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## Worth Their Salt Too

Colleen Whitley

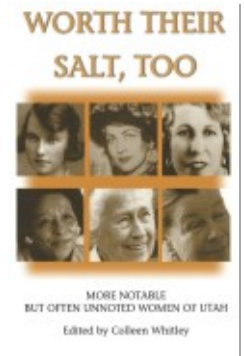
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## Notes

### Preface

1. Karen Stilling, conversations with Colleen Whitley, 1990s.
2. Ronald McCook, quoted by Susan Lyman-Whitney in “Chipeta: She Didn’t Want to Come to Utah,” in *Worth Their Salt*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996).
3. John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964), xiv.

### Chapter 1

1. “The Late Mrs. S. A. Cooke,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 12 August 1885, 4. Sarah was christened on 12 September 1808 at St. Peter’s Parish Church in Leeds, Yorkshire, England. See Leeds, Yorkshire, England, St. Peter’s Parish Register, “Christenings,” Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereinafter called FHL), film 0,918,377.
2. Leeds is located 203 miles north of London and 194 miles south of Edinburgh, Scotland. It was one of the first commercial towns in that part of England. By 1811, the city boasted a population of 62,534. An early guide described the “columns of smoke arising from the numerous manufactories” and that the “water is more contaminated by the manufactories than even the atmosphere—so much as almost to be rendered unfit for culinary purposes” (*Directory, General and Commercial of the Town & Borough of Leeds for 1817* [Leeds: Edward Baines, 1817], A; FHL, film 0,918,377; *The Leeds Directory of 1809* [Leeds: Robinson & Co. Booksellers, 1809], 68; FHL, film 1,866,844).
3. Charles Sutton, the third child of Thomas and Sarah Sutton, was christened on 31 May 1811 at St. Peter’s Parish Church, Leeds, Yorkshire, England (“Christenings,” FHL, film 0,188,377). He must have died as an infant because no further mention has been located. Sarah only mentioned one brother.
4. Blue Tea Minutes, 28 May 1878, 59, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, MS 439, box 3.

5. Leeds, Yorkshire, England, St. Peter's Parish Register, "Marriages, 1825-1827," certificate number 531, FHL, film 918,384.
6. *Ibid.* Though Sarah was only eighteen, she was identified as a "spinster" as most other brides were. Marriage was most often by banns. They are notices of intentions to marry called out three times during Sunday services in the church or churches in the parish in which the bride and bridegroom lived. Marriage by license was a less common, more costly, but quicker method. It was seen as a "status symbol." All upper class and some middle class couples were married by license while few lower class couples were. See Gerald Hamilton-Edwards, *Tracing Your British Ancestors: A Guide to Genealogical Sources* (New York: Walker and Company, 1967), 65-68.
7. Pollington is a small community just twenty miles east of Leeds (Ancestry File, Family Search, "Marriages," FHL, certificate 531).
8. Blue Tea Minutes, 28 May 1878, 59.
9. *Ibid.*, 63.
10. Ancestry File; St. Peter's Parish Register, FHL, film 0,918,377.
11. Blue Tea Minutes, 28 May 1878, 63.
12. National Archives, "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1846," Colm-Cook, FHL, film 0,350,221; National Archives, "Register of Vessels Arriving at the Port of New York from Foreign Ports, 1789-1919" (19 July 1819-30 March 1831), FHL, film 1,415,144.
13. George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1820-1824* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1926), 12; *Historical Studies Statistics of the U.S.: Colonial Times to 1970* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 42-43.
14. S. A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs in Utah," 1, in *Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register and City Directory for the Fifty-ninth Year of American Independence* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1834). Teachers Catharine H. Putnam and Lydia S. Starr are listed in the New York City directory.
15. *Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register and City Directory* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1831-1835). Only one William Cooke is listed in the New York City directory between 1831 and 1835. There is no way to know whether he is the same person. In 1831, a William Cooke is identified as a builder. In 1833, William Cooke is listed as a manufacturer of window blinds.
16. Family Search, U.S. Census, 1860 Census-Utah, 56, FHL, film 0,805,313.
17. S. A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs," 1.
18. Family Search, U.S. Census, 1860 Census-Utah, 56; "Resident of Salt Lake since 1857 Succumbs," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 July 1923, 2.
19. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, *Crossing the Plains in 1852: Narratives of a Trip from Iowa to "the Land of Gold" as Told in Letters Written during the Journey* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1987), 7.
20. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, "Letters on the Way to California," in *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1852-The California Trail*, ed. Kenneth L. Holmes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 210-11;

- Scott County, Iowa, Marriage Record, book 1 (1838–1852), certificate 384, 103–4, FHL, film 1,004,413.
21. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, “Letters,” 210.
  22. S. A. Cooke, “Theatrical and Social Affairs,” 1.
  23. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, *Crossing the Plains*, 7.
  24. *Ibid.*
  25. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, “Letters,” 211; U.S. Census Bureau, 1850 Census–Iowa, 108, FHL.
  26. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, “Letters,” 215.
  27. *Ibid.*, 218.
  28. *Ibid.*, 223–25.
  29. *Ibid.*, 225.
  30. *Ibid.*, 229.
  31. *Ibid.*, 241.
  32. *Ibid.*, 253–55. Sarah’s autobiography noted son William’s illness with mountain fever as a factor in staying, but Lucy does not mention it. See S. A. Cooke, “Theatrical and Social Affairs,” 2.
  33. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, “Letters,” 264.
  34. S. A. Cooke, “Theatrical and Social Affairs,” 3; “The Late Mrs. S. A. Cooke.”
  35. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, “Letters,” 265.
  36. S. A. Cooke, “Theatrical and Social Affairs,” 3.
  37. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, “Letters,” 273.
  38. *Ibid.*, 267.
  39. *Ibid.*, 269.
  40. Winifred Snell Margetts, “A Study of the Salt Lake Actor from 1850 to 1869” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1948), 65; Deseret Dramatic Association Minute Book, book 1, 20 February 1852–14 June 1853, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department Archives (hereinafter cited as LDS Archives), Salt Lake City, Utah, MS 1382.
  41. Margetts, “A Study of the Salt Lake Actor,” 2; Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, “The Mechanics’ Association: London and Salt Lake City,” *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (fall 1997), 166.
  42. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, “Letters,” 273.
  43. “Echoes of Music in Utah,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 January 1895 (copy in Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereinafter known as Journal History), LDS Archives).
  44. *Ibid.*
  45. S. A. Cooke, “Theatrical and Social Affairs,” 7.
  46. George D. Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* (Salt Lake City: Seagull Press, 1928).
  47. Margetts, “A Study of the Salt Lake Actor,” 65, 301.
  48. Ila Fisher Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1961), 112; Deseret Dramatic Association Minute Book, book 1, Tuesday, 18 January 1853.

49. Lucy Rutledge Cooke, "Letters," 281.
50. *Ibid.*, 212, 385.
51. S. A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs" indicates, "Mr. Cooke learned of his wife's convictions and on his return to Salt Lake City became a Mormon" (p. 3).
52. Mission president Augustus Farnham's diary records he baptized, confirmed, and ordained William Cooke an elder in Australia in June 1854. See Augustus Farnham, "Diary," LDS Archives. The Australia Mission's newspaper, *Zion's Watchman*, recounts William's remarks to the "Half-Yearly Conference" on his arrival fifteen months before and reports that he was baptized. See *Zion's Watchman*, 14 October 1854, 156.
53. C. M. H. Clark, *A History of Australia: The Earth Abideth For Ever, 1851-1888* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980), 5, 58.
54. "Half-Yearly Conference—1 October 1853," *Zion's Watchman*, 14 October 1854, 156.
55. Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1991), 150.
56. "Half-Yearly Conference," 156.
57. "Australasian" Mission, Historical Records and Minutes, LDS Archives, LR 10870, reel 1.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 151.
60. *Ibid.*, 152.
61. Parley L. Belnap, "The History of the Salt Lake Tabernacle Organ" (special studies paper in musical arts, University of Colorado, Boulder, 1974), 4.
62. S. A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs," 3.
63. Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and Politics of Women, 1870-1896" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994), 252.
64. "Flora's Festival," *Deseret News*, 28 May 1856, 93; "Echoes of Music in Utah," 1.
65. Donald R. Moorman with Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 233. While Moorman's account provides information not located elsewhere (and not cited), it includes two major errors. William was not shot twice in the chest (but in the thigh) nor did he bleed to death (he lingered six days before dying).
66. "Attempted Murder," *Deseret News*, 13 October 1858, 142.
67. "Lamented Death," *Deseret News*, 20 October 1858, 142; "Minutes of the Coroner's Inquest, 18 October 1858," LDS Church Historian's Journal, MS 2737, box 26, folder 1, vol. 1, 586-90.
68. Eliza R. Snow, "Journal and Notebook (1842-1844), holograph," dated 28 March 1859, LDS Archives. The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Jill Mulvay Derr in bringing these two poems to her attention.
69. Eliza R. Snow, "Addressed to Mrs. Cooke of New York on the Death of Her Husband," undated, in "Journal," 1842-1882, holograph, 36, LDS Archives.
70. "Girls' School," *Deseret News*, 27 October 1858, 148.

