Samuel Obed Crosby and Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby¹

By Jeffrey E. Crosby

Jesse Wentworth and Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby² were married in November of 1845 at Nauvoo, Illinois by Brigham Young. Following President Young, they traveled to Utah in the summer of 1847. They crossed the plains in the hundred captained by Daniel Spencer, arriving in the valley on 24 September 1847. Traveling with them was their infant son, George Henry, born in 1846. Their second son, Jesse Wentworth, Jr., was born in the Salt Lake valley in the spring of 1848. Their third son, Samuel Obed Crosby, was also born in Salt Lake during the heat of the summer, on 26 August 1849.

Childhood in Salt Lake

In a biographical sketch of her father, Elida Crosby Haycock recorded that Samuel Obed was born while Jesse was on a mission to England.³ While this is not correct, it would probably have seemed that way to the young Sam. Jesse left Salt

¹ Hannah wrote a brief autobiographical sketch of her life. In addition, both John S. Crosby and Elida Crosby Haycock wrote biographical sketches of their father. These three documents have served as the outline for this history. I have added personal recollections of others and supplemented with documents where possible—many of them being included in this volume.

² Five different Crosby women were named Hannah in the span of three generations. Hannah Corning Cann Crosby (1784-1839) was the wife of Joshua Crosby. Hannah Cann Crosby Mumford (1808-1883) was the daughter of Joshua and Hannah. Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby (1820-1907) was the first wife of Jesse Wentworth Crosby. Hannah Ann Crosby (1861-1862) was an infant daughter of Jesse and Hannah. Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby (1853-1932) was the wife of Samuel Obed Crosby. Generally, the Hannah referred to in this volume is Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, the wife of Sam. Throughout much of the text she is also referred to as Adelia. In all other cases I have tried to clearly differentiate which wife or daughter is being discussed.

³ Elida Crosby Haycock, "Sketch of the Life of S. O. Crosby" [97]. Reproduced in this volume. Brackets indicate the page number in this volume.

Lake City on 19 April 1850, only eight months after the birth of his third son. He did not return to Salt Lake until 10 September 1853, when Sam was four.

Jesse's mission would have placed a great hardship on Hannah. At the time of his departure for England, the three boys were all under four years of age. Hannah did have a teenage girl, Susan F. Angel, living with her during at least the early part of Jesse's three year absence,⁴ but how she earned a living is unknown. According to one great granddaughter, Hannah partially supported the family by supplying eggs and butter to the soldiers serving under Colonel Edward Steptoe. However, while Hannah may have sold produce to Colonel Steptoe's command, it could not have occurred at this time, as Steptoe did not arrive in Utah until 1854.⁵

At the time of Samuel Obed's birth, Jesse was working to establish a home in Salt Lake on the south-east corner of 200 West and North Temple. He also owned two five acre farm plots in the big field. The Crosby's lived in the Salt Lake City Seventeenth Ward, moving onto their lot sometime after February of 1849. Their first Bishop was Joseph L. Haywood. He was succeeded by Thomas Callister in 1855.6 In those early years, other members of the ward included Charles C. Rich, John M. Bernhisel, Henry W. Bigler and George A. Smith.

Life was hard in pioneer Utah, and young Sam would have been expected to assist with chores and other family tasks as soon as he was old enough to be of help. During these years we cannot be certain regarding Jesse's principal

⁴ The 1850 census records show Hannah as head of the Crosby household. Jesse's name is not listed. The three boys and Susan F. Angel are also listed as living in the home. Total value of their real estate and personal property was listed at \$500.

⁵ Mary Karma Crosby Stalker, "Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby" D.U.P. Camp Timp View, n.p. Steptoe came to Utah in 1854. He was an army engineer doing survey work for a transcontinental railroad. He was also assigned the task of investigating the murder of Captain John Gunnison and his men by Indians in 1853. His command apparently camped near the Crosby home while in the Salt Lake valley.

⁶ According to the Manuscript History of the Seventeenth Ward, Joseph L. Haywood served as Bishop from 1849 through 1855. Thomas Callister was Bishop from 1855 until 1861.

occupation, but we do know he maintained a farm, kept some cattle and manufactured molasses from beets, turnips and carrots. John and Elida remember Sam telling them that he herded cows, pulled weeds, and assisted his father in making molasses out of sugar cane. He herded cattle with the young John Henry Smith, son of Apostle George A. Smith. John Henry was only eleven months older than Sam.

When he was about age seven or eight, Sam was feeding beets or turnips into the molasses mill and the first finger of his left hand was taken off. George H. Crosby, Jr. described this accident.

