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Worth Their Salt Too

Colleen Whitley

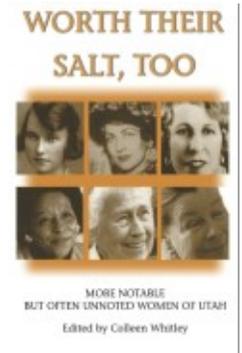
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SARAH ANN SUTTON COOKE

“The Respected Mrs. Cooke”

Patricia Lyn Scott

Patricia Lyn Scott holds a B.A. in history from Southern Utah University, an M.S. in library science with a specialization in archival administration from Wayne State University, and an M.A. in history of the American West from the University of Utah. She is currently the local government records archivist for the Utah State Archives and provides consultant services and training in every aspect of archival and records management to Utah's counties and school districts. She is the author of the book A Hub of Eastern Idaho: A History of Rigby, Idaho and has written numerous historical articles and papers, including a biography of Eliza Kirtley Royle for the first volume of Worth Their Salt. She serves on the executive committee of the Journal of Mormon History. Scott has done extensive research on Utah women and is currently using the membership lists of Salt Lake City's Ladies Literary Club and the Blue Tea club from 1875 to 1893 to identify non-Mormon women in Salt Lake City. Her interest in Sarah Cooke grew from that research. Sarah's conversion to the LDS Church led her to become a leader in Utah's Mormon community; following her disenchantment with the faith she became a leader in the non-Mormon community. Scott was fascinated by a woman who was obviously deeply respected by both groups.

For thirty-four years, Sarah Ann Cooke resided in Salt Lake City, where she taught music, acted, and became the widow of Utah's first police officer killed in the line of duty. She was a recognized club woman, lecturer, and leader of women's opposition to polygamy. It all began with a



The Ladies Literary Association of Salt Lake City created a history for the 1893 Columbia Exposition which included this picture of Sarah Ann Cooke (ca. 1870s). Photo courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

“temporary” stop in Salt Lake City on her way to the California gold-fields in 1852 and ended with her death at seventy-seven. People of opposing persuasions looked at her with respect because of her accomplishments. First, as a Mormon convert, she taught in Brigham Young’s school and performed in both the Social Hall and Salt Lake Theatre, gaining the respect of members of the Mormon community. Then conflicts with Brigham Young and her ardent opposition to polygamy elevated her to leadership in the non-Mormon community. Finally, she became president of the Anti-Polygamy Society and served as a symbol of Utah women who opposed polygamy.

Sarah Ann Sutton was born 15 August 1808, to Sarah Smith Sutton and Thomas Sutton,¹ a practicing attorney, in Leeds, Yorkshire, England.² She was the first of three children and the only daughter.³ She and her brother George were orphaned at an early age and were “consigned to the care of kind and loving grandparents.” Her custodial grandfather, George Smith, was an invalid and soon died. In her later life, Sarah recalled playing and romping with him and using “his cane as a pony.” She attended boarding school, where she was well educated and received extensive musical training.⁴

Sarah married William Cooke on her eighteenth birthday, 15 August 1826, at the St. Peters Parish Church in Leeds. Marriage records identify William Cooke as a man servant from Manchester.⁵ They were married “by license” with the approval of the vicar.⁶ William was the second son of Sarah Routh Cooke and John Cooke, born in Pollington, Yorkshire, England, on 28 August 1803.⁷ Later Sarah wrote that her cousin Annie served as her bridesmaid and accompanied her on their wedding tour and visits to William’s relatives. Her cousin Mary “efficiently superintended” the furnishings and arranged Sarah’s new household in Manchester, where Sarah and William arrived “late in September.”⁸ On her fiftieth birthday she described her thoughts on arriving at her new home in verse,

But when we crossed the lighted hall
 And reached the supper room
 Glass, silver, lights and pictures all
 Make it appear full moon.
 And *these* were mine *this home my own*
 No thought or wish unkept;

My heart filled with grateful love
 I leaned my head and wept.
 Yes wept upon the manly breast
 Of him who these had tried
 To make a paradise on earth
 For me his girlish bride.⁹

On 7 June 1827, Sarah gave birth to her first child, William Sutton, in Manchester.¹⁰ She later recalled her joy,

And yet the cup so richly filled
 Ere twelve month had passed by
 Was filled yet more with richer store
 God's gift—parental joy.
 O blessed day! O happy hour;
 Anguish replaced with joy
 When thee I gazed upon my own
 My first-born beautiful *boy*.¹¹

In 1828, the Cookes left Liverpool aboard the American vessel *William Thompson* for the United States. The ship docked in New York City on 26 April 1828.¹² While the Cookes' particular reasons for emigrating remain unknown, for many English the period between 1750 and 1850 served as a transitional period away from domestic manufacturing in England, with the greatest period of adjustment from 1800 to 1840. In 1828, slightly less than a quarter of the 27,382 people emigrating to the United States were English.¹³ For eight years the Cookes lived in New York City. Sarah later recalled that she taught music in "families" and in the schools of Mrs. Starr and Mrs. Putnam.¹⁴ Her husband's occupation is unknown.¹⁵ During this period Sarah gave birth to three children. Within four months of the family's arrival, Sarah had borne and lost a second son, Albion, in August 1828. In October 1830, John Richards was born, and Thomas W. in 1833.¹⁶

The Cookes then moved to North Carolina, "where they remained ten years but ardent in their abolitionism were uncomfortable for the antagonism it excited."¹⁷ Sarah bore three children there. Their first daughter, Sarah Ann, died shortly after birth in 1838; their second, Eve

Anna (nicknamed Lilly), was born in 1843; and a son, Edward, was born in 1845.¹⁸

The Cookes next moved to Iowa, where they lived for five years, first in Davenport and then in Dubuque, where Sarah “taught voice and instrumental music.” She reportedly had “a large patronage.”¹⁹ She bore her last child there, Richard, in 1848. Their eldest son, William Sutton, married one of Sarah’s music students, Lucy Rutledge, a recent English immigrant, on 26 December 1849.²⁰ Sarah’s first grandchild was born on 16 August 1851, just one day after her birthday, and was named Sarah.²¹

