

XVII. THE VALLEY

"And the Lord shall guide thee
continually and satisfy thy soul
in drouth....thou shall be like a
watered garden." Isa. 58:11

For a short time the travelers stayed with Caroline, her husband Aaron, and three children in their little home on Fourth west and Emigration Street (Fourth South); and then Susanna's parents and Henry Clay went on to Provo, where Ross and his family were already established. David was sixty-six years old as he once again took up land, built a house and established a farm. It wasn't an easy task. The land was mostly sagebrush, and the settlers had to contend with Indian troubles.

Later in the fall, Aaron moved Caroline and their children to Provo, leaving Susanna, seventeen-year-old Guglielmo, and four-year-old Horatio in their home. They attended the Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward, with Nathaniel Jones as Bishop. As with all new arrivals, Susanna and Guglielmo were re-baptized by Bishop Jones to signify the beginning of a new life far away from the wicked world. At that time there were 500 members in the ward. The boundaries extended from South Temple to Third South and from Second West to the Jordan River, which sometimes flooded up to Seventh West.

That fall, Susanna began teaching school in the small home. Her pupils were seated on split log benches down each side of a crude table. It was easy to keep their interest because she knew so much history, geography and mathematics. Guglielmo provided her with wood to keep a fire burning in the fireplace on cool days.

Susanna was paid in produce by the parents of each student. Those early schools were held in six-week, three-month, or five-month sessions, as conditions would permit. During fall harvesting and spring planting the children were needed at home by their families.

Horatio didn't officially become a student until age seven, but he started at a young age reading and studying with his mother's help. She also taught him Italian and Spanish. They continued speaking Spanish in conversations together the remainder of her life.

October 26, 1852, Susanna received her endowments in the Salt Lake Council House.

During the winter and early spring, Guglielmo worked with

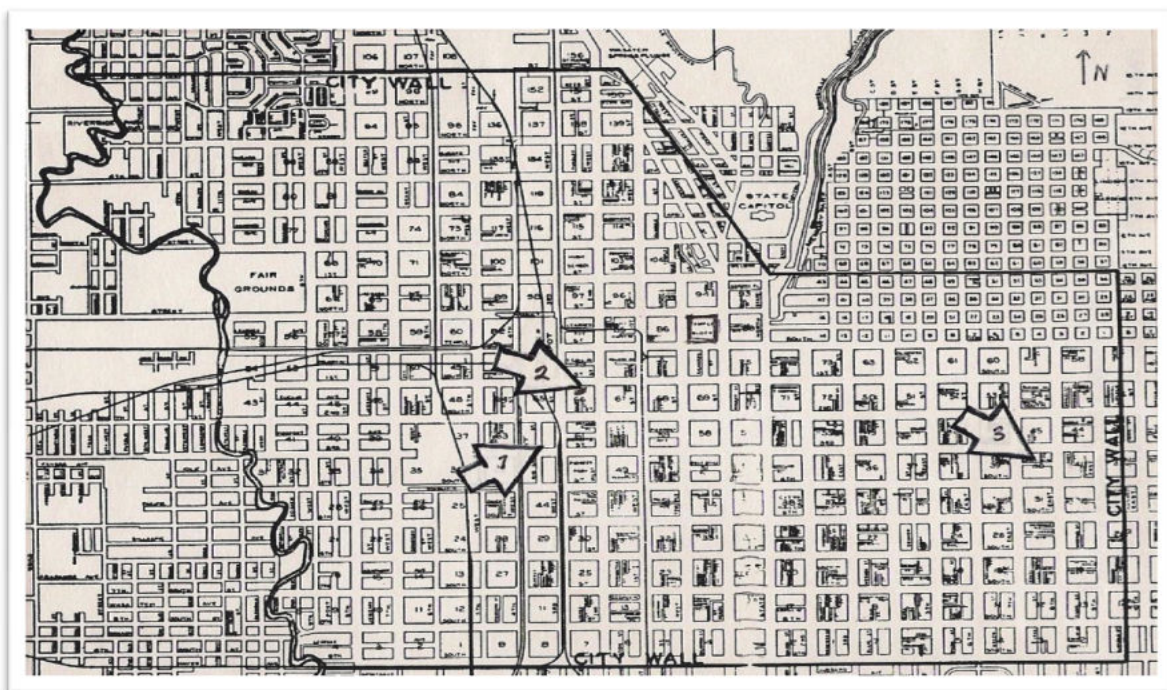


The Salt Lake Council House, first public building in Salt Lake, where Susanna received her endowments October 26, 1852. This building faced north on the southwest corner of Main and South Temple.

crews excavating the foundation of the Salt Lake Temple. It was completed in time for the cornerstone laying ceremonies during April conference of 1853. Susanna and her boys were there among the large crowds listening to talks and prayers given by general authorities and beautiful music performed by the band and choir, and participated with them in the joyful hallelujahs.

During 1853, the pioneers built six miles of wall around Salt Lake City to protect it from Indian attacks during the Walker War. Built out of earth, it was twelve feet high, six feet thick at the base, and tapered to two and a half feet at the top, enclosing the entire city except on the west where the Jordan River provided a barrier.

Sanjo, as Guglielmo was called, took his turn at guard duty during the nighttime around the outskirts of the city to protect them from the Indians. He also went with the brethren to get their winter wood in companies of about thirty wagons, the men all armed. The wood was found in canyons to the east, requiring two days for a load.



This map shows Great Salt Lake City in the 1950s. The dark line indicates the city wall that Sanjo helped defend. Arrow #1 points to Susanna's first home. (2) shows the location of her home in the 10th ward. (3) shows the 15th Ward school and meetinghouse.

April 9, 1853, Susanna received a patriarchal blessing from Patriarch John Smith, 71-year-old uncle of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

"In the name of Jesus Christ I lay my hands upon your head and seal upon you a blessing from your Father which is after the Patriarchal order in ancient days. The Lord is well pleased with the integrity of your heart because you have embraced the Gospel with a desire to do His will for the salvation of yourself and family. You shall be blessed with health in your habitation and shall find friends wherever your lot is cast; and inasmuch as you have forsaken all for the gospel's sake, you shall have houses and lands, flocks and herds in abundance, man and maid servants and all things which are desirable. You shall have power to heal the sick by the prayer of faith; to cast out devils and even to raise the dead if it be necessary. You shall have a companion to do all your business for you and a posterity that shall spread upon

the mountains, and like Jacob be mighty in the Priesthood. None shall excel them. In Israel you shall see the winding up scene of wickedness, see thy Redeemer stand upon the earth, live and reign with him a thousand years and enjoy all the blessings and glory of his kingdom forever and ever. For you are of the house of Joseph which was sold into Egypt. Even so, Amen."



The Saints met in this building on the southwest corner of Temple Square for April and October conference sessions, and for other all-church functions. It was a definite improvement over the bowery where the pioneers had first met. It later became known as the Old Adobe Tabernacle.