When a small boy, [Sam] was feeding cane into a molasses mill and one of his hands was caught between the rollers and part of his fingers taken off. Joseph F. Smith, afterwards President of the Church was carrying cane to the mill. President Smith stopped the horse, backed him up, carried the boy to a doctor and held the chloroform over him while Dr. Benedict operated on the hand⁸

Family tradition reports that it was either Joseph F. Smith or George A. Smith who assisted Sam. From the evidence, it was most likely George A. Smith or Sam's friend, John Henry Smith, who found him after the accident and assisted him home.⁹

⁷ John Henry Smith (1848-1911) was the son of apostle George A. Smith. John Henry also became an apostle, in October of 1880, and was serving as a counselor in the First Presidency to his cousin Joseph F. Smith when he died. The manuscript history of the Salt Lake City Seventeenth Ward does show that both Jesse W. Crosby and George A. Smith resided in the ward. It was very probable that the two boys, so close in age, spent time together herding cattle as youngsters.

⁸ George H. Crosby, Jr., "The Mormon Crosby Family", typescript, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 4.

⁹ Like George Henry, Naomi Crosby Bliss believed that it was Joseph F. Smith who was with Sam at the time of the accident, but John Henry seems much more likely, both because of the proximity of the two families and because of the fact that Joseph F. was on a mission to Hawaii from May 1854 to February 1858. Prior to Joseph F. Smith's departure Sam would have only been five, and by the time of his return, Sam would have been almost nine. Joseph Fielding Smith, The Life of Joseph F. Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 164-189. Another tradition states that it was George A. Smith who was present and assisted Sam. This was certainly possible. Samuel Wallace Crosby, Jesse Wentworth Crosby: Mormon Preacher—Pioneer—Man of God (n.p., 1977), 115.

Both the Church and education were important in the Crosby home. For example, in 1854 Jesse became one of the presidents of the thirty-seventh quorum of the Seventy. ¹⁰ Young Sam was baptized by George Morris on 4 February 1857 and confirmed by Nathan Davis, both members of the Seventeenth Ward. ¹¹ He would have been seven-and-a-half years old. It is not known how much education Sam may have received during these early years, but considering how he valued it in later life, it seems the pattern was set at an early age. His first teacher was his father's plural wife, Ann Shelton Crosby. ¹² Ann and Jesse's marriage was childless, but she and Hannah seem to have amicably shared the home in the Seventeenth Ward for more than six years. Hannah's children affectionately referred to her as Aunt Ann. Ann kept a school in the Crosby home from 1855 until her death in 1860. ¹³

Described as a single floor adobe dwelling, ¹⁴ the size of this first Crosby home is unknown, but by 1854 it had been expanded and was large enough to house Jesse, Hannah, their four children, Ann, and Ann's two younger sisters. It was also large enough to accommodate Anne's students, as she taught school for many of the children in the Seventeenth Ward. Sam Crosby lived in this home until 1861.

¹⁰ Kate B. Carter (ed.), Treasures of Pioneer History, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1955), 4:4.

¹¹ Early Church Information File

¹² Ann Shelton Crosby (1820-1860) became a plural wife to Jesse Wentworth Crosby in 1854. Jesse converted Ann and most of the members of her family in 1843-44 while he and Benjamin Brown were laboring in the Canadian province of New Brunswick. According to Ann's sister, Jesse courted Ann at this time, but she refused to leave at that time. She came west in the summer of 1854. She died childless.

¹³ For further information on Ann Shelton see volume 1 of this project and Kate B. Carter (ed.), Our Pioneer Heritage, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1962), 5:285-292.

¹⁴ Stalker, Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby, n.p. Jesse had collected brick and was preparing to build a new home when he was called to St. George.

Sam also had the opportunity to participate in the 1858 move south that took place during the Utah War. This must have seemed like a grand adventure to a nine-year-old boy. While Jesse remained in the valley as a member of the guard, Hannah and Ann took the children south to Spanish Fork where Ann's sister, Eliza Shelton Keeler, lived. 15

The decade of the 1850s was a prosperous one for the Crosby family. After he returned from England, Jesse had the opportunity to improve his farm and his home. At the time of the 1860 census, seven of Jesse and Hannah's children were listed, including ten-year-old Sam. They also had another teenage girl, Louisa Wilson, living with them. Between real estate and personal property, Jesse estimated his worth at \$2700.16

St. George

At the LDS General Conference of October 1861, over 300 families were called to help bolster the small settlements in the Virgin River basin. It was believed that the climate was conducive to growing cotton. Because of his ability to make molasses, Jesse and his family were called to help settle this new community, which became St. George. Sam had just turned twelve.