71. William Earl Purdy, "Music in the Mormon Culture, 1830-1878" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1960), 47.
72. Salt Lake City Council Minutes, 30 October 1858, book B, 143. Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
73. S. A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs," 10.
74. "Music and Singing Schools," and "Music and Singing," *Deseret News*, 21 November 1860, 304.
75. Purdy, "Music in the Mormon Culture," 50.
76. Jennifer L. Fife, "Pioneer Harmonies: Mormon Women and Music, 1847-1900" (master's thesis, Utah State University, 1994), 48.
77. Aaron Alma Roylance, "The Salt Lake Theatre as an Organizational Unit" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1963), 13.
78. *Ibid.*, 15.
79. Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake Actor," 140.
80. "Echoes of Music in Utah," 1.
81. Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert*, 123.
82. "Echoes of Music in Utah," 1.
83. "Theatrical," *Deseret News*, 1 March 1865, 172.
84. S. A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs," 11.
85. Maughan, *Pioneer Theatre in the Desert*, 128; "Echoes of Music in Utah," 1.
86. Ancestry File.
87. Judge Smith served as probate judge from 1851 to 1884 in Salt Lake City (Judith W. Hansen and Norman Lundberg, comp., *Marriage in Utah Territory 1850-1884 from the Deseret News 1850-1872 and the Elias Smith Journals 1850-1884* [Salt Lake City: Utah Genealogical Association, 1998], 64).
88. The 1869 Salt Lake City directory identifies only one Mr. East. He is Edward Wallace East (1814-1884), who served as clerk of the county court in 1869.
89. Applications of Sarah Ann Cooke, et al, and Deposition of Sarah Ann Cooke, Utah Territory, Third District Court, Civil Case no. 1795, 43, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
90. "Third District Court," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 25 October 1871, 3.
91. Deposition of Sarah Ann Cooke, 36.
92. *Ibid.*, 37.
93. Sarah does not identify Mr. Musser. The 1869 Salt Lake City directory identifies one Musser, Amos Milton Musser (1830-1909). Musser was the general superintendent of the Deseret Telegraph Company and traveling bishop of the LDS Church. I have not yet identified that he had a separate relationship with Salt Lake City nor found any documentation on the city's expenditure of funds.
94. Deposition of Sarah Ann Cooke, 48.
95. Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," 252.
96. Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), xiii, 279.
97. S. A. Cooke, "Theatrical and Social Affairs in Utah," p. 3

98. *Sarah Ann Cooke v. Brigham Young*, Utah Territory, Third District Court, Civil Case no. 982—, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
99. “Sarah Ann Cooke vs. Brigham Young—Answer,” Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
100. Patricia Lyn Scott, “The Widow and the Lion of the Lord: Sarah Ann Cooke vs. Brigham Young” (unpublished paper presented at the Mormon History Association Annual Conference in Ogden, Utah, May 1999), 7–9. “Scott is currently preparing an extensive review of the trial for the *Journal of Mormon History*.”
101. “Local Matters—Third District Court—Hon. J. B. McKean, Justice,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 25 October 1871, 3.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*; “Third District Court,” *Salt Lake Herald*, 26 October 1871, 3.
104. “The Decision,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 27 October 1871, 3.
105. “Brigham Young above the Law,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 5 February 1874, 1.
106. Deposition of Sarah Ann Cooke, 53–55. Sarah’s home was located on the current site of the Salt Palace.
107. “Case of Sarah Ann Cooke and Lot 2, Block 78,” Utah Territory, Third District Court; Civil Case No. 1795, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. The statement was required by the rules and regulations approved by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah on 17 February 1869. See Lawrence Linford, “Establishing and Maintaining Land Ownership prior to 1869,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (spring 1974): 12–25.
108. “Ladies Library Association,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 December 1872, 3.
109. “Opening of the New Reading Room—Its Grand Success and Flattering Prospects—All Honor to the Ladies,” *Utah Mining Journal*, 17 December 1872, 3.
110. S. H. Goodwin, *Freemasonry in Utah—The Masonic Public Library* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1929), 18.
111. *Ibid.*, 21; “Ladies Free Library and Reading Room,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 May 1873, 3.
112. *Ibid.*; Max J. Evans, “A History of the Public Library Movement in Utah” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1971), 34.
113. *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Free and Accepted Masons of Utah at the 6th Annual Communication*, held at the New Masonic Hall, Salt Lake City, Utah, 13 November 1877 (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1877), 21.
114. The Ladies Library Association’s book collection became part of the Masonic Public Library and then its successor, the Pioneer Public Library, and finally the Salt Lake City Public Library when it opened its doors on 14 February 1898 (Patricia Lyn Scott, “The Gentile Roots of the Salt Lake City Public Library, 1866–1898” [unpublished paper presented to the Mormon History Association Conference, May 1984]).
115. Wallace does not cite the source of this description, and I have found no other such description (Irving Wallace, *The Twenty-seventh Wife* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961], 275).

116. Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19* (New York: Arno, 1972), 570.
117. Wallace, *The Twenty-seventh Wife*, 278–97. This account indicates that Sarah had been “ailing.”
118. Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19*, 571.
119. Jennie Froiseth (1849–1930) had been raised in English literary circles and frequently lamented the lonely life in Utah. While visiting a New York friend, Julia Ward Howe, it was suggested she organize a woman’s club and call it Blue Tea, reminiscent of “bluestocking fame” and “dainty pink teas” (Ora Leigh Traugher, “Reawakened Memoirs in the Annals of Salt Lake Clubdom,” *Deseret News*, 24 April 1926, copy in clipping file, Salt Lake City Public Library, Utah).
120. Blue Tea Minutes, 19–20. See Patricia Lyn Scott, “Eliza Kirtley Royle: Beloved Club Mother,” in *Worth Their Salt: Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 50–51.
121. *Ibid.*, 57–64.
122. Katherine Barrette Parsons, *History of Fifty Years: Ladies Literary Club, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1877–1927* (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, Inc., 1927), 24.
123. Patricia Lyn Scott, “Firm in Our Endeavor: The Ladies Literary Club, 1877 to 1927” (paper presented at the Utah Women’s History Association Annual Meeting, 12 March 1983), 2; Parsons, *History of Fifty Years*, 23.
124. Parsons, *History of Fifty Years*, 23. The Ladies Literary Club did not maintain a separate membership listing until the 1880s; in 1891 it began publishing an annual club book which listed all current members and their addresses. This book is still being published.
125. “Leaves from Old Albums,” *Deseret Evening News*, 1 May 1915, section 2, 7.
126. Blue Tea Minutes, 30. The minutes illustrate this action with a membership list showing a line drawn through these names.
127. Karen J. Blair, *Clubwomen as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980), 24.
128. Thomas G. Alexander, in “Cooperation, Conflict, and Compromise: Women, Men, and the Environment in Salt Lake City, 1890–1930” (*BYU Studies* 35 [winter 1995]: 9), describes the founders of the Ladies Literary Club as “Mormons, Protestants and Catholics.” I have undertaken a study of the early membership of the Ladies Literary Club (1879–1893) and have found no active Mormon women as members but have identified a few apostate Mormons, including Sarah.
129. Scott, “Firm in Our Endeavor,” 2. This understanding existed only for a few years, and by 1893 Mormon women were welcomed as members.
130. Eliza K. Royle, “The Ladies’ Literary Club of Salt Lake City,” in *Manual of Ladies Literary Club of Salt Lake City for the Columbian Exposition* (Salt Lake City: Ladies Literary Club, 1893), 1.
131. *Salt Lake Tribune*, unidentified clipping (ca. Feb 1927); “Snap Shots (scrapbook, 1924–1927)” Ladies Literary Club, Salt Lake City, Utah.
132. *Salt Lake Tribune*, unidentified clipping (ca. Feb 1927).
133. Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*, 40. Sarah was also a strong temperance advocate and became one of the “most zealous workers in the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union” (“The Late Mrs. S. A. Cooke,” 4).



134. Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, 1862–1890* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 193.
135. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1892–1904), 3:60.
136. “Anti-Polygamy,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 November 1878, 4.
137. Ibid.
138. Ibid.; Barbara Hayward, “Utah’s Anti-Polygamy Society, 1878–1884” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980), 20.
139. Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in the U.S. Woman’s Movements, 1880–1925: A Debate on the American Home* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), 108.
140. Van Wagenen, “Sister-Wives and Suffragists,” 255.
141. “Our Policy,” *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, April 1880, 2.
142. Ibid.
143. Cornelia Paddock, “The Anti-Polygamists of Utah,” *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, June 1882, 2.
144. Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy*, 161.
145. Ibid. The NWSA appointed state officers within the organization with a simple voice vote of the executive committee.
146. “Open Letter to the Suffragists of the United States,” *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, March 1882, 1.
147. See Robert N. Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1914), 122.
148. “In Salt Lake City,” *Woman’s Journal* 14 July 1883: 212. The appeal did not seem to help: the *Anti-Polygamy Standard* ceased publication after its September 1883 issue.
149. “Mrs. S. A. Cooke’s ‘Rhodomontade,’” *Deseret Evening News*, 27 July 1883, copy in Journal History.
150. Dale L. Morgan and George P. Hammond, eds., *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 99.
151. The census does not list Lilly’s marital status. It is known that she was not a widow, but it is uncertain whether they were separated or divorced or whether she was just living with her mother temporarily. Her husband, William Lehi Dykes, died in Arizona in 1894. In the 1904 Salt Lake City directory, Lilly was identified as a widow (U.S. Census, 1880 Census-Utah, 89, FHL, film 1,255,337; Death Registers, FHL, film 26,554).
152. “The Late Mrs. S. A. Cooke,” 4.
153. Ibid.