In the spring of 1852, “California fever” was at a high pitch in Iowa, and the Cooke family decided to join the march westward. Sarah later said of her family during the journey, “They were comfortably provided and had a delightful journey of two months.”²² Lucy documented their trip west through a series of letters she wrote to her sister, Marianne, who lived in Rockingham, Iowa. They were later published “for the benefit of her family” in 1923 and republished in 1985 as part of Kenneth L. Holmes’s *Covered Wagon Women*. Lucy wrote that William, her father-in-law, had secured twelve young men as paid passengers traveling to Sacramento, California, along with the ten members of the two families: William and Sarah (she called her in-laws Ma and Pa throughout her letters); Lucy, twenty-four; William Sutton, twenty-five; John Richards, twenty-one; Thomas, nineteen; Eve Anna, ten; Edward, seven; Richard, five; and baby Sarah.²³

While William Sutton started the passengers toward Council Bluffs, Iowa, in April 1852, William Sr. drove Lucy, Sarah, and their children seventy miles south to Davenport in their “two-horse drawn wagon” with a “covered top and laden to the bows.”²⁴ They were placed on the steamboat *Golden Era* to sail down the Mississippi River to St. Louis and then up the Missouri River to Council Bluffs. William Sr. then took the team and joined the others on their trek across Iowa.²⁵

The trip to St. Louis was uneventful. Then, on 10 April, Sarah, Lucy, and family boarded the steamboat *Pontiac 2* and sailed up the Missouri River to Council Bluffs to join the rest of the party. They were charged \$70 for their passage, but were short of funds. Sarah put down \$30 with the rest to be paid in Council Bluffs and with John working for part of their passage by helping the captain. Homesick, missing her

husband, and remembering her life in Dubuque, Sarah lamented, "I wish we had never started."²⁶

The trip was long and tedious but far from uneventful. Lucy wrote that Sarah was downcast and "thinks she shall never be happy again." Lucy added, "I think she would have me believe it was entirely on William's account that they take this move but I cannot quite think so as of course it was as much for her other sons."²⁷

On Sunday, 27 April, the *Pontiac 2* ran aground and began to sink. Though it was "only about 3 feet under water," the boat owner evacuated the women. While Lucy wrote that "none of us seemed very terrified," she clearly noted the cold, the wind, and the rain. Because the first yawl was full, they had to return to the "ladies cabin," being told they "would be perfectly safe." In an hour the steamboat began breaking apart and a second yawl was sent. Lucy wrote, "After much struggling we managed to get in but we had a good load[,] most of the passengers wanting to be among the first to be on terra firma." The river was very rough; four men had to row the yawl to the timbered shore. Not until dusk was all baggage removed from the boat. The captain then refused to charter the first boat that arrived on the scene and it left with only a few passengers.²⁸

The Cookes booked passage on a second boat, the *Midas*, and boarded it around 9 P.M. Lucy noted that they were "fortunate in having paid the capt of the *Pontiac* [only] \$36 for he would, not have returned any had we paid the \$70." The *Midas* captain agreed to take them to St. Joseph for \$2 each, but Sarah told him she only had \$5 left and might have to stay in St. Joseph for a while. The captain agreed to accept \$3. They stayed on the boat that night and left the next morning, arriving in St. Joseph about eleven o'clock on Tuesday morning, then engaging another boat to go on to Council Bluffs.²⁹

They remained in St. Joseph for three days and then boarded the *Robert Campbell*. Lucy wrote, "We were very slow and every few hours got stuck on sand bars." It took three days to reach Council Bluffs. The first night they got stuck on a sandbar for eighteen hours. A similar problem the second day delayed them for six hours. All men and horses were put ashore to pull the boat off the sandbar. They finally arrived on Saturday afternoon, 3 May. They hoped they would be met by their families but had to wait an additional one and one half hours. Their families had not heard of the fate of the *Pontiac*. Lucy described the

town: "This Kanessville is a poor little mean place. I don't think there's a brick house in it. Most of them are log cabins."³⁰

Wednesday night the reunited group borrowed a piano, held a concert for others traveling to California, and raised money for their journey (clearing \$23). The Cookes left Kanessville on 9 May, and traveled eight miles that first day. Mr. Cooke "resolved not to travel on Sundays unless obliged" and attended religious services when possible. They started their mornings early to allow them to rest during the heat of the day. The journey was hot and dirty, the air thick with mosquitos. Lucy suffered with a sore throat and swollen tongue for most of the trip. She recounted that she had "lost my taste . . . I just [had to] live on chocolate and currant bread."³¹

They arrived in Salt Lake on 8 July 1852. William and Lucy were tired of traveling and decided to stay in Salt Lake City until spring. Lucy wrote that "I was very much pleased with the appearance of the place." William found a position during the winter to haul lumber from the mountains to a sawmill. A Mr. Roberts, a former Iowan neighbor, persuaded Mr. Cooke to take his passengers to California and leave Sarah and their children in Salt Lake City until he could prepare a home for them in California. Mr. Cooke stayed in Salt Lake City for ten days before resuming his journey with his five passengers. John Richards and Thomas were left to care for the family. John was provided two horses and a wagon. Lucy wrote that she hoped "the responsibility will have a good effect on him" and noted that Sarah had located a small house "in town." She described the Mormons as being "as hospitable and kind as any people I ever met."³²

Lucy and William lived with Mr. Roberts and then moved to a house close to the sawmill eight miles from the mountains. William and John worked together in hauling logs to the sawmill for cutting shingles. Lucy wrote to her sister that they would not go to California "if [William] can make a living here" and that they could live in Utah for four to five years. At the end of October, Lucy stated that they had "done better than Ma has in the city for John makes a poor one at providing for a family" and added that she "[doesn't] think he's lazy but they manage so poorly so that whenever we go to see them they have nothing but bread and potatoes."³³

In September 1852, Sarah was baptized into the LDS Church. She was a woman "of strong religious sentiments" and was said to have

“possessed a deep and almost ideally conscientiously religious nature.” She “had studied the subjects of the Jewish dispensation and had thought considerably about the second coming of Christ.” Sarah had read and studied the “Voice of Warning” pamphlet by Parley P. Pratt and other works, and “gradually accepted it all heartily and conscientiously.”³⁴ The Cookes had originally been Episcopalian, but had become Baptists in Iowa “from deep conviction and conscientious scruples.” Lucy wrote at the end of October that she witnessed the baptism and that John and Lilly were to be baptized the next Sunday. She added, “My only fear is that she will influence my dear William,” adding that she was “glad that we live away from the city as that is a good excuse for not attending their meetings.”³⁵ It was later written that Lilly had originally prayed that “her Heavenly Father should not permit her mother to become a Mormon.”³⁶ John was employed by Brigham Young to haul wood from the canyons for \$2.50 a day plus the boarding of his horses. While Thomas worked in the mill with William, Lucy noted, “He does not seem to like the Mormons though as he’s Ma’s favorite . . . she is anxious he should be connected to her faith.”³⁷