Jesse traveled south in November of 1861 with the three older boys. ¹⁷ From early December through March of 1862, they labored to help lay out streets and work on other civic projects necessary to establish St. George. They also built a

¹⁵ Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, 5:291.

¹⁶ Census records. In the census of 1860, Jesse reported \$1800 in real estate and \$900 personal property. Ten years later in St. George census of 1870 he reported \$1500 in real estate and \$1000 in personal property.

¹⁷ Samuel Wallace Crosby wrote that Sam was left behind to help Hannah in Salt Lake, but Elida asserted that Sam indeed went south with his father and older brothers in 1861. Samuel Wallace Crosby, Jesse Wentworth Crosby, 115. Elida Crosby Haycock, "Sketch of the Life of S. O. Crosby" [97].

rock house and cleared land. While this was undoubtedly hard work, it must have briefly seemed like an adventure for the three teenaged boys. Jesse returned to Salt Lake City in April of 1862 to bring Hannah and the smaller children to St. George.

Life was difficult in Utah's Dixie and Jesse engaged in a number of occupations to support his family. At various times, Jesse farmed, operated a tannery, raised sugar cane and manufactured molasses, opened their home to travelers, and freighted goods to and from southern California. Sam and his older brothers were involved in most of these enterprises.

Sam worked hard while growing up in St. George, but he had several opportunities to improve his education. From 1863 to 1865, James G. Bleak taught school in the Crosby home.²⁰ In 1871 the St. George Academy was established with Richard Horne as the instructor.²¹ Jesse encouraged Sam to attend by paying for tuition and books. Sam attended the first year. While studying under Horne, Sam also had the opportunity to pursue his musical talents, becoming an accomplished bass singer. This was a talent he enjoyed the rest of his life. Sam later became involved in the choirs in both Panguitch and Bunkerville. According to his son John, after the Brigham Young Academy was established, Sam briefly

¹⁸ Andrew Karl Larson, I Was Called to Dixie (St. George, Utah: The Dixie College Foundation, 1992), 277, 581. See also: Stalker, Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby, n.p. and Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, 16:162.

¹⁹ Jesse W. Crosby, Jr. drove a team and wagon from St. George to southern California at the age of fourteen. Sam probably had similar opportunities. Andrew Jensen, Later-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen, 1920), 4 vols., 1:541.

²⁰ Albert E. Miller, The Immortal Pioneers (n.p.: Albert E. Miller, 1946), 127; Kate B. Carter, Heart Throbs of the West (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1951), 12 vols., 12:37.

²¹ Miller, The Immortal Pioneers, 548-549.

went to Provo and studied under Karl G. Maeser.²² The importance that Sam placed on education is apparent in the writings of both John and Elida.²³

Sam seems to have had a favorable impression of his years in St. George. His son John, almost certainly reflecting the attitudes of Sam, wrote that "social conditions in St. George during these years were excellent. I believe those in Salt Lake City were no better", and "Education, music, and splendid entertainments were fostered." ²⁴

Sam served militia duty for a time during the Black Hawk War.²⁵ His older brothers served in the summer of 1866.²⁶ Nothing is known about his militia service, but Sam probably didn't serve until 1867 or 1868. However, he did qualify as a Black Hawk veteran, and his wife received a pension after his death.²⁷

In the fall of 1867 the Crosby family traveled to Salt Lake for General Conference and the marriage of Sam's older brother Jesse. Jesse W. Jr. and his bride were married in the Endowment House on 4 October 1867. In General

²² John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" Typescript of original. In Josephine B. Walker, ed. The Bunker Family History. n.p.: The Edward Bunker Family Association, 1957,. 50.

²³ See Document One, pages 93-100.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints (New York: Random House, 1979), 156-157; Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893), 2:187-214. Black Hawk led a band of approximately 300 warriors in raids on southern Utah communities between 1865 and 1868. The war broke out when Black Hawk and his men refused to move to the newly established Ute reservation. During the hostilities, eighty Indians and seventy-five whites lost their lives. Twenty-five communities were abandoned, including Panguitch.

²⁶ Sam did not serve in the Andrus company that went over Boulder Mountain. So while he may have served at the same time as his brother, Jesse, he did not serve in the same company at that time. Andrew Jensen, Later-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:542. Kate B. Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, 11:29; C. Gregory Compton (ed.), "Military Reconnaissance in Southern Utah, 1866" Utah Historical Quarterly 32(1964):2:145-61. Jesse W. Jr. was a private of the first platoon of the Andrus company.