## Chapter 2

1. Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1963) 6:364.
2. Phyllis Pratt Hoppie, interview by Edna Sutherland, Salt Lake City, Utah, photocopy of transcript, quoted in Christine Croft Waters, “Romania P. Penrose,” in

- Sister Saints*, ed. Vicky Burgess-Olsen (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 347.
3. *Memoir of Romania B. Pratt, M.D.*, uncatalogued manuscript, LDS Archives, 1.
  4. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 344.
  5. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:366.
  6. *Memoir of Romania B. Pratt*, 2.
  7. Ibid.
  8. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 345.
  9. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:366.
  10. *Deseret News*, 27 March 1937, 11.
  11. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 346.
  12. *Memoir of Romania B. Pratt*, 2.
  13. Keith Calvin Terry, "The Contribution of Medical Women during the First Fifty Years in Utah" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1964), 366.
  14. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:366.
  15. Records of Romania Bunnell Pratt, photocopy of manuscript in LDS Archives, original in possession of Edna P. Sutherland, Salt Lake City, Utah.
  16. Elizabeth Blackwell, *Pioneer Work for Women* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1895), 61.
  17. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, *Women Doctors of the World* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 12-14.
  18. *Young Woman's Journal* 2 (September 1891): 533.
  19. *Memoir of Romania B. Pratt*, 6.
  20. *Young Woman's Journal* 2 (September 1891): 534.
  21. *Memoir of Romania B. Pratt*.
  22. *Memoir of Romania B. Pratt*
  23. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 344.
  24. Romania B. Pratt Papers, uncatalogued manuscript, LDS Archives, 3.
  25. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 344.
  26. Romania B. Pratt Papers.
  27. Ibid.
  28. Carter, "Romania P. Penrose," 364.
  29. *Woman's Exponent* 6 (15 November 1877).
  30. *Woman's Exponent* 9 (1 June 1879): 5.
  31. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 344.
  32. *Woman's Exponent* 18 (15 August 1890): 331.
  33. Ibid.
  34. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 351.
  35. Ibid.
  36. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 6:367.
  37. Ibid., 6:368.
  38. Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1886), 140-43.
  39. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 344.
  40. *Young Woman's Journal* 2 (September 1891): 53.

41. *Woman's Exponent* 36 (October 1908): 53.
42. Ibid.
43. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 356.
44. Terry, "The Contribution of Medical Women," 48.
45. Ibid.
46. Waters, "Romania P. Penrose," 357.
47. Charles W. Penrose papers, uncatalogued manuscript, LDS Church Archives.

### Chapter 3

1. Beatrice Mitchell, "My Grandma Maeser: Anna Henrietta Therese Mieth Maeser" (unpublished manuscript in possession of Margaret Cannon, 1979), 2.
2. Marion Belnap Kerr, Papers, LDS Archives.
3. Douglas F. Tobler, "Karl G. Maeser's German Background, 1828-1856: The Making of Zion's Teacher," *BYU Studies* 17 (winter 1977): 155-75.
4. Alma P. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser: Mormon Educator* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1953), 9.
5. Kerr, Papers.
6. Harold H. Jenson, "True Pioneer Stories," *Juvenile Instructor* 65 (September 1930): 528.
7. Reinhard Maeser Collection, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, box 2, folder 10.
8. Maeser Collection, box 2, folder 8.
9. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser*, 12-13.
10. Kerr, Papers.
11. Winter Quarters was a small, temporary town located near present-day Omaha, Nebraska. Latter-day Saints stayed there during the harsh winters while traveling from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City, Utah.
12. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser*, 14.
13. Maeser Collection, box 2, folder 8.
14. *Journal History*, 27 July 1860, 1.
15. "Camilla Clara Cobb," in Noble Warrum, *Utah since Statehood* (Chicago and Salt Lake City: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1919), 3:1121-22.
16. Kerr, Papers; Anne Marie Fox Felt, Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Schoolteachers*, pamphlet (Salt Lake City: DUP, 1982).
17. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser*, 16.
18. Felt, Papers.
19. Prior to his marriage to Camilla Meith, James T. Cobb was married to Mary Van Cott. They had a daughter, Luella Cobb. After their marriage was dissolved Mary became one of Brigham Young's wives. Mary was the mother of Brigham Young's last child, Fannie (Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985], 333-34).
20. Harold H. Jenson, "True Pioneer Stories," 528.

21. Ralph V. Chamberlain, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850-1950* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960), 585.
22. Evelyn Fannon, interview by author, tape recording, American Fork, Utah, 1 November 1995.
23. Felt, Papers.
24. "The Pioneer Kindergarten," *Woman's Exponent* 25 (1 April 1897): 124.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Mary Woodland Fox, "An Enduring Legacy," in Kate B. Carter, *Treasures of Utah Pioneer History* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952), 1:59-62.
28. The gifts were an intrinsic part of Froebel's kindergarten methods. He arranged them in a logical geometric sequence. The first gift is the ball, which represents finding, clasping, rolling, sliding, and falling. The second gift is a wooden sphere, which represents variety, contrast, and synthesis. The third through tenth gifts were cubes, squares, triangles, and rings signifying building and infinite possibilities. Like gifts, occupations were an intrinsic part of Froebel's system. They were presented and used after the child was familiar with all of the gifts. They include activities using solid forms and textures such as drawing, paper twisting, embroidering, clay modeling, et cetera (Elizabeth Dale Ross, *The Kindergarten Crusade: The Establishment of Preschool Education in the United States* [Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976], 6).
29. Kerr, Papers; "The Pioneer Kindergarten," 124.
30. "The Pioneer Kindergarten," 124; Fox, "An Enduring Legacy."
31. "The Pioneer Kindergarten," 124.
32. Felt, Papers.
33. Ibid.
34. Harold H. Jenson, "True Pioneer Stories," 528.
35. Felt, Papers.
36. Ibid.
37. Camilla Clara Cobb, "The Kindergarten," *Woman's Exponent* 4 (September 1875): 47.
38. Ibid.
39. The only available account that gives a specific number of years that Cobb taught kindergarten is the interview by Mrs. C. D. Fox contained in the Felt Papers. However, the September 1875 issue of the *Woman's Exponent* reported that on 30 August 1875 Cobb began the school year as an assistant teacher for Miss M. E. Cook at the Social Hall. It also stated that Cobb was the teacher responsible for second grade readers (*Woman's Exponent* 4 [September 1875]: 61). Whether Cobb carried out her kindergarten while teaching at Miss Cook's school is unclear, but probably not likely.
40. Fox, interview.
41. Felt, Papers.
42. Heber J. Grant, "My School Days," *Improvement Era* 44 (November 1941): 665.
43. Felt, Papers.

44. Felt, Fox, and Kerr verify this fact.
45. J. Peterson and L. Gaunt, *The Children's Friends: Primary Presidents and Their Lives of Service* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1996), 11–12.
46. Salt Lake Stake, Historical Records and Minutes, 1897, LDS Archives.
47. Ibid.
48. Lynn M. Hilton, ed., *The Story of Salt Lake Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 125 Year History* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Stake, 1972), 318.
49. Peterson and Gaunt, 16.
50. Conference Report, October 1899, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, 66.
51. Conrad A. Harward, "A History of the Growth and Development of the Primary Association of the LDS Church, 1878–1928" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976), 193–94.
52. Reinhard Maeser, "Camilla Clara Cobb: First Kindergarten Teacher in Utah," *Relief Society Magazine* 10 (October 1923): 501.
53. "Utah Pioneer Teacher Honored at Luncheon," Camilla C. Cobb file, 1920, Historical Department, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah. The exact date of the luncheon is not printed in the newspaper article.
54. "Pioneer Kindergarten Teacher of Utah," *Deseret Evening News*, 25 November 1922.
55. Utah State Kindergarten Association, in Felt, Papers, 7a.
56. Fox, "An Enduring Legacy," 61.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Mary A. Parsons, "Reminiscences of the Beginning of Kindergartens in Salt Lake City, Utah," in Felt Papers, 1929, 3.
60. Charlotte Anderson to Anne Marie Fox Felt, 1930, Felt Papers; Charlotte Anderson to Jane Skolfield, 1930, Felt Papers.
61. Kerr, Papers.
62. "Kindergarten Association to Honor Charter Members on Fortieth Anniversary," *Sunday Morning Tribune*, 17 May 1936.
63. Ibid.
64. "Pioneer Teacher of Utah is Dead," 1933, Camilla C. Cobb file, Historical Department, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah.
65. Fox, "An Enduring Legacy," 61–62.

## Chapter 4

1. Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, First Church of Christ, Scientist, Salt Lake City, Utah, 21.
2. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "Mary Baker Eddy," in *Notable American Women, 1607–1950* (Cambridge: Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 1:551–61.