Mr. Cooke’s letters from California reported that he supervised a farm not far from San Francisco earning \$75 a month. He had not yet learned that Sarah had joined the Mormon Church, but Lucy noted that, “I guess he’ll not hesitate to join them for he said before he left he was almost a Mormon.”³⁸ He sent Sarah “a lot of new music.” Because they did not own a piano Lucy reported they “all went to the [home of] Governor Brigham Young to try it.”³⁹

Sarah was quickly becoming part of the community. On 13 October 1852, Sarah became a member of the Deseret Dramatic Association. It was founded on 20 February 1852 by thirteen men meeting at the home of William Clayton “for the purpose of organizing a theatrical association.”⁴⁰ The Deseret Dramatic Association would eventually claim over one hundred members, “only ten of whom were actually actors who received public notice or appeared on the stage, while others formed the production staff.”⁴¹

In 1852, the Social Hall was constructed on State Street between South Temple and First South. It was intended for plays, musical recitals, dancing, and other public gatherings. Lucy wrote that when the “Music Hall” was finished “a room [would be] assigned [to Sarah] to teach music” and that Brigham Young had “bought a superior

English piano and melodeon for her use in the hall.”⁴² As a pioneer music teacher in Salt Lake City it was said as long as Sarah lived, “[She would] stamp the imprimis of her strength and versatility of gifts, upon young and old.”⁴³

On Saturday, 1 January 1853, the Social Hall was dedicated and formally opened. LDS apostle Amasa M. Lyman offered the dedicatory prayer. The program included speeches and musical performances by some members of the Deseret Dramatic Association followed by a grand ball. The association planned their first season in January 1853. Lucy wrote that Sarah “is one of the actresses[;] she has been voted in by the committee in 3 different plays.”⁴⁴ It involved much labor and time, but the actors found considerable “enjoyment in it as well.”⁴⁵ Rehearsals took place every night except the performance nights of Wednesday and Saturday. The men and women worked all day and rehearsed until late in the evening, normally until at least midnight. Later the following lines were written describing the actors:

From the beginning the plays in the Social Hall had cordial receptions, and the players became great favorites. No salaries were paid. It was literally a community enterprise. The only reward was an occasional benefit and applause that came over the foot-lights.⁴⁶

The actors had little experience; none had education for the stage or came from theatrical families. Few continued as professional actors anywhere. Forty-seven percent played no more than ten performances, and 22 percent played no more than one season. Fifty percent were between the ages of twenty-six and forty (Sarah was forty-four).⁴⁷

The first season ran from the opening on 17 January to 23 February 1853, playing every night for the first week, and then on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Sarah performed in three plays that first season and in all subsequent seasons through 1856. She acted character roles “exceptionally well,” but it was in the music that she made her chief contribution. For example, not only did Sarah play the role of Widow Melnotte in *Lady of Lyons*, she “rendered her services on the piano” after the performance.⁴⁸

In March 1853, Lucy reported that William Sr. was “very anxious to have all the family come as he has a very good berth & is doing fine”

and surmised that “Ma will go but not until July or August as Ma has just commenced giving music lessons so she will have to finish the quarter.” Brigham Young had lent Sarah one of his pianos, “a very handsome one,” and she had three students.⁴⁹

Lucy and William left Salt Lake City on 31 March 1853, heading for California. Lucy wrote, “We met with much kindness among the Mormons [and] shall always have reason to speak well of them.”⁵⁰ They settled in California and spent the rest of their lives in California and Nevada.

Though Mr. Cooke was very anxious to bring the family together in California, it did not occur. Sarah remained in Utah for the rest of her life. The events of 1853 remain unclear. Sarah’s autobiography seems to indicate that her husband came back to Utah, was baptized a Mormon and then went on a mission to Australia and New Zealand for three to four years.⁵¹ Yet, contemporary sources clearly indicate that he went to Australia for the gold strike and was baptized there.⁵²

On 15 May 1851, the *Sydney Morning Herald* announced the discovery of an extensive goldfield in the Wellington district of New South Wales. The gold rush was on. Within three years, the number of ships arriving in Australia more than tripled while population quadrupled.⁵³

In October 1854, William reported he had arrived in Australia from California “fifteen months before,” or in August 1853.⁵⁴ Australian historian Marjorie Newton wrote that he “moved to the Australian diggings” but “had received a letter from his wife” when he had arrived in Sydney, which “told of her conversion to Mormonism and urged her husband to find the missionaries and investigate the new faith.”⁵⁵

William later reported he was “baptized for the remission of sins and having received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands” he was ordained an elder and “sent forth to preach.”⁵⁶ He assisted in establishing a branch at the gold camp, Bendigo.⁵⁷ On 20 October 1854, William accompanied mission president Augustus Farnham to New Zealand to open a new mission. William was left in New Zealand and reported in the spring that he had baptized ten and organized a branch.⁵⁸

On 28 May 1856, William, at the age of fifty-three, left Australia with Augustus Farnham and 120 Australian Saints aboard the *Jenny Ford*. Newton reported that once at sea, “spirits and good health prevailed.”⁵⁹ Life was highly organized with twice-daily assemblies for prayers and hymns. Also aboard the ship was Joseph Ridge, another

convert, who brought a seven-stop organ that he had donated to the church in Salt Lake City. With help the organ was dismantled and placed in six large tin cases and stowed aboard. The ship docked at San Pedro, California, on 15 August 1856. The travelers disembarked and “comfortably encamped in tents.”⁶⁰ It is not known when William arrived in Salt Lake City. The organ was hauled by mule teams to Salt Lake City and arrived 12 June 1857. It was installed in the old adobe Tabernacle on Temple Square. By 11 October 1857, the installation was completed.⁶¹ Sarah served as organist for over ten years for religious services and choir practice.

