of “embrac[ing] a set of values...that honors the particular traditions of the subjects of study, respects their communities, amplifies their voices, and clarifies their visions” (14). Particularly, the strategies of critical imagination and strategic contemplation help scholars to, respectively, (re)inscribe muted rhetors and respect the voices and priorities of their subjects.

In *Feminist Rhetorical Practices*, Royster and Kirsch offer four “terms of engagement” or strategies characterizing a feminist approach to rhetorical studies (18). The first, critical imagination, is in part defined as hypothesizing “what might likely be

true” based on the artifacts in hand and rigorous research into the historical contexts that shaped rhetor’s lives (71). Critical imagination also involves the diligent interrogation of—and informed but creative speculation about—rhetorical artifacts, “the noticed and the unnoticed...what is there and not there...and what could be there instead” (Royster and Kirsch 20). Because so much of the evidence of women’s rhetorical activity is “fragmentary and faint”—and because a “central element in woman’s oppression was the denial of her right to speak”—critical imagination is essential for a scholar seeking to treat marginalized rhetors with the same level of attention and care given to traditional “great speakers” (Royster and Kirsch x; Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak* 9).

In the case of the 1835 hymnal, research has “failed to reveal the procedures Emma Smith used” in the compilation process or to establish “where Emma’s selection ended and Phelps’ editorial prerogative began” (Weight 40; Hicks, *Mormonism and Music* 13). According to Hicks, “In [some] cases, [Phelps] so thoroughly rewrote Protestant hymns as to make them utterly new in their essence,” and “even in his first installment of the ‘selected’ hymns [in his newspaper], he placed at the top of the page some of his own verses” (*Mormonism and Music* 12–4). We know that Phelps was extensively involved, but it is also true that Emma Smith was considered as divinely sanctioned to select the hymns (Madsen). We know that she is the only person credited on the title page of the hymnal, and we also have Smith’s preface to the hymnal and persuasive evidence that she took charge of the organization (Madsen; Poulter, “Doctrines of Faith”). Situating these facts within the larger contexts of nineteenth-century America and LDS history allows us to find meaning in seemingly small and simple acts and method in rhetoric that otherwise remains hidden.

The second strategy of Royster and Kirsch, strategic contemplation, “involves engaging in a dialogue...with...our rhetorical subjects...to understand their words, their visions, [and] their priorities whether and perhaps especially when they differ from our own” (21). This “dialogue” occurs through repeated readings and meditation to delay judgement and resist the impulse to make “neat resolutions” and “cozy hierarchies and binaries” for the problems and contradictions that arise in our research (Royster and Kirsch 22). Fundamentally, strategic contemplation also involves accounting for the lived experience of the researcher that inevitably shapes her understanding of the research subjects. This approach is paramount while researching the LDS Church because scholars can be too eager to either find or erase feminism in a visibly patriarchal religion. For instance, much of LDS feminist scholarship focuses on tracing the religion’s surprisingly feminist beginnings⁷ and its subsequent anti-feminist trends (Basquiat; Bradley; Foster; Ulrich). While much can be (and has been) written on the structures permitting/inhibiting feminist work in Latter-day Saint communities, strategic contemplation refocuses the researcher’s attention on the values, visions, and ultimately the agency of her subjects.

Recognizing that we cannot absolutely know Smith’s values and visions, I combine the concept of strategic contemplation with Campbell’s theory of rhetorical agency to help me find evidence of Smith’s intent emerging from her choices in the hymnal. According to Campbell, agency—which is “both constituted and constrained by

⁷ For instance, the Doctrine and Covenants also directed Smith to “expound scriptures, and to exhort the Church, according as it shall be given thee by my Spirit” and extended the call to “all” (25.7, 16). According to Carol Cornwall Madsen, “With only a few exceptions, no religious denominations at that time gave public platforms in mixed congregations to women,” yet, in the early days of the LDS Church, “women regularly addressed the mixed Church gatherings in one another’s homes.... Along with the men, they bore testimony, expounded doctrine, and read scriptures to the assembled members. They prophesied, spoke in tongues, and blessed one another” (213–4).

externals”—“emerges in artistry or craft [and] is effected through form” (“Agency” 2). Smith’s rhetorical agency was, in part, both constituted and constrained by scripture (i.e., Doctrine and Covenants 25, Pauline prohibition) and other patriarchal factors. These factors shaped what Smith was able to say directly, but agency is not limited to those who may speak directly. As Campbell states, rhetorical agency is enacted through artistry, craft, and form, which includes “all the heuristic skills that respond to contingencies...include[ing] stratagem, flair, subtlety, and the like” (“Agency” 7). Strategic contemplation helps scholars to detect such strategy and subtlety and thus emphasizes the nature of rhetorical agency: it operates within structures that control opportunity, but muted rhetors find ways to navigate these structures. Put differently, strategic contemplation informed by a theory of rhetorical agency will ultimately lead LDS feminist scholarship to ask: Within the external circumstances that *permitted/inhibited* LDS women’s rhetorical action, what did LDS women say and do *on purpose* to convey their priorities and intentions? As all choices convey values, I approach my analysis of Smith’s hymnal on the premise that her choices—conscious, intentional, or otherwise—are rhetorical and inherently meaningful. Below, I describe my specific methods in addressing my research questions.

For my question about ideas on sex, gender, and agency circulated in Smith’s hymnal, I searched each of the ninety hymns for language used to describe members of the religious community. At first, this search focused on the use of pronouns, but over the course of many readings, I expanded it to include any word describing a member of the community (e.g., soul, saint). I paid special attention to whether the language was

sexed/gendered (e.g., daughter, king) and what pronouns were used with these various antecedents.

In the process of searching for messages about sex and gender, I became interested in the rhetoric of inclusion and exclusion in the hymns, so I added my second research question and began another series of readings of the hymnal. In these readings, I searched not only for language describing those who belonged to the community but also describing those who were invited in—for example, through members’ proselytizing efforts—and language describing “others,” those who were excluded from the religious community (e.g., ungodly, foes). In some cases, it was ambiguous whether descriptions belonged in the *included/invited* category or the *excluded* category: for instance, when sinners were called to repentance or when a group was invited into the community but not necessarily on terms of equality. I handled this difficulty by using the *included/invited* category for those who could come *as they were*, leaving the nuances and terms of that invitation/inclusion to be uncovered by close textual analysis. I reserved the *excluded* category for those who would not be welcomed unless they changed.⁸

I also coded each hymn for doctrinal theme(s) to address my third and fourth research questions on how the hymnal’s organization contributes to its purpose(s) and message(s) and reveals Smith’s priorities. This coding system emerged from multiple readings of the hymnal and went through several iterations as the patterns I noticed shifted and as I refined my definition of each theme (see Auerbach and Silverstein; Gee).

⁸ For example, hymn 35 invites “Afric’s black legions,” and hymn 67 describes how Jesus can “wash the Æthiop white” (E. Smith [1835] 47, 89). Both phrases indicate that people who identify as black can be part of Zion, but I categorized them as *excluded* in these hymns because their acceptance hinged on repentance (hymn 35) or becoming “white” (hymn 67).

At first, I sought to have as few themes as possible to simplify coding. However, the more I read, the more distinctions I saw between Smith's treatment of an idea (e.g., God's bounty in blessing the undeserving) and Phelps' (e.g., blessings are reserved for the righteous). While there remain variations in tone and context among the hymns under each category, I strove to develop themes based on the trends and distinctions I found. It was also important that the themes *elaborated* upon the hymnal's sections. For example, rather than use *sacrament* as a theme to describe the hymns in the On Sacrament section, I looked for patterns that added to an account of what an On Sacrament hymn has to say. The definitions of the sixteen themes I settled on and their distribution can be found in appendix A, and a complete table of my findings can be found in appendix B.

After collecting data on sexed/gendered language, characterizations of those who were included/excluded, and the hymnal's themes, I looked at the data within the context of each category of the hymnal to gain insight into Smith's organizational choices. Since it is likely that the categories were Smith's contribution, patterns within the various sections can reveal something about what each category meant to her. Although Poulter lists in her study important doctrinal themes of the hymnal, she does not indicate the relative importance or frequency of each theme nor does she attend to what themes fall within each category. In fact, Poulter argues that only the middle of the hymnal is truly organized ("Doctrines of Faith"). In her dissertation situating LDS hymnals within the context of LDS history, Helen Hanks Macaré comes to the same conclusion, calling both the Miscellaneous and Sacred Hymns sections "catch-alls" (122). However, looking for patterns within each section yields a different interpretation. Table 1 presents a summary of my findings.

	Major Themes	Included/Invited	Excluded
Sacred (36 hymns)	Zion (23)	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>
	Blessings for righteous (22)	1 st person plural (22) 3 rd person plural (15)	3 rd person plural (3) 3 rd person, female (2)
	Second Coming (21)	<u>Sample Antecedents</u>	<u>Sample Antecedents</u>
	Gospel light (16)	Saints (21), Man/men (8), Israel (8), The righteous (7)	Foes (4), The wicked (4), The ungodly (2)
Morning (6 hymns)	Commitment (5)	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>
	God's bounty (5)	1 st person singular (5)	None
	Omnipotent God (3)	<u>Sample Antecedents</u> All [Christ's] saints, The righteous	<u>Sample Antecedents</u> The wicked
Evening (6 hymns)	God's bounty (4)	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>
	Commitment (3)	1 st person singular (4)	None
		<u>Sample Antecedents</u> Each one	<u>Sample Antecedents</u> None
Farewell (4 hymns)	Gathering (4)	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>
		1 st person singular (3)	None
		1 st person plural (3)	
		<u>Sample Antecedents</u> Brethren (2), The blessed (2)	<u>Sample Antecedents</u> Foes
Baptism (4 hymns)	Renewal (3)	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>
		1 st person plural (3)	None
		2 nd person singular (3)	
		<u>Sample Antecedents</u> Children (2); Disciples	<u>Sample Antecedents</u> None
Sacrament (5 hymns)	Personal Savior (5) Christ as Redeemer (4)	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>
		1 st person singular (2)	None
		1 st person plural (2)	
		<u>Sample Antecedents</u> Man/mankind (3); All (2)	<u>Sample Antecedents</u> All that will not hear
Marriage (1 hymn)	Blessings for righteous Zion	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>	<u>Prevailing Pronouns</u>
		None	None
		<u>Sample Antecedents</u> Men	<u>Sample Antecedents</u> None

Table 1. *Summary of Findings.* If a theme, pronoun category, or antecedent appeared in more than one hymn, the number of hymns in which it appeared is provided. Not all pronouns had antecedents, and not all pronouns and antecedents provided will correlate.⁹

⁹ I have excluded the Miscellaneous section because evidence suggests that Smith did not arrange it, and the arrangement appears unintentional (i.e., many of the 28 hymns could have fit within existing sections). See appendices for complete findings.

For my final question on what the hymnal reveals about Smith's priorities, I first conduct a close textual analysis of the hymnal's preface. Dilip Gaonkar calls close textual analysis "a species of grounded interpretation" because the text receives primacy of place (312). At heart, close textual analysis is reading a text with an "intense concentration on particulars" with the goal to understand how texts work and how they were created (Leff 229). As the internal evidence indicates that Smith wrote this herself, and as the nature of a preface is to shed light on the purposes of a text, this seemed an especially promising site for investigation. I then analyze the section Sacred Hymns for two reasons. First, it is the first and longest section of the hymnal. This may indicate that it was the most significant section to Smith and/or other church leaders. In any case, Smith's choices for this section shed light on her priorities. Second, the Sacred Hymns section is the most salient to my research questions about women's agency and LDS society. One of the most important themes of this section is the building of Zion, an ideal community; therefore, this section reveals ideas about what that community should look like and who is or is not included.

Finally, a close reading of six hymns within the Sacred Hymns section provides examples of specific messages Smith circulated with her hymnal. I begin with Phelps' "There's a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing;" it is the most divisive hymn and highlights the conflict and contradictions present in Smith's hymnal. "He died! The great Redeemer died!" requires an even closer look to reveal another facet of that conflict. The lyrics appear mild on the surface, but Phelps' revision erases a vital part of the message Smith probably intended. "Glorious things of thee are spoken" serves as a representative example of the themes found within the first section, though I also discuss

some of its unique characteristics. The anonymous hymns “The great and glorious gospel light” and “There’s a power in the sun” illustrate other important themes and afford insight into Smith’s perception of Zion. I conclude with an analysis of “Know then that every soul is free” because this hymn makes a significant departure from both the themes of the section and of the hymnal overall. However, its anomalous nature and its placement as the first song in the hymnal make it especially relevant in considering Smith’s agency and priorities as a compiler.

ANALYSIS OF EMMA SMITH’S 1835 HYMNAL

The 1835 hymnal is available online within a digital archive. The scanned images reveal the following outline: first, a title page that attributes the selection of the hymns to Emma Smith. Phelps is not mentioned. Following the title page is a two-sentence preface. Although Smith’s name is not attached to the preface, both the title page and evidence within the preface strongly suggest that Smith is the author. The remainder of the book consists of the ninety selected hymns placed in one of the following eight categories: Sacred Hymns, Morning Hymns, Evening Hymns, Farewell Hymns, On Baptism, On Sacrament, On Marriage, and Miscellaneous. For the individual hymns in each section, no music is provided or suggested.¹⁰ After the hymn number, only the text of the hymn appears, with numbered verses. None of the hymns are given titles or are attributed to an author. The last few pages of the hymnal provide an index of hymns listed alphabetically by their first lines. For this thesis, I analyze the preface and then the section Sacred Hymns as a whole before examining individual hymns.