3. Andrew Jenson, "Joseph Leland Heywood," *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901), 1:646-47.
4. Orson F. Whitney, "Obsequies of B. B. Heywood," *Deseret Evening News*, 27 August 1909, 5.
5. Ronald W. Walker, "Growing Up in Early Utah: The Wasatch Literary Association, 1874-1878," *Sunstone* 6 (November/December 1981): 44-51; Wasatch Literary Association minute book, LDS Archives.
6. Jill Mulvay Derr, "The Liberal Shall Be Blessed: Sarah M. Kimball," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 summer 1976): 205-21.
7. "Pioneer Utah Business Man Dies, Age 86," *Deseret News*, 3 February 1941, 9.
8. Lee Z. Johnson (archivist of the Mother Church, Boston, Massachusetts) to Jeffery O. Johnson, 17 November 1982, original in possession of the author.
9. Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, 13 January 1892, 37.
10. Seymour B. Young, Journal, 21 June 1896, LDS Archives.
11. Andrew Jenson, "Joseph Young," *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:187-88.
12. Andrew Jenson, "Seymour Bicknell Young," *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 200-202.
13. "LeGrande Young," obituary, *Deseret News*, 25 July 1921, section 2, p. 1.
14. Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, 100.
15. Kenneth L. Cannon II, "Brigham Bicknell Young, Musical Christian Scientist," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (spring 1982): 124-38.
16. Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, 1891 to 1893.
17. *Ibid.*, 13 January 1892, 37.
18. Kittie Kimball to William Beatie, 2 July 1893, copy in the Seventeenth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, General Minutes, 11:78, LDS Archives.
19. Mary Baker G. Eddy, "Educational System of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College," *Christian Science Journal* 16 (1898-1899): 671-72.
20. Mrs. Kimball is listed as a practitioner in the *Christian Science Journal* 14 (1896-1897).
21. S. M. Kimball to Mary B. Heywood, 1 December 1897, LDS Archives.
22. *Historical Sketch, First Church of Christ, Scientist, Salt Lake City, Utah* (Salt Lake City: First Church of Christ, Scientist, 1981).
23. "In Their New Home, Christian Scientists Dedicate a Beautiful Edifice," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, 28 November 1898.
24. "Church Dedication at Salt Lake City," *Christian Science Journal* 16 (1898-1899): 682.
25. Yvonne C. Von Fettweis (church historian) to Jeffery O. Johnson, email, Boston, Massachusetts, 15 December 1997.
26. "Mrs. Lucretia H. Kimball Passes Away in Boston," *Deseret News*, 24 February 1920, 2.
27. Mary Baker G. Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (Boston: First Church of Christ, Scientist, 1971), 63.

## Chapter 5

1. Nellie Cluff Bailey, "History of the Life of Nellie Cluff Bailey" (unpublished, 1949). Unless otherwise indicated, all vital statistics and subsequent references to Nellie Bailey's history are from this same personal account. "Mutual" was the nickname of the LDS young men's and women's social and cultural organization, the Mutual Improvement Association.
2. The advertisement was for *Ancestry*, a ten-part television series for PBS, in *Utah Symphony Presents Kathleen Battle, Utah Symphony Brochure*, ed. Gilbert W. and Calvin K. Scharffs, January 1997, 27.
3. "Church, Civic Leader Dies in Price," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 July 1939, 16.
4. "Price Woman Leader Dies," *Deseret News*, 22 July 1939, 8.
5. Virginia Harding Carnavali, telephone interview by author, 24 November 1997.
6. Nellie Cluff Bailey, "History."
7. William M. Wilson, *Pictorial Provo, An Illustrated Industrial Review of Provo the Garden City of Utah* (n.p., 1910).
8. Several family members have confirmed that an affair between Oliver Bailey and another woman occurred. The name of the other woman is known, but the author thinks it unnecessary to name her here. What is important is that Oliver's and Nellie's marriage survived.
9. Tillie Merlene Wells Bailey, telephone interview by author, 7 December 1997.
10. Choir records are sketchy around the turn of the century. I was not able to find information as to when and what Ora sang.
11. Official Brigham Young University transcript, file 106123, issued to the author 29 October 1997. Subsequent references to classes and grades are cited from this transcript.
12. Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, has year-books dating back to 1911.
13. "The Music School," *The Banyan*, Junior Class (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1911).
14. "The Music School," *BYUTAH* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Student Body, 1913).
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. "The Music School," *The Banyan*, 1911, 196.
18. "Big Audiences Turn Out to Hear Comic Opera," *Price (Utah) Sun*, 11 February 1927, 2.
19. "Church Normal and Training School," *The Banyan*, 1916.
20. A. C. Lund, "Highlights of the Year," *The Banyan*, 1914, 15.
21. "Church Normal and Training School," *The Banyan*, 1917, 144.
22. "B.Y.U. Symphony Orchestra Proves Great Success," *The Banyan*, 1917, 144.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Nellie Cluff Bailey, "History."

26. Captions by class pictures, *The Banyan*, 1916.
27. Thatcher C. Jones, interview by author, Salt Lake City, 1980s.
28. Carnavali, interview.
29. Historical Records and Minutes, Price, Utah Stake, microfilm LR 1403 17, access number: 15097-Lunt91 (72). Subsequent references to these records will be given by date only in the text.
30. Ora's obituary reports she served seventeen years as stake MIA choir director for the Carbon Stake. According to the LDS Church manuscript records, she served eleven years, from August 1928 to July 1939.
31. Nona Stevens Smith, *Nona Is Another Name for Love*, self-published personal history, 19 August 1989, 105.
32. Nona Stevens Smith, interview by author, 10 December 1997.
33. Barbara Bailey Hess, telephone interview by author, 14 December 1998.
34. Mae Lemon Barton, telephone interview by author, 15 November 1997. Subsequent comments from Mae are taken from this interview.
35. "Cast Selected for High School Opera," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 8 February 1937. References to other school operas are taken from the *Sun-Advocate* and are given in the text by date only.
36. Anne Ewers, interview by author, 20 November 1997. Subsequent statements by Anne Ewers are taken from this interview.
37. "Community Opera Plans Under Way," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 11 March 1937.
38. "Opera Scheduled Two Nights This Week," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 15 April 1937, 1.
39. "Community Opera Presentation by Carbon Stake M.I.A. Scores Success Here Thursday, Friday," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 22 April 1937. Names are spelled as they appear in the article.
40. This picture was given to the author by Bruce Bryner of Price, Utah. Cherrinda Beck Gardner produced a second copy.
41. Dorothy Olsen Whitney, telephone interview by author, 16 December 1997.
42. "Selection of Leads for M.I.A. Opera Is Made," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 10 February 1938, 1. I have corrected the spelling of those names I know; otherwise names are spelled as they appear in the article. Names of characters are spelled according to *G. Schirmer's Collection of Opera Librettos*.
43. "Carbon M.I.A. Opera Committees Named," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 3 March 1938.
44. "'Carmen' to Be Presented Here Wednesday, Thursday," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 31 March 1938, 1.
45. "Country Singers Display Talents in Famed Opera," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 7 April 1938.
46. "The Musical Languages of *Carmen*," essay in author's private research (n.p., n.d.), 44.
47. "'Carmen' Comments," *Price (Utah) Sun-Advocate*, 7 April 1938, 7.
48. Elaine Jensen, telephone interview by author, 16 December 1937.



- 49. "Church, Civic Leader Dies in Price."
- 50. Lurean Stevens Harding, interview by author, 18 December 1997.
- 51. "The Musical Languages of *Carmen*," 46.

## Chapter 6

- 1. Georganne Ballif Arrington, "Algie Eggertsen Ballif: Dance Pioneer at Brigham Young University, 1919-1923" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983), 36.
- 2. Algie Eggertsen Ballif, interview by Georganne Arrington, Provo, Utah, 1977.
- 3. "Lars Echart Eggertsen," Manuscript Collection, 1902, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereinafter cited as Eggertsen Collection).
- 4. Ibid.
- 5. "Lars Eggertsen Holds Library Evening," *Springville (Utah) Independent*, February 1902.
- 6. Eggertsen Collection, 1907.
- 7. "Springville Has Own Art Museum," *Springville (Utah) Independent*, 10 April 1907.
- 8. Eggertsen Collection, 1907.
- 9. Esther Eggertsen Peterson, interview by Georganne Arrington, Provo, Utah, 1982.
- 10. Esther Eggertsen Peterson, interview.
- 11. Algie Eggertsen Ballif kept extensive diaries, which have been transcribed for the family by her daughter, Algene Ballif Marcus. Hereafter quotations from this diary will be cited in notes only if the date is not given in the text. The family is currently investigating donation of copies to the University of Utah and Brigham Young University libraries.
- 12. Algene B. Marcus, "Algie Eggertsen, 1914: Diary of a Mormon Girl" (unpublished paper given at Alice Louise Reynolds Forum), 23-24.
- 13. Ibid., 2.
- 14. Ibid., 7.
- 15. Ibid., 7-8.
- 16. Ibid., 18.
- 17. Algie's 1914 diary, as quoted in Marcus, "Algie Eggertsen."
- 18. Marcus, "Algie Eggertsen," 7-8.
- 19. Ibid., 21.
- 20. Ibid., 26-27.
- 21. Ibid.
- 22. Ballif, Arrington interview.
- 23. Ibid.
- 24. Ibid.
- 25. Brigham Young University Course Catalogue, 1915-1916.