²⁷ In March of 1905, the Utah State Legislature approved an act that awarded a bronze medal to all Indian war veterans who served between 1850 and 1872. If the veteran was dead the medal was to be given to his widow. Then in 1917, Congress passed a bill granting pensions to the survivors (and widows) of certain Indian wars between 1859 and 1892. The Smoot amendment to this bill included Black Hawk War veterans from 1856 to 1876.

Conference four days later, on 8 October, Jesse W. Sr., Jesse W. Jr., and George H., were called to serve in the Southern States Mission. George H. was still single and serving as the Marshal of Washington County. The three men were gone until the spring of 1869. This left eighteen-year-old Sam to care and provide for his mother, brothers, and sisters.²⁸ Sam maintained the farm in his father's absence.²⁹

As Jesse and his sons returned from their missions, life began to change for the Crosby family. Newly married, George H. was called by Erastus Snow to move to Shoal Creek and become the Bishop of the Hebron Ward.³⁰ Jesse Jr. also left St. George, as he and his wife moved to Garfield County in 1871.

Hannah Adelia Bunker

Sam was not long in following his brothers. He married Hannah Adelia Bunker in the Endowment House on 10 June 1872. Daniel H. Wells performed the sealing. Sam was twenty-three and Hannah was nineteen. Nothing is recorded about their courtship or when they met, but there is a family tradition that Hannah issued an ultimatum when Sam first became her suitor. Hannah had grown up disliking some of the problems plural marriage created in her mother's home. She told her future husband that she would not embrace the principle. Reportedly, Hannah said, "Sam Crosby, if you have any designs on polygamy you can just keep going. For I will have none of it."

²⁸ Andrew Jensen, Later-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:542.

²⁹ The 1870 census shows Jesse as a farmer and Sam as a farm laborer.

³⁰ Ibid., 3:356. This community later became Enterprise.

Sam accepted Hannah's condition, and the young couple traveled by wagon to Salt Lake, accompanied by Sam's mother.³¹ The bride was the daughter of Edward Bunker and his first wife, Emily Abbott. Edward was the Bishop of Santa Clara from 1862 until 1877. Because of the proximity of Santa Clara to St. George it is not surprising that the young couple would have had the opportunity to meet at Church meetings, dances and other social occasions like the Pioneer Day celebrations.³²

Leaving St. George in early June, Sam, Hannah and Sam's mother began the trip to Salt Lake for their wedding. Taking what possessions they had with them in their wagon, they traveled by way of Panguitch. With the end of the Black Hawk War, Panguitch had been resettled. Sam had been encouraged to join his older brother Jesse in helping establish the new community. Jesse had apparently been attracted to the area when he passed through during the Black Hawk campaign of 1866. With the help of his older brother, Sam had erected a log cabin on his lot in Panguitch, and the couple stopped at their new home to drop off their possessions on the way north. ³³ After the wedding they returned to Panguitch, where they lived for the next five years.

Apparently this marriage caused some controversy within the Crosby family. John reported:

I understand to start with that some of the Crosbys thought that Sam might have done a littler better in the selection of his wife. But I also understand that

³¹ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography of Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby", Typescript of original, 3 [104]. It is also reproduced in Walker, The Bunker Family History, 47-49. The page numbers in brackets refer to the reproduction of the autobiography in this volume.

³² Charles L. Walker, Diary, typescript of original, Brigham Young University Library, 2 vols., 1:422. Walker describes the St. George celebration on 24 July 1871. Sam was one of 24 young men in the parade. He then delivered a speech representing this group.

³³ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 3 [104].

they all changed their minds. No Crosby boy or girl ever married better than Sam.³⁴

This sentiment was shared by John's cousin, George H. Crosby, Jr. who contended that "The Crosby men had wonderful ability to select wonderful wives, but none of them beat Samuel O. when he chose, courted and won" his wife.³⁵

Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby was born in Ogden, Utah on 25 April 1853, the fourth child of Edward and Emily Bunker. At the time of her birth, her father, Edward Bunker, was serving a mission in Great Britain. The first time he saw Hannah—and she saw him—was upon his return to Utah in the fall of 1856. Hannah admitted that when he first came home, "I didn't know him, and at first refused to acknowledge him."³⁶

Hannah was only eight years old when her father was called to the Dixie mission in 1861. Nothing is known regarding her childhood in Weber County. Of those early years in Ogden she wrote:

I remember our farm, two and one-half miles from Ogden, on what is to this day called Bunker Creek, where I used to sit under a service berry bush to eat my bread and milk with berries. Also, I gathered clam shells on the sparkling brook, which was a thing of interest to me as a small girl.³⁷

The family moved to Dixie in the fall of 1861 settling in Toquerville the first year. Hannah's recollections of this move south were still vivid many years later.