¹⁰ Initials next to the hymn number indicate the (poetic, not musical) meter, such as common meter (C.M.) or long meter (L.M.) (Kammeyer).

Preface

The preface well prepares readers for the themes that dominate the first third of the hymnal (and much of the last): a Zion society, the blessings promised to the righteous, the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, and the Restoration. Although only two sentences, the preface reveals that two of Smith's priorities are (1) building a Zion community in which women have power and (2) demonstrating that women's contributions can be intellectual and executive as well as affective. As the preface is so short, I include the entire text below:

In order to sing by the Spirit, and with the understanding, it is necessary that the church of the Latter Day Saints should have a collection of "Sacred Hymns," adapted to their faith and belief in the gospel, and, as far as can be, holding forth the promises made to the fathers who died in the precious faith of a glorious resurrection, and a thousand years' reign on earth with the Son of Man in his glory. Notwithstanding the church, as it were, is still in its infancy, yet, as the song of the righteous is a prayer unto God, it is sincerely hoped that the following collection, selected with an eye single to his glory, may answer every purpose till more are composed, or till we are blessed with a copious variety of the songs of Zion. (E. Smith [1835] iii–iv)

For Latter-day Saints, Zion is best understood through a passage from the Pearl of Great Price, which features Joseph Smith's translation of an extract from the book of Genesis in the Bible. In 1830, the same year that the LDS Church was organized and Emma Smith was directed to select hymns, Joseph Smith recorded, "And the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them" (Moses 7.18). One of Emma Smith's stated purposes in the preface is to have a collection of hymns "adapted to [the Latter-day Saints'] faith and belief" (E. Smith [1835] iii). As explained by several scholars, creating a specifically LDS hymnal was an intentional move to constitute a distinct identity for the

Latter-day Saints (Cristler; Hicks; Poulter, “Doctrines of Faith;” J. Smith; Swan; Weight). Much of this identity was wrapped up in the LDS vision of Zion, a place of righteousness, unity, and equality. Thus, when Smith’s preface calls her collection of hymns the “songs of Zion” that “hol[d] forth the promises made” by God to the righteous, it is reasonable to infer that she intends the hymns to promote the righteousness, unity, and equality that characterize Zion.

These goals for the hymnal are particularly striking when one considers the cultural climate in which Smith worked on the hymnal. Smith received her commission to select hymns in 1830, and the first hymnal was published over the last months of 1835 and the beginning months of 1836. Therefore, Smith chose and arranged hymns and wrote her preface while the rhetoric of the early woman’s rights movement developed in the United States in the 1830s (Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak*). According to Campbell, this rhetoric—which aimed to persuade female audiences that they could “act effectively in the world”—was characterized by a “feminine style” with elements such as a personal tone, the use of personal experience and anecdotes, and audience participation (*Man Cannot Speak* 13). Campbell is careful to point out that this feminine style was not a manifestation of something inherently female but rather a navigation of the patriarchal structures that circumscribed the rhetorical action of white, middle- and upper-class women. These rhetors had to persuade their audiences that full citizenship and public participation did not undermine their womanhood. Thus, public rhetorical action was often juxtaposed with conformity to some traditional gender roles and expectations.¹¹

¹¹ This juxtaposition of defiance with compliance is also seen in the works of women hymnists during the Reformation, whose participation in the genre depended on disavowals of ambition and displays of domesticity and piety (Stokes).

Campbell's theory of feminine style provides a fascinating lens through which to view Smith's stated intention to collect hymns adapted to a Zion community that is "still in its infancy" (E. Smith [1835] iv). This can certainly be read as a simple statement that the church, and thus the Zion community, was new and still needed to be developed. However, especially with the nineteenth century's "cult of domesticity," the association between infants and women is inescapable (Gallagher). The metaphor of the church as an infant therefore implies that the development of Zion requires women's contributions. This trope does reinforce certain traditional understandings of women as nurturers and caregivers, but the metaphor simultaneously challenges the idea that women's only place is in the home by implying that they can also nurture and raise a community. This simple phrase not only "incorporat[es] evidence of femininity" to legitimize Smith's work but also suggests that a women's public participation is neither unnatural nor unneeded (Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak* 12).

Smith's preface also works to show that women's contributions to Zion need not be limited to the affective and maternal. For instance, the first stated purpose for the hymnal is to aid singing "by the Spirit, and with the understanding" (E. Smith [1835] iii). Singing by the Spirit tallies with what hymns and hymnals were generally supposed to accomplish, namely, to use "affective sincerity" to foster religious feeling and persuade others to join a religious community and reform their behaviors (Stokes; Marini). However, Smith immediately follows singing "by the Spirit" with "and with the understanding," suggesting that intellect may also be important in religious experience. It is possible to interpret "understanding" as meaning that hymns ought to be simple to be accessible to all members of the congregation. This consideration was a major reason for

the original shift from psalmody to hymnody during the Reformation (Stokes). However, by Smith's time, hymn writing and singing had been an established and widespread practice for about 200 years. Moreover, the use of the article *the* suggests that Smith is using "the understanding" to mean intelligence or intellect. In other words, she values a hymn—and, by extension, a religion—that engages more than the traditionally feminine attributes of spiritual and emotional sensitivity. Thus, to say that hymns employ "the understanding" is to assert not only the intellectual importance of her work but also her ability to undertake the task.

Smith also reminds her readers of her executive role in a clear reference to what is now Doctrine and Covenants 25 with the phrase "the song of the righteous is a prayer unto God" (E. Smith [1835] iv). This allusion provides compelling evidence that Smith is the author of this preface because that passage of scripture was addressed to her. Significantly, readers of the preface would have known this since the revelation was included in the first two versions of the Doctrine and Covenants: the one published in 1833 under the name Book of Commandments and the expanded, retitled version that was printed in 1835, just before the hymnal appeared (Book of Commandments 58–9; Doctrine and Covenants [1835] 178–9). This allusion also tallies with one of the two fundamental dimensions of the rhetoric of woman's rights advocates at the time: the "justification of woman's right to function in the public sphere, to speak with authority in any area of human life" (Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak* 14).¹² Justifying one's right to speak with authority was especially tricky in the face of "the theological tenet that woman's distinctive [domestic] role was part of God's plan" (Campbell, *Man Cannot*

¹² The other being a presentation of grievances.

Speak 37). Therefore, when Smith calls on the Doctrine and Covenants revelation, she is sending a clear reminder to her readers that she has divine authority to choose and arrange the hymns. In her cultural context, this is the ultimate justification, so it does not matter that the scripture does not explicitly direct her to compile a hymnal because no one else could say that they were divinely directed to work with the hymns.

However, Smith does not claim that the hymnal is perfect. Her wishes for more hymns and a greater variety of hymns acknowledge the limitations of her work. This may be a strategy to anticipate, and thus limit, any criticism she may receive. As seen with many women hymnists during the Reformation and Second Great Awakening, humility and modesty increased the likelihood of a woman's work being accepted and circulated (Stokes; Bradley). A woman's imperfect "little collection" would not present any serious challenges to a patriarchal conception of womanhood and a woman's place (Weight 43). At the same time, however, Smith implies that any limitations are due to the limited material with which she had to work rather than her own inability. Thus, it is only on the surface that she appears unpretentious. Only an attentive reader would understand that words seeming to reinforce the expectations placed on nineteenth-century women are actually challenging them. Her desire for more hymns and more variety indicates that she was not satisfied that her volume accomplished all the work that needed to be done. Without knowing exactly what she found lacking in this collection, we can still recognize "unwomanly" ambitions for and visions of something greater.

Sentence structure is one of the most striking strategies Smith uses to challenge traditional understandings of women's capabilities and roles in Zion. The preface is only two sentences, yet it spans two pages of the hymnal. In the two sentences, there are five

appositives. The nature of this structure de-emphasizes these phrases in the reader's mind. Therefore, it is intriguing that one of the appositives contains Smith's argument for engaging "the understanding" and another reminds readers of her executive role. In effect, these appositives disguise her challenging of women's traditional roles. Her assertions of competence and authority become less threatening by being buried in such sentences.

Here, we may see a different manifestation of feminine style than outlined by Campbell. This is not surprising considering that the rhetors Campbell studied mostly addressed female audiences while Smith's audience was what might then have been called "promiscuous" (i.e., composed of both women and men) and could not be presumed to be interested in furthering women's rights. While it is impossible to know whether Smith consciously crafted these particular phrases this way, she is nonetheless practicing a strategy of muted rhetors, who have to guard what they say. Numerous appositives, appearing as side- and backtrackings, allow a woman to get away with saying more than what is allowed because—if read as rambling and disordered—the words are coded as "feminine" and therefore "harmless." As De Jong notes, men expected women's writing to be wordy and uncontrolled. So, while writing in such a style reinforces certain ideas about a woman's ability to be logical or straightforward, it simultaneously provides the space for Smith to express ideas and attitudes that otherwise may have been rejected without consideration.

Campbell's theory of feminine style accounts for some of the elements we see in Smith's preface, particularly Smith's gesture towards "womanliness" (i.e., employing a metaphor of an infant) and her justification of a right to speak (i.e., referencing Doctrine

and Covenants). However, Campbell names several elements of a feminine style that Smith's preface does not exhibit. Smith's tone is not especially personal; she does not use personal examples or anecdotes; and the nature of a printed preface precludes audience participation. Instead, Smith uses appositives to disguise some of her bolder challenges to traditional gender roles. The difference between the feminine style Campbell described and the one Smith employed may come down to the differences of genre and audience: a printed hymnal for regular use in a religious community would require a different set of strategies than a political speech for a female audience. Although scholars Bonnie J. Dow and Mari Boor Tonn extend the concept of feminine style beyond the context of feminist social reform addressed to disempowered female audiences, they still illustrate feminine style in the public speech of a political figure. I do not believe that Campbell, Dow, or Tonn intend for feminine style to be limited to spoken and political contexts. In fact, Dow and Tonn state, "Only if we test the implications of feminine style beyond its original context can we realize the transformative potential of its use in a variety of situations" (298). Smith's preface provides a rich example of feminine style beyond that original context, showing it to be an adaptable concept describing an adaptable set of strategies used to simultaneously employ, challenge, and transform gender norms.

Both on and under the surface, Smith's preface reveals much of what she wanted to accomplish with her hymnal. Overtly, her purpose is to provide LDS congregations with hymns that align with their beliefs, invite the Spirit, and maintain their hope in Zion. However, Smith also communicates a belief in religion that engages the intellect as well as the emotions and one that invites women to employ all their capabilities to build a righteous and unified community based in equality—at least for those who are invited

into that Zion community in the first place. An analysis of the first section of Smith's hymnal suggests that these same intents carried through into her choices as she selected and arranged hymns.

Sacred Hymns

Perhaps Poulter and Macaré were misled by the hymnal's title *A Collection of Sacred Hymns* to believe that the Sacred Hymns section features no particular theme(s). However, as the first and longest section, it deserves attention. An examination of its recurrent themes reveals the distinct purposes conveyed by the preface: to solidify the Latter-day Saints' distinct beliefs and to keep the vision and hope for Zion burning. *Sacred* appears to be associated with three main themes (in descending order of prominence): Zion, the anticipated blessings for the righteous, and the Second Coming. A fourth theme, gospel light and the Restoration,¹³ appears in a little less than half of the hymns of the section. However, there may have been more of these hymns had there been an existing pool to draw from. To be included in the first hymnal, any hymns celebrating the distinctive beliefs and identify of the Latter-day Saints would have had to be written in the few years between the church's founding in 1830 and 1835. Nevertheless, the Restoration theme appeared more frequently in the Sacred Hymns section than in any other (except for Miscellaneous) and thus contributes to the thematic trends and meaning of this section.

It was rare for any hymn in this section to demonstrate only one of these themes; rather, the themes were interconnected. The Restoration and experiences with gospel

¹³ I counted *Restoration* as a subset of *gospel light* since both celebrated gospel teachings that brought joy, knowledge, etc. *Restoration* indicates that the "gospel light" being celebrated in the hymn was specifically LDS. The Sacred Hymns section has a total of 16 *gospel light* hymns: 12 *gospel light* plus 4 *Restoration*.

light were treated as evidence of blessings for the righteous and events that initiated the building of Zion. The building Zion was considered part of preparing for and hastening the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, when all the world would be Zion, the place where the righteous would be blessed instead of persecuted.

In short, *sacred* hymns express gratitude, praise, and sometimes triumph for the Restoration as an opportunity for Latter-day Saints (as a people with a distinct belief system and identity) to prepare for and anticipate future blessings. Significantly, meanings of *sacred* include “set apart” and “exclusively appropriated to some person or some special purpose” (*Compact OED* 1639). This seems to be exactly what this first section works to do, that is, to set Latter-day Saints apart from the rest of the world as God’s new chosen people tasked with establishing Zion and preparing for the Second Coming. In fact, in looking for messages about sex, gender, and power, I encountered frequent messages promoting a separatist, “us vs. them” attitude. Most of these messages can be traced back to Phelps, as I will discuss later, and demonstrate Smith’s and Phelps’ differing priorities for the hymnal. However, it is also true that a separatist attitude tallies with the purpose to build an LDS identity, so it is possible that any messages Smith may have had about women’s rights to be equally prestigious in Zion were achieved by emphasizing what sinful others should be left out instead.