26. Ballif, Arrington interview.
27. Marcus, "Algie Eggertsen," 10.
28. Algie Eggertsen Ballif, Diaries (unpublished), 1914.
29. Marcus, "Algie Eggertsen," 13-14.
30. Ballif, Diaries, 1916.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Algene B. Marcus, foreword, in Ballif, Diaries, 1916.
35. Ballif, Diaries, Sunday, 1 October 1916.
36. Marcus, foreword, 1916.
37. Ballif, Diaries, 1916.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Algene B. Marcus, foreword, in Ballif, Diaries, 1917 (with four letters to her from George S. Ballif), i-ii.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., iii.
44. Ballif, Arrington interview.
45. Brigham Young University Course Catalogue, 1919.
46. Ballif, Arrington interview.
47. Ibid.
48. G. Cash, "E. L. Roberts: A Study in Leadership" (unpublished paper).
49. Ballif, Diaries, 1916.
50. Ballif, Arrington interview.
51. Ibid.
52. C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook to Literature* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1972).
53. Ballif, Arrington interview.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Algie Eggertsen Ballif, interview by Kay Alta Haynes, 24 March and 1 April 1974, for Provo City Oral History Project, transcript, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 12.
63. Ballif, Arrington interview.
64. Brigham Young University Course Catalog, 1922.
65. Ballif, Arrington interview.
66. Ibid.

67. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 12–13.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., 17.
70. “Algie Ballif Wore Same Gown Worn at Pres. Grant Inaugural” *Provo (Utah) Herald*, 24 May 1985, 17.
71. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 18.
72. “Algie Ballif Wore Same Gown”
73. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 18.
74. Ibid., 18, 28–29.
75. Ibid., 13.
76. Ibid., 14.
77. Ibid.
78. Alice Louise Reynolds Forum, “Women and Equal Rights,” transcript, 30 September 1980, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 2.
79. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 29.
80. Ibid., 28.
81. Ibid., 27–28.
82. Ibid., 19–20.
83. “Algie E. Ballif, Alpha Theta State Honorary Member, Dies at 88,” *Alpha Theta State News*, the Delta Kappa Gamma Society International, vol. XXXI, no. 1 (September 1984): 6.
84. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 19.
85. Ibid., 20.
86. Ibid.
87. “Respect for Others,” *Woman’s Chronicle*, October 1976.
88. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 21–22.
89. Ibid., 21.
90. Algene B. Marcus and Grethe Peterson, interview by authors, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1999.
91. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 21.
92. Marcus and Petersen, interview.
93. Ballif, Haynes interviews, 21.
94. Ibid., 22.
95. Ibid., 22–23.
96. Ibid., 23.
97. Ibid., 24.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid., 31.
102. Elouise Bell, “In Memoriam: Algie Ballif,” *Network Magazine*, August 1984.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.

105. Algie Ballif, interview on KUTV, February 1984, quoted in Renee C. Nelson, "The World Was Algie's Friend," *Provo (Utah) Herald*, 19 January 1985, 14.
106. Alice Louise Reynolds Forum, 24.
107. Members of Alice Louise Reynolds Forum, "Conversations about Women," interview by Algene B. Marcus, transcript, summer 1980, 27.
108. Rose Mary Pedersen Budge, "The Roots That Shaped Our Lives," *Deseret News*, February 1981, Living section. In January 1985, after Algie's death, the Forum was renamed the Algie Ballif Forum in her honor (Renee C. Nelson, "Algie Ballif's Name Has Miles to Go," *Provo (Utah) Herald*, 15 January 1985, 13).
109. Members of Alice Louise Reynolds Forum, "Conversations about Women," 27.
110. *Ibid.*, 20.
111. Theron H. Luke, "Algie Ballif Was Profile in Courage for Women," *Deseret News*, 6 August 1984.
112. Bell, "In Memoriam."

## Chapter 7

1. Marion Garland Davis Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, (Salt Lake City: privately published, 1983), 90. A copy is at Utah State Historical Society (USHS) and FHL, and Wasatch County Library. Rhodes also wrote the words to "Looky, Looky, Here Comes Cookie," made famous by George Burns and Gracie Allen.
2. *Ibid.*, 95.
3. Board Option Agreement, Glencoe Mine, Camp Floyd Mining rict, and unidentified newspaper clipping, originals of both in possession of John Davis, San Rafael, California.
4. Clegg, *My Life On Trial*, 4.
5. *Ibid.*, 6.
6. Neil Murbarger, "Orderville, Kane County, Utah: Utopia's Ghost," in *Locality Histories*, ed. Helen R. Grant (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1993), 403-7.
7. Eldred G. Smith (patriarch emeritus of the LDS Church), interview by author, Salt Lake City, September 1988; Patricia Christiansen-Burke, interview by author, Salt Lake City, June 1995. Years later, when Marion was a widow, an Orderville romance was rekindled. Her former beau, a widower, took her to the San Diego Zoo and a Chinese restaurant (escorted by the beau's son). Marion's sister Grace asked her how she enjoyed the date. Marion replied, "I liked the son better."
8. Marjorie Jarrett and Patricia Christiansen-Burke (Marion's daughters), interview by author, Heber City, Utah, August 1989.
9. Marion, who had dreamed of being a writer, was ecstatic when her daughter Marjorie was given a \$10,000 advance for her novel, *Wives of the Wind*, (New York: Seaview books, 1980), and the *New York Times* gave it a rave review.
10. Ray's brother, Herbert, later became governor of Utah.

11. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 49.
12. John C. Clegg, "History of Reservoirs on Upper Provo River" (unpublished manuscript, 29 March 1994), 1. John is Marion and Cardie's son and was also Cardie's assistant at the lakes for several seasons.
13. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 52.
14. *Ibid.*, 58.
15. *Ibid.*, 80. Luke's is now called Mountain Spa.
16. Dorothy Eggleston, *Heber Third Ward History, 1903-1986* (Provo, Utah: Heber Third Ward, 1986), 119; William James Mortimer, *How Beautiful Upon the Mountains: A Centennial History of Wasatch County* (Salt Lake City: Wasatch County Chapter, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1963), 62.
17. Pearl Robbins, "CowBelles of the Past," *Western Livestock Journal*, vol. 45, no. 31 (May 1967); Rosemerry Eastlake, "Cowbells Are Active with Six Utah Clubs," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 March 1949. The article includes a photo of Marion, Edna Montgomery, Deon Hicken, and Mrs. Frank Knight.
18. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 79.
19. *Ibid.*, 144-54. It contains all of her Hicks Holler articles.
20. Wasatch County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *Under Wasatch Skies, 1858-1900*, ed. Leslie S. Raty (Deseret News Press, 1954), 98.
21. Patricia Christiansen-Burke and Terri J. Barton (Marion's granddaughter), interview by author, Salt Lake City, June 1995. Marion's concern for her children's education and civic-mindedness appeared in their later accomplishments. Marjorie taught college English and was a faculty member of the St. George Homes Treatment Center for Schizophrenic Adolescents in Berkeley, where she also directed their biofeedback laboratory. Pat earned a master's degree from Columbia School of Journalism and won a Pulitzer prize of a year's travel abroad, then worked as an editor for Planning Research in Los Angeles and as a psychologist with the Los Angeles Unified School District. John earned a Ph.D. in electrical engineering, worked at General Electric in New York, Space Technology Laboratories in California, and Brigham Young University, from which he retired. Jerry spent his career as a professor of philosophy at Mills College, Oakland, California, where he wrote prolifically, including *The Structure of Plato's Philosophy* and a wonderfully humorous, deep, philosophical treatise entitled "Dam Mending"—a tribute to his tenure as Cardie's "work force."
22. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 87-89.
23. Rental fees reached their maximum in the 1950s when boats were 50¢ an hour or \$2 a day; horses were \$3 per day to fishermen who rode them to lakes, fished, and rode them straight home. Cardie rarely rented horses by the hour since it was too hard on them. Rooms were \$2.50 per double bed with guests bringing their own bedding.
24. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 100. It contains Marion's version of Ollie's prize-winning tale. Ollie worked for Shupe Williams Candy Company in Ogden, from which he delivered candy to Marion for decades.

25. Ibid., 162–63. It shows three photographs from the *Deseret News* of Cardie and the snow cat at Trial Lake on 26 March 1949.
26. Ibid., 114.
27. Ibid., 100. For ten years while Marjorie was married to Vern Adix, they occasionally hosted University of Utah Theatre Department personnel, and the shadow operations were considerably more sophisticated with their expertise. Patients even gave birth to Vern's handmade marionettes. In 1994 Vern was inducted into the University of Utah Pioneer State Theatre Hall of Fame.
28. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 100–101.
29. Jerry Clegg, interviews by author, Heber City, Utah, July 1995 and August 1998. For decades Jerry led Sierra Club members to mountain tops all over the world, literally bumping into Russia's Boris Yeltsin twice on different trips and surviving a 1997 black bear attack in Kings Canyon, California.
30. Clegg, *My Life On Trial*, 106.
31. John C. Clegg, "The Trial Lake Lodge" (unpublished manuscript, 29 March 1994), 2.
32. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 129.
33. Mary Lou Christensen (granddaughter of John Grix and current owner of the cabin), interview by author, August 1999. She said actor and director Robert Redford recently had the cabin photographed inside and out because of its superior construction. He was considering using it in his film *The Horse Whisperer*. Cardie designed it and helped build it as well. The U.S. Forest Service wanted it and the Maycock cabin next to it removed, but because they are historical sites with considerable public support, their fate has been put on hold until 2015.
34. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 97.
35. Ibid., 96.
36. John C. Clegg and Patricia Christiansen-Burke, interview by author, Heber City, Utah, June 1995.
37. John C. Clegg, "History of Reservoirs," 3.
38. Marjorie Jarrett, "Three Shorts and a Long," (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), 4.
39. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 116.
40. Ibid., 112. Lakes Cardie named for family are Marjorie, Lillian (Pat's first given name), Jack (John's nickname), Jerry (actually named by a forest ranger for him), Carol, Ramona, Mona Rae, Karen, and Adix; others he named include Neil, Rhodes, Faith, Hope, and Peter, James, and John also known as the three "divide lakes." Clegg Lake had been named for Cardie's father, John Henry Lewis Clegg, who was president of the Wasatch Irrigation Company when he supervised construction of the Washington Lake dam in 1910.
41. In 1995 the *Salt Lake Tribune* sponsored a contest to name the highest mountain peaks in three Utah counties. Because Wasatch County's peak shows up on photos behind Cardie's cabin, and because he planted fish in all the lakes at its base for many years, his children thought it a grand opportunity to honor him. Whereas he could simply give lakes names while planting fish in them, it now takes many people many months to approve a name. Those who gave their