I remember the days of preparation we had before leaving. Mother and my sisters, Emily and Abigail, spent days making crackers. They mixed them and pounded them with a wooden mallet. They dried corn, squash, berries, and tomatoes. It was

³⁴ John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" [94].

³⁵ George H. Crosby, Jr., "Aunt Dee", carbon typescript of original in the author's possession.

³⁶ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 1 [101].

³⁷ Ibid

as if we were going into a wilderness expecting to starve. When it was time to go, a big double bedded government wagon was brought around to the front of the house. It had a bed in each end with a stove in the middle and a chair for Mother. It had a ladder down from the door in the center, and the kiddies climbed in and out while the wagon was going to walk a while, or climbed in to get crackers and then got out and walked a while.³⁸

While the Bunker family settled in Toquerville for only one year, Hannah seems to have retained pleasant memories of the settlement. She wrote that the children "played Jack's Tamp over the hills, hunted bottle stoppers and wild pepper grass, picked flowers, and went swimming."³⁹

In 1862 the Bunker family, moved to Santa Clara, where Edward was made Bishop. Hannah wrote of helping plant and pick cotton. She also wrote about processing the cotton, dying it, and spinning it. She also spun wool.

I liked to spin wool yarn and had a stint—three ten knotted skeins. That done, the rest of the day I could visit, knit or crochet, as I liked. My preference was fancy work. When the first Relief Society was organized, we girls all joined and learned to make different kinds of braid and straw trimming which was very nice. 40

While still a teenager, she caught the eye of Sam Crosby. Hannah wrote very simply about their courtship and wedding.

I spent my girlhood days at Santa Clara . . . three miles from St. George . . . Going to conference, shopping, etc., in Saint George. This is where I met my husband. When nineteen years of age, I was married to Samuel Obed Crosby. We made the trip from Santa Clara to Salt Lake by team; taking one week

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 2 [102].

and was married in the Endowment House June 10, 1872, by Daniel H. Wells. My husband's mother chaperoned us.⁴¹

Possibly to avoid confusion with her mother-in-law, Hannah became known as Adelia or Dee within the Crosby family.⁴²

Returning to Panguitch after their marriage, Sam and Adelia settled into their new log home. The climate was cold, but the young couple seemed to find it agreeable. Sam farmed, taught school, and did some mining. Adelia wrote:

Panguitch was a new country, the seasons were short, our crops frosted year after year. The Indians had once broken the town up, but gave us very little trouble. It was a good sheep and cattle country, and through experience we learned better how to handle the climate, and we, with others, succeeded very well financially.⁴³

Their first child, Samuel Obed, Jr. was born 28 March 1873. A daughter, Elida Emily was born 7 January 1875. A second son, Earnest Kendall, was born 23 July 1877. Earnest died in Panguitch two years later on 28 August 1879. This was the first of five children that Adelia would see precede her in death.

Bunkerville

The Crosbys had been living in Panguitch for approximately five years, when Adelia's father, Edward Bunker, invited them to join his new settlement in Lincoln County, Nevada. Bishop Bunker was determined to live the United Order

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² For the sake of accuracy and clarity, Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby will be referred to as Adelia throughout the remainder of this essay.

⁴³ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 2 [102].

as taught by Brigham Young, and was organizing a small company primarily from among his ward in Santa Clara. Sam and Adelia decided to join the new settlement.

Sam left Adelia and the children in Panguitch and joined Edward Bunker's company on the Muddy in January of 1877. He seems to have lived in Bunkerville alone for more than two years, not moving the family until the fall or early winter of 1879.⁴⁴

Prior to leaving Panguitch, Sam sold a mining claim for \$1000. Sam used this money to make the first payment on the land where Bunkerville was to be established. He was later reimbursed during the dissolution of the United Order, and Sam used the money to establish the only mercantile business in Bunkerville.⁴⁵

However, during the first years, everyone worked together, clearing land, planting and harvesting. Initially each man was assigned a portion of the land, drawn by lots, but everyone seems to have worked together, even maintaining a communal kitchen. One of the first projects was construction of a ditch to provide irrigation water. Over two miles in length, this ditch was necessary because the river flow was unpredictable and the riverbed was unstable. In the summer months the riverbed became swampy.⁴⁶