The divide between included and excluded also indicates that the authors/adapters of these hymns and Smith may have felt threatened by the outside world. This is not surprising considering the violent persecution that Latter-day Saints faced in the early

days of the church.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the dominant, intertwining themes create a concerted message of the joy and urgency of building Zion and give this section a distinctly hopeful and celebratory tone.

Consistent with the purpose of establishing an LDS community, much of the language of the Sacred Hymns section was plural. Hicks credits most of the plural language to Phelps' revisions (*Mormonism and Music*). Whoever was responsible, the result was that more than two-thirds of the hymns used first-person plural pronouns (i.e., we, our, us). Theoretically, such pronouns do not exclude any singer from the community the hymns work to build.¹⁵ However, most songs did not maintain the same point of view throughout but moved in and out of singular and plural and first- and third-person perspectives. Third-person language is much more likely to be marked with sex or gender. As expected, of the hymns that used marked language, members of the community were identified by male, third-person, singular pronouns¹⁶ in approximately a third of the hymns, and a third of hymns referred to members of the community as "man" or "men." In most cases, the male pronouns and *man/men* were used to signify a person or humankind. Only eight songs used female pronouns (e.g., *her*) and the antecedents for these pronouns were usually cities (e.g., Zion, Babylon) or natural places/objects (e.g.,

¹⁴ For example, one of the events that delayed the publication of a hymnal in the first place occurred in 1833 when "a mob of several hundred Jackson County citizens tore down Phelps' house, dismantled the church press, and scattered the type in the street" before tarring and feathering several church leaders (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music* 19).

¹⁵ I noted that most hymns used the same language to describe the singer and the audience, indicating that the messages were not directed outside the congregation but were shared amongst its members.

¹⁶ I did not count pronouns that referred to God as male since I was looking for how members of the Zion community were characterized. However, a future study could attend to how deity is sexed and gendered in LDS hymnody, particularly after the 1845 publication of Eliza R. Snow's hymn "O My Father," which invokes a Heavenly Father *and* Mother.

earth, moon) rather than a person. A handful of songs used other sexed/gendered names to describe the singers or members of the community, for example, using a man's name to stand in for all believers (e.g., Israel).

It is not surprising that the marked language of the hymnal would show a strong male bias, especially considering the practice of male editors to scrub out female/feminine language (De Jong). Moreover, the use of male pronouns and gendered stereotypes has by no means been exclusive to male authors and editors. We do not know to what extent Phelps may have or would have edited out language marked as female, but it is unlikely that the hymns Smith selected featured female language in the first place because she was probably selecting from works that had already passed through a gauntlet of clerical, male hands. However, it is interesting to note that the singers or members of the Zion community were far more often described by third-person language that did not mark them as male or female. Several songs used language that applied to people generally (e.g., soul[s], people, mortal[s], and human) and still more focused on the righteousness or virtue of members of the Zion community. In these cases, pronouns such as *their*, *they*, and *them* had antecedents such as "saints" (this was the most common, being used in 21 of the 36 hymns), "all that worship," "the just," "the pure in heart," "the elect," and "the redeemed." So while there was a strong theme of inclusion/exclusion, this centered on whether or not people chose to live by Zion's laws rather than their sex or gender. This resonates with Lindman's assertion that one of religion's major draws for women was "the ideal of spiritual equality" (143).

Smith's selection of hymns, if not explicitly granting women full citizenship in Zion, certainly featured language that, for the most part, did not preclude it. Again, we do

not know the full extent of Phelps' alterations, but he certainly did not edit out male-centric language since such language remains in many of the hymns. We can assume that he had no inclusive project in mind. It is possible that Smith consciously picked hymns with predominantly sex- and gender-inclusive language. At the least, her selection shows that songs with sex- and gender-inclusive language resonated with her. Either way, these language trends, considered in light of Smith's choice of *Zion* as one of the ascendant themes in the Sacred Hymns section and in the hymnal overall (see appendix A), clarify Smith's vision of an ideal community.

Also of interest in this section was the language characterizing "others," those who did *not* belong in Zion. Almost two thirds of the hymns did not explicitly characterize these others in any way, but 12 of the 36 hymns used at least one word to contrast such people with people of Zion, and 3 of these 12 do not scruple to elaborate. Where one hymn may be content to vaguely allude to "the world" of people who do not yet know "the only name the saints can trust," another may condemn the people of that outside world as "howling" "men in contention," faithless "old formal professors," and "high-minded hypocrites" (E. Smith [1835] 20, 7–8). The most frequent epithets were "wicked" and "foes," which each appeared in four hymns. But the most significant finding regarding the language describing "others" was that W. W. Phelps was responsible for nearly all of it. He was the original author of 6 of those 12 hymns and added references to "the wicked" or "foes" to three others.¹⁷ Michael Hicks states in his

¹⁷ A search of Hymnary.org for the original lyrics of Isaac Watts' "There is a land of pure delight" (Phelps' "There is a land the Lord will bless") and the Campbellite hymn "From the regions of love lo! an angel descended" (Phelps' "From the regions of glory an angel descended") confirms that neither *wicked* nor any comparable language appears in the originals. The third hymn, "He died! The great Redeemer died," is one of the hymns analyzed below.

analysis of the 1841 hymnal that “one cannot say how much Phelps stamped Emma’s book with his own biases and quirks,” but in the face of this data, it seems one can make a reasonable guess (14).

“There’s a Feast of Fat Things for the Righteous Preparing”

The hymn most overtly hostile to outside “others” is a composition by W. W. Phelps and appears as hymn 35 in Smith’s collection. It is important to include at least one hymn written by Phelps in an analysis of Smith’s hymnal because his stamp is everywhere. Phelps is largely responsible for the divisive strains in the hymnal because he pitted Latter-day Saints against the outside world and, by so doing, introduced contradictions of tone and purpose into Smith’s 1835 hymnal. Critical imagination makes these strains easily explainable: Phelps was a prolific poet and practically the only one publishing LDS hymns at that time. He was also a prominent church leader. These circumstances, combined with the still more pressing reality that Phelps was both editor and printer, may have put Smith in a situation where she was very much expected to include Phelps’ work whether or not she approved of it. Her executive power was curtailed not by what she was officially authorized to do but by the constraints placed on white, middle-class, women of her time and place. In short, Phelps’ numerous hymns probably do not reflect Smith’s choices. Nevertheless, an analysis of one of Phelps’ original works serves two crucial purposes: (1) to contrast the tone and goals of Phelps and Smith, making it easier to distinguish the personal touches of each and (2) to inform the discussion to come of Smith’s agency as exercised through rhetorical organization. Smith may not have chosen to include Phelps’ hymns, but she probably chose where to

put them in this Sacred Hymns section. Therefore, an analysis of hymn 35 still answers questions about Smith's priorities.

Although this hymn makes allusions to both Zion and the Second Coming, its blatant theme is that blessings are reserved for the righteous, and, for Phelps, such blessings do not come without the condemnation of the sinner. While the previously mentioned "us vs. them" attitude appears by implication in several hymns, Phelps is more direct, and "There's a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing" is the most explicit of all. The "wicked, ungodly, rebellious, and proud" are contrasted with "the best that the heavens and earth can afford" (E. Smith [1835] 47–8). Other epithets to mark Others include "heathen" and—in allusion to the biblical harvest metaphor—"tares" that will be burned to "stubble" (E. Smith [1835] 46–7). In contrast, the "wheat" (i.e., those God will spare and gather in) are characterized as righteous saints, poor, meek, willing, and first the servants then the guests of God (E. Smith [1835] 46, 48).

Accompanying this polarizing language is some aggressive missionary rhetoric. Verse 4 contains the distasteful imperative to warn, among others, "Asia's dark regions...[and] Afric's black legions" of the narrowing window in which to repent (E. Smith [1835] 47). But rather than addressing this message directly to those in presumed need of saving, the injunction in the hymn is addressed to the saints, that is, the singing congregation. This language serves to strengthen the unity of the singers as they all simultaneously enjoin and are enjoined by each other. However, the same rhetoric used to strengthen their group identity further insulates them from the outside world. Notably, the message the saints are to deliver is one of warning rather than invitation, and even a casual reading of Phelps' 12 verses makes it difficult to imagine he actually anticipated or

desired diverse congregations in Zion—certainly not on terms of equality. Verses 10 and 11 provide more insight into whom he included in Zion:

Go gather the willing and push them together,
Yea, push them to Zion (the saints' rest forever,)
Where the best that the heavens and earth can afford,
Will grace the great marriage and feast of the Lord.
Go welcome his people, let nothing preclude you,
Come Joseph, and Simeon, and Reuben, and Judah.
Come Napthali, Issachar, Levi and Dan,
Gad, Zebulon, Asher, and come Benjamin (E. Smith [1835] 48–9).

If any more evidence that Phelps' concern remained firmly rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition after words like “heathen” and the reductive language that uses continents to stand in for people, the use of almost an entire verse to list the twelve tribes of Israel who are to be welcomed (as opposed to warned) provides that evidence. His interest in spreading a global message is perfunctory at best.

Verse 10 also makes it clear that Phelps, in his zeal to build Zion, has little interest in gauging his audience's desire for his message or in leaving the hearers to decide what to do with it. Even “willing” converts will need to be “push[ed]” to Zion (E. Smith [1835] 48). Apparently, Phelps urgently desires to hasten the Second Coming when the blessings for the righteous are assured and “peace like a river [will] extend the world round,” and he seems entirely comfortable ensuring that peace through force and the elimination of those who disagree (i.e., the burning of the tares) (E. Smith [1835] 47). The irony may have been lost on any number of Christians caught up in the Second Great Awakening, not just Latter-day Saints whose opponents, to be fair, were incarnate and frequently violent. Though this particular hymn was removed from LDS hymnals long ago, there remains in several of Phelps' hymns that hint of belligerence that has given

“every later generation of Mormons...an inherited consciousness of its past scourges” (Macaré 102). For Phelps, the Second Coming might have been as much about vengeance as an end of persecution.

As regards messages about sex and gender, Phelps clearly envisions spreading the gospel to men and gathering men to Zion. In verse 5, the congregation is instructed to “go call on the great men of fame and of power / the king on his throne, and the brave in his tower” (E. Smith [1835] 47). This, on top of the list of the male leaders of the twelve tribes of Israel suggests that—even if Phelps did not actively intend to exclude women—he assumed that women’s access to Zion came through men. Unsurprisingly, the only time a female pronoun is used is in reference to “Bab’lon the great” when singers rejoice that “she is fallen!” (E. Smith [1835] 49). The fact that Babylon represents evil, or simply all those not part of the kingdom of God, reinforces the usual message that women will not have full citizenship in Zion.

In short, Phelps draws heavily on the language of the Bible to express appalling but unoriginal prejudices regarding race, nationality, sex, and gender. This is not to say that Phelps was steeped in problematic ideologies and Smith was not.¹⁸ However, while misogyny, aggression, and ethnocentrism are knit into Phelps’ conception of religion, Smith’s selection does not indicate she believed any of these qualities enhanced religious experience. This hymn, along with the hostility that appears almost exclusively in hymns authored or altered by Phelps, lends substance to Smith’s complaint that there was not yet “a copious variety” of hymns in Zion from which to make her selection (E. Smith [1835]

¹⁸ For example, hymn 67 celebrates Christ’s power to, among other things, “wash the Æthiop white” (E. Smith [1835] 89). This hymn is by Charles Wesley, not Phelps, so Smith probably selected it.

iv). With Phelps as almost the only LDS poet in the first few years of the church, Smith did not have a deep pool of LDS hymns to draw from, assuming she chose to draw any of Phelps' hymns. The presence of hymn 35 suggests that Smith had less executive power in compiling the 1835 hymnal than Doctrine and Covenants 25 indicates. More probably, she was expected to include Phelps' work and had limited or no say once Phelps' editorial prerogative kicked in. The latter, probable constraint on Smith's agency is strongly suggested by the analysis of the following hymn.

“He Died! The Great Redeemer Died!”

Hymn 10 illustrates the gospel light theme by describing the joy of learning about the “love...beyond degree” that led “the Lord of glory [to] di[e] for men!” (E. Smith [1835] 17). At least, that seems to be what Smith intended the hymn to do. “He died! The great Redeemer died!” is actually Phelps' rewrite of Isaac Watts' “He dies! the friend of sinners dies.” As Poulter discovered in tracing the authorship of the hymns in Smith's 1835 hymnal, the work of Isaac Watts appeared more frequently than that of any other person besides Phelps. Since Smith clearly favored Watts' themes and rhetoric, an investigation into her own priorities with the 1835 hymnal would be incomplete without an analysis of one of Watts' hymns.

I selected this hymn, even though Phelps rewrote it, because we have exceptionally strong evidence that Smith attached special meaning to its original lyrics. Both Hicks and Poulter have noted how the 1835 hymnal served as a main source for LDS hymnals in the decade after its publication. Phelps' adaptation of Watts' hymn made it into Brigham Young's 1840, approved but unofficial, hymnal and remains in the 1985 hymnal used today (Hicks; Poulter). Clearly, Phelps' version was popular. However, in

the 1841 hymnal, Smith “discard[ed] Phelps’ version and add[ed] back Watts’ original” (Hicks, “1841 Hymnbook” 19). As there were only 11 hymns from the original 1835 edition that she did not include in the 1841 collection (one of her deletions, significantly, being “There’s a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing”), most of Phelps’ work remained (Hicks, “1841 Hymnbook”). It seems Smith was not motivated by spite when deciding which hymns to keep in circulation and which to discard. This hymn, then, provides some unique opportunities to look for what Smith might have found compelling in Watts’ lyrics (or distasteful in Phelps’). An analysis of this hymn also supports the claim that Phelps’ “assistance” was more like interference.