- approval are the Wasatch County Commission, the Utah Committee for Geographic Names, the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Geological Survey, and the U.S. Board on Geographic Names.
42. Clegg, *My Life on Trial*, 116. The Utah Division of Wildlife Resource's Lee Kay Center for Hunter Education and Public Shooting in western Salt Lake Valley is named for him.
  43. Marion Garland Davis Clegg, "Singing Up the Sun," in *Best Loved Contemporary Poems*, ed. Eddie-Lou Cole (n.p., 1979); Marion Garland Davis Clegg, "The Rain Is Over," *Relief Society Magazine*, vol. 28, no. 4, 230; Marion Garland Davis Clegg, "Thoughts on a Summer's Day," in *My Life on Trial*, 155.
  44. Minutes of the Union Reservoir Company Meeting of Interested Parties, Provo, Utah, 9 January 1975, 1-2.
  45. John C. Clegg, "The Trial Lake Lodge," 3.
  46. The Trial Lake dike washed out 7 June 1986. Both it and the 1910 dam were rebuilt by 1990. Dams on Washington and Lost Lakes were replaced in 1994-1995. Those three reservoirs now provide water storage for the Kamas area. Wall Lake's new dam will store water to be used for irrigation in times of drought. The Union Reservoir Company has been dissolved and the Central Utah Water Conservancy District now operates the dams. The other eleven reservoirs (Star, Teapot, Crystal, Long, Weir, Marjorie, Pot, #6 [Duck], #5 [Fire], Island, and Big Elk) are in various stages of being turned back into lakes by the Forest Service and Bureau of Reclamation. Some dams have been rebuilt, not for irrigation purposes, but to stabilize the lakes at higher water levels than they naturally are. Their runoff is stored in the Jordanelle Reservoir north of Heber City, first filled in 1995.

## Chapter 8

1. Roma Iasella Ganz to Alta Miller, 19 March 1993. Ms. Miller kindly granted the editor an interview and access to many of her papers; unless otherwise indicated, information in the notes for this chapter comes from those interviews.
2. Josephina Wilhelmina Jorgensen Cook.
3. Agnes Cook.
4. William Kuch changed his name to Cook when he arrived in America.
5. Leasers were men who staked out property and filed claims with the government for the right to mine for minerals in that area.
6. Alexander and Roseanna Mary Dickerson Miller.
7. Etherick was also known as Doc.
8. William Wing Louie says this traditional Chinese funeral could have been conducted by a family association or, if Ching Ling, like many early settlers, had no family in the area, by Bing Gong Tong, a political association which had a building in Plum Alley in Salt Lake City where most Chinese businesses were located.

9. Alta also recalls that once a month Dr. Stropp would conduct examinations of the local prostitutes to be sure they were free from disease. The children would come out to watch the beautiful women, dressed far more elegantly than any other women in town, walk along the main street from Lower Bingham to Upper Bingham because they assumed this was some sort of parade.
10. Doll Day or Girls' Day was 3 March, and Kite Day or Boys' Day was 5 May; both are traditional Japanese celebrations.
11. One wit noted that the streets were so narrow that dogs could only wag their tails up and down.
12. The Works Project Administration (WPA) was one of the Depression recovery programs of Franklin Roosevelt's administration.
13. The Primary is the organization for children, ages eighteen months through twelve years, of the LDS Church. The general board creates the programs, lessons, and activities used throughout the church. The *Children's Friend* was the magazine published for those children and their teachers; it is currently called *The Friend*.
14. People who know Alta say this is an understatement.

## Chapter 9

1. Ada Duhigg, *Autobiography*, The Commission on History and Archives, and the Heseoreal Society, The Rocky Mountain Conference, United Methodist Church, 1983. As all of Ada's family preceded her in death, she came to regard a former pupil and good friend, Janie Montoya, as her descendant. Ada entrusted Montoya with all of her family pictures and many of her papers (hereinafter cited as Duhigg Papers). Montoya plans to donate them to the Hilltop United Methodist Church at 106 South Tenth East, where many of the Bingham Canyon Methodists regrouped after their own center was gone. Copies of many of those papers and photographs are available at the Utah State Historical Society. Ada's father's given name has not been located.
2. Duhigg, *Autobiography*.
3. Janie Montoya, interviews by author, 1997-1998.
4. Sophia Piedmont, interviews by author, 1997-1998.
5. "I Am the Highland Boy Community House" transcript, in Duhigg Papers.
6. Piedmont, interviews.
7. Montoya, interviews.
8. Vern Baer, teacher, quoted in Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "Life and Labor among the Immigrants of Bingham Canyon," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4 (fall 1965): 289.
9. "I Am the Highland Boy Community House."
10. Vern Abreu, *Bingham to Highland Boy* (Bingham Canyon, Utah: n.p., 1986), 207.
11. Piedmont, interviews.



12. Peg Beeler, *Ada Duhigg's Life*, recorded at Frasier Meadows Health Care Center, Boulder, Colorado, 1978 (copy included in Duhigg Papers).
13. Ibid.
14. "Folks in Bingham Canyon Recall Energetic Angel of the Canyon," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 October 1980.
15. Lynn Bailey, *Old Reliable: A History of Bingham Canyon, Utah* (Tucson, Arizona: Westernlore Press, 1988), 159.
16. Claire Noall, "Serbian Austrian Christmas at Highland Boy" *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4 (fall 1965).
17. Untitled article, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 October 1980, Religion section (included in Duhigg Papers).
18. Montoya, interviews; Marie Angello Nichol, "Highland Boy Community House to Celebrate 25th Anniversary—A Small Tribute to a Great Lady," *Bingham (Utah) Bulletin*, 2 October 1952.
19. Plaque in the Ada Duhigg Room, Hilltop Methodist Church, Salt Lake City, Utah.
20. Montoya, interviews.
21. Ada Duhigg to (her friend) Peg Beeler, Frasier Meadows Manor, Boulder, Colorado, 1980, with instructions to mail copies upon her death.
22. Peter Scarlet, "Copperton Memorial Service to Honor Beloved Minister," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 July 1992.
23. Ibid.
24. "Joy in Mission," comp. Peg Beeler, typescript (included in Duhigg Papers).

## Chapter 10

1. Susan Mumford's pen and ink drawing of the McCune mansion appeared in the first volume of *Worth Their Salt*, 88.
2. "Ella Gilmer Peacock: Autobiographical Information," typescript copy of a videotaped interview of Peacock by Sharon R. Gray, Peacock file, Springville Museum of Art, Springville, Utah. Because the reminiscence rambles (as reminiscences do), it is presented here chronologically. Ellipses frequently (in fact, usually) indicate something has been moved to another point in the text rather than removed altogether. Phraseology is maintained as in the original; spelling of names spoken but not available in print are represented as phonetically as possible.
3. Michael O. Bryson, "Spring City" (unpublished poem), copy in the author's possession.
4. Kathryn Smoot Egan, "Ella Peacock: Painting What She Sees," *Network*, November 1995.
5. Bryson, "Spring City."
6. The Willburns were noted chocolate makers.
7. George was forty at the time. Peacock recalled years later: "He had the pincushion I'd made of cardboard and scraps of material in his pocket" (Egan, "Ella Peacock").

8. A “fonie” was apparently some sort of cheating device, a “crib sheet.”
9. The school was the Art School at the Maryland Institute, now the Moore College of Art. Some of the influential teachers who taught there were R. Sloan Bredin, Henry B. Snell, and Sam Murray.
10. She also painted murals in the homes of the wealthy of Germantown. In a recreation room she once painted a wall to resemble the control panel of a spaceship (Egan, “Ella Peacock”).
11. She was paid 4¢ apiece for lampshades and 50¢ per hour to simulate stained glass on ordinary glass.
12. During World War II there was a shortage of draftsmen and the government offered free schooling to those who would enroll to learn that trade. So Peacock enrolled in drafting, and after only a few weeks’ instruction got her first job. Though it was difficult for a woman to work in that predominately male profession, she spent most of her working years as a professional draftsman.
13. Egan, “Ella Peacock.”
14. Helen Forsberg, “Ella Peacock, Painter of ‘Direct Honesty,’ Dies at 93,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 July 1999, D3; “Ella Smyth Peacock,” obituary, *Deseret News*, 27 June 1999.
15. Dawn Pheysey, quoted in “BYU Exhibit Honors Artist,” *Utah County Journal*, 7 April 1991.
16. Egan, “Ella Peacock.”
17. Ibid.
18. Osril Allred, interview by author, 1998.
19. “BYU Exhibit Honors Artist.”
20. Ron Staker, interview by author, 1998.
21. Egan, “Ella Peacock.”
22. Forsberg, “Ella Peacock”; “Ella Smyth Peacock.”