After eight months of hard work they brought in their first crop. According to Edward Bunker, the first year of production at Bunkerville yielded twenty-two acres of wheat, fourteen acres of cotton, and seven acres of sugar cane. Total yield

⁴⁴ According to James G. Bleak, Sam traveled alone in 1877. Cited in Juanita Brooks, Dudley Leavitt: Pioneer to Southern Utah (n.p., 1942), 81. This interval from 1877 to 1879 is indicated by the death of Earnest Kendall, who was buried in Panguitch in August of 1879, and the birth of John Silas in Bunkerville during April of 1880. According to Sam's obituary they moved in May of 1879, but it seems unlikely that they would have returned to Panguitch to bury the infant during the summer heat, Deseret Evening News, 2 April 1903, 7.

⁴⁵ John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" [95].

⁴⁶ Elbert B. Edwards, "Early Mormon Settlements in Southern Nevada" in Nevada Historical Quarterly, 13(Spring 1965):1:40-42.

included 400 to 450 bushels of wheat, between 600 and 700 gallons of molasses, and 9,000 to 12,000 pounds of cotton lint.⁴⁷

Despite this modest first crop, and improved harvests each of the next two years, ⁴⁸ the settlement was marginal during these early years. To help sustain the settlement, William Abbott and others hunted wild cattle that had strayed into the Bull Valley Mountains to supplement their diet. ⁴⁹

The original town site was located on the south side of the Virgin River, elevated slightly above the valley floor. By the fall of 1878 families began moving into homes in the permanent settlement a mile to the west. This site was at a lower elevation and closer to the fields. It was also established on sloping land and subject to flooding during the early years.⁵⁰

Church organization was also a high priority of the early settlers. For the first two years, Bunkerville was a branch of the Santa Clara Ward, with Edward Bunker serving as president. On 14 January 1877, the second week after their arrival, the Sunday School was organized. Sam Crosby was appointed the superintendent at this meeting, with eighteen members being present. Bunkerville became a Ward on 12 January 1879 with Edward Bunker as Bishop—Edward Bunker, Jr. and Myron Abbott were his counselors.⁵¹

With a house established on the town site, Sam returned to Panguitch for Adelia and the children in 1879. It must not have been much of a home. Adelia

⁴⁷ Brooks, Dudley Leavitt, 82-83.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ An Enduring Legacy, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1985), 8:123-124.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 9(1986):306-312. The town was laid off in blocks, with four lots to each block, early in 1880. The ground was uneven and each lot was leveled individually. The first flood occurred in 1879 when the dam broke. A more serious flood followed in 1882.

⁵¹ Ibid

described their initial house as a willow shanty that "gave very little protection against the heat." They later built a home of adobe. ⁵² Bunkerville must have been a difficult place to raise a young family; Adelia later described it as "hard pioneering life." Just a few months after Adelia arrived with Obed and Elida, another son, John Silas was born on 11 April 1880. That fall Samuel Obed, Jr. and Elida started attending school.

While Bunkerville seems to have been fairly prosperous for the Crosbys, the United Order did not prove as successful as had been hoped. Some of the settlers felt that they were doing more than their share, while others were not contributing to the community as they should. In October of 1880 it was decided to disband the United Order. This was a lengthy process as Edward Bunker, Jr., Myron Abbott, Dudley Leavitt, Sam Crosby and others worked to assess the value of property. Eventually all of the capital stock was paid off plus a seventeen percent dividend to each member.⁵⁴

This process was not without its problems. The Diary of Myron Abbott illustrates some of these difficulties. According to Abbott, on 19 November 1880 he, "Dudley Leavitt E. Bunker and S. O. Crosby commenced to pay off the capital stock of the company." Two days later Abbott, Edward Bunker Jr., S. O. Crosby and Edward Leavitt "had a quarrel." This evaluation of property continued for several months into 1881. Myron Abbott recorded in his Diary that on 23 April 1881 "Joseph Earl and Samuel Crosby had a fight." According to Earl's Journal,

⁵² Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 3 [105].

⁵³ Ibid., 2 [5].

⁵⁴ An Enduring Legacy, 9:306-312.; Brooks, Dudley Leavitt, 85.

 $^{^{55}}$ Diary of Myron Abbott, typescript of original, Brigham Young University Library, 19 November 1880, 21 November 1880 and 23 April 1881.

this fight was over ownership of a mule.⁵⁶ Earl was Sam's brother-in-law, married to Adelia's younger sister Elethra Calista.