Sanjo gives us an account of their life in the Valley. "The crops of '52 had been rather poor and in '53 the grass-hopper war commenced. They laid lots of eggs that hatched in the spring, and a big army devoured everything but weeds. We were four weeks without flour. I'd go out in the morning with a sack and fill it with pig weeds, sego roots, and thistle roots to make our three meals straight. Once in a while I would catch a few fish. When somebody would kill a steer nothing was thrown away. Even the hide was eaten. After it is well boiled, it resembles tripe in flavor--very glutinous and nourishing."

Because of the famine no provisions came in for school tuition. At one time they had been without food in the house for two days. During school the children cried with hunger, but Susanna could buy or borrow nothing for them. All day she had prayed "Give us this day our daily bread."

In the evening she and Horatio sat on the stone front step of their home watching the sunset to keep from thinking of food. A woman she didn't know walked hesitantly up the pathway and placed a loaf of bread in Susanna's lap. She seemed embarrassed. "I don't know why I am doing this." Susanna and her boys knew, for prayers had been mingled with tears and this came as evidence of divine assistance on which they had learned to depend.

Sanjo made adobes that season, and sold some to the Church at \$7.50 per thousand for the wall around the Temple block. Adobes were 4" thick, 6" wide, and 12" long. Five hundred was considered a good day's output.

He again made adobes in the summer of '54, and in the winter he worked in a paint shop with Henry Maiben. He said, "Some ask me, how did you pass your time? Well, we had many meetings, and a debating club in our ward. Professor Orson Pratt used to deliver lectures on astronomy. We had balls in the school houses. The Deseret Dramatic Association was organized about that time. The admission fee was \$1.00, tickets for sale at the tithing office. Money was scarce so the day previous to the performance people with sacks of carrots, potatoes, wheat, or a bucket of beet molasses could be seen buying tickets. I belonged to a dance club. The rule was for each member to bring two candles each evening. My name being rather long and difficult to pronounce, the floor manager, looking over the list for delinquents, called, 'Longgivinna hasn't brought any candles.' I was called that for quite some time.

"Our wardrobe was rather scant; no coat, pants tucked in tops of boots. A long haired boy with a new blue flannel shirt could catch any girl in the house. The ladies were satisfied if they had a calico dress. Some wore homemade linsey. In the place of ostrich plume hats, the ladies wore sunbonnets made from bright calico.

"Like the rest of the boys I wanted to be up to the mark in society. If a boy had been to 'Californy' he could catch on. My poor mother would do anything to have her darling son in society. I bought three yards of navy blue flannel for \$2.00 per yard and paid for it in potatoes. Mother had some Berlin wool she brought from England. She embroidered the collar and down the front with a sego lily design. My pants were buckskin with long fringe down the sides. Number eleven red top boots, pants tucked in tops, slouch hat with mink skin band around the crown, nice long auburn hair hanging over my shoulder completed me. I didn't look so bad. There was a ball at Wardell's Hall. I was invited. I got my girl. Each boy took his picnic. I had some stewed carrots and boiled greens wrapped up in a copy of the Deseret News, and my share of candles. I danced once with Emma. Emma ate picnic with another boy. I went home alone."

The weekly Deseret News was an important source of information for the settlers. A message from Brigham Young occupied a prominent spot in each paper. The history of Joseph Smith was serialized, and discourses by the leaders of the church were printed. It also contained practical information such as tax notices, important instruction such as soap making, how friction matches are made, and national news. Advertisements appeared in its pages, touting everything from lace to buckskin, musical instruments to underdrawers, and such delicacies as sardines and pickles. Almost every paper had lists of one kind or another: a list of letters in the Post Office, notices of those cut off from the Church, and one paper contained a list of five people in the Territory of Utah who were insane, "one idiotic, but nothing to indicate the number of indigent."

No word had been received from Susanna's brother Charles since the expulsion from Nauvoo. She had written to him in Massachusetts without receiving a reply. Their father David was staying with Susanna in the fall of 1854, preparing to go on a mission to New Hampshire and Canada, when this letter finally came.

Dear Sister,

Your welcome letter of December 30 was received by me March 16. I was truly glad to hear again from my kindred, for I had given up all hope of again learning anything except by accident, for I have written to all places where I thought I could get information of any of you without receiving any satisfactory knowledge. No one coming from Salt Lake that I have seen, knows of or had heard of any of you except Orson Pratt, and all he could tell me was that he had seen one of my sisters,

which one he could not tell, about eight months before he left the valley. He could tell nothing about any one of our family except that one of my sisters had been accidentally killed, which one or how she was killed he could not inform me. You see by this that I was as much in the dark as any of you. I knew not where a single soul of you could be found, indeed I supposed that at least our dear Father and Mother must ere this have sunk beneath the oppressions and persecutions that came upon them at the time of the last exodus of the Mormons from Nauvoo and it seems to me almost impossible that they can even now be alive and well. What a remarkable family ours is--ever moving from place to place--restless, restless as the Arab of the desert. I do not believe there is one of us--father, mother, sisters, brothers--but what would be a stranger in the place they were born in. Some strong impulse seems to move us onward, onward, like the wandering Jew, and I should not be surprised to hear of some of the family "settling", no, they never settle anywhere--going, I should say, to China, Australia, Jerusalem, or the interior of Africa. The last letter from you was from London only 3,000 miles east of here. Now I get one only 1,000 miles to the westward of me. There must be some strong impulsive moving principle, whether it is faith, fanaticism or delusion, instability. Whatever it may be I cannot tell--carrying our family about forever. I never feel at home anywhere. My mind is never contented and never was, nor do I believe it ever will be. Wherever I go there is still the finger pointing and a voice exclaiming "Onward", and I propose to our family that when our coat of arms is adopted that our motto be the above word.

I need not tell you how delighted I should be to visit my dear parents once more in life, to see again all of our brothers and sisters. But this I have ceased to hope for since your removal to Salt Lake...There seems to be a kind of fatality in the matter whenever I have attempted to start for the west. Some unexpected obstacle always has prevented me, and if I should come not one of you would recognize me--my features have entirely altered and my whole general appearance is so different that you have no remembrance of me that would help you recognize me. Mother, I am satisfied, I should know for I have seen her in dreams so often that I know exactly how she looks. Yes, indeed, in the spirit she has come to me, and I have seen her whitened hair, bent form, and her withered cheek with its patient, meek and sorrowful expression. Yes, Mother, your image lives on in the bosom of your truant long absent son and will forever live there. Father, too, I have had visits from or rather have visited in my dreams. I should not expect to find him much altered in general appearance.

The emotions that arise while I am writing are such that it is impossible for me to express myself or convey to you or to Father or Mother what my real feelings are. I must give up all attempts to do so and will assure you that however strong may be your feelings, mine are as great as yours in the intense emotions of the heart.