It is uncertain what occurred after William’s arrival in Utah, but Sarah welcomed him with open arms. It is known that Sarah and William were married in the Endowment House in 1857.⁶² Sarah had become integrated into the Mormon community. She earned a living as a music and day-school teacher and had become a valuable member of the circle of highly regarded performers of the territory as a member of the Deseret Dramatic Association. She was also a private music instructor in Brigham Young’s household.⁶³ On 4 June 1856, Sarah and her students presented *Flora’s Festival* at the Social Hall. It was reported to be so popular with the public that it was repeated twice that season and was remembered for decades later.⁶⁴

By the fall of 1858, William was working “by request” with Salt Lake City as a policeman and city jailer. Historian Donald R. Moorman, called him (as a jailer) a “favorite target of ambush gunfire, frequently finding himself surrounded by drunken mobs attempting to storm the prison to release friends or fellow travelers.”⁶⁵ In the evening of 12 October 1858, William was shot in the thigh by “a ruffian named McDonald, alias Cunningham,” a recently arrived teamster. McDonald and two other men went to the jail to forcibly release two prisoners. They were allowed entrance without disclosing their weapons. When the prisoners refused to escape, McDonald pulled his weapon, cocked it, and cursed at a prisoner to escape.⁶⁶ William told him to stop. McDonald ordered him to release the prisoners and William reportedly told him “that as a policeman and on duty . . . [he] would not let [them] out.” McDonald fired, hitting him in the thigh. After lingering for six days, William died on the evening of 18 October, becoming Utah’s first police officer killed in the line of duty. A coroner’s inquest was convened that evening. It determined that the bullet had severely

fractured William's femur and that "recovery was beyond the poser of human skill."⁶⁷

After thirty-two years of marriage Sarah was a widow at the age of fifty. Her anguish was captured in two poems addressed to her by noted Mormon poet Eliza R. Snow. The first poem, "To Mrs. Sarah Ann Cook [*sic*]" consisted of seven stanzas and described William as an ". . . affectionate father—a husband confiding & true." "How cruel the blow of bereavement," it went on, "He had enter'd a higher existence the crown of a martyr to gain."⁶⁸ The second nine-stanza poem described Sarah's sorrow and attempted to comfort her,

Look thro' your tears, Dear Lady,
And see the rainbow spread
A glorious resurrection
Awaits the virtuous dead.⁶⁹

Within a week, Sarah began advertising the opening of a school for girls at her residence in the Fourteenth Ward.⁷⁰ In addition to primary and advanced English, lessons on the melodeon were offered for \$12 per quarter for a one-hour-long lesson per week, with a \$3 charge for use of books and instruments.⁷¹ On 30 October 1858, the Salt Lake City Council noted the condition of the Cooke family and appropriated \$150 to "sustain the family of William Cooke."⁷² Brigham Young offered her a home, allowed her to select its location, and bought it for her for \$500, giving its equivalent, a wagon and team, to its owner.⁷³

In November 1860, Sarah reported she had closed her day school and advertised the opening of a singing school in December for young women and gentlemen. She noted she had additional space for pupils on the "Piano Forte and Melodeon."⁷⁴ Unfortunately for her, musician David Calder, a recent English immigrant, had opened a singing school that same month. By 1861, Calder had organized two singing classes consisting of two hundred students.⁷⁵ His successes reportedly caused Sarah to close her school. It has been suggested that Calder's highly advertised patronage by Brigham Young accounted for its success and that it reflected the "popular attitude that music, as a profession, should be left to men."⁷⁶ It also reflected interest in the new arrival of a well-trained musician, even though Sarah had already been teaching for almost a decade.

In 1858 during the Utah War, activities at the Social Hall had ceased. When the troops left, Brigham Young determined that Salt Lake City should have a first-class theater, and construction began in July 1861. The Salt Lake Theatre opened its doors on 6 March 1862. The dedicatory prayer of Daniel H. Wells described its purpose: "Thy people may receive amusement and recreation, and dedicate to Thee Our Father, that it may be pure and holy unto the Lord Our God . . . for pastime, amusement and recreation, for plays, theatrical performances for lectures, conventions or celebrations, or whatever purpose it may be used for the benefit of Thy Saints."⁷⁷ Brigham Young only wanted "members of the church to work in the building . . . he did not want tragedies performed" because there was "enough tragedy in the lives of the Saints already."⁷⁸ On the opening night, Sarah played the part of Gavotte in *Pride of the Market*. She then appeared seventeen more times in 1863 productions.⁷⁹

A story is told that at the closing of the theater's first season, it was decided to acknowledge in "rhythmic terms" the players who had donated their services as "a matter of love." Sarah was asked to do it "metric justice." She wrote a verse of appreciative praise to each player (excluding herself) describing acting roles followed by a "rollicking chorus." All was set to the tune of "Merry Mormon." Henry Maibeu served as spokesman, while others stood in a semicircle on the stage. Each verse was sung, followed by the chorus. After the final chorus, Maibeu sang impromptu:

I publish Mrs.Cooke's good fame,
When Lady Leatherbridge I name,
Or Lady Scraggs, that haughty dame,
Or sprightly Miss O'Leary.⁸⁰

In 1864, Sarah asked to retire from performing because of her age, "but begged to remain an honorary member of the association" that she might receive free admittance to the theater. The privilege was granted.⁸¹ The average age of members ranged from seventeen to twenty-three; Sarah was then fifty-six.

In 1865, an earnest request was made for the revival of the very popular play, *The Porter's Knot*, in which she and Hyrum Clawson had taken leading parts. It was said that Clawson made a personal appeal to



Sarah Ann Cooke acting in an unidentified play on the Salt Lake Theatre stage, ca. 1863. Photo courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Sarah and she had accepted the invitation.⁸² The performance was scheduled for Saturday evening, 26 February 1865. Sarah started from her dressing room at the signal for her appearance on stage, but she tripped, falling down the stairs. She dislocated her wrist, broke her arm, and was severely bruised. John T. Caine, stage manager, immediately made the announcement before the curtain. The *Deseret News* reported, "The lady being so well known and highly respected . . . a gloomy feeling was felt around, neither performers nor audience being able to enter with spirit into the entertainment."⁸³ Brigham Young asked her to place her arm on his, but she refused and had a doctor called. Sarah's arm was never "wholly restored," and Brigham Young told her it was because she did not first have the faith that he could heal her. He called upon her the following morning and told her that he had paid Dr. Andersen \$25 and that she would not need him again.⁸⁴ His actions began her doubts and would color her views of Brigham Young forever.