## Chapter 11

1. Elliott Negin, “Esther Peterson: The Grande Dame of Consumerism,” *Public Citizen* (winter 1985), 21.
2. “Do What Is Right,” in *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), no. 237; Will L. Thompson, “Have I Done Any Good?” in *Hymns*, no. 223.
3. Esther Peterson, “The World beyond the Valley,” *Sunstone*, November 1991, 23.
4. Esther Peterson, *Restless* (n.p.: Caring Publishing, 1995), iii.
5. Ibid., 19.
6. Ibid., 40.
7. Ibid., 87.
8. Esther Peterson, speech given at meetings of the American Council on Consumer Interests, Fort Worth, Texas, April 1985.
9. Negin, “Esther Peterson,” 19.
10. UPI report, 2 February 1964.

11. Esther Peterson, "The World beyond the Valley," 24.
12. Esther Peterson, speech for American Council on Consumer Interests.
13. Keith B. Richburg, "Esther Peterson, Foreign Agent?" *Washington Post*, 1 November 1984.
14. Esther Peterson, speech to American Council on Consumer Interests.
15. Marianne Funk, "Take Jobs That Make Difference Graduating Lawyers Admonished," *Deseret News*, 24 May 1992.
16. Esther Peterson, *Restless*, i.
17. Esther Peterson, *Restless*, 189.
18. John Kenneth Galbraith, address given at the annual meetings of the American Council on Consumer Interests, Washington, D.C., March 1995.
19. Esther Peterson, *Restless*, 192.

## Chapter 12

1. Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Lowell Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian* (Salt Lake City: Dialogue Foundation, 1995).
2. Mary Lythgoe Bradford, *Leaving Home, Personal Essays* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).
3. William Mulder, "Citation Honoring Virginia Sorensen on the Occasion of Her Election to Phi Beta Kappa Utah Chapter, 8 June 1988."
4. Virginia Sorensen, *A Little Lower Than the Angels* (New York: A. A. Knopf), 1942.
5. Edward L. Geary, "Peculiar People, Positive Thinkers," *Dialogue*, vol. 2, no. 2 (summer 1967): 29–30.
6. Edward L. Geary, "Mormonism's Lost Generation," *BYU Studies* 18 (fall 1977): 96.
7. Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "If You're a Writer, You Write!" interview with Virginia Sorensen, *Dialogue* 13 (fall 1980): 18.
8. Susan Elizabeth Howe, "Virginia Sorensen," *Dictionary of Literary Biography: 20th Century American West Writers*, Series A (Columbia, South Carolina: Gale Research, 1999).
9. Virginia Sorensen, *Where Nothing Is Long Ago: Memories of a Mormon Childhood* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963).
10. Virginia Sorensen, *On This Star* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946).
11. Virginia Sorensen, *The Evening and the Morning* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949).
12. Geary, "Mormonism's Lost Generation," 96.
13. Virginia Sorensen, *The Neighbors* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1947).
14. Virginia Sorensen, *The Proper Gods* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951).
15. Jacqueline Barnes, "Sacrifice to the Proper Gods," *The Association for Mormon Letters Annual*, 1994, (Salt Lake City: n.p.) 1:78.
16. Barnes, "Sacrifice," 78.
17. Virginia Sorensen, *The House Next Door: Utah, 1896* (New York: Scribners, 1954).
18. Virginia Sorensen, *Many Heavens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954).
19. Howe, "Virginia Sorensen."
20. Gray, quoted in Howe, "Virginia Sorensen."

21. Dale L. Morgan, "Mormon Storytellers," in *Tending the Garden: Essays on Mormon Literature*, ed. Lavina Fielding Anderson and Eugene England (Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 1996).
22. Anna Marie Smith, interviewed by author, 20 September 1998.
23. Virginia Sorensen, "World in a Closet," ULA Newsletter, 18:4.
24. Virginia Sorensen, *Curious Missie* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953).
25. Virginia Sorensen, *Plain Girl* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955).
26. Virginia Sorensen, *Miracle on Maple Hill* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1956).
27. Alec Waugh, *Island in the Sun* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955).
28. Virginia Sorensen, *Kingdom Come* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960).
29. Virginia Sorensen, *Lotte's Locket* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964).
30. William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957).
31. Virginia Sorensen to Bill Mulder, quoted in Mary Lythgoe Bradford, "Virginia Sorensen: Literary Recollections from a Thirty-five Year Friendship," *The Association for Mormon Letters Annual*, 1994, 1:99.
32. Virginia Sorensen, quoted in Bradford, "When You Are a Writer."
33. Wallace Stegner and Richard W. Etulain, *Stegner: Conversations on History and Literature* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1996).
34. Sorensen, *Where Nothing Is Long Ago*.
35. *Ibid.*, dedication.
36. Virginia Sorensen, *The Man with the Key* (New York City: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974).
37. Virginia Sorensen, *Around the Corner* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971).
38. Virginia Sorensen, *Friends of the Road* (New York: Antheneum, 1978).
39. Shirley Brockbank Paxman, "Where Nothing Is Long Ago: Memories of Virginia Sorensen Waugh," *The Association of Mormon Letters Annual*, 1995, 94.
40. Virginia Sorensen, "Hill Diary," 31 December 1986, original in Special Collections, Boston University library.
41. Virginia Sorensen, "Last Journal," 5 January 1990, original in Special Collections, Boston University library.
42. Paxman, "Where Nothing Is Long Ago," 94.
43. Signature Books in Salt Lake City reprinted *Where Nothing Is Long Ago* in 1998 and is in the process of reprinting more of her works.
44. Virginia Sorensen, "But Is It True?—The Novelist and His Materials," *Western Humanities Review* 7 (autumn 1953): 292.

## Chapter 13

1. Lola Atiya, interviews by Kristen Rogers, 1997. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from and personal information on Atiya comes from these interviews.
2. Nayra Atiya, interview with Kristen Rogers, 1997.

3. Lola Atiya, interview; Everett L. Cooley Oral History Collection, 15 May 1989, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
4. Donna Smart, interviews with Kristen Rogers, 1997.

## Chapter 14

1. Mary Cable, *Top Drawer: American High Society from the Gilded Age to the Roaring Twenties* (New York: Anteneum, 1984), 124.
2. Ross Peterson, *History of Cache County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Cache County Council, 1997), 200–206.
3. Frank I. Taylor, “The Millers of Utah Are the Largest Honey Producers in the World,” *Nature Magazine*, March 1942, later condensed in *Reader’s Digest*. It may have been used as part of a promotion for Miller Honey in Utah’s State Fair in 1944. See also A. E. Fife, “N. E. Miller, Pioneer Beekeeper of the West,” *Gleanings in Bee Culture*, vol. 68, no. 9 (September 1940): 545–49.
4. Rita Skousen Miller, *Sweet Journey* (Colton, California: Miller Family Trust, 1994); Gean Miller FarmanFarmaian, interviews by author, 1997–1998; unless otherwise cited, information in this biography comes from these interviews.
5. Arthaud J. Afrique, *Iran Today* (Tehran: Iran National Tourist Organization, 1970), 166, 188.
6. *Encyclopedia Americana* (1994), s.v. “Iran.”
7. *Ibid.*
8. Manucher FarmanFarmaian and Roxane FarmanFarmaian, *Blood and Oil: Memoirs of a Persian Prince* (New York: Random House, 1997), 24–44, 253, 255–66; Roxane FarmanFarmaian Stevenson, interview by author, 19 July 1998.
9. FarmanFarmaian and FarmanFarmaian, *Blood and Oil*; Stevenson, interview.
10. Noh Ruz is celebrated on the vernal equinox; the new year begins on the first day of spring.
11. *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1994, s.v. “Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.”
12. FarmanFarmaian and FarmanFarmaian, *Blood & Oil*, 43.
13. Sattareh FarmanFarmaian with Dona Munker, *Daughter of Persia* (New York City: Doubleday, 1992).
14. “Once Upon a Time, Teacher Was a Princess,” *Deseret News*, April 1990; “Teacher, 70, Brings World of Experience to Win Fifth Graders’ Hearts and Minds,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 February 1991, B1.
15. Marian McCardell, interview by author, 1998.