Please tell all the family to write to me

Yours Truly,

Charles A. Rogers

In 1855, Caroline's husband Aaron Daniels decided to move to the "Gold Fields" in California and insisted she go with him. She refused, so he married a plural wife whom he took with him. (He subsequently apostatized from the Church.) Before he left he sold his house in Salt Lake that Susanna and her sons were living in. Again she was left homeless.

June 10, 1855, Susanna received a second patriarchal blessing.

"Sister Susanna, in the name of Jesus Christ and by virtue of the keys of the kingdom of God, I lay my hands upon thy head to seal upon thee a blessing, for my heart is full of blessings for thee, for thou art one of the daughters of Abraham of the lineage of Joseph and seed of Ephraim. Thou art a noble spirit and a chosen vessel unto the Lord, and thy life is head with Christ in God. Thou shalt be delivered from bondage and have thy heart's desires granted unto thee for thy prayers are heard and have entered into the ears of the Lord and will be answered upon thy head. Though the blessings tarry long, wait for it--it will come unto thee, yet it will not tarry long for thy heart is right before God. Thou shalt have great blessings and thy crown shall be sure, for none shall take it from thee. Thou shalt walk the courts of the Lord's house and rejoice therein and be numbered with the daughters of Zion. Thy bonds shall be broken in a short time in a way thou knowest not at present. By virtue of the Holy Priesthood I seal thee up unto eternal life and no person shall be able to take thy crown from thee. I seal thee against the powers of darkness, and thou shalt not be overcome thereby, for thou shalt have strength to endure all thy trials. Thy son shall be blessed and be preserved in life to receive the priesthood and be a joy and consolation unto thee for he shall be a man of wisdom, light, and understanding. Thou shalt come up as a Savior upon Mt. Zion and have many things made manifest unto thee which cannot be revealed unto thee at this time. Thou shalt assist in the redemption and exaltation of thy friends who are dead, for if thou wilt claim it by faith, thou shalt receive thine endowments and blessings in the courts of the Lord's house, and receive thine exaltation in the lineage of thy fathers. Not many days hence and thou shalt be free from thy bondage and rejoice exceedingly with the daughters of Zion, for thou shalt be sustained by power of God, and thy way shall be opened before thee. If thou wilt keep the commandments of God, not one jot or tittle of these blessings shall fall unfulfilled. I seal these blessings upon thy head in the name of Jesus Christ and by virtue of the Holy Priesthood, even so Amen.

(Could the "bondage" referred to above be poverty, or the "spiritual bondage" of not being sealed to a worthy companion?) Arrangements were made for Susanna and her boys to buy a home from Charles W. Dalton on half a lot located on the southeast corner of Third South and Eighth East. This was the 10th Ward area, with David Pettigrew as Bishop (now the Trolley Square locality). Again she set up a school and continued teaching.

Susanna's father David W. Rogers wrote a long letter to her from the mission field dated July 21, 1855. I quote excerpts here:

Dearly beloved daughter,

After so long a time I write to let you know that I have received your kind and instructive letter of the 29th of March. I was in Sandusky City on the 23rd of June and received your letter and others at the same time, forwarded by Hester Ann.

I was very glad to get them all, but none gave me more joy than yours. I would not refrain from shedding tears of joy to know that my prayers were heard and that you were blessed of the Lord and enabled to rejoice in your state of destitution and want. I do pray that you may still be blessed in body and mind, in basket and stone and in all that pertains to you and yours; that your boys may continue to be a comfort and help to you and so conduct themselves that the Lord will bless them in all they put their hands to do whether it is to work in the canyon, build houses, make adobes, or go to school. I pray that our Father in Heaven in the name of His Son will bless you all, both in and over all things, even so, Amen.

(He tells of finding relatives in Ashtabula who know nothing about the Church and asks Susanna to write to some of her cousins.) "If you keep up a correspondence they might ask questions that would lead to investigation and the acknowledging of the truth..." (Susanna did write and receive letters from cousins.)

Please direct your letters to Polk City and I shall keep Addison (Charles) and Hester posted as to my whereabouts. Addison has moved to Iowa. He has a very interesting family, one daughter and two sons. I am pleased with the appearance of his wife.

I was much displeased to learn from a letter that Mother had not heard from me since I left home and did not know I had left the City of GSL (Great Salt Lake), notwithstanding I wrote seven letters home before that time. I wish you would be so good as to write and let her know I left your city last fall and to date have written 11 letters to her and Henry, and intend to write one each and every month.

Please write. Remember me to your sons and tell them I want to see them very much.

Farewell for now,
D.W.Rogers

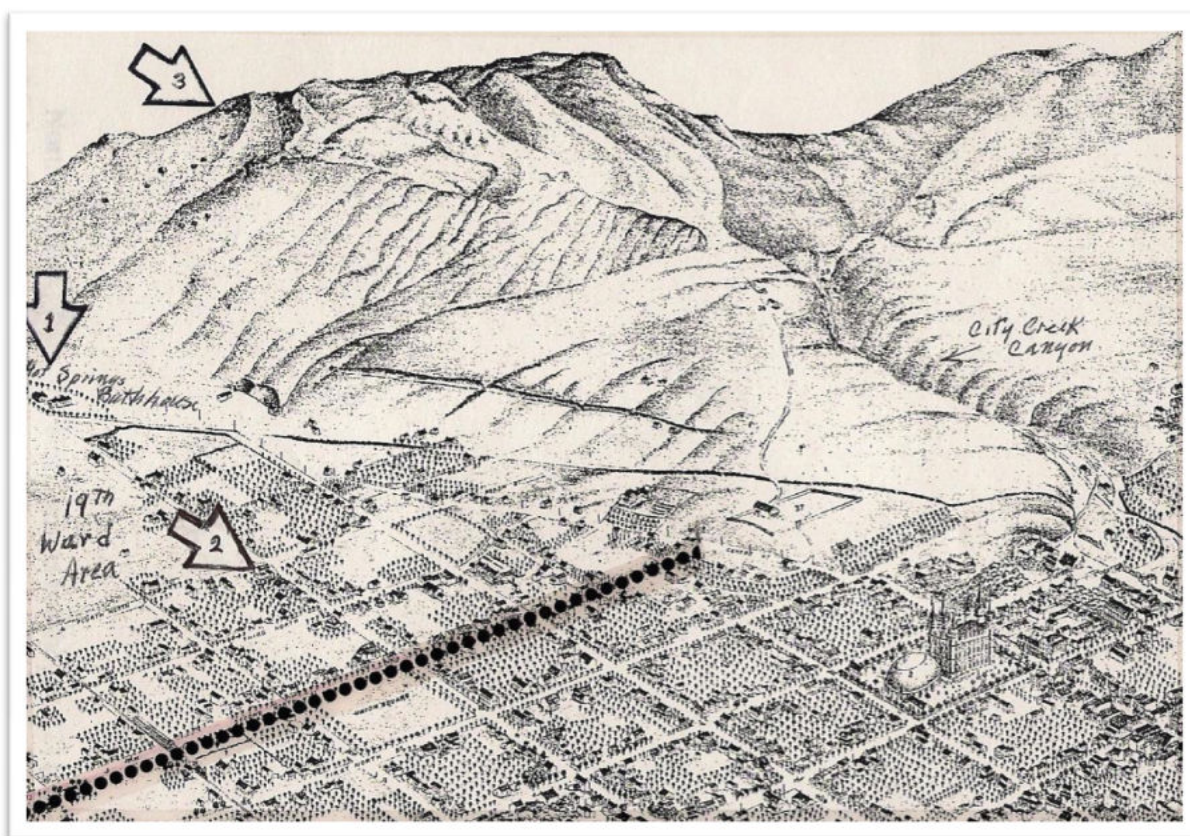
Mail went east once a month, weather permitting, and cost three cents a letter.