Sarah's friends were profoundly distressed by the accident and agreed something had to be done to assist her. Actresses Sara Alexander and Margaret Clawson led the effort and proposed a fund to buy Sarah a piano for her to teach music in her own home rather than in Brigham Young's private school. Public response was said to be overwhelming and gratifying. In their first two days of solicitation they raised \$400. The remainder of the funds were raised and the piano was purchased and delivered.⁸⁵ Still, it was said that Sarah was never able to perform publicly again, though she did continue teaching private music lessons.

The 1860s saw the marriage of two of Sarah's children. Lilly married William Lehi Dykes on 24 December 1894 in the Endowment House. She was twenty years old, while William was a twenty-three-year-old miner.⁸⁶ John married Margaret Catherine Miller at the home of Judge Elias Smith on 16 September 1866 in the presence of Sarah and her son Thomas.⁸⁷

The next few years of Sarah's life remain unclear, but her subsequent public actions placed her clearly in conflict with Brigham Young. A personal conflict with Young only intensified her doubts about the Mormon Church. An ownership dispute arose regarding the home provided to Sarah after her husband's death. In August 1866, she was shocked when Mr. East, a neighbor,⁸⁸ informed her that he intended to purchase her home from Brigham Young. She immediately sent a letter to President Young reminding him that the home had been provided to

her after her husband's death, that he had declined the money she had offered in payment, and of "the fidelity with which [she] and [her] son had carried out [his] directions."⁸⁹ Sarah and her family had spent more than \$2,000 making extensive improvements to the property, including constructing an addition to the house, digging a cellar, building fences, and planting orchards and shrubs.⁹⁰ She later said that Mr. East's letter "made [her] doubtful about President Young having given [her] that piece [of land]" and she asked him "if he was going to make any exchange or disposition of it to let [them] have the first chance."⁹¹

Brigham Young offered to sell them the property for \$4,000 in four annual installments of \$1,000 with 10 percent interest. Since the initial installment included a large interest payment it proved impossible for the Cookes to pay. Sarah was unwilling to give up what she "considered [to be her] home" and proposed an extension of the payments. Brigham Young told her to submit her proposal in writing. After three days and what Sarah called "a sleepless night" she told President Young that it was impossible for her to undertake the obligation. Sarah never signed a contract for the property's purchase.⁹²

Sarah was contacted by a Mr. Musser, an emissary from Salt Lake City,⁹³ and informed that the Salt Lake City Council had appropriated \$2,000 for the benefit of her family. He added that he carried an order from "Esquire Wells" (Daniel Wells was Salt Lake's mayor) for the payment of \$2,000 to Brigham Young for her signature. She believed that her signature would secure her home.⁹⁴ She later received a note from Brigham Young stating he had credited the money to her account and indicated that he would give her two years to pay the remaining \$2,000 and with interest collected monthly. She made interest payments totaling about \$187. No further payments were made to the principal and she ultimately asked for the return of the \$2,000. For five years, the dispute continued without resolution. Sarah had been an active and involved Mormon, but her once close relationship with Brigham Young had soured and caused her serious doubts about the church. She had totally and completely trusted Brigham Young, and his demands for her to purchase the property that she truly believed had been given to the Cooke family shattered her beliefs and made her receptive to other views.

Historian Lola Van Wagenen described Sarah's apostasy as being born out of the "New Movement (commonly known as Godbeites)."⁹⁵

This was a movement of intellectuals opposed to Brigham Young and his ideal community which broke out in the fall of 1869. This short-lived movement had popular appeal and established a rival church, founded an opposition press, and built the Liberal Institute (a comfortable lecture hall). Ronald Walker's *Wayward Saints* noted that Sarah lectured at the Liberal Institute.⁹⁶ She later recounted that her earliest doubts arose when she first "heard Brigham Young's family prayer expressing so much vindictiveness . . . [with] bitter denunciation of their enemies and prayers of their destruction . . . free of Christian love and charity." Sarah had never fully accepted polygamy and came to believe "women living in polygamy, were sacrificing living martyrs . . . [who] believ[ed] . . . the priesthood was one ordained by God."⁹⁷

On 25 August 1871, Sarah filed a complaint in the Third District Court against Brigham Young, charging that he owed her \$2,187, which included the \$2,000 provided by Salt Lake City and interest paid.⁹⁸ Brigham Young's attorneys responded with a countersuit for \$4,310.85 for sums "alleged to have been paid for the plaintiff, and for the rent." The counterclaim listed eleven years of rent, groceries, theater tickets, and medical bills.⁹⁹

On 23 October 1871, the trial began in the Third District Court with the complaint and answer read and opening arguments made.¹⁰⁰ Brigham Young did not attend any portion of the trial, but was well represented by noted Mormon attorney Zerubabbel Snow. Sarah was represented by well-known anti-Mormon attorney Robert N. Baskin. The trial lasted three days with only four witnesses testifying. When Brigham Young's attorneys admitted to the validity of her claim, the judge determined it was unnecessary to hear evidence concerning the claim but ruled the defense had to prove its counterclaim.

Snow contended that the claim was offset by their countersuit and attempted to show that Sarah owed Brigham Young the \$4,000 by calling Young's bookkeeper and Dr. Andersen, Sarah's physician, to testify. Sarah was called the second day. She testified that she had "never rented the place from Brigham Young or any of his agents; that it was purchased for her by Brigham Young; after her husband had been killed."¹⁰¹ She noted that she had given twelve years "service as an actress in Brigham Young's Theatre," adding that she had "understood that [her home] was to be given to her . . . in consideration of these facts." She "was willing to pay what it cost and had offered to make a

first payment, but was told by Brigham Young to go and improve the place for her home.”¹⁰² Judge McKean limited the defense’s cross-examination of Sarah when they challenged Brigham Young’s indebtedness after they had previously accepted the debt. On the third day, the plaintiff and defense attorneys summarized their cases. Judge McKean concluded, “There was [*sic*] no difficult questions of law involved in the case.” He charged the jury that “if the jury believed that the plaintiff had occupied the house of the defendant without an explicit agreement, they must allow a fair and reasonable rental, but if the facts in evidence proved a condition of things inconsistent with this assumption, they must be governed accordingly.”¹⁰³ On 26 October the jury decided in favor of Sarah and ordered Brigham Young to pay her \$2,986 plus interest and court costs. The defense immediately gave notice it would appeal.¹⁰⁴

The verdict did not end the case. Various legal maneuvers delayed the execution of the judgment as Brigham Young appealed the verdict to the Supreme Court, asking for a delay. During the October 1873 term, the Territorial Supreme Court dismissed Brigham Young’s appeal. On 17 October 1873, Judge McKean ordered the judgment served. Delays by the state’s attorney caused the *Salt Lake Tribune* to declare that “no fact is better known here in Utah than that Brigham Young is above the law.”¹⁰⁵ The judgment was finally paid, but only after long delay. This case marked Sarah’s complete and total break with the Mormon Church.