At first glance, the two versions are not strikingly different. Phelps added one verse, changed a few words, and shifted the verb tense. The 1985 hymnal treats these alterations as minor enough that Phelps’ name does not even appear with this hymn, only “Isaac Watts, 1674–1748, alt[ered]” (*Hymns* 192). The omission of Phelps’ name is surprising because Phelps is given secondary—and sometimes primary—credit in the current hymnal for other hymns he altered. For example, he is listed after Watts as the author of “Joy to the World,” another hymn that appears in both the 1835 and current hymnal (*Hymns* 201). Because the changes were so “minor,” Smith made a powerful statement when she replaced Phelps’ popular version with Watts’ original. In effect, her action asserts that her original selection was highly intentional and that Phelps’ lyrics did not serve her purpose(s). A close reading of each version’s first verse supports this position (see table 2).

Isaac Watts	W. W. Phelps
He dies! the friend of sinners dies!	He died! the great Redeemer died!
Lo! Salem's daughters weep around!	And Israel's daughters wept around;
A solemn darkness veils the skies!	A solemn darkness veil'd the sky;
A sudden trembling shakes the ground!	A sudden trembling shook the ground!
(E. Smith [1841] 205)	(E. Smith [1835] 16)

Table 2. *“He Died!”: Watts’ and Phelps’ First Verses.*

The first noticeable difference is the shift in verb tense. Phelps changed Watts’ present tense description of Christ’s crucifixion to the past, making the event described less personal. Though still saturated with pathos, the past tense language distances the singers from the action by about 1,800 years while Watts’ present tense transports singers to be emotionally present at the scene. Singers are not describing something they merely know about but something that is ongoing—something that they are watching in their minds. Watts evokes in worshipers the strongest possible feelings of grief, gratitude, and connection to God. Phelps dilutes those feelings. However, two other significant changes alter the effect (and meaning) of this hymn.

In the first line, Watts calls Christ the “friend of sinners.” It is hardly surprising that the author of “There’s a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing” would change this line, even though nothing in Watts’ verse is incompatible with LDS doctrine. What does Smith’s selection of this message—and Phelps’ erasure of it—show? Perhaps Smith did not see as clear a divide between saints and sinners as Phelps did. Perhaps she wished to see a greater attitude of humility and gratitude before God. In any case, by discarding the idea of Christ as the friend of sinners, Phelps eliminated some of the clearest language challenging the notion that Latter-day Saints were always right(eous). One message that

Phelps consistently circulates through Smith's hymnal is that righteousness is measured by LDS Church membership. Smith seems to embrace more ambiguity on the subject.

The final change in the first verse is that "Salem's daughters" becomes "Israel's daughters." Salem is "understood to be another name for Jerusalem," so it is unclear what Phelps disliked about Watts' diction (*Compact OED* 1645). Possibly Phelps felt the lyrics were not quite literal enough. Maybe he thought "Israel" strengthened the association he saw between Latter-day Saints and (according to the Bible) God's chosen people. *Salem* is only mentioned in three chapters in the Bible; nevertheless, Watts' choice is made especially significant by one of these references: "In Salem also is [God's] tabernacle, and his dwelling place in Zion" (Ps. 76.2). Thus, by choosing *Salem*, Watts places daughters in Zion, albeit obliquely and possibly not intentionally. Unfortunately, we have no way of ascertaining which, if any, of these considerations motivated Smith to discard Phelps' changes in her 1841 compilation. However, they are possibilities—strengthened nearly to probabilities when we consider what Smith has to say about women and Zion in her preface as well as her known partiality for hymns about an "intimate, graceful Savior" (Hicks, "1841 Hymnbook" 24).

One other verse of this hymn demonstrates how, with a few simple changes, Phelps dramatically altered a message Smith had selected. Towards the end of the hymn, saints are reminded that Christ's sacrifice is a subject of joy as well as sorrow because of the blessings it makes possible (see table 3).

Isaac Watts	W. W. Phelps
Break off your tears, ye saints, and tell How high our great deliv'rer reigns! Sing how he spoil'd the hosts of hell, And led the monster Death in chains! (E. Smith [1841] 205)	Wipe off your tears, ye saints and tell How high your great deliv'rer reigns: Sing how he triumph'd over hell, And how he'll bind your foe in chains. (E. Smith [1835] 17)

Table 3. “He Died!”: Watts’ Verse 4 and Phelps’ Verse 5.

I note two significant changes in Phelps’ version. First, in Watts’ version, Christ “spoil’d” hell. Of the many definitions of *spoil* available, *plunder* makes the most sense here (*Compact OED* 1860). Phelps appears to feel that hell contains nothing that Christ could possibly want, and he changes “spoil’d” to “triumph’d over.” But it is clear in Watts’ hymn what Christ wants to take out of hell: the sinner, whom Christ befriends. Phelps has already rejected that idea, so he describes Christ’s mission as conquest rather than rescue.

The last line of each of these verses is also revealing. Watts’ hymn, which has been in the present tense until this verse, speaks of Christ’s death and resurrection as an event that conquered “the monster Death.” It is a *fait accompli*, providing comfort and certainty. In Phelps’ version, which has been entirely in the past tense, saints rejoice that Christ *will* “bind your foe in chains.” Phelps is not looking back at what Christ’s sacrifice has accomplished but at the future Second Coming when the righteous will be blessed and the evil punished. It is ambiguous whether Phelps uses *foe* to mean Satan or if he uses it in the same way he uses *foes*, *wicked*, and *heathen* in his other songs. However, that ambiguity and the power of association certainly *allow* a spirit of contention with the outside world, if not endorsing it outright.

A comparison of “He dies! The friend of sinners dies!” and “He died! The great Redeemer died” powerfully illustrates how Phelps’ editorial prerogative damaged a message about God’s bountiful love and forgiveness for the sinner and the ongoing (i.e., present) nature of that bounty. Smith’s insistence on Watts’ version makes it clear that she recognizes that Saints can be sinners and believes in a God who makes sinners saints. She does not strictly divide these two groups but acknowledges fluctuations. This message is almost entirely wiped from her 1835 hymnal.

“Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken”

The two hymns above suffice to show that, contrary to most scholarship regarding LDS hymnody, Phelps was often a hindrance to Smith’s purpose rather than a help. I now shift my focus to hymns in the 1835 hymnal that *did* work to accomplish Smith’s goals. Hymn 4, “Glorious things of thee are spoken,” is a valuable illustration of the patterns found within the Sacred Hymns section. Firstly, its emergent themes include three of the four dominant themes of this first section: blessings for the righteous, gospel light, and—especially—Zion. This is not an originally LDS hymn; it was written a century earlier by John Newton of the Church of England, best known for his hymn “Amazing Grace” (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*). However, Smith’s inclusion of the hymn indicates that she views it as applicable to Latter-day Saints, and they would have read and sung it positioned by their unique beliefs. Phelps did tweak a few phrases—for instance, changing “worked in the Redeemer’s blood” to “purchas’d with the Savior’s blood” (Poulter, *First Ten Years* 27). While this revision anesthetizes the redemptive process, Smith allowed Phelps’ tweaks stand in the 1841 hymnal, indicating that his changes did

not interfere with the message she was primarily invested in. Thus, this fourth hymn provides additional insight into Smith’s vision of Zion.

The hymn describes “Zion, city of our God” as an ideal, “glorious” place that has been divinely blessed and chosen (E. Smith [1835] 9). There is a clear implication that, as the city is a chosen city, the people of that city are likewise a chosen people. Singers of this hymn praise God for surrounding them “with salvation’s wall” to separate them from the rest of the world that “despises” the “heav’nly joys” that “none but Zion’s children know” (E. Smith [1835] 9–11). Significantly, the blessings of Zion that “sprin[g] from celestial love / well supply...sons *and* daughters” (E. Smith [1835] 9, emphasis added). With the word *daughters*, this hymn becomes one of only five in the hymnal to explicitly include women in Zion.¹⁹ This inclusion becomes especially compelling in light of verses 7–9, which describe the inhabitants of Zion. I include both Newton’s original lyrics as presented in Poulter’s thesis and Phelps’ adaptation below (see table 4).

John Newton	W. W. Phelps
Blest inhabitant of Zion	Bless’d inhabitants of Zion,
Worked in the Redeemers blood	Purchas’d with the Savior’s blood!
Jesus whom their souls rely on,	Jesus whom their souls rely on,
Makes them kings and priests to God.	Makes them kings and priests to God.
‘Tis his love his people raises,	While in love his people raises,
Over self to reign as kings;	With himself to reign as kings;
And as priests his solemn praises,	All, as priests, his solemn praises,
Each for a thank-offering brings.	Each for a thank-offering brings.
Savior, if on Zion’s city	Savior, since of Zion’s city
I through grace a member am;	I through grace a member am
Let the world deride or pity,	Though the world despise and pity,
I will glory in thy name. (27)	I will glory in thy name. ([1835] 10)

Table 4. “*Glorious Things*”: Newton’s and Phelps’ Verses 7–9.

¹⁹ These inclusions are not all equal. Hymns 10, 33, and 57 all mention daughters (as an afterthought in hymn 33). In hymn 50, departing (male) missionaries charge their wives they leave behind to be faithful.

The most significant change Phelps made was to the lines “over self to reign as kings / and as priests his solemn praises.” Phelps’ version states that Zion people will reign *with* God and emphasizes this point by stating that “all” (i.e., all those who qualify for Zion) will become priests. Phelps’ changes hone in on the LDS belief that people, as children of Heavenly Parents, may eventually develop into beings like them. But his changes do not alter the most significant feature of this hymn: the explicit inclusion of women. Because both sons and daughters are counted as inhabitants of Zion in verse 3, it is possible to interpret verse 7 as saying that the daughters may also become “kings and priests” in Zion. In case there is any confusion the first time, verse 8 repeats the message: “all” may become king’s and priests, and “all” refers to all of God’s people, the sons and daughters of Zion. Though the “all” is Phelps’ contribution, it only sharpens the message already in Newton’s lyrics that Zion is a place in which men *and women* have secular and spiritual power. It is not clear what this power looks like or what/whom this power is over. Given the LDS definition of Zion, perhaps Smith envisioned members of the community sharing power amongst themselves equally. It is also unclear whether Phelps chose the word “all” with the intention of making space for women in Zion. Considering his other compositions and adaptations, it seems highly unlikely. What he probably meant by “all” is “all people like me” (i.e., white, male, American, Latter-day Saint). Therefore, he may have unwittingly emphasized the subtle message Smith chose to circulate. If so, this may be the only instance in which he helped rather than hindered the work she seems to have intended her hymnal to do.

While hymn 4 is extraordinary in its overt inclusion of women in Zion, it nonetheless represents the dominant trends in the Sacred Hymns section: in its attitude of

praise (for the Restoration, for God’s love and protection, etc.) and in its predominantly plural, non-sexed and non-gendered language. In short, this hymn, like the Sacred Hymns section as a whole, both reinforces and challenges notions of Zion as an exclusive—both privileged and exclusionary—community. “Glorious things of thee are spoken” furthers that message in a relatively positive, hopeful light in that it does not dwell on who should be excluded and actively includes women. Other hymns are not as explicit but still work to contrast Smith’s vision of Zion with Phelps’.

“The Great and Glorious Gospel Light”

The next two hymns are especially relevant to the purposes of this thesis for the exciting possibility that Smith herself may have authored them. In the 1835 hymnal, most hymns have been traced to Protestant²⁰ sources (i.e., hymnals of other denominations) or LDS authors (e.g., Phelps). However, there are three hymns where neither a source nor an author have been traced. Other scholars noted this before Poulter’s research, but she confirmed that Smith’s 1835 hymnal was the first hymnal to include these hymns (*First Ten Years*). Opinions about the authorship have varied. Kammeyer suggests Phelps for the author of at least two of them, including “The great and glorious gospel light,” which first appeared in *The Evening and the Morning Star* in July 1833. However, Newell and Avery, perhaps Smith’s best biographers, opined that Smith wrote them herself, and Poulter agrees with their conjecture (*First Ten Years*). I am also inclined to agree. Evidently, Smith drew the vast majority of the hymns from published sources, and the remainder have been traced to Phelps (or, in a few instances, one of the handful of less

²⁰ Latter-day Saints do not consider themselves Protestant, their claim being that they did not dissent from the Catholic Church but that Christ restored his ancient church.

prolific LDS authors of the time). Phelps does not appear to have been diffident about taking credit for his work,²¹ and there was no need for him to publish anonymously. Moreover, before the publication of the hymnal, Smith was still the one selecting the hymns to be published in Phelps' newspaper (except, possibly, the hymns Phelps wrote and published himself). If Phelps did not write these verses but Smith gave them to him to appear for the first time in print in either his newspaper or Smith's hymnal, then the question arises: Where did she get them? Possibly someone approached Smith with their writing and, for whatever reason, remained anonymous. However, Smith seems by far the likeliest author.

Two of the three hymns, hymns 22 and 36, appear in the Sacred Hymns section (the third is in the Miscellaneous section and therefore outside of the scope of this paper). While it is my opinion that Smith authored both texts, her authorship is not currently verifiable, so I will focus my analysis on why Smith may have selected these hymns. Whether she authored or selected them, they reflect her choices and priorities.