## Chapter 15

1. Alberta Hill Henry, interviews by author, 1998–1999. Unless otherwise indicated, all information in this biography comes from those interviews. Henry was also generous in allowing the author to copy her voluminous files, clippings, and correspondences; copies of those papers have also been placed on file with the

- Utah State Historical Society. Those records are referred to in this article simply as Henry Papers.
2. The family has always known that he was born in Oklahoma, but only recently has Alberta's nephew, Michael Hill, begun to trace the family genealogy and learned that it was a reservation.
  3. Henry observes that if the school district could have afforded more secondary schools, they would doubtless have segregated all of them. In 1954 Topeka became the focal point for the landmark court case that outlawed segregation, *Brown v. Board of Education*.
  4. David Hill, interview by author, 1998.
  5. The YWPA was one of several organizations designed by the Roosevelt administration to train people and relieve poverty during the Depression of the 1930s.
  6. Hill, interview.
  7. Because the man is still living and could be embarrassed by having some of his actions made public, Henry declines to identify him more fully.
  8. The Santa Fe Hospital was operated by the Santa Fe Railroad Company in large part for their employees, many of whom were Black; consequently it accepted Black patients.
  9. Alberta did indeed speak to him again, many times. Much later, after Henry had moved to Utah, she returned to visit and took her mother to the doctor; the doctor was Fred Ford. He had become the doctor for many of the Blacks in the area.
  10. For years after she could not look at chicken soup, but she still likes strawberry milk shakes.
  11. That faith remains strong; today visitors to her home will frequently find a Bible lying open on the table where she was reading it.
  12. She didn't see Gooch for another forty years; then, when she visited Topeka, he came by to see her. She describes it as finding someone from another world.
  13. "77th Annual Life Membership and Freedom Fund Banquet" Salt Lake branch of NAACP, 25 October 1996, 7.
  14. Helen F. and A. Wally Sandack, "Tribute to Alberta Henry," Henry Papers.
  15. Sandack and Sandack, "Tribute."
  16. Dr. Ershler remained her doctor until he retired thirty-seven years later. In that time Henry had two more major operations.
  17. John 21:16-17.
  18. "Railroader Recalls Old Days," *Salt Lake Tribune*, n.d., in Henry Papers.
  19. Alberta Henry, "The Gift Made Possible," in *Remembering*, ed. Elizabeth Haglund (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1981).
  20. Ben M. Roe, *A Blend of the Two*, compiled and edited by James M. Rock (Salt Lake City: Friends of the University of Utah Library, 1978), 117-18.
  21. "Foundation Convenes on Sunday," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 June 1973, F3; "Bank Donates \$10,000 to Scholarship Fund," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 April 1991, B14.
  22. Shauna M. Robertson to Alberta Henry, 11 January 1993; Alberta Henry Education Foundation brochure and newsletter, no. 2 (April 1998), both in Henry Papers.

23. LeRoy Nelsen, telephone interview by author, December 1998.
24. "Utah's People of Color," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 December 1998, A9.
25. The Nettie Gregory Center, initially funded by the Gregory family, was a social and cultural center for Salt Lake City Blacks.
26. Henry, interviews.
27. "NAACP Drill Team," *Sunset News*, 4 October 1973.
28. Robert A. Goldberg, "Esther Rosenblatt Landa: Her Price Is Far above Rubies" in *Worth Their Salt: Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 234.
29. "Coordinating Council—People Working Together," *Salt Lake Model Neighborhood News*, vol. 1, no. 19 (30 December 1971); *Northwest News*, June 1976, both in Henry Papers.
30. Lavor K. Chaffin, "Three to Get Honorary Degrees At U.," *Deseret News*, n.d.; "June Rites to Honor Savant, Two Utahns," n.d., both in Henry Papers.
31. Afton Forsgren to Alberta Henry, 7 July 1971, in Henry Papers.
32. M. Donald Thomas, interview by author, 1999.
33. Judee Williams to Alberta Henry, 30 May 1980, in Henry Papers.
34. Jim Rock, "Alberta Hill Henry," Henry Papers. Rock calls himself "an honorary son," and now serves as secretary-treasurer of the Henry Education Foundation.
35. Jordan Junior, no longer standing, was a school in Salt Lake District, named for its location near the Jordan River.
36. Roger Tucker, telephone interview by author, December 1998.
37. Gary Kinder, *Victim: The Other Side of Murder* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1982), 110-41.
38. Alberta Henry, press release, Salt Lake branch of NAACP, n.d., Henry Papers.
39. Raymond Paternoster, *Capital Punishment in America* (New York: Lexington Books, 1991), 15.
40. Reverend Ema White to Alberta Henry and James Gillespie, n.d., in Henry Papers.
41. Thomas, interview. For a more complete discussion of Blacks in Utah, see Ronald G. Coleman, "Blacks in Utah History: An Unknown Legacy" in *The Peoples of Utah*, ed. by Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1981).
42. Debbie Hummel, "Alberta Henry: 50 Years as a Strong Voice for Utah's Minorities," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 October 1997, J3.

## Chapter 16

1. Dr. Homer R. Warner, tribute to Thayne for the Woman of Vision Award, 8 October 1996.
2. Emma Lou Thayne, interviews by Cindy Lampropoulos, 1997-1999. Unless otherwise indicated, all information and quotations in this article come from those interviews and from materials provided by Thayne.
3. Intermountain Catholic Madeleine Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts and Humanities, 1997.

4. James F. Bailey, "Profiles," *Utah Business Magazine*, December 1969.
5. Jane Edwards, on the presentation of Emma Lou Thyne as recipient of the YWCA of Salt Lake City Outstanding Achievement Award, 22 October 1991.
6. Emma Lou Thyne, *With Love, Mother* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1975), 8–9.
7. Homer is a research physician at the University of Utah, a pioneer in developing techniques for heart surgery.
8. Rick Warner eventually established Rick Warner Ford, one of the most successful automobile dealerships in the state.
9. Gill became president of Associated Food Stores.
10. Thomas S. Monson, quoted in Helen Forsberg, "With Love, Mother: Emma Lou Thyne Speaking Out with Compassion," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 May 1995, J1.
11. Emma Lou Thyne, quoted in Jerry Johnston, "Emma Lou Thyne: The Poetry of Compassion," *Deseret News*, 4 May 1997.
12. Louis Zucker, "A Jew in Zion," *Sunstone*, vol. 6, no. 5 (September–October, 1987): 35–44.
13. Thyne became a friend to Short as well as a student and eventually persuaded her former teacher to publish some of her poetry in *The Old One and the Wind* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1973). When Short died, she named Thyne her literary executor. Thyne arranged for the publication of the rest of Short's work in *The Owl on the Aerial: Poems and Diaries of Clarice Short* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), then catalogued and donated Short's papers to the University of Utah library.
14. Emma Lou Thyne, *As for Me and My House* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 56–57.
15. Emma Lou Thyne, *Until Another Day for Butterflies* (Salt Lake City: Parliament Press, 1973).
16. Richard Cracroft, "A Usually Dazzling World: The Poetic Mormon Humanism of Emma Lou Thyne," paper presented at the Association of Mormon Letters Conjoint meeting, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, 20 October 1991.
17. Emma Lou Thyne, *Turning Points* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1981).
18. Emma Lou Thyne, *Spaces in the Sage* (Salt Lake City: Parliament Press, 1971).
19. Henry Taylor on the jacket of *Spaces in the Sage*.
20. Emma Lou Thyne, *Until Another Day for Butterflies*.
21. Ray Bradbury on the jacket of *Until Another Day for Butterflies*.
22. Emma Lou Thyne, *On Slim Unaccountable Bones* (Salt Lake City: Parliament Press, 1974).
23. Emma Lou Thyne, *The Family Bond* and *A Woman's Place* (Salt Lake City: Nishan Grey, 1977).
24. Emma Lou Thyne, *Never Past the Gate* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1975).
25. William Mulder's introduction of Emma Lou Thyne at the Annual Banquet of the Friends of the University of Utah Libraries, 9 May 1995.
26. Emma Lou Thyne and Becky Thyne Markosian, *Hope and Recovery: A Mother-Daughter Story about Nervosa, Bulimia, and Manic Depression* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1992), 12.



27. Emma Lou Thayne, "Where Can I Turn for Peace," *Hymns*, no. 129.
28. *Kirkus Reviews*, spring 1992.
29. As institute director, Bennion focused on the practical aspects of religion and became legendary for his humanitarian efforts.
30. Emma Lou Thayne, *Once in Israel* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980).
31. Esther R. Landa, foreword to *Once in Israel*, xi.
32. Emma Lou Thayne, *How Much for the Earth?* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1983).
33. *Ibid.*, 3.
34. *Ibid.*, 20.
35. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich won the Pulitzer for her life of midwife Martha Ballard based on the latter's diary, *A Midwife's Tale* (New York: Random House, 1990).
36. Emma Lou Thayne and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *All God's Critters Got a Place in the Choir* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1985).
37. Judy Magid, "All God's Critters RSVP: Good People, Good Causes," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 May 1995, J8.
38. Jacket comments, *All God's Critters Got a Place in the Choir*.
39. Emma Lou Thayne and Darla Hanks, *To Be a Mother, the Agonies and the Ecstasies* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1995).
40. Joe Costanzo, "SLCC Opens Thayne Center for Learning through Service," *Deseret News*, 21 July 1998.
41. Thayne, quoted in Johnston, "Emma Lou Thayne."
42. Edwards, presentation of the Salt Lake City YWCA Achievement Award.
43. Emma Lou Thayne, *Things Happen: Poems of Survival* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991).
44. William Stafford, jacket of *Things Happen: Poems of Survival*.
45. Thayne, *Things Happen*, 60.
46. Thayne, quoted in Johnston, "Emma Lou Thayne."
47. DeAnn Evans, introduction to presentation at Sunstone Symposium, 13 August 1993.
48. Thayne, *Spaces in the Sage*, 10. The poem was also placed on a poster sent nationwide by *Utah Holiday* to advertise Utah's snow.