Sarah’s final struggle was to gain the ownership deed. On 8 March 1872, she filed a declaratory statement that she “claim[ed] to be the rightful owner and occupant and entitled to the possession” of the west part of lot 2 in Block 78.”¹⁰⁶ However, on 8 July 1874, Mormon probate court judge Elias Smith ruled “that Sarah A. Cook[e] being only a tenant at will of Brigham Young is not the rightful owner.” On 11 April 1877, Sarah appealed the decision to the District Court, and it ruled, “Sarah Ann Cooke was and is the rightful owner and occupant” and decreed that “a deed . . . should be issued to her.” Brigham Young and his son Hyrum Smith Young immediately appealed the decision to the Supreme Court. Finally, on 17 August 1878, the Utah Territorial Supreme Court affirmed the decision.¹⁰⁷ The case ended seven years after it had begun. Sarah had finally won her home and it would remain in her family for more than half a century. Brigham Young died in

August 1877, and Sarah carried proudly for the rest of her life the title of “first person to win a civil judgment against Brigham Young.”

While these final court appeals were being resolved, Sarah continued to establish herself as a prominent figure in the world of non-Mormon women. On 30 November 1872, she joined a small group of women meeting at the home of Mrs. Lucien P. Sanger to organize the Ladies Library Association and to establish a library and reading room. Members were primarily the wives of prominent non-Mormons—including the wives of territorial governor George A. Woods and Chief Justice C. M. Hawley. Sarah was elected vice-president.¹⁰⁸

On 16 December 1872, the Ladies Library Association opened its library and reading room in a small, carpeted room over the First National Bank. A local reporter described the room as being “decorated with paintings, pictures, and many things a lady’s taste suggest, present[ing] a cozy inviting appearance.” Four hundred books filled the shelves, and the latest newspapers and popular magazines covered the tables. Though the library was proposed as a free institution, a donation box was placed at the door for “the slipping of any loose change.”¹⁰⁹ The library was opened evenings from six to ten, and on Sundays from one to five.¹¹⁰

The library’s initial outlook appeared encouraging. Donations were regularly received and the patronage seemed to increase daily. By 1873, its popularity had increased to such an extent that the library was moved to larger quarters on First South.¹¹¹ These early successes, however, only masked the library’s underlying financial difficulties, which became evident by the end of the year. Annual expenses amounted to approximately \$1,150, which included \$250 for books and periodicals and \$900 for rent, librarians’ salaries, and supplies. The association was solely dependent on donations, and the added competition of two other libraries eliminated many funding sources. Campbell and Pattenson, booksellers and stationers, established a circulating library of eight hundred volumes for a dollar a month for regular subscribers. In the fall of 1874, the “Public Library and Reading Rooms of Deseret University” was opened free to the public and contained between two and three thousand volumes.¹¹²

The Ladies Library Association continued to fight for survival, but its futility soon became evident. In the spring of 1876, it requested the return of all books, which were then boxed and placed in storage.

The doors were closed “until an opportunity should offer to bring them into use again.”¹¹³ This ended the efforts of the Ladies Library Association, though individual members continued their fight for a public library for almost two decades.¹¹⁴

Sarah also gained recognition as a leader in the antipolygamy movement. She aided Ann Eliza Young, the divorced wife of Brigham Young, who was determined to escape Utah. Afraid for her own safety, Young made careful arrangements. On 27 November 1873, she stole from Walker Hotel in Salt Lake City with her father and, as a diversion, visited friends. On the walk back to the hotel they were met with a carriage. They then picked up Sarah (as her traveling companion) and headed for Uintah east of Ogden to meet the Union Pacific train. Irving Wallace, novelist and biographer of Ann Eliza, described Sarah as “a large, intelligent woman . . . [who] shared [with Ann Eliza] a single desire to avenge the wrongs committed against them by Brigham Young and aid in the destruction of polygamy.”¹¹⁵ Ann Eliza later wrote, “The night was intensely dark; we could not see our hands before our faces.” Twice during the evening they were lost but finally reached the station just as the train arrived. After they departed, Ann Eliza described herself as feeling a “new sense of freedom,” with “such utter loneliness” that she was “bewildered by the situation.” She wondered what to do and Sarah told her, “Keep up a brave heart and think of the work before you.” Ann Eliza noted that Sarah’s experience with Mormonism “had been no pleasanter than mine, and she was glad to get away from it.”¹¹⁶

In Laramie, Ann Eliza began a lecture tour which took her eastward across the United States. Sarah accompanied her for two months through Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri and then returned “bravely” to Salt Lake City at the end of January 1874.¹¹⁷ Ann Eliza called Sarah “a devoted and faithful companion.”¹¹⁸ There is no evidence that Sarah was endangered on her return to Salt Lake City.

In 1875, Sarah joined a small group of women who met at the home of Mrs. Jennie Froiseth and formed the Blue Tea, Utah’s first women’s club. Jennie, the wife of Bernard Froiseth, an army surveyor and cartographer, had arrived in Utah just three years before.¹¹⁹ The Blue Tea was an exclusive literary and cultural club with a membership limited to twenty-five. The women met to discuss literary works and to read papers that the members had researched and written. Meetings

were held weekly on Thursday afternoons for three hours.¹²⁰ Sarah was elected president and served from September 1878 to September 1879.