Hymn 22, "The great and glorious gospel light," falls easily in the Sacred Hymns category through its celebration of gospel teachings. Although no words or allusions make it a strictly LDS hymn, it is almost certain that the "great and glorious gospel light" refers to the Restoration. Even if that was not the intent, doubtless most Latter-day Saints interpreted it that way. This celebratory tone and gospel light theme lead Poulter to call the hymn "Phelpsish in content" but "quite atypical of [Phelps'] writing" (*First Ten Years*

²¹ Or, in at least one case, tacitly accepting credit for a hymn he did not author. Macaré relates how hymn 11, "Earth with her ten thousand flowers," was printed in *The Evening and the Morning Star* in 1832 and attributed to Phelps in 1863. He "did not refute the credit," and it was not until 1905 that the hymn was traced to author Thomas R. Taylor (Macaré 126).

30). I take this to mean that the lyrics emphasize unity rather than enmity. They also, though subtly, refer to Zion:

With saints below and saints above,
I'll join to praise the God I love;
Like Enoch too, I will proclaim,
A loud Hosanna to his name. (E. Smith [1835] 28–9)

Not only does this verse focus on a unified identity as saints (and there are no gendered pronouns in this hymn, so the term “saints” may apply to both women and men), the allusion to Enoch is a significant reminder of how those saints should live. If the author’s goal was simply to choose a prophet from the Bible who praised God’s name, Enoch is not an obvious choice. But Latter-day Saints believe that Enoch was the prophet who succeeded in leading a city (called Zion) to such unity and righteousness that God took Enoch and the entire city up to heaven (Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7.69). For someone interested in choosing a prophet from the Bible who represented Zion and what “the great and glorious gospel light” could bring about in people’s lives, Enoch is the clear choice. And given this hymn’s (probable) references to the Restoration, it can be concluded that the author hoped to see another such Zion created in their time.

This hymn is also unusual because its language is far more personal than most of the hymns in the Sacred Hymn section. The personal pronouns (i.e., *my* and *I*) appear six times as opposed to the three occurrences of the third person reference to “saints” (E. Smith [1835] 28–9). No other language marks those who may or may not be included by these generic terms, and—unlike in Phelps’ hymns—happiness is not dependent on overcoming wicked others but on joining those who praise God. In theory at least, anyone who chose to join the singing congregation would be included. Significantly, while the

song emphasizes unity, the dominant use of first person indicates that the author envisions unity as something that happens among multiple individuals rather than an indistinguishable group of people.

The hymn—short, simple, and happy though restrained—provides an example of the sort of hymn Smith preferred. Even if she did not write it, its personal, reverent, and peaceful tone and mood are consistent with many of the hymns that Smith prioritized in her 1841 selection (Hicks, “1841 Hymnbook”).

“There’s a Power in the Sun”

Hymn 36 is the second hymn in the Sacred Hymns section that Smith may have written. As far as is known, it was never published in Phelps’ newspaper or in any other hymnal (Poulter, *First Ten Years*). We do not know why this hymn was not popular, though Hicks speculates that the lyrics were “a bit too mystical for the Saints, referring continually to the divine presence in nature but mentioning God as such only in the last line of each verse” (“1841 Hymnbook” 18). I find this explanation inadequate because an identical critique might be made of hymn 11, “Earth with her ten thousand flowers,” which appeared in several hymnals in the first decade of the church and remains in use today (Poulter, *First Ten Years; Hymns* 87). Nevertheless, the hymn is significant for at least two reasons: (1) the possibility that Smith wrote it²² and (2) Smith chose it to close the Sacred Hymns section.

In deciding the order in which to analyze these hymns, I determined early on that numerical order should not dictate the organization of this paper. As I hope this thesis

²² As stated earlier, Newell and Avery and Poulter all express the opinion that Smith wrote the three untraced hymns, numbers 22, 36, and 64. Of the three, however, hymn 36 is the only one that Kammeyer speculates may have been written by Smith. He suggests Phelps as the author for the other two.

functions, in part, to counterpose the relative agency and influence of Phelps and Smith, I arranged my analysis along those lines. However, the numerical order of the hymns is itself one of the most telling tactics Smith used to exercise rhetorical agency. As a reminder, agency is shaped by externals, such as patriarchal structures that may have pressured Smith to include hymns she did not approve or that permitted Phelps to alter messages she had selected (Campbell, “Agency”). However, constraints on agency do not entail the elimination of agency: rhetors “respond to contingencies” by adopting a feminine style, for instance, or employing other heuristic skills (Campbell “Agency” 7). In the case of the 1835 hymnal, because there is compelling evidence that Smith contributed its organizational structure via the hymnal sections, it is probable she arranged the hymns within those sections. Thus, the hymns are best understood not only through their content but also in their relation to each other.

A review of the rhetorical concept of form has salience here. Kenneth Burke defines form as “the creation of an appetite,” which “leads a reader to anticipate” a later development (Burke 31, 124). Form manifests itself in various ways—for example, through recurring themes (i.e., repetitive form) or generic conventions (i.e., conventional form)—and can overlap and sometimes conflict with other forms. Most instances of “formal desig[n] or contrivanc[e]...impart emphasis,” such as through “the playing of some [ideological] assumptions against others” (Burke 135, 162). Echoes of Burke’s theory of form can be heard in Campbell’s definition of rhetorical agency, which she asserts is “effected through form” (“Agency” 2). She explains:

Textual agency is linked to audiences and begins with the signals that guide the process of “uptake” for readers or listeners enabling them to categorize, to understand how a symbolic act is to be framed. This kind of agency is related to

generic conventions, to allusion, to the pleasures of alliteration and assonance, to the transformations effected by tropes. (Campbell, “Agency” 7)

In an article unpacking Burke’s theory of form, Omar Swartz states that the successful “integration of form and content” result in “identification and persuasion” (315). These articulations by three rhetorical scholars of the meaning(s), manifestation(s), and power of form bear particular relevance in a discussion of Smith’s organizational choices.

Hymnals are seldom discussed in terms of form. As compilations of works by other authors used for specific religious purposes, they are almost never read cover to cover, and they allow for only minimal textual contributions by the compiler. Nevertheless, hymnals are a genre that would have been familiar to Smith’s audience embedded, as they were, in the context of the Second Great Awakening. As such, hymnals have certain generic conventions that create audience expectations, including, perchance, that the hymns within a section will develop its relevant themes and that the first and last slots in a section will be filled by especially meaningful hymns. Thus, despite the limitations imposed by both genre and patriarchal structures, Smith created space to exercise rhetorical agency by organizing the hymns into sections. Sections allowed her to develop themes, to arrange hymns to emphasize some themes over others, and, through arrangement and juxtaposition, to persuade her audience that some themes were more deserving of attention than others.

Hymn 36, “There’s a power in the sun,” illustrates how Smith enacted agency through form. It not only concludes the section but also immediately follows Phelps’ “There’s a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing,” even beginning on the same page on which Phelps’ hymn ends. Though Smith could hardly have orchestrated this

accident of typesetting, her choice ensured the hymns would appear side by side. This juxtaposition means that readers cannot engage with either hymn without being reminded of the other—an association strengthened by the similarity of the opening lines—and seeing that “There’s a power in the sun” received the favored slot as the conclusion of the Sacred Hymns section. Thus, this gentler, more introspective hymn can be read as a comment on both Phelps’ most aggressive piece and on what *sacred* means to Smith.

On the surface, hymn 36 does not obviously fit into the Sacred Hymns category as defined by its most prominent themes. It neither references Zion nor the Second Coming. Neither does it celebrate gospel light nor focus on the eternal reward of the righteous. Rather, the simple hymn employs a theme I labelled as *witness* to indicate that the faith of the author is strengthened by something that testifies of the reality of God or the gospel. In this case, the beauties of the natural world lead the author (and, if persuaded, the singer) to conclude, “O behold the Lord is nigh!” (E. Smith [1835] 49–50). The awe and reverence inspired by such natural wonders as the planets, stars, wind, and lightning mean that this hymn works to totally contradict the militant tone and message of Phelps’ piece. According to hymn 36, people do not need to be hustled together to hear God’s message. God’s works speak for themselves and will, of themselves, bring accord. In this hymn, goodness is not vociferous and divisive but contemplative and peaceful. These messages are most evident in the last two verses:

There’s an image in the winds,
Singing sweetly as they fly,
To the end all flesh may know—
O behold the Lord is nigh!
There’s a spirit, too, in man,
For to turn his hopes on high,
Whisp’ring softly to the heart—

O behold the Lord is nigh! (E. Smith [1835] 50)

The repeated reminder that “the Lord is nigh,” has at least two potential interpretations. First, a relationship with deity arrives through respecting God’s creations. The speaker’s reverent attention to natural phenomena in every case leads to feeling that God is close. This feeling is accessible to “all flesh” simply through appreciation of the world around them, which engenders hope and a quiet confirmation (i.e., a soft “whisp[er]...to the heart”). Thus, respect for God’s creations may include respect for humankind, who all have the means to experience this closeness without “push[ing] them” into religious affiliation (E. Smith [1835] 48).

The last line may also be a reminder of the approaching Second Coming when Christ will return and restore the world to a paradisiacal state. In Phelps’ hymn, this reminder was also extended to humankind but through warnings to repent that amounted to threats.²³ In hymn 36, the reminder is not delivered as a warning or threat by those who are already “saved” in Zion. The message of God’s nearness is found in the beauties of the natural world that the “righteous” and “wicked” view alike, and rather than attempting to strike fear in others, it aims to turn “hopes on high.” What the hope is for remains unstated. Perhaps it is hope for greater spiritual blessings now that the singer’s eyes are opened, by nature, to God’s power. Perhaps the hope is for God to become as manifest as the wonders of creation. While the interpretation is left to the singer, Smith’s selection (possibly, her authorship) of this hymn and her decision to conclude the Sacred Hymns section with it reflects her preference for a more peaceful, meditative, and

²³ For example, “The wicked, ungodly, rebellious, and proud, / Shall be burnt up as stubble—O cry it aloud! (E. Smith [1835] 47).

personal religious experience. This conclusion is supported by the trends and themes found in her 1841 hymnal, which is far less combative (Hicks, “1841 Hymnbook”).

While the messages to be read in natural phenomena are delivered to “all flesh,” the only gendered language in this hymn is male. The use of the words “all flesh” make it evident the author uses “man” and the accompanying male pronouns to denote people in general, which was (and has remained) so common a practice that it likely passed unnoticed by most if not all of the congregation. The use of male language does not preclude the possibility that a woman authored this hymn. In fact, this hymnal contains at least one hymn, now known to be authored by a woman, that also uses male language to indicate humankind (E. Smith [1835] 5). There are a few possible explanations for this. It may be that feminist intents (if any) were hidden behind—or simply not considered in conflict with—this convention. Perhaps the author believed that *man*, however much the word may privilege, did not necessarily equate with *male*. Perhaps this is an example of the practice discussed by De Jong of editors scrubbing out indications of a female poet to secure the hymn’s “broad relatability,” (i.e., white, western, middle- and upper-class, male perspective). In any case, no language marks an “in” or an “out” group other than the uses of “man,” which are clearly meant to stand in for everybody.

Hymns such as “The great and glorious gospel light” and “There’s a power in the sun” suggest that Smith had a perspective on religion that in many instances conflicted with Phelps’. These hymns also strengthen the case that there may be some hymns in the 1835 hymnal that Smith would not have selected if Phelps had not been so heavily involved. This conclusion does not arise only from the contradictions in the tone of the hymnal, which could be explained by the ordinary vagaries of human preferences and

decisions. Again, it is not just the *presence* of these gentler, more introspective hymns but also their *placement* that make them noteworthy. Specifically, the placement of “There’s a power in the sun” presents an alternative approach to religious experience than the one forwarded by Phelps. Thus, this hymn confirms an insight provided by Dow and Tonn that feminine style may also be manifest in “form and substance that works to promote an alternative political [read: religious] philosophy reflecting traditionally feminine values” (287). The position of hymn 36 mitigates Phelps’ most aggressive (i.e., masculine) hymn and specifies a “takeaway” message for the Sacred Hymns section. But if hymn 36 is significant because Smith chose to place it at the end of a section, then her choice for the first hymn of the collection may be the most significant of all.

“Know Then that Ev’ry Soul Is Free”

“Know then that ev’ry soul is free” originated from the Free Will Baptists, but its authorship is contested. The hymn was attributed to clergyman William Smythe Babcock when it was first published, but the lyrics appear in Babcock’s personal papers with the name of Sally Swey, a nine-year-old girl in his congregation (Poulter, *First Ten Years*). The hymn has remained popular in LDS hymnals: it was retained in five of the seven hymnals printed in the decade following the 1835 edition and is in the current LDS hymnal, though labelled as anonymous (Poulter, *First Ten Years; Hymns*). Interestingly, “it appears that no other church has ever published it since 1830. Thus, by adoption at least, it has become a uniquely Latter-day Saint hymn” (Kammeyer 14). However, what really makes this hymn noteworthy is the primacy of place it is given in both the hymnals Smith compiled.

Like “There’s a power in the sun,” this hymn does not obviously fit with most of the dominant themes of the Sacred Hymns section. It does not look forward to Zion or the Second Coming or celebrate gospel knowledge. Its manner of discussing the future blessings of the righteous is markedly different than that of most of the hymns in the section and in the hymnal overall. Yet Smith not only places this hymn in this section, thereby proclaiming it “sacred,” she places it first. Significantly, when Phelps began printing Smith’s selections in *The Evening and Morning Star*, he put first one of his own compositions, “The Church of Christ,” which “was apparently intended...as a kind of inaugural hymn for the new keepers of Zion” (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music* 14). Perhaps, if Phelps had had charge of arranging the first section of the hymnal, he would have led with one of his own songs instead of an anonymous, borrowed hymn. It seems safe to assert not only that Smith arranged the Sacred Hymns but also that she quite intentionally prioritized “Know then that ev’ry soul is free” because it is also first in the 1841 collection. Hymn 1 is, therefore, intriguing as an anomaly that prefaces and comments on both the first section and the hymnal as a whole.