The winter of 1855 set in early. Salt Lake Valley was covered with three feet of snow covered with a hard crust. Sanjo delivered the weekly mail to Ogden during November and came near perishing on the last trip he was able to make. For four months afterward, the roads were completely snowed over. It was impossible for range cattle to get at the grass, and consequently most perished. The wind screamed against the doors and windows, forcing swirls of snow through cracks around them. Many pioneers pulled their straw ticks close to the fireplace and piled on extra quilts to keep warm during the nights. In the mornings a coating of ice covered the water or milk set on the table the night before.

XVIII. JAMES KEATE

"Can two walk together except
they be agreed?" Amos 3:3

The 19th Ward records of June 1, 1856 show Susanna living there as the wife of James Keate. This leaves some interesting questions, such as how they met and when they married. It would have been after her patriarchal blessing in June of 1855. In early Utah territory no marriage license was required. A couple could simply go to the Bishop, request the ceremony, and say "I do". There were four different Bishops who could have joined James and Susanna in matrimony, or any of their councilors. No records have been found of the marriage ceremony.



Nineteenth Ward area in North Salt Lake (North of heavy line)
(1) Hot Springs Bathhouse (2) 19th Ward Schoolhouse (3) Ensign Peak

James Keate was born March 17, 1808 in Bristol, Gloucester, England. In 1830 he married Eliza Ann Prodger in Cardiff, Glamorgan, Wales, across the channel from Bristol. Seven children were born to them, but only four were still living when his wife died August 20, 1851 at age 42. Two years later, February 10, 1853, he was baptized a member of the LDS Church at Bristol, England, his childhood home.

James Prodger, his oldest son, joined the Church also, but was married and on his own. He emigrated with his wife and family a couple of years after his father.

February 4, 1854 James Keate sailed on the "Columbia" with his children Mary Ann, age 17; Sarah Ann, age 15; and Elizabeth Ann, age 12. They traveled overland from Kansas City in one

of the Perpetual Emigration Companies. Many became sick with scurvy and Cholera. Sarah Ann died April 14, 1854 and had to be buried along the way. With heavy hearts James and his remaining two children continued west and reached the Salt Lake Valley in late summer.

Still owing the Perpetual Immigration Fund, he was too poor to open a shoe shop on his own, but good shoemakers were in high demand. He may have worked for the 15th Ward Tannery in the Townsend Building on East Temple, which advertised the finest leather available in the Territory. After 1856 he most likely worked for Bishop Raleigh at the Bath House Tannery in the north part of the 19th Ward area. They advertised, "Design soles and upper leather of the best quality. Ready made boots and shoes. Also make to order at the shortest notice. Receive in exchange produce, hides, cattle or cash." (There was little cash in circulation in early Salt Lake.)

Ward records of 1856 indicate that James had four people living in his household and owned two lots. Blocks were divided into eight lots, so he owned a quarter of a block. It also lists what he does not have: gigs, carriages or wagons, teams, horses or mules, and no sheep or young stock. His assessed road tax was \$3.20, indicating his property was worth \$760.

James' fourteen-year-old daughter Elizabeth Ann and Susanna's son Horatio were living with them at this time. Mary Ann Keate had married the year before, and Guglielmo was away from home most of the time. That spring and summer he drove cattle to California for the church.

The 19th Ward boundaries were from second North to Warm Springs, and from City Creek to the Jordan River (Eleventh West), although much of the property was unoccupied. The schoolhouse where ward meetings were held was on the southwest corner of the Fourth North and Second West intersection (next to the present West High School).

Warm Springs, near the Jordan River, was a favorite recreation area, with occasional parties and socials held there. It was also the preferred camping spot for California-bound travelers. Most wagon trains would stay there several days, trading for supplies, repairing wagons and equipment, and resting up for the journey ahead. Most were hard drinking, swearing rowdies, who took every opportunity to harass the Mormons, at the same time partaking of their hospitality.

The Hot springs Bathhouse (later Wasatch Springs) sat against the base of the east hills within walking distance of the Keate's home. It provided the luxury of a warm bath without heating and carrying water or being cramped in a number 10 tin tub.

Nineteenth Ward records indicate that June 5, 1856, "Horatio Keate" was baptized by James Keate, and confirmed by Ute Perkins. James is also listed as performing baptisms and confirmations for others in the ward, and offering the closing prayer in one of their meetings.

Minutes of the meetings held in the Nineteenth Ward school-house indicate that they held a meeting almost every evening, with hymns, prayers and preaching. Even Christmas Eve and New Years Eve weren't excluded. Often in meetings members stood to confess their failings and promise to do better. Frequently the same brother who gave the opening prayer also gave the main sermon. Morning and evening prayer circles were held regularly, with an assigned group leader (probably for Priesthood brethren only). Fast days were held the first Thursday of each month, with a testimony meeting in the evening.

September 24, a meeting was called to "inquire into the feelings of the Saints in order to cause a reformation", and the sisters were given this counsel: "Sisters might do a great work if they deny themselves of those things that have to be imported, such as tea, coffee, tobacco and their little gee gaws." I doubt the Keate family had many "gee gaws", since they struggled just to put food on the table.

Susanna loved to hear President Brigham Young and the apostles speak at the semi-annual conferences held in the adobe tabernacle on the southwest corner of Temple Square. October Conference of 1856 was devoted to the reformation. The Saints were counseled to repent and be

more righteous so the Lord would listen to their prayers and protect them from the influence of gold seekers coming through on their way to California.

Up until that time the pioneers had needed all their strength just to survive. Now they could emphasize the spiritual part of their lives. Many renewed their baptismal covenants, with whole wards meeting on the banks of the Jordan River, having prayer, then each in turn going into the water.

Bishop's courts were very strict. Many instances are mentioned of members being excommunicated for "railing against the leaders, cursing, swearing, or lying". One brother accused his wife of "quarreling, blasphemy, and general bad conduct." She was cut off from the Church.