On 28 May 1879, the Blue Tea held a special meeting “designed both as a compliment and a surprise” for their “beloved President Mrs. Cooke” at the home of Mrs. Harriet Bane. A large number of members and a few visitors were in attendance and spent a “delightful afternoon with musical and poetical entertainment.” Mrs. Froiseth delivered an “impressive” impromptu address and presented Sarah with a gift, “a slight testimonial of appreciation and affection from the ladies.” Sarah was said to have been overcome with emotion but soon recovered her “customary equanimity.” By request she recited a thirty-three stanza poem of her own composition, placing it in context by first explaining her own early life.¹²¹

Among the members of the Blue Tea were a few women who believed a nonexclusive women’s club was needed in Salt Lake City, one that was not only for the literary elite, but also for women who were just learners. Eliza Kirtley Royle, Blue Tea vice-president, later wrote, “Very soon the few who were determined that a club should stand for the education of the many rather than culture for a few, seceded from the original society.”¹²²

In February 1877, three Blue Tea members and a few friends met at the home of Mrs. Tina R. Jones and organized the Ladies Literary Club for the purpose of “literary pursuits and mental culture.” Eliza Kirtley Royle was elected its first president and its first plank was said to be the “open door.” Since no minutes survive from before 1879, little is known of these first meetings, nor who its first members were.¹²³ It is not known when Sarah actually joined, but she is listed in the club’s fifty-year history as having joined prior to 1879.¹²⁴ In 1915, the *Deseret News* even identified Sarah as one of the club’s founding members.¹²⁵ Blue Tea members who participated in the “secession” were expelled from Blue Tea membership.¹²⁶

Unlike most literary clubs formed during the 1870s and 1880s, the Ladies Literary Club and Blue Tea members were not “older women who had joined after their families had grown,” but were for the most part young mothers with young children.¹²⁷ Most of these women were the wives of prominent businessmen, government officials, and religious leaders, and had resided in Utah for only a short time. A few were single professional women, but all were said to be

non-Mormons.¹²⁸ Mormons were not excluded from membership by the constitution or bylaws of the Ladies Literary Club, but by what was said to be a common understanding. Gentile women, a tiny minority in the entire territory of Utah, felt a need to form a sisterly enclave.¹²⁹ Eliza Kirtley Royle later wrote that “the Club was organized for intellectual culture and upon the principles of deep sympathy and broad charity.”¹³⁰

Mrs. George Y. Wallace, a founding member, later recalled: “We studied Rome until I could nearly find my way blindfolded through its streets. I had to write a paper, about it, and I can remember that, while I didn’t mind writing it. I tried to get someone else to read it. She wouldn’t, so I had to do it myself. I was scared to death, but I managed through it.”¹³¹

Two of the most important functions of the club were broadening the members’ outlook and developing their poise. The club seemed to bring out talents and abilities that might otherwise have “lain dormant.”¹³² Karen J. Blair noted in *Clubwomen as Feminist* that “the task of freeing women from inhibitions about speaking publicly was not an easy one. For generations women and girls had been taught that silence in public was a virtue.”¹³³

Meanwhile, Sarah continued her antipolygamy activities. Throughout the early 1870s, antipolygamy efforts were largely limited to public lectures, letter writing, and petitioning Congress. In the fall of 1878, though, an incident changed these efforts. Miss Carrie Owen, a young Englishwoman, reached Utah as a Mormon convert and found herself engaged to marry John Miles on the same day that he had taken another wife.¹³⁴ She told her tale of woe to various non-Mormon women, including Sarah, and soon this case became a cause célèbre. While accounts of the case differ dramatically, all observers agree that it was used to escalate antipolygamy efforts. Orson F. Whitney called the Miles case “the beginning of the anti-polygamy movement.”¹³⁵

Antipolygamists adopted Miles as their spiritual sister and met at Sarah’s home to plan an antipolygamy rally and compose letters of protest. On 7 November 1878, the rally was held in Independence Hall, with Sarah serving as the chairman. No minutes exist for the meeting, but newspapers recorded that more than two hundred attended and that “non-Mormons [had] meticulously planned a single speech and deliberately limited debate.”¹³⁶ A Miss Read read the two

letters composed previously and the memorial. The first letter was addressed to the national clergy, the second letter to Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, the nation's first lady. They outlined the problems associated with Mormon polygamy and the political domination of the Mormons in Utah. The memorial was addressed to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, requesting that they strengthen the Morrill Act of 1862. The vice-president of the Women's National Temperance Union, Miss A. Losee, spoke, and the assembly organized a finance committee and a committee to collect signatures and distribute the letters and the memorial. All attendees but two or three signed the letters.¹³⁷

An initial meeting for an organized society was held after the rally. Not everyone that stayed had sympathies with the antipolygamy cause. Emmeline B. Wells, a well-known plural wife, attended and suggested that the new organization be called the Anti-Polygamy Celestial Marriage Association. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that ". . . someone said that it would make it pro-infernal, and the old hen subsided." The name Anti-Polygamy Society was selected and it was organized with the purpose of "prosecut[ing] the work enacted by the mass meeting."¹³⁸ Thirty thousand copies of the letter were printed and distributed throughout the United States, particularly targeting religious organizations. Six hundred copies of the *Salt Lake Tribune's* account of the mass meeting were also distributed to newspapers throughout the country. Historian Joan Smyth Iversen wrote that the Carrie Owen affair provided "the final impetus for forming the society."¹³⁹

The Anti-Polygamy Society's first official meeting was held on 12 November 1878. One hundred and fifty attended. Cornelia Paddock, a well-known antipolygamy author and lecturer, gave a "very stirring and eloquent address" which was interrupted by two Mormon women claiming that plural marriage was instituted by God. The *Salt Lake Tribune* dismissed the incident with a recommendation that Mormon women who attended in the future "confine themselves to decency." Thirteen officers were elected, including six who represented their own churches. At seventy, Sarah was elected the society's first president with Jennie A. Froiseth as vice-president.¹⁴⁰ The society's stated purpose was "not . . . to wage war against any party, sect, or person, but . . . to fight to the death that system which so enslaves and degrades our sex, and which robs them of so much happiness."¹⁴¹

After the initial meetings of the Anti-Polygamy Society, its officers helped to expand the network of antipolygamy advocates. Jennie A. Froiseth and Cornelia Paddock traveled, lectured, and wrote books. Sarah wrote letters and planned strategy. While no records of the Anti-Polygamy Society have been found, the *Anti-Polygamy Standard* began publication in April 1880. The newspaper was an eight-page monthly with an annual subscription price of one dollar. Each issue of the *Standard* carried the biblical verse 1 Corinthians 7:2 as its motto, "Let every Man have his own Wife, and Let every Woman have her own Husband," and a call to action to the "Women in America" by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Its purpose was "to plan and execute such measures as shall in the judgment of its members tend to suppress polygamy in Utah and other Territories of the United States."¹⁴² It documented the society's activities from 1880 to 1883. In August 1880, the society became a national organization, the Woman's National Anti-Polygamy Society, and chapters were soon formed throughout the United States. Sarah served as the society's president.