I start with the marked language of the hymn. The first three verses use the pronouns *he*, *his*, and *him* with the antecedent “ev’ry soul,” and the words *man* and *men* are used as interchangeable with *human*. While Smith tended to select hymns with more inclusive language, the first few verses of this hymn do not fit that trend. As she was not the original author of the piece or the editor of the collection, we cannot know if she would have used sex- and gender-neutral words in their place if given the opportunity. The hymn is, nevertheless, clear that souls and minds have the power to choose their present actions and ultimate destination of “hell” or “glory” (E. Smith [1835] 6).

Moreover, the hymn sends a compelling message about how men, if it is only men that have agency, ought to use their power. The first three and a half verses of the hymn read:

Know then that ev'ry soul is free,
To choose his life and what he'll be;
For this eternal truth is given,
That God will force no man to heaven.
He'll call, persuade direct him right,
Bless him with wisdom, love, and light;
In nameless ways be good and kind;
But never force the human mind.
Freedom and reason make us men:
Take these away, what are we then?
Mere animals, and just as well,
The beasts may think of heaven or hell.
May we no more our powers abuse,
But ways of truth and goodness choose. (E. Smith [1835] 5)

Significantly, this hymn makes agency—and the respect of mortals' agency—a primary attribute of God. God “never force[s] the human mind” but relies instead on kindness, love, and truth (i.e., “wisdom” and “light”) to persuade people to do good. But, according to the hymn, even if these strategies do not work, God still does not resort to force—a principle that is stated twice within the text. It follows, then, that to be righteous or good, people (or perhaps men, specifically) must not their “powers abuse.” While abuse of power is connected in the hymn to evil choices—which may have a wide variety of interpretations—in the larger context of the hymn, abuse of power is clearly connected to force, to denying people their agency. While productive change comes about through “persua[sion],” force is evil, unproductive, and arhetorical because it refuses to identify and engage with the feelings and reasoning of others. The hymn even argues that there is no point in “think[ing] of heaven or hell” if people do not use their “freedom and reason.” In other words, religion is meaningless without agency and without understanding. This

theme resonates with the message in Smith's preface in which she values religion that engages the intellect as well as invites the Spirit. Moreover, it starkly contrasts with the rhetoric of Phelps' "There's a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing."

Another remarkable feature of this hymn is its employment of language indicating who is (or will be) included in or excluded from heaven (i.e., the community of saints or Zion). This is the only hymn that uses first person pronouns (i.e., we, our, ourselves) to describe *both* groups.²⁴ While a couple of hymns include "sinners" as those who are welcome in Zion,²⁵ the speaker in hymn 1—who sometimes belongs to one group and sometimes another—achieves greater self-understanding than most by perceiving some fluidity in "righteousness" and "wickedness." This suggests that one's acceptability before God is not fixed by membership or non-membership in a particular church but shifts with the trend of one's choices. Thus, the theme of agency is reinforced and, at the same time, provides a subtle commentary on the other hymns: singing about being saved does not make it so. For those who are free to choose, actions are what determine one's ultimate destination, and even "righteous" people's actions are not consistently right.

This first hymn, with its emphasis on souls and minds employing agency, would certainly appeal to those who experienced a lack of control over their circumstances. This could apply to the Latter-day Saints generally considering the persecution they faced that

²⁴ Hymn 63, "O stop and tell me, Red Man," by Phelps, is the only other hymn in which a first-person pronoun (i.e., our) appears in the excluded category. However, as the hymn is sung from the perspective of a Native American whose people will be accepted once they "quit their savage customs," this use of first person is in no way indicative of open-mindedness on Phelps' part (E. Smith [1835] 84).

²⁵ For example, hymns 59, 67, 73, 74, and 81 indicate that sinners may come as they are. In some cases, the singer, already included in Zion, acknowledges themselves to be a sinner in need of Christ's grace; in other cases, an invitation to join Christ's community depends only on seeking God, not on immediate repentance. While these hymns are more inclusive and open-minded, hymns 1 and 85 clearly refute the idea that church membership is a measure of personal righteousness.

would ultimately drive them into Utah Territory. However, the hymn might have special significance for women at this time whose choices had considerably more constraints than men's in every sphere of life, from civic to religious to domestic. Lastly, it might have had exceptional force for Smith, who was likely frustrated at her limitations—not of mind or ability but of agency. Hymn 1 may assert, then, that while sex and gender may determine the degree of agency an individual has in mortality, all people have at minimum the power to choose their eternal outcome.

It is significant that Smith chose to place a hymn about individual agency, and about respecting the agency of others, at the front of the hymnal. Without attention to the preface or the overall language and themes of the hymnal (and the Sacred Hymns section, particularly), it is unclear exactly how she understood agency and whose agency she specifically wished to see respected. However, a close reading of the preface and first section suggest that Smith chose this hymn to convey a particular, pointed message about who should have power in Zion, about how to bring people into Zion, and about the value of intellect. It is also important to note that, in the preface, Smith expresses a desire for more variety in the hymns. This wish can be read as regret for the limitations placed on her as a compiler who had to choose from among hymns that had been written or adapted by others—mostly W. W. Phelps, whose position in the church constrained her own choices and whose writings and revisions undid some of her rhetorical work. The placement of “Know then that ev'ry soul is free” as first in both of Smith's hymnals conveys not only the type of hymn she preferred but also the message she most adamantly wanted delivered to the people of Zion—and perhaps to Phelps particularly.

CONCLUSION

Among the hundreds of hymnals published during the Second Great Awakening, the 1835 hymnal of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is unique because a woman had an executive role in selecting and arranging the hymns for the newly established church. Unsurprisingly, Emma Smith did not enjoy full autonomy: her authority had to be conferred on her by her husband, and her choices were subjected to the “help” (i.e., scrutiny, revisions, and additions) of influential church leader, editor, and publisher W. W. Phelps. In this sense, it may be said that Smith’s official commission merely deferred, rather than bypassed, the point at which hymns and hymnals were mediated and controlled by white, middle- and upper-class, male perspectives. Nonetheless, this hymnal provides a wealth of evidence for Smith’s rhetorical activity. As in the cases of all muted rhetors, undoubtedly she could have done more or worked differently without those constraints—and undoubtedly she did much with the means she had. Her choices demonstrate a clear vision, conscious effort, and creative navigation of her constraints, making the 1835 hymnal a vehicle for Smith’s message and influence despite Phelps’ intervention.

Although we cannot be sure that Emma Smith wrote any of these hymns, her preface, hymn selection, and hymn arrangement do rhetorical work to (1) build a vision of a Zion community that includes women as participating citizens with intellectual and executive roles and (2) emphasize a more pacific, contemplative, and personal religious experience. This work is accomplished through various ways. Some of that work is accomplished in the selection and arrangement of hymns to reinforce the need for Latter-day Saints to respect all people’s agency and expend more effort in crafting a personal

relationship with God. Thus, this study confirms an insight from Burke about form and genre. Though *genre* can be defined by the rules that restrict a rhetor's choices, it retains liberatory potential. The very conventions that audiences expect become a promising set of tools to achieve effects and exercise agency. In Smith's community, hymnody was (and in LDS communities, remains) a familiar genre that creates expectations or "appetites" among audience members. These expectations—that hymnal sections will develop and elaborate upon important themes and that certain orderings and juxtapositions of hymns confer emphasis—allowed Smith to obtain at least some of her desired effects despite the strident and contrary messages Phelps introduced. Unfortunately, stridency tends to be more memorable. It would be false to claim Smith achieved all that she wanted to: indeed, her preface laments her limitations.

Another portion of Smith's work is achieved through a brief preface that disguises her bolder "pretensions" through subtle implications/associations and a "feminine" writing style. With this analysis, I hope to have added to an account of what a feminine style can look like and how differently located women will produce different feminine styles. As Smith was using a brief hymnal preface to address both women and men in a religious (rather than political) context, her style looks different than what Campbell and Dow and Tonn have described. For example, she uses appositives and a maternal metaphor to disguise assertions of authority and intellectual capability. Indirectness and compliance to some gendered norms allowed her to navigate the structures that both formally and informally excluded women and to simultaneously challenge the very norms she adopted. Again, there is nothing inherently "female" about these expressions of feminine style. They are rhetorical. They are strategies to exercise agency and

demonstrate adaptations and alternatives to patriarchy, not evidence of essential womanhood. Thus, such strategies, along with a host of others, may well appear among other marginalized groups in response to other oppressive (e.g., colonial, heteronormative) structures.

Smith's organizational and stylistic strategies created a hymnal that challenged traditional nineteenth-century notions of white, middle- and upper-class women's intellectual abilities, agency, and status within religious communities. Specifically, Smith's collection demonstrates that early LDS women could and did have significant contributions to make in the developing church. Thus, the 1835 hymnal raises the question of whether or not Smith's labor constitutes "feminism." This is a potentially puzzling question. Campbell's work with feminine style deals explicitly with the "feminist" rhetorical work that emerged during the 1830s, but she recognizes that the term did not mean in nineteenth century America what it means now. Even if it did, *feminist* is not considered an honorific in all contexts and communities. Sometimes it has been synonymous with *heretic*. It is not my purpose to decide whether Smith identified as what we would now call a feminist. The better question is: Does Smith's hymnal do feminist work? In that case, the answer is yes. Her hymnal, the only official LDS hymnal until her 1841 edition, promoted and circulated the idea that women had a share in the blessings and power of Zion, the ideal community that the Latter-day Saints sought to build. Thus, it is a powerful example of the "gold" Royster and Kirsch say can be found when we (re)examine marginalized texts.

Nevertheless, the 1835 hymnal remains a troubling artifact in its content and its history. Several of its hymns are deeply divisive: casually racist, implicitly sexist, and

aggressively self-righteous. Tracing most of these strains back to Phelps only partially addresses this problem. Although Smith found creative ways to emphasize her messages and priorities, these are only evident through the kind of close, respectful attention that she has long been denied. The rift in the LDS Church over polygamy and the question of leadership after her husband was murdered kept Smith from joining the Latter-day Saints when they were forced to move west. Brigham Young, the new church leader whom Emma Smith had opposed, did not conceal his resentment; Smith was branded wicked and a liar (Ulrich). To quote Michael Hicks, “that, in effect, eradicated the old direction toward which Emma was coaxing Mormon hymnody” (“1841 Hymnbook” 24). Although 25 hymns from the 1835 hymnal remain in use, they represent those approved by male leaders at/after the split. Eleven of those 25 are Phelps’, and at least three more are his versions of others’ songs. As the author of a total of 15 hymns in the 1985 hymnal, Phelps remains the most represented. Interestingly, three of the 25 are Isaac Watts’, and with ten hymns total in the current hymnal, Watts joins two other early LDS hymnists²⁶ in a three-way tie for the next most frequently represented authors. Therefore, the 1985 hymnal preserves evidence of Smith’s influence and of Phelps’ interference.

Adding injury to the insult that Smith failed to “keep the faith,” her contributions have been consistently diminished and dismissed by a full range of scholars who have patronized her “little collection” or assumed she took credit for a hymnal on which “Phelps was the major contributor and undoubtedly did much of the work” (Weight 43; Macaré 119). Although Smith’s reputation in the LDS community has been mending over

²⁶ Eliza R. Snow and Joseph L. Townsend

the past several years, it is the work of both the LDS community and LDS scholarship to address the years of harm and neglect.

In the summer of 2018, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints announced a new hymnal would be forthcoming—one to reflect the long under- or unrepresented perspectives of members worldwide (Noyce and Stack; Stack). This seems to be an especially promising opportunity for Latter-day Saints and rhetorical scholars to (re)consider the power of hymnals: their ability to characterize worship, fortify or undermine doctrinal messages, direct LDS identity and orientation to others, and include or exclude. It is also an opportunity to recognize, at last, the invaluable contributions of an extraordinary woman in LDS and American history. At the very least, some of Smith's original priorities and intentions will have to be honored in that, to truly have a global perspective, the new hymnal will need to circulate messages of citizenship, unity, individual agency, and belonging for all who want to participate in building a Zion.