During the summer of 1856, Sanjo traveled with the U.S. Survey. That fall, he was hired to drive an ox team to Fort Owen, Bitter Root, Montana and worked there during the winter. Having been taught well by his mother, he made mince pies for Christmas dinner at the fort--the first mince pies ever made in Montana.

March 7, 1857 he started home herding 200 head of ponies. When he arrived in Salt Lake the first week in May, he was "richer by four ponies. Mother was expecting me and surprised me with a brand new hickory shirt, clean pants and shoes. (He had worn out his boots and ten pair of moccasins on the trip.) She put soap and a tub of hot water out in the cow shed. She said I'd better go and change clothing, and to be sure to leave the old ones out there. I guess she was right." He brought her a pair of beautifully beaded moccasins made by an Indian squaw.

During the summer months, Horatio with other boys herded cows near Ensign Peak and Parley's Canyon. It was during one of these summers that he constructed his first musical instrument, a crude fiddle, cleverly fashioned of wood and catgut strings. When he carried this fiddle home and proudly played a simple tune for his mother, she expressed surprise at his talent. Nor could she know then how this humble beginning would influence his entire life.

During the time they were herding, Horatio and his companions gathered the honey from the wild bees' nests, and dug sego roots and thistles for their noon lunches, frequently taking some home for the family suppers.

One day the Keates had company for dinner and Susanna made barley cakes from half ripe barley gathered from a nearby field. These were very choice, and Horatio had cause to wonder if there would be any left for him. Fortunately, however, one remained, part of which he ate, putting the remainder in a bottle to remind him in later years how very grateful he was at that time for his small portion.

July 24, 1857, word reached the valley that an army was headed their direction from Fort Leavenworth, with the express purpose of annihilating the Mormon power once and for all, possessing their cities, filling their Territory with gentiles, and taking their wives and daughters as spoil.

At this time, Susanna's father was out on the plains returning from his mission. The company passed soldiers and government supply wagons that were on their way to put down the "Mormon rebellion". Susanna read the following newspaper article in the August 16, 1867

Deseret News.

"Elder Jesse B. Martin's wagon company was traveling on the north side of the Platte 26 miles below Laramie on the third of this month. They had lost 11 head of cattle by a stampede but were pursuing their journey at the rate of 15 miles per day. Elders Charles R. Dane, David W. Rogers and James Carrigan are returning from their missions."

Six weeks later, The Rogers family stayed with Susanna and attended October conference where David gave a brief mission report.

At this conference the main subject spoken of was the impending invasion by the US Army, and the Mormons' determination not to submit to persecution and abuse again. Two thousand brethren were sent into the mountains east of the city to burn supply depots, stampede animals, and impede the army in any way possible.

Soon after the conference, Sanjo arrived in Salt Lake from Sacramento where he had taken a herd of 800 oxen. He had an interesting story to tell of his trip back. "While at Murphy's Diggings counting cows, we were surprised by the arrival of Col. Pete Conover with an escort of 25 men bringing a dispatch from Governor Brigham Young that Johnston's army was on the road from the states to invade Utah, and for all Utah people to come home immediately. There were a large number of Mormons in the Carson Valley. We headed back with one hundred wagons, forty families, a loose herd of horses and mules, over five hundred head of cattle and one hundred and fifty horsemen."

Sanjo continues, "In early spring of 1858 the Indians visited Johnston's Army at Fort Bridger and were presented with guns and ammunition to make war against the Mormons. They drove Sam Bringham's band of horses (500 head) toward Skull Valley, 25 miles west of Salt Lake City, massacred Chancey Webber and family, and drove off the herd Webbers were tending. I was with the party sent to Skull Valley. One of the squads found the cattle and commenced gathering them, six Indians shooting after them to hurry them up a little. They reached camp safe. Several cattle had arrows stuck in them. Ami Jackson and I were sent to Grantsville under cover of night with dispatches for 50 men to go immediately to Skull Valley. Reinforcements almost didn't make it. Two had bullet holes in their shirt collars, and two had their blanket strings cut, so they lost their beds. The next day the command took the trail for about 20 miles when a blizzard struck. We lost the trail and gave up the chase."

To escape Johnston's army that was moving speedily toward Utah now that winter was over, the Saints left their homes ready to burn, and moved south. April storms made traveling miserable. The road was a steady stream of wagons, animals, and people. Sanjo returned to Salt Lake in time to take the Keates to Susanna's folks in Provo, two days journey. Her parents, her sister Caroline and children, and her brother Henry Clay with Emma Higbee, his new wife of six months, were all living there at the time. Henry was serving as Sheriff and his wife Emma prepared meals for several prisoners each day.

Sanjo didn't stay in Provo, but made many trips back and forth helping others move. A total of thirty thousand people moved into Utah Valley during 1858. Most camped in makeshift shelters in summer heat with little range feed for their cattle and very little food and water for themselves.

Church meetings were held in a large bowery made to seat 3,000 people. Roof beams were supported on twelve-foot high posts and covered with brush. There were few benches so people had to carry their own chairs or blankets to sit on.

Two reporters came from the East to interview leaders and report on the "Mormon Question". They sought and were given permission to attend one of the meetings. Their description of the congregation is interesting.

"Men were hard tanned muscular mountaineers, somber with happy retiring backward children. The number of women was few indeed, and sad. Hardly a smile on their lips, with dark tan faces, rough working hands, wearing white muslin sunbonnets. Crinoline is unknown here. Skirts drooped down close to their limbs. The dresses are very much like a sack and fall from the shoulder to feet, though clean."

July 14, most of the problems with the US Government had been solved through the mediation of Colonel Thomas Kane, and the people were allowed to return to their homes. Weeds had taken over the gardens, growing waist high. Boards had to be removed from windows and doors, and the interiors of their homes given a good cleaning from the straw and dust that had accumulated over the last three months.

Johnston's army set up headquarters at Camp Floyd, fifty miles southwest of Salt Lake. Once again, the Mormons had cultivated the soil and reclaimed unwanted land, only to have their freedom of self-rule taken from them. The Government-appointed officers were hostile to the Saints, and cared little about their needs. Church members continued to follow President Young and ignored the "gentile" territorial leaders as much as possible.

Anti-Mormons opened businesses with the purpose of controlling commerce and thus the LDS people. Brigham Young preached self-sufficiency and instructed church members not to patronize non-Mormon establishments. By following this counsel, they were successful in putting some of the gentile merchants out of business. Angered by the Mormons' cohesiveness, enemies brought trumped up charges against Brigham Young. Soldiers threatened to storm the "Beehive Castle" if Brigham Young didn't go to court.

They summoned men on juries who were hostile to the Saints' peaceful way of life, and the US Treasury paid the expenses. Army followers established a gambling house in Salt Lake known as Perkin's White House. East Temple (approximately six blocks from the Keates) became the "headquarters of rowdyism". There were two murders there and several men wounded. Riots and street fights interrupted the peace of former times.