The census of 1880 lists Sam as a farmer. ⁵⁷ However, he was also involved in making molasses, especially during the early years from 1877 through 1880. He then used his funds from the United Order break-up to establish his store. This store was opened late in 1880 or early in 1881. ⁵⁸ Much of the economy of the southern Mormon settlements was still dependent upon bartering and trade in the 1880s. Sam's store provided exchange for Bunkerville, Overton, St. Thomas, and the other settlements on the Virgin and Muddy rivers. It appears Sam sold the store to Edward Bunker, Jr. in 1888 when he moved his family back to Panguitch.

In addition to farming, making molasses and operating a store, Sam attempted at least two other ways of supporting his family while living in Bunkerville—freighting and teaching. Following the example of his father, Sam did some freighting in the 1880s. At first he hauled salt to St. George and Silver Reef.⁵⁹ He later freighted grain to other settlements.⁶⁰ Sam apparently wished to teach school in Bunkerville as he had in Panguitch. However, Martha Cox—who later taught school in Bunkerville—wrote that because he was a Mormon, the

⁵⁶ Owen Ken Earl, comp., Journals From the Life and Times of Joseph Ira Earl and His Wives: Elethra Calista Bunker, Agnes Viola Bunker (n.p., 1986), 23 April 1881.

⁵⁷ U.S. Census, 1880, Bunkerville, Lincoln, Nevada.

⁵⁸ While an exact date cannot be established, it seems likely that the store was opened during the winter of 1880-1881. By this time, Sam would have received his funds from the United Order, and the weather would have been conducive to freighting either from St. George or southern California. We know the store was open by early spring as Joseph Ira Earl records working "on the store" in May of 1881. Earl, Journal, 24 May 1881.

⁵⁹ Diary of Myron Abbott, 27 April 1882, 3 December 1883.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 29 June 1881.

Nevada authorities refused to even allow Sam to take the state teacher's examination.⁶¹

The Crosby family continued to grow in Bunkerville, as Adelia gave birth to four more children. After the birth of John Silas in 1880, a daughter and two more sons were added to the family. The daughter, Rhoda Adelia, arrived 3 October 1882, but died thirty-three months later on 25 May 1885. 62 Edward Wentworth was born 2 October 1885. And William Rowell Crosby was born on 22 February 1888. The expanding family caused Sam to remodel and build an addition to the house in 1884. 63

Church service continued to be an important part of Bunkerville life for the Crosbys. Sam continued as Sunday School superintendent after the ward was organized. Samuel Obed, Jr. was ordained a Deacon and appointed president of the quorum. On 8 May 1883 the Bishopric was reorganized. Edward Bunker, Jr. replaced his father as Bishop. Sam was selected as one of the counselors, a calling he held until the family moved back to Panguitch.⁶⁴ Adelia served as a counselor in the Relief Society. Her mother was president.⁶⁵

The Bunkerville climate was not healthy for the Crosbys. Both Sam and Adelia suffered from the summer heat. According to John Crosby, "The climate in Bunkerville was too warm in summer for my father to stand. He gaulded where

⁶¹ Martha Cragun Cox, Face Toward Zion: Pioneer Reminiscences and Journal of Martha Cragun Cox (n.p., 1985), 129. She notes: "... only one Mormon man had ever been allowed to hold a certificate in that state, ... Samuel O. Crosby and Zera Terry, both good young men I had known, were not even allowed to be present at the school teacher's examination."

⁶² This date is based on family genealogy records. According to Myron Abbot the child died on 27 May 1885, Diary of Myron Abbott, 1 June 1885.

⁶³ Earl, Journal, 9 July 1884, 4 August 1884, 28 August 1884, September 1884.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 8 May 1883.

⁶⁵ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 3 [106].

ever his skin rubbed on other parts of his skin. Making him very uncomfortable."66 The term gauld describes a sore or wound that is caused by rubbing or chafing. It has also been associated with painful swelling, pustules and blisters. 67 Adelia also had health problems. A neighbor, Abigail Abbott, noted in a letter to family members in March of 1880 that "Adelia Crosby is so and so, tho she is able to attend to her house hold duties."68 The cause of this illness is unknown, but she would have been eight months pregnant at the time.

As a means of escaping the heat, Sam would locate Adelia and the children in a cave in the nearby Bull Valley Mountains, south of town. Several families did this, as the caves were close to the settlement but cool enough to provide some relief. One one occasion John and Elida decided to walk into town and surprise their father. Near dusk, Sam was working on the store books when he looked up and saw his two children. "Well you little 'piss pots,' does your mother know you are here?"