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APPENDIX A

THEME DEFINITIONS AND DISTRIBUTION

Theme	Definition	Distribution	Hymn No.	Total
Agency	Freedom to choose between good and evil and thus one's ultimate place in heaven or hell. Self-determinism.	Sacred – 1/36 Baptism – 1/4 Misc. – 4/28	1, 56, 71, 78, 80, 85	6
Blessings for Righteous	Benefits or privileges reserved for saints or the obedient. Largely refers to future blessings (e.g., in heaven or after the <i>Second Coming</i>).	Sacred – 22/36 Morning – 2/6 Evening – 2/6 Farewell – 2/4 Baptism – 2/4 Sacrament – 1/5 Marriage – 1/1 Misc. – 15/28	1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16–19, 23, 24, 26, 28–34, 37, 39, 45, 48, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68–71, 75, 76, 78, 80, 84, 85, 88, 90	47
Christ as Redeemer	Jesus Christ as bringer of freedom from literal or figurative bondage, especially death and hell. See also <i>Personal Savior</i> .	Sacred – 9/36 Evening – 2/6 Farewell – 1/4 Baptism – 1/4 Sacrament – 4/5 Misc. – 9/28	4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 19, 24, 30, 35, 46, 47, 51, 54, 57–60, 63, 65, 67, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 88	26
Commitment	An expressed resolve to—or a request for divine assistance to—remain faithful and obedient, especially in the face of difficulties.	Sacred – 1/36 Morning – 5/6 Evening – 3/6 Farewell – 2/4 Baptism – 1/4 Sacrament – 1/5 Misc. – 9/28	20, 37, 39–42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 61, 64, 68, 69, 71, 76, 78, 81, 82, 85	22
Gathering	Inviting or proselytizing, especially in the context of building <i>Zion</i> in preparation for the <i>Second Coming</i> .	Sacred – 7/36 Morning – 1/6 Farewell – 4/4 Baptism – 2/4 Misc. – 3/28	2, 3, 9, 16, 29, 32, 35, 39, 49–52, 55, 56, 66, 74, 80	17
God's Bounty	Recognition of God's generosity in bestowing unearned blessings or blessings that are not limited to the righteous (e.g., a beautiful world).	Sacred – 6/36 Morning – 5/6 Evening – 4/6 Sacrament – 1/5 Misc. – 7/28	1, 2, 4, 7, 12, 28, 37, 38, 40–46, 61, 73–75, 78, 81, 82, 87	23

Theme	Definition	Distribution	Hymn No.	Total
Gospel Light	Gratitude for or celebration of teachings that deliver peace, hope, joy, understanding, or satisfy a spiritual hunger. Superset that includes the <i>Restoration</i> .	Sacred – 12/36 Farewell – 1/4 Baptism – 2/4 Misc. – 8/28	2–4, 8–10, 14, 15, 18–20, 22, 49, 53, 54, 67, 69, 74, 75, 77, 80, 82, 84	23
Judgements on Wicked	Negative consequences, such as guilt, damnation, or exclusion, in store for those disobedient to God.	Sacred – 9/36 Morning – 1/6 Sacrament – 1/5 Misc. – 6/28	1, 3, 9, 13, 16, 18, 32, 34, 35, 37, 57, 63, 66, 78, 80, 84, 85	17
Omnipotent God	Dependence on or recognition of God’s matchless power and omniscience, especially as the creator of the world.	Sacred – 11/36 Morning – 3/6 Evening – 1/6 Farewell – 1/4 Baptism – 1/4 Sacrament – 2/5 Misc. – 5/28	7, 8, 10, 13, 17– 19, 22, 27, 30, 31, 38, 41, 42, 48, 49, 55, 57, 61, 69, 72, 82, 85, 86	24
Personal Savior	Gratitude for a God who condescended to experience mortality or for a relationship with a God who has compassion for individuals. See also <i>Christ as Redeemer</i> .	Sacred – 4/36 Morning – 2/6 Evening – 2/6 Farewell – 1/4 Baptism – 2/4 Sacrament – 5/5 Misc. – 9/28	10, 17, 27, 35, 37, 39, 44, 45, 51, 55–61, 64, 68, 71, 73, 74, 77–79, 89	25
Renewal	Expressions of a personal need for—or sense of—spiritual rebirth or rejuvenation (e.g., from repentance or baptism).	Sacred – 1/36 Evening – 2/6 Baptism – 3/4 Sacrament – 2/5 Misc. – 3/28	24, 45, 46, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 67, 73, 78	11

Theme	Definition	Distribution	Hymn No.	Total
Restoration	Celebration of Christ's restored church with allusions to LDS teachings, such as priesthood authority, modern prophets, or the Book of Mormon. Subset of <i>Gospel Light</i> .	Sacred – 4/36 Evening – 1/6 Misc. – 5/28	16, 21, 26, 33, 43, 65, 70, 72, 76, 90	10
Second Coming	Anticipation of and preparation for Christ's return and reign on earth during the Millennium, a thousand years of peace.	Sacred – 21/36 Farewell – 1/4 Sacrament – 2/5 Misc. – 7/28	3, 5, 6, 9, 13–19, 21, 23, 26, 28–32, 34, 35, 52, 57, 58, 66, 70, 71, 74, 80, 81, 90	31
Trials of Mortality	Struggles related to living in a fallen world, including persecution, weakness, sin, and death.	Sacred – 10/36 Evening – 1/6 Farewell – 1/4 Misc. – 7/28	2, 5, 6, 15, 18, 26, 29–31, 34, 47, 49, 65, 76, 81, 86–89	19
Witness	Strengthened faith through something that manifests or testifies of the reality of God or the gospel (e.g., the Holy Spirit, wonders of the natural world).	Sacred – 8/36 Morning – 1/6 Evening – 1/6 Baptism – 2/4 Misc. – 2/28	6, 7, 11, 16, 17, 20, 27, 36, 39, 46, 55, 56, 78, 90	14
Zion	Ideal, righteous community, especially one of shared enlightenment, peace, fellowship, equality, and unity.	Sacred – 23/36 Farewell – 2/4 Baptism – 2/4 Sacrament – 1/5 Marriage – 1/1 Misc. – 11/28	3–6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26–35, 50, 52–54, 57, 62, 65, 66, 70–72, 75, 80, 81, 83, 84, 90	40

APPENDIX B

TABLE OF FINDINGS

Section	No.	First Line	Author*	Themes	Included / Invited†	Excluded‡
Sacred Hymns	1	Know then that ev'ry soul is free	Sally Swey	Agency Blessings for righteous God's bounty Judgements on wicked	Ev'ry soul; Man/men; Human; Those that adhere/hear <u>Pnoun:</u> His/he/him; Us/we/our; My/me/I; Their	Animals/beasts; Stubborn willers; Those that despise <u>Pnoun:</u> We/our/ourselves
	2	Let ev'ry mortal ear attend	Isaac Watts	Gathering God's bounty Gospel light Trials of mortality	Ev'ry mortal/heart; Hungry, starving souls; Ye that pant for living streams <u>Pnoun:</u> Ye/your/you; We/our	
	3	What fair one is this from the wilderness trav'ling	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Gathering; Gospel light; Judgements on wicked; Second Coming; Zion	Fair one/the church/bride of the Savior; People; The saints; Israel & elders of; The righteous; All nations; All that will hear <u>Pnoun:</u> Her; They/their/them	Men in contention; [Babylon's] merchants; Old formal professors; High-minded hypocrites <u>Pnoun:</u> Her
	4	Glorious things of thee are spoken	John Newton (alt. by Phelps)	Blessings for righteous Christ as Redeemer God's bounty Gospel light Zion	Zion's sons and daughters/children/inhabitants/member[s]; Kings & priests to God; [God's] people <u>Pnoun:</u> Our; Their/they/them; All/each; I	[Zion's] foes

* Sources: Kammeyer; Poulter, *First Ten Years*. Alt. = original wording altered; Adpt. = adapted from another work

† Nouns and pronouns used for those who are in the community or who are welcome to join as they are

‡ Nouns and pronouns used for those who do not belong in the community or who are welcome only if/after they change

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Sacred Hymns	5	The time is nigh that happy time	Parley P. Pratt	Second Coming Trials of mortality Zion	Countless thousands of our race; Jews and Gentiles; Every man in every place; Brother; Friend	
	6	Redeemer of Israel	Joseph Swain (alt. by Phelps)	Blessings for righteous; Christ as Redeemer; Second Coming; Trials of mortality; Witness; Zion	[Christ's] sheep/ servants; Strangers in sin; Israel; Children of Zion; Many [who] have sought <u>Pnoun</u> : Our/we/us; They/them	Foes <u>Pnoun</u> : They
	7	See all creation join	W. W. Phelps (adpt. from Watts)	God's bounty Omnipotent God Witness	Saints that know [God's] endless love	
	8	O happy souls who pray	Isaac Watts (alt. by Phelps)	Blessings for righteous Gospel light Omnipotent God Zion	Happy souls who pray; Happy saints; Jacob's race <u>Pnoun</u> : Their; We/our/us	
	9	From the regions of glory an angel descended	Anonymous (alt. by Phelps)	Blessings for righteous; Christ as Redeemer; Gathering; Gospel light; Judgements on wicked; Second Coming; Zion	Each nation/the whole world; Pilgrims; The righteous <u>Pnoun</u> : Our/we/us; You/ye/your	The wicked

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Sacred Hymns	10	He died! the great Redeemer died!	Isaac Watts (alt. by Phelps)	Christ as Redeemer Gospel light Omnipotent God Personal Savior	Saints; Men <u>Pnoun</u> : Your/you/ye	Foe
	11	Earth with her ten thousand flowers	Thomas R. Taylor (alt. by Phelps)	Witness	Human <u>Pnoun</u> : Our	
	12	Praise to God, immortal praise	Anna Laetitia Barbauld (alt. by Phelps)	God's bounty	<u>Pnoun</u> : Our/we	
	13	Guide us, O thou great Jehovah	William Williams	Blessings for righteous; Christ as Redeemer; Judgements on wicked; Omnipotent God; Second Coming; Zion	Saints <u>Pnoun</u> : Us/we/our	
	14	We're not ashamed to own our Lord	W. W. Phelps (adpt. from Watts)	Blessings for righteous; Gospel light; Second Coming; Zion	Souls; The just; The saints <u>Pnoun</u> : We/our/us	
	15	Joy to the world! the Lord will come!	Isaac Watts (alt. by Phelps)	Gospel light Second Coming Trials of mortality	The world; Ev'ry heart; Saints; Israel <u>Pnoun</u> : Their	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Sacred Hymns	16	An angel came down from the mansions	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Gatherings; Judgements on wicked; Restoration; Second Coming; Witness; Zion	[God's] people; Israel; Saints; Isles; Ev'ry nation; The righteous <u>Pnoun:</u> Your/you	The wicked
	17	To him that made the world	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Omnipotent God Personal Savior Second Coming Witness	All the heirs of [God]; All the just <u>Pnoun:</u> We/our/us; They	
	18	Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Gospel light Judgements on wicked Omnipotent God Second Coming Trials of mortality Zion	[Former] strangers on earth; Each nation; The saints; All Israel; The just; [God's] people <u>Pnoun:</u> Us/we; One another; Them/they	The ungodly
	19	Ere long the veil will rend in twain	Parley P. Pratt	Blessings for righteous; Christ as Redeemer; Gospel light; Omnipotent God; Second Coming; Zion	Saints; The redeem'd; The church <u>Pnoun:</u> Your/ye; We/our	
	20	My soul is full of peace and love	W. W. Phelps	Commitment Gospel light Witness	<u>Pnoun:</u> My/I/me	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Sacred Hymns	21	The happy day has rolled on	Philo Dibble	Restoration Second Coming	Saints; Men <u>Pnoun</u> : Their	
	22	The great and glorious gospel light	Anonymous	Gospel light Omnipotent God	Saints <u>Pnoun</u> : My/I	
	23	This earth was once a garden place	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Second Coming Zion	Men; Holy race; Saints <u>Pnoun</u> : We	
	24	Gently raise the sacred strain	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Christ as Redeemer; Renewal; Zion	Man; The blest; The saints; All <u>Pnoun</u> : His; We/our; Your	
	25	When Joseph his brethren beheld	John Newton (alt. by Phelps)	<i>Implied (not counted in appendix A): Christ as Redeemer, God's bounty, Zion</i>	<i>Recounts story of Joseph of Egypt. All pronouns refer to specific people.</i>	
	26	Now we'll sing with one accord	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Restoration; Second Coming; Trials of mortality; Zion	The saints; Men; Gentile and Jew; The church; The righteous <u>Pnoun</u> : We	[Joseph Smith's] foes

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Sacred Hymns	27	Through all the world below	Angus S. Hibbard	Omnipotent God; Personal Savior; Witness; Zion	Saints <u>Pnoun</u> : We/our/us; My/I; One; Them	
	28	The sun that declines in the far western sky	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous God's bounty Second Coming Zion	The just <u>Pnoun</u> : Our/we	
	29	The towers of Zion soon shall rise	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Gathering; Second Coming; Trials of mortality; Zion	All that worship; Saints; Israel; Banner-bearing messengers; Nations far and near <u>Pnoun</u> : Ye	
	30	Let all the saints their hearts prepare	Anonymous	Blessings for righteous; Christ as Redeemer; Omnipotent God; Second Coming; Trials of mortality; Zion	The saints/suff'ring saints; All; [God's] church; The redeem 'd of Adam's race <u>Pnoun</u> : Their/them/they	
	31	Let us pray, gladly pray	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Omnipotent God; Second Coming; Trials of mortality; Zion	The righteous; The saints <u>Pnoun</u> : Us/our/we; Their	
	32	Awake, O ye people! the Savior is coming	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Gathering; Judgements on wicked; Second Coming; Zion	The elect	People; All that are living; Many souls; Islands; The nations <u>Pnoun</u> : Them; Ye/your/you