Bishop Raleigh, as Alderman, was caught up in the middle of the legal battles, fining lawbreakers and incurring the wrath of the gentiles. As a result, the members of the 19th Ward were kept well informed of what was happening.

That fall Sanjo hauled wood from Cottonwood Canyon to Camp Floyd. He said in the understatement of the year, "Times were lively that winter." He spent most of the winter on Stansbury Island herding cattle for Heber C. Kimball, so he can be forgiven.

After being renovated, the adobe Tabernacle opened for public worship January 2, 1859, for the first time since June of 1858. The choir and an organ were placed in the center of the room opposite the stand. Fences were put up dividing the room in half; the north side for the females and the south side for the males. It was customary in all their church meetings for the men and women to sit on opposite sides. This building had been completed in 1852, and only held 2,500, so it was inadequate for the large numbers of Saints who wished to attend meetings there.

According to the Deseret News, the Territorial taxes had to be paid prior to September first, on Saturdays at the Clerks office in the northwest corner of the Connell House, upstairs. In 1858 James Keate had made \$500 worth of improvements on his property, but still had no animals or vehicles. In 1859 he acquired a cow worth \$50, swine \$10, and a clock or watch worth \$10. The year 1860 was his most prosperous ever, with improvements on his property worth \$1500 and other taxable property worth \$200.

In 1859 Susanna received a letter from her brother Charles saying,

"I have not written often, I have so believed that I should come to the Territory of Utah, but have at last concluded that come I will, if I wheel a barrow all the way; and considering the great possibility that exists of my being something to the Kingdom and to my relatives, I think it is my duty to write. I do so in the fervent hope that the anniversary of this writing may be celebrated with you in the Vallies. I much fear that I may leave a part of my family behind me for at present there is no hope that my wife will come with me and no doubt she will claim a share of the

children. But wife or no wife, children or no children, I feel that the time for me to come is now.

"Brother Beebe (Hester's husband) is growing richer by day but whether there is left enough salt in him to save him in the Kingdom is doubtful. Hester and family are anxious to come to the Church and Brother Beebe may ultimately come. He talks that way at present."

The Beebe family did come to Utah in 1859 and stayed in Provo, but George became dissatisfied and took his family back to the states a year later. Charles had promised to join the family for so long they ceased to take him seriously, so they were surprised when he showed up in 1860 with his five children and possibly his wife Rebecca. They stayed for a time in Provo during which his son Ross died and was buried in the Rogers family plot. Disillusioned, the family returned to the East.

An ad appeared in newspapers around the country in March of 1860:

"Wanted--young, skinny, wiry fellows. Must be expert riders willing to risk death daily. Orphans preferred."

Sanjo, along with 119 other young men (24 who were L.D.S.) was hired. He says, "In the spring of 1860, the Ben Halliday Co. Pony Express and Overland Coach started running from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Salt Lake City. It took a pony six days to run the 1,300 miles, coach ten days. Stations averaged about twelve miles apart. The pony rider would change horses at every station. He took five stations, and then another rider came on. I kept the second station east of Salt Lake and rode the ponies considerable. (He was paid approximately fifty dollars a month.) During the day I let the ponies graze and would have lost them several times, but for the aid of a little lead. The whites were worse than the reds, killing many pony riders and stealing stock at every chance." (It's no wonder that a half-ounce letter cost \$5.00 to send.)

The Salt Lake House served as Pony Express station and hotel. It was located on the east side of Main Street between First and Second South, the only establishment of its kind in the west. A long veranda, supported by posts, fronted the two story building, and a rough looking crowd gathered around the doorway whenever a rider was due. A large corral kept the ponies ready for action in back of the building.

Whenever the riders brought important news from the states the Deseret News issued an extra, called "The Pony Dispatch", to keep the Saints up to date. The end of the Pony express service came in October of 1861, eighteen months after it started, because of the completion of the transcontinental telegraph line, and near bankruptcy of the Express Company.

During this period of time many sermons were preached from the pulpit of the 19th Ward and the Tabernacle on the subject of plural marriage. In a Friday evening meeting at the 19th Ward, the Saints were exhorted to live the "Celestial Law of marriage" or (spiritual) death would be the penalty. A man could not progress in the kingdom or hold positions of responsibility unless he lived this principle. The salvation of all was dependent on being able to live this higher law.

January 19, 1861, James Keate and Susanna were sealed in the Salt Lake Endowment house. At the same time, James was sealed to a fifteen-year-old Danish girl, Verbena (called Bena) Jacobina Christofferson. He built her a separate home on one of his lots, and at age 57 began a new family.

With the Start of the Civil War, the army quartered at Camp Floyd was called back to the states. Few were sorry to see them go. Many recalled Joseph Smith's prophesy years before about a

conflict which would take place between the North and the South in which many of their old enemies would be killed.

IX. MISSION TO DIXIE

"And in the barren deserts there shall
come forth pools of living water and
the parched ground shall no longer be
a thirsty land." D&C 133:29

During the October General Conference of 1861, Brigham Young called for volunteers to settle the Virgin River Country in the south, and produce cotton, sugar, and grapes to supply the territory. Only one man volunteered to go to go. President Young's goal was for the Saints to become a self-sustaining people. War had broken out between the Northern and Southern States in April, which prevented the Saints from receiving goods from the East.

The following Sunday a list of 300 names of heads of families called to the Dixie Mission was read from the pulpit. These men were called to go with their families, develop the land, and stay at least five years. On this list was James Keate, shoemaker, from the Salt Lake 19th Ward. The missionaries were counseled, "Don't take a lot of furniture, just tools, seeds, books, music, instruments, writing materials, and food.

Bishop Raleigh took "acknowledgement of deeds" for the Keates. Either they sold their property to him or he was their agent. With the proceeds they bought two wagons which were made ready and loaded with the barest necessities; bedding, dishes and cooking utensils, enough food to last the winter and spring, a small hand grinder to grind wheat and corn, and a few farm implements. Susanna baked loaves of bread, sliced, dried, and stored it in heavy sacks. Corn, squash, berries, peas, beans, and fruit were also dried.

Brother Erastus Snow, the leader of the mission, started out November first with a group of the settlers. The next day George A. Smith started out with his group. Other groups followed through November. The Keates left around the middle of November, James driving one wagon with his 16-year-old wife Bena; and 13-year-old Horatio driving another ox team and wagon carrying his mother and their household goods. (Elizabeth Ann Keate stayed in Salt Lake and married, but died a few years later.)

The first day's travel took them to the fort at Draperville, southeast of Salt Lake. The next day they traveled to Porter Rockwell's stage stop in the Jordan Narrows, then on to Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove) where they stayed the night. The following day they reached Provo, where Susanna and Horatio stopped to visit relatives. A big family group welcomed them. David, at 76, was still farming. Henry Clay and his wife were expecting their third child. Ross and Helen had moved back to Provo with their nine children and Caroline was still there with her six children.