Sam saw to it that the children were put to bed. He then saddled his horse and rode up to the cave. Once Adelia realized that John and Elida were missing she began searching for them. Several of her "cave" neighbors assisted. After an unsuccessful search, they were standing in the dark, trying to determine what to do next when Adelia said, "The children are all right. I can hear Sam coming up the trail on Ol' Roller"⁶⁹

The heat was not the only difficulty in Bunkerville. Where the pioneers established the settlement, the Virgin River runs through a fairly narrow valley.

⁶⁶ John S. Crosby, "Autobiography," typescript in the possession of the author [135].

⁶⁷ Oxford English Dictionary; gall, gald or gauld.

⁶⁸ Carter, Heart Throbs of the West, 5:402-403.

⁶⁹ John enjoyed telling this story on himself and repeated it on many occasions.

This placed most of the good farm land, and the town site, within a flood plain. Flash floods on the Virgin River could cause severe damage, destroying crops and months of work. One serious flood in 1882 caused the town to be abandoned during the night. Adelia repeatedly told a story about her father from this period. Edward Bunker apparently had a wagon get stuck in the middle of the Virgin River when the riverbed was low and swampy. According to Adelia, the exasperated Bishop said, "You might be a Virgin to some, but you're a dirty old' whore to me."

Because of their health problems and the hot climate, Sam and Adelia elected to leave Bunkerville in 1888. Seeking a cooler climate, they returned to Panguitch.

Panguitch

After living in Bunkerville for over ten years, Sam and Adelia returned to Panguitch in May of 1888.⁷¹ Before moving, Sam made a trip to Panguitch and bought the J. J. Page home on Main Street. Built of brick, the Page home was large, with two floors. Apparently Page had operated a store from this home, ⁷² and as he had done in Bunkerville, Sam decided to establish a mercantile business in Panguitch. Sam initially operated a furniture and implement store on the second floor of the home, while the family lived on the first floor. This business featured "furniture, groceries, hardware, carpets, rugs, and upholstery."⁷³ This mercantile business also sold farm machinery and wagons.

⁷⁰ Dorothy Dawn Frelner Thurston, A River and a Road (n.p., 1994), 275.

⁷¹ Deseret Evening News, 2 April 1903, 7.

⁷² Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days: A History of Garfield County (n.p.: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1949), 186.

⁷³ Hannah Adelia Crosby to John S. Crosby, 4 August 1906. [p. 163].

This store was not the only business Sam established in Panguitch to support his family. Once they had an opportunity to move the store into separate quarters across the street, Sam and Adelia also converted the home into a hotel. John reported that the hotel was profitable while his father was alive.⁷⁴ The letterhead of the hotel from the year 1905 proclaimed:

CROSBY HOTEL,

Mrs. H. A. Crosby, prop.

Good Sample Room,

First Class Travel Solicited.

Oats always on hand.

Team, buggy and driver furnished when wanted. 75

Sam also resumed teaching school in Panguitch.⁷⁶ In December of 1888 the Panguitch Stake established an Academy with Allen R. Cutler as the principal and Sam Crosby as the assistant principal. Jesse W. Crosby, Jr. was the president of the Stake Board of Education. Sam was one of the board members.⁷⁷ At least for a time, some classes were held on the upper floor of the Crosby hotel.⁷⁸

Both in Bunkerville and Panguitch, Sam was known as an honest businessman. Sam's friend Joseph Houston stated that "all through life [Sam's]

⁷⁴ John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" [96].

⁷⁵ A letter written to John while on his mission displays the letter head of the Crosby Hotel. Hannah Adelia Crosby to John S. Crosby, 7 August 1906 [p. 164].

⁷⁶ John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" [96].

⁷⁷ Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 76-77.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 80.

actions were governed by principle."⁷⁹ At his funeral, Sam was remembered for "his honesty and benevolent and charitable disposition."⁸⁰ His son John wrote:

The story is told by Martin W. Foy that he went to George A. Low in Salt Lake City to try to buy some machinery, but he was unknown to Low. Low asked, "Is there someone in town who knows you, who could recommend you?" Foy said, "I don't know of anybody in the city who knows me but S. O. Crosby." "What", said Low, "Sam Crosby? There isn't a man on earth whose recommendation would go farther in this institution than that of Sam Crosby."81

Sadly for Sam and Adelia, their return to Panguitch was marred early by tragedy. Obed, their eldest child fell victim to an illness and died "of a complication of meningitis and peritonitis" on 1 May 1889. He was sixteen.⁸² William Thomas Owens, Sr. recorded Obed's death in his journal. "Samuel O. Crosby's son