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Sacred Hymns	33	What wondrous things we now behold	Anonymous	Blessings for righteous Restoration Zion	Israel; Moab's remnant; Ammon's children; Elam's race; Gentiles; Ephraim's sons; Assyria's captives; Ab'ram's children/ sons & daughters; Kindreds, tongues, & nations all <u>Pnoun: We/ our; Their</u>	
	34	There is a land the Lord will bless	Isaac Watts (alt. by Phelps)	Blessings for righteous; Judgements on wicked; Second Coming; Trials of mortality; Zion	Saints; Israel; The pure- in-heart; The righteous; The best from worlds; The living; Children <u>Pnoun: Our; Their/their</u>	All the wicked/ wicked men <u>Pnoun: They</u>
	35	There's a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing	W. W. Phelps	Blessing for righteous Christ as Redeemer Gathering Judgements on wicked Personal Savior Second Coming Zion	The righteous; The saints; The wheat; [God's] servants/just servants/ guests/people; The poor and the meek; The rich, learned, wise, & noble; The willing; Best that the heavens and earth can afford; 12 tribes of Israel <u>Pnoun: Ye/your/you; Their/their</u>	Tares; Every nation; Wicked, ungodly, rebellious, & proud; Europe, Asia, China, Afric's black legions; All people; Great men of fame & power; King; Brave; Islands; Gentiles and Jews; Heathens; Old Israel; Bab'lon <u>Pnoun: His; She</u>

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Sacred Hymns	36	There's a power in the sun	Anonymous	Witness	Man; The world; All flesh <u>Pnoun</u> : Our; His	
	37	Lord in the morning thou shalt hear	Isaac Watts	Blessings for righteous Commitment God's bounty Judgements on wicked Personal Savior	All [Christ's] saints; The righteous <u>Pnoun</u> : My/I/mine/me; Our	The wicked
Morning Hymns	38	Once more, my soul, the rising day	Isaac Watts	God's bounty Omnipotent God	<u>Pnoun</u> : My/I	
	39	See how the morning sun	Elizabeth Scott (alt. by Phelps)	Blessings for righteous; Commitment; Gathering; Personal Savior; Witness	<u>Pnoun</u> : My/I/me	
	40	My God, how endless is thy love	Isaac Watts	Commitment God's bounty	<u>Pnoun</u> : My/I/myself	
	41	Awake! for the morning is come	Anonymous	Commitment God's bounty Omnipotent God	<u>Pnoun</u> : We/us/our; Ye	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Morning Hymns	42	Awake my soul, and with the sun	Thomas Ken	Commitment God's bounty Omnipotent God	<u>Pnoun:</u> My/I/me	
Evening Hymns	43	Come let us sing an evening hymn	W. W. Phelps	God's bounty Restoration	<u>Pnoun:</u> Us/our/we; Each one	
	44	Lord thou wilt hear me when I pray	Isaac Watts	Commitment God's bounty Personal Savior	<u>Pnoun:</u> Me/I/my/mine	
	45	Glory to thee, my God, this night	Thomas Ken	Blessings for righteous; Commitment; God's bounty; Personal Savior; Renewal	<u>Pnoun:</u> My/me/I/myself/mine	
	46	Great God! to thee my evening song	Anne Steele	Christ as Redeemer God's bounty Renewal Witness	<u>Pnoun:</u> My/I/mine	
	47	When restless on my bed I lie	Baptist W. Noel	Christ as Redeemer Trials of mortality	<u>Pnoun:</u> My/I	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Evening Hymns	48	The day is past and gone	John Leland	Blessings for righteous Commitment Omnipotent God	<u>Pnoun</u> : We/our/us	
Farewell Hymns	49	The gallant ship is under way	W. W. Phelps	Commitment; Gatherings; Gospel light; Omnipotent God; Trials of mortality	Israel; Erring child of dust; The feeble; Exil'd pilgrims <u>Pnoun</u> : Me/my/ I; We	Foes
	50	Farewell, our friends and brethren!	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Gathering Zion	Friends & brethren; Ev'ry foreign land; Wives & children; Man; The blessed <u>Pnoun</u> : Our/ we/us; Your	
	51	Yes, my native land, I love thee	Samuel F. Smith	Christ as Redeemer Gathering Personal Savior	Friends; Connexions; World <u>Pnoun</u> : My/I/me; You all	
	52	Adieu, my dear brethren adieu	S. Matheson	Blessings for righteous; Commitment; Gatherings; Second Coming; Zion	Brethren; Others; Strangers; All that are willing to hear; The blest <u>Pnoun</u> : My; We/our/us; You/your	
On Baptism	53	Come ye children of the kingdom	Thomas R. Taylor	Blessings for righteous; Commitment; Gospel light; Renewal; Zion	Children of the kingdom; Christ's disciples <u>Pnoun</u> : Ye; Me/I	

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On Baptism	54	Jesus, mighty King in Zion	John Fellows	Christ as Redeemer; Gospel light; Renewal; Zion	<u>Pnoun</u> : Our/we	
	55	In Jordan's tide the prophet stands	Anonymous	Gathering Omnipotent God Personal Savior Witness	Repenting Jews; Human; Men; All ye nations <u>Pnoun</u> : Your/ye/you; They; My; Us	
On Sacrament	56	Salem's bright King, Jesus by name	Anonymous	Agency; Blessings for righteous; Gathering; Personal Savior; Renewal; Witness	Children/believing children; The Bride [church]; Candidates <u>Pnoun</u> : Ye/your; Us	
	57	O God th' eternal Father	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous; Christ as Redeemer; Judgements on wicked; Omnipotent God; Personal Savior; Renewal; Second Coming; Zion	All; Man/men; Israel; The righteous; Our fathers; Every son and daughter <u>Pnoun</u> : We/our	All that will not hear [Christ]
	58	'Twas on that dark, that solemn night	Isaac Watts	Christ as Redeemer Personal Savior Second Coming	<u>Pnoun</u> : Us/our/we	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
On Sacrament	59	Arise, my soul, arise	Charles Wesley	Christ as Redeemer Personal Savior Renewal	All our race; Ransom'd sinner; [God's] child <u>Pnoun</u> : My/me/I; Him	
	60	Behold the Savior of mankind	Samuel Wesley, Sr.	Christ as Redeemer Personal Savior	Mankind <u>Pnoun</u> : Thee	
	61	Alas! and did my Savior bleed!	Isaac Watts	Commitment God's bounty Omnipotent God Personal Savior	Such a worm as I; Man the creature <u>Pnoun</u> : My/ I/mine/myself	
On Marriage	62	When earth was dress'd in beauty	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Zion	Men; [Adam and Eve's] vast creation	
Misc.	63	O stop and tell me, Red Man	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Christ as Redeemer Judgements on wicked	Pleasant Ephraim; [United States] nation <u>Pnoun</u> : Me; Your; Us	Red Man; Man; [Native American] fathers/race; Idle Indian hearts; Captive brothers <u>Pnoun</u> : Ye/you/your; He; I/me; Us/our; They/their
	64	And did my Savior die	Anonymous	Commitment Personal Savior	<u>Pnoun</u> : My/me/I	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Misc.	65	Come all ye sons of Zion	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Christ as Redeemer Restoration Trials of mortality Zion	Sons of Zion; [God's] ransom'd; Dispers'd of Judah; The righteous; Israel; Saints <u>Pnoun</u> : Ye/your/you; Us; They/them	Wicked men <u>Pnoun</u> : Their
	66	Let Zion in her beauty rise	Edward Partridge	Blessings for righteous Gathering Judgements on wicked Second Coming Zion	People; Heralds; Earth's remotest bound; All the nations; [God's] saints; Those who keep [God's] law <u>Pnoun</u> : Ye/you; They/their; My; Us/our/we	[Jesus'] enemies; Men, rebellious wicked men; Rebels to God's grace <u>Pnoun</u> : Them
	67	Jesus the name that charms our fears	Charles Wesley	Christ as Redeemer Gospel light Renewal	The christian; Sinners; Mournful broken hearts; The humble poor; White; The pris'ner; Clean; Deaf; Dumb; Blind; Lame <u>Pnoun</u> : Our; You/your/ ye; My/me	Æthiop; The pris'ner; The foulest
	68	Come all ye saints, who dwell on earth	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Commitment Personal Savior	All ye saints <u>Pnoun</u> : Ye/your; Our/us/we	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Misc.	69	God spake the word, and time began	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Commitment Gospel light Omnipotent God	Man/men; Many [who] have sought; Some; Man of faith; [The] wise <u>Pnoun</u> : Our/we; Thee	Wicked men; Sinners; [Those] who do deny <u>Pnoun</u> : They
	70	Great is the Lord: 'tis good to praise	Eliza R. Snow	Blessings for righteous Restoration Second Coming Zion	The saints in latter days; All; Humble souls; The church; The faithful; [God's] people; The saints from ev'ry clime <u>Pnoun</u> : Us/we/our	All the world
	71	The glorious day is rolling on	Eliza R. Snow	Agency; Blessings for righteous; Commitment; Personal Savior; Second Coming; Zion	The saints <u>Pnoun</u> : We/our/us	
	72	Before this earth from chaos sprung	Anonymous	Omnipotent God Restoration Zion	Men/man; Adam's race; Israel/Jacob's sons; Joseph's remnants; Christ's church; Neighbor; All; Both old and young; The saints both far and near <u>Pnoun</u> : We/our; You/ your; Them/their/they; His	

Section	No.	First Line	Author	Themes	Included / Invited	Excluded
Misc.	73	Thy mercy, my God, is the theme of my song	John Stocker	Christ as Redeemer God's bounty Personal Savior Renewal	The poor and the needy who knock; [The] sinner...who comes seeking mercy <u>Pnoun:</u> My/I/me/mine	
	74	From Greenland's icy mountains	Reginald Heber	Gathering God's bounty Gospel light Personal Savior Second Coming	Land[s in] error's chain (Greenland, India, Afric); We whose souls are lighted; Earth's remotest nation; Sinners <u>Pnoun:</u> Us/we/our; Their	Man/men benighted; The heathen <u>Pnoun:</u> His; They/their
	75	O Jesus! the giver	Anonymous	Blessings for righteous Christ as Redeemer God's bounty Gospel light Zion	<u>Pnoun:</u> We/our/us	Foes
	76	In ancient days men fear'd the Lord	Anonymous	Blessings for righteous Commitment Restoration Trials of mortality	Men; The meek; All the men of faith; Human race; [God's] feeble worms <u>Pnoun:</u> Their/ they/them; We/our	
	77	Mortals, awake! with angels join	Samuel Medley	Christ as Redeemer Gospel light Personal Savior	Mortals; Man <u>Pnoun:</u> We	

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Misc.	78	The Lord into his garden comes	Anonymous	Agency Blessings for righteous Commitment God's bounty Judgements on wicked Personal Savior Renewal Witness	[Jesus'] people; All mankind; Who comes to Christ; Worst of sinners; Th[e] repent[ant]; All; Brethren... that love the Lord; All the saints <u>Pnoun</u> : My/me; Them/ they; You; Our/us/we	All [Jesus'] foes
	79	I know that my Redeemer lives	Samuel Medley	Christ as Redeemer Personal Savior	<u>Pnoun</u> : I/my/me	
	80	How often in sweet meditation, my mind	Parley P. Pratt	Agency Blessings for righteous Gathering Gospel light Judgements on wicked Second Coming Zion	[God's] servant(s); Gentiles; Jews; The righteous; Adam's lost race; Nation's unknown; Kingdoms and countries; Millions/ thousands; Israel <u>Pnoun</u> : My/me; Ye; Us/we/our; They/their/them	The ungodly; Empires; Kingdoms; Thrones
	81	Let thy kingdom, blessed Savior	J. A. Granada	Christ as Redeemer; Commitment; God's bounty; Second Coming; Trials of mortality; Zion	[God's] people/lambs/ sheep/little flock; Sinners from our youth <u>Pnoun</u> : Our/us/we; Your/you/ye	

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Misc.	82	How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord	Robert Keene	Commitment God's bounty Gospel light Omnipotent God	Saints of the Lord; [Those] who unto Jesus...have fled; All [God's] people; The soul that on Jesus hath lean'd for repose <u>Pnoun</u> ; Ye/your/you; Thy/thee; Their/they; I	[Jesus'] foes
	83	How pleasant 'tis to see	Isaac Watts	Zion	Kindred and friends; Every friendly soul <u>Pnoun</u> : Each; His	
	84	How pleased and blest was I	Isaac Watts	Blessings for righteous Gospel light Judgements on wicked Zion	The people; Our tribes; The saint; Humble souls; Every guest; The man that seeks [God's] peace; Friends and kindred <u>Pnoun</u> : I/my; Us/our/we; Him	The sinner
	85	Thought in the outward church below	John Newton	Agency Blessings for righteous Commitment Judgements on wicked Omnipotent God	Wheat; Praying friends; [God's] own; All mankind/every man <u>Pnoun</u> : We; Me	Tares; Others <u>Pnoun</u> : Their/they/them

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Misc.	86	O God! our help in ages past	Isaac Watts	Omnipotent God Trials of mortality	<u>Pnoun</u> : Our/we	
	87	Hark! from the tombs a doleful sound	Isaac Watts	God's bounty Trials of mortality	Living men <u>Pnoun</u> : My; Ye/you; Our/we/us	
	88	Why do we mourn for dying friends	Isaac Watts	Blessings for righteous Christ as Redeemer Trials of mortality	Dying friends; [Jesus'] saints; Dying members; Saints <u>Pnoun</u> : We/us/our; Them/their; Ye	
	89	Why should we start and fear to die!	Isaac Watts	Personal Savior Trials of mortality	Tim'rous worms; Mortals; Soul <u>Pnoun</u> : We/our; My/I; Her/she [soul]	
	90	The Spirit of God like a fire is burning	W. W. Phelps	Blessings for righteous Restoration Second Coming Witness Zion	The saints; He that receiveth his penny appointed; Wheat <u>Pnoun</u> : We/our; Their; He/his	