Impatient to be on their way, James and Bena went on ahead. Susanna and Horatio left three days later in company with a few other families. Horatio drove over rough roads, through snowstorms, and across frozen mountain passes, quite a challenge for the young teamster. On the coldest days it was difficult to even get a drink of water as it froze and had to be thawed over a fire.

After a month of plodding through mud and snow, they reached the rim of the southern basin. The climate changed to mild, pleasant weather, but the most difficult roads were still ahead. The Black Ridge was rocky and steep with patches of deep sand. To get over it they had to take their wagons apart and let them down with ropes. It took several days to get over. A few miles

farther, they came to Grapevine Springs, where there was a one-mile stretch of sand so deep that bushes and bark had to be laid in the wheel tracks so the wagons would not sink hub deep in the heavy red sand. Often they had to double-team. As they traveled west, colored formations brought a rugged beauty to the landscape, but it became more difficult to find water. Finally they descended the steep rocky incline on the west bank of Ash Creek and reached Toquerville where a few families were living. From there they traveled across hills of deep sand to Washington, finding the few inhabitants very discouraged after a Malaria epidemic.

December 24, 1861, the company entered the St. George Valley over a lava ridge on the east and viewed for the first time their new home. To the distant northwest lay the snow-clad peaks of the Pine Valley Mountains. North of the campground rose a red Navajo sandstone bluff christened Mount Hope by the pioneers. A mile south of camp, the Virgin River meandered through willows and cottonwoods. Across its waters lay barren sagebrush-covered hills, with black volcanic ridges to the east and west.

The stark wasteland matched the emptiness Susanna felt inside. She had to share James with a young Danish girl only three years older than Horatio, who hardly spoke English and was having a difficult time adjusting to her new country. She felt completely on her own, far away from her comfortable home, and far away from family and friends.

The line of wagons drew up on either side of the wiregrass bottomland with a ditch ploughed through the center to bring water from East Springs for culinary use. This water was not very palatable because of its high mineral content. The broad avenue between the two lines of wagons served as public meeting grounds. Corrals were built in back of the lines. Most of the campfires were also back of the individual wagons. (This area later became the adobe yard, is now the home of Dixie College.)

On Christmas Day while the company was celebrating out in the open, rain began to fall. The first drops fell after the meeting ended, but didn't discourage the dancers. They danced in the rain until dark, then set up a long tent and danced inside. President Snow had a special Christmas surprise for everyone. A man had managed to get down from Pine Valley with a load of potatoes. These were roasted in the coals of the community fire and one given to each person in the tent. They served as hand warmers as well as a special Christmas meal.

Mothers put their babies to sleep on the benches lining the walls, and the majority of the camp danced until midnight. By then the fiddler had sawed through his bowstrings and had no replacements. An old lady had carried a spool of silk thread all the way from England, which served as a substitute for the frayed bowstrings. After a short intermission music again filled the tent. The rain continued pouring down, even seeping through the roof of the tent. Still, it was warmer and drier than the wagons, so dancing continued till dawn, while the wallflowers huddled together to keep warm.

The rain continued to fall and the sun hid behind heavy clouds. Wagon covers and tents proved to be inadequate shelters. Everything got wet--clothing, bedding, food, and fuel. It was nearly impossible to build fires with the wet mesquite, greasewood, sage, and rabbit brush which was their only fuel.

Thursday, January second was fast day. By this time more settlers had arrived. A camp census was taken, showing 378 males, 370 females, 209 wagons, 121 horses, 34 mules, 569 oxen, 340 cows, and 98 plows. It was impossible for 748 people to fit in the large camp tent, but meetings went on in spite of the rain.

Monday, January sixth, a mass meeting was held, with patriotic demonstrations of love and devotion to the union and protests against its dissolution. A resolution was also drafted in favor of statehood.

James Keate led the first choir, the music bringing much needed comfort to the camp. A violin and flute were the only accompaniment.

Susanna taught school in a wagon box in spite of primitive conditions. There were very few textbooks and supplies available, but children must be taught. In those days school began by a song, a prayer and verses read out of the scriptures.

January 9, 1862, while heavy rains still plagued the campers, Brother Snow proposed they donate money and labor to erect a stone building for educational and social purposes as soon as possible. The idea was approved and contributions were pledged in amounts from \$5 to \$50, totaling \$2,074 from 120 people. James Keate pledged \$30. Each gave all they could.

In spite of the downpour, city lots were surveyed by January 23. To give each man a fair deal, names were placed in one hat, and the numbers of the lots in another. Names were drawn and matched with a lot number drawn out of the hat.

The rain continued for forty days, changing the Virgin River from a small stream to a torrent one quarter of a mile wide in places, destroying already established settlements in Santa Clara, Grafton, Tonaquint, and part of Washington. Flooded-out settlers from Santa Clara came to the large camp tent in St. George for shelter and food. To make sure no one went hungry, their food was held in common and rationed to last until the first crops could be harvested.

The rain stopped at last. In February they cleared the streets of brush, leveled them, began digging water ditches, and moved to their lots. Each of the 130 taxpayers was required to pay 21 pounds, 10 □ ounces of wheat for his property.

The Keate lot faced east on Main Street between First and Second North. It was less than a block south of the St. George Hall (later called the Social Hall), the first public building erected in St. George. Work began on this building immediately. It was too small for church services, but would provide a place for dances, plays, and school. James took his turn working on the Hall, the large bowery, ditches and roads.

Planting crops was the highest priority and could be done early in the mild Dixie climate, so at first the Keates lived in their two wagon boxes. These served as bedrooms, the space between covered with a willow and brush shed where they cooked and ate meals. This crude shelter provided little protection from the elements or from snakes and lizards that seemed to populate the country in abundance.

The warm Dixie sun dried out their belongings and lifted their flagging spirits. In March, the whole countryside was covered with a carpet of beautiful colors. The tiny violet blossoms of the Filarree, yellow and purple Bee Flowers; Indian Paint Brush, Larkspur, Four-o'clocks, the Sego Lily, yellow, pink and white Evening Primrose; and Cactus blossoms bid a warm welcome to this harsh new land.

March 22, 1862, the congregation met in the completed bowery, just south of where the Tabernacle now stands. At this first meeting, the city was divided into four wards with bishops over each. The Keates belonged to the 4th Ward in the northeast section of the city, with Robert Gardner as Bishop. (He also served as presiding bishop over the four wards, and the Pine Valley Ward.)

The Bowery was far from comfortable. Its walls were constructed of willows interwoven between cottonwood poles set in the ground then plastered over with mud. The roof beams were covered with green boughs and willows. Tallow candles on wooden chandeliers furnished the lights for evening gatherings. St. George's frequent windstorms whipped up the dust from the sidewalk and streets and blew it through the willows and into the faces of the congregation. On those rare occasions when it rained, the brush roof gave little shelter from the storm.