In 1882, Cornelia Paddock described the society's membership as being composed of one-third Gentiles, "the wives and daughters of our best citizens," while the "others are women who have been driven out of the Mormon Church by the wrongs and cruelties inflicted [upon them] in the name of religion." She added that Sarah, "is too well known to need any defence."¹⁴³

Woman suffrage was probably one of the most difficult and decisive issues confronted by Utah's antipolygamists. They disapproved of Mormon women leaders' involvement with the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), but they still wanted to be viewed as suffragists.¹⁴⁴ In May 1881, Sarah was made the NWSA's vice-president for Utah at a time when Mormon leader Emmeline Wells also held that title.¹⁴⁵

On 7 February 1882, the National Woman's Anti-Polygamy Society members discussed woman suffrage at their regular meeting and issued a statement signed by Sarah and the society's secretary, Mrs. L. W. Rivers, requesting its distribution to all woman suffrage organizations. It determined that "the ballot in the hands of Mormon women has only . . . [proved] to be an engine for the perpetuity of fanaticism, ignorance, crime and misery, instead of the palladium of American freedom." They concluded that "in spite of all these facts, we do not

advocate the repeal of what proved itself a most unjust law, nor ask for the disfranchisement of the women of the Territory as *women*." They "advocate[d] . . . the privilege of the ballot be denied any woman or man who lives in, or advocates the practice of polygamy . . . we do not desire to have the woman deprived of the privilege unless the same be done with her partner in crime."¹⁴⁶

Sarah devoted the rest of her life to the antipolygamy crusade. She served as the movement's matriarch. It is not known whether she traveled or lectured, but she conducted all of the society's meetings and periodically wrote articles for the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*. Because Sarah retained Mormon friends, she could speak and listen to Mormon women who were unhappy in polygamy. Some of these tales were later published in the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*. The Anti-Polygamy Society played an important role in the final demise of the practice of polygamy. It focused public opinion and pressured the U.S. Congress to pass appropriate legislation. The passage of the Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker Acts proved mighty weapons against polygamy.

In June 1883, an editor of the *Woman's Journal* came to Salt Lake City and interviewed the antipolygamy leaders. She described Sarah as "a gentle, motherly old lady, to whom I completely lost my heart, and I am not alone." Sarah told the story of her "conversion from Mormonism" and described Brigham Young's family prayers. Sarah recounted how she began "to suspect that . . . [such] a religion . . . was not of God." She also told the tale of "Mr. J," the husband of an "intimate friend" who lent money to Brigham Young, was never repaid, and had his property destroyed and burned by Young's "emissaries." She finally described her role in raising some of the surviving children of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.¹⁴⁷ The editor concluded her article with a plea for contributions to the Woman's Anti-Polygamy Society adding, "If we are sincere in our professions, let us help to furnish 'the sinews of war' to the brave women who are fighting the evil in its stronghold and sorely need help to carry on their little missionary paper."¹⁴⁸

Two weeks later, the *Deseret News* editorialized against Sarah's interview stating that "one of the editors of the *Woman's Journal* was hoodwinked while in this city, by some women who want to raise cash in the East." They called Sarah's tale of "Mr. J" a "rhodomontade" and forcefully added that "we had never heard of it before, and that

inquiries among the oldest inhabitants failed to elicit anything in support of the story." They added, "We will have no objection to the relation of anything that has taken place in this territory, and can make allowances for the exaggerations and colorings which may be used by persons who have receded from the faith, to give them weight in a desired direction." They charged that "Mrs. S. A. Cooke will gain nothing by manufacturing from this warp and woof of a diseased imagination of a malignant heart, such robes of falsehood as she used to dress up that slight fragment of truth, to appear in the startling form with which she and her associates beguiled" the editor. They concluded, "We shall take the opportunity to expose their nefarious doings as plainly and widely as possible."¹⁴⁹

In 1884, Sarah was interviewed by Matilda G. Bancroft, the wife of Hubert Bancroft the noted western historian, during the couple's six week visit to Salt Lake City. Hubert Bancroft later wrote, "We saw much of the leaders on both sides, were entertained by gentiles and Mormons, and entertained them in return; we listened attentively, but said little." An autobiographical life sketch was created from the interview; it served as Sarah's sole autobiography. It provides an overview of her life, describes her musical and theatrical career in Salt Lake City, and devotes one-third of its pages to the evils of polygamy. It only lists the number of Sarah's children but not their names nor ages.¹⁵⁰

It is not known how Sarah spent her last days. It is assumed as her health and strength allowed she divided her time between the antipolygamy crusade, her church, and her family.

The 1880 census showed that Lilly and her four sons were living with Sarah and her two unmarried sons. She was identified as a dress-maker and her sons' ages ranged from seventeen to five at the time. She had lost her third son, Frank, the previous year at the age of twelve to diphtheria. Her brothers Thomas and Richard were single, worked as carpenters, and financially supported their mother.¹⁵¹

Though Sarah had left the Mormon Church in 1869, she was said to have "never lost her faith in God or in the great essential truths of religion."¹⁵² It is not known whether she affiliated with any other church until she joined the Congregational Church in 1880.

On 7 August 1885, Sarah died at home surrounded by her family, just eight days short of her seventy-seventh birthday. Sarah's funeral overflowed with her family and friends from her long and full life in

Utah. She was eulogized by her friend and pastor Reverend J. B. Thrall as a “saint” whose “sanctity was not a mere veneer . . . [but] a sanctity of life and character.” He described her as “a woman of thorough-sincerity . . . of deep religious nature . . . [and] thorough-giving faithfulness.” These three characteristics were said to be “the roots of her life.” She was the “best of mothers” and left a family of six children (five sons and one daughter) who “loved and revered her,” along with seventeen grandchildren and thirteen great-grandchildren who “idolized her.”¹⁵³ The *Salt Lake Tribune* devoted a full column to publishing Reverend Thrall’s eulogy while the *Salt Lake Herald* included only a brief death notice. No mention was made in the *Deseret News*. The “respected Mrs. Cooke” lived a long and full life. She suffered numerous adversities but fought for what she believed. She left her mark on Utah by training numerous local musicians, and led a movement which helped change the Mormon Church forever.



Romania Pratt became the first female doctor in Utah. Photo courtesy of the LDS Church Historical Department.