XX. THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

"They shall not hunger nor thirst
neither shall the heat smite them."

Isa. 49:10

In all the places Susanna had lived, she had never experienced such unbearable heat. The sun bore down, scorching the ground and its inhabitants with temperatures of up to 120 degrees. Even the short nights gave little relief, as the rocks and dirt still radiated heat. At night, the pioneers sprinkled water on clothing and bedding to cool down enough to sleep.

Their only shade was what they made from brush and wagon covers. At any rate, there was no time to sit under makeshift shelters. Too much work needed to be done. Hats and sunbonnets had to suffice for protection from the sun's rays. Bena was pregnant and unable to do heavy work, but Susanna and Horatio helped plow, plant, and build.

The water coming out of Mt. Hope slowed to a trickle, and the Virgin resisted all attempts to harness it for irrigation, so water had to be carried from its banks up to the thirsty parched crops. Susanna and Horatio helped James dip water into barrels then haul it by wagon up to their property. He was especially careful to water the row of grape cuttings he had set out. Even with water, crops didn't grow well in the alkali-impregnated soil. About half of what they planted was lost.

As the season wore on, the intense summer sun dried out the scanty forage for animals, and threatened to kill the remaining plants. A few discouraged souls abandoned the mission; however the majority refused to be routed.

Sanjo joined his mother "on the Rio Virgin, but it was too quiet (and probably too hot) for me among the cactus so I saddled my steed and took a ride back to Salt Lake." He did some freighting, then returned to St. George in the early fall.

As soon as possible, the Keates turned their energies toward building a home, hoping to finish it before Bena's confinement. They made adobes from the grayish clay that bordered the eastern part of the valley, and dried them in the hot Dixie sun. Finally, walls were laid up, making a two-room house with a brush and clay roof.

When Bena's home was finished, they started on a home for Susanna next to it. They made do without board roofs and floors until a sawmill was established in St. George and wood was hauled from pine Valley the following year.

Conditions were primitive. Candles, and tallow to make them, were scarce, and candles couldn't be made in the heat of the summer. To provide light, a strip of rag with a button or pebble tied in the middle was placed in a shallow dish of grease and the end lighted.

Soap was another problem. When it was possible to obtain grease, it was added to lye leached out of cottonwood ashes to form a soft soap, and stored in a keg or barrel. When that was not available, Oose, or Yucca Root was pounded out and used instead. It was easier on the fabrics and hands of the laundress, and was an excellent shampoo. Clothes were washed in a tub of water heated over an open fire. Often, while clothes were still wet on the line, a whirlwind filled with sand would pass over, leaving them with a red coating.

To leaven quick bread, the housewife gathered alkali and dissolved it in water. The clear liquid was poured off and used in baking. From the taste she could decide how strong it was and govern the amounts needed to bring up her biscuits or cake. For bread a light batter was set with "shorts" or coarse flour till it produced what is known as wild yeast, and then mixed into bread

dough. It was baked in a Dutch oven with coals over and under, and required fine skill to avoid burnt edges or doughy middle.

They had no matches. Fires were banked at night with coals from the longer burning mesquite. If the fire went out during the night the housewife would take her shovel and look for a chimney spiraling smoke. There she could beg coals for her breakfast fire. Often she would encounter several others on the same errand.

Clothing wore out and the sisters turned to the spinning wheel and loom to produce fabric. It still took many additional hours to cut out and sew dresses, pants, and shirts by hand.

September 23, 1862, Bena's baby girl was born. Susanna helped care for mother and babe, but longed for a baby of her own. After six years of marriage she still hadn't been able to have more children, though her heart yearned for them.

Susanna's prayers were answered in a most unusual manner. A group of Indians had stolen a child from another tribe and brought her to St. George, threatening to torture or kill her if they didn't receive a satisfactory price. James bought her for Susanna.

Corra, born in 1861, was just over a year old when she came to her new family. The frightened, malnourished baby thrived under the care of her new mother and grew into a beautiful, black-haired toddler with laughing dark eyes. Sister R.A. Morris tells her story in Heartthrobs of the West Vol. 1.

"In 1862 James Keate and his good wife Susanna Rogers Keate came to the aid of Corra, a little Indian girl of the local tribes, whose life was threatened by other Indians. Corra was taken into the family as one of their own.

"There were two Keate wives, and soon after Corra's adoption, Auntie Keate moved into an adobe home near the main Keate residence. Auntie Keate being one of the early-day schoolteachers of the Dixie locality, Corra was taught to read, write, and do figures. Under her instruction, Corra became a winsome little girl, and was known for being one of the neatest little housekeepers in the town. She soon developed the art of singing and was recognized in her childish field.. "

President Brigham Young and a number of other brethren paid a visit to St. George in September of 1862. He saw the difficulties of colonizing in Dixie and immediately took steps to aid the struggling pioneers. As usual, his solution was to give them another assignment. He instructed Brother Snow to begin immediately the construction of "a commodious meeting place for the Saints" (the Tabernacle). Labor and food was to be sent from Cedar City and other nearby communities to help in the project.

Frosts came early and were unusually severe. The settlers had been advised to raise cotton rather than other crops, so they found themselves with a cotton surplus and not enough food. Packs of wolves got some of their animals, and hunger was a grim reality. By March of 1863 most of their supplies were exhausted. President Snow called a mass meeting to determine how much food was on hand and adopt measures to procure more. The tally showed only 25 pounds of breadstuffs for each individual, and the harvest three months away. Each was asked what they could send north to trade for food, though the majority had little they could do without. The Keates traded a wagon to secure enough aid to survive until the first barley and early wheat harvest in June.

In March of 1863 Brother Snow asked Sanjo to accompany Hyrum Burgess and William Pulsipher with Talaigants, Chief of the Indians on the Santa Clara, as guide to explore a wagon route from St. George to the Colorado through Black Rock Canyon. The purpose was to investigate the possibility of bringing in goods from the west coast by steamer up the Colorado River and establish a city to receive them. (The route was explored later and settlements were made on the Muddy.) This call was pre-empted by a more pressing one.

A call was extended to St. George for 55 wagons, teams and drivers to go east and pick up emigrants and freight. Each ward in the Territory of Utah had their quota to fill, but this was twice the number of wagons assessed the more established communities of Parowan and Cedar City. It was an impossible task, considering the people had sold many of their teams and wagons for food. President Snow explained this to President Young, promising to provide all the wagons possible.

In April of 1863, a group left St. George to fill that assignment with the requested 55 wagons. They were also carrying 10,000 pounds of Dixie cotton for an experiment in trade. Sanjo was one of the drivers, filling this position as a mission. He drove four yoke of oxen from St. George to Florence, Nebraska and back, a distance of 2,700 miles. The cotton brought market price in Florence. On the way back, the company brought 400 Saints who were emigrating from England, Switzerland and Italy. The St. George men returned to their homes in the first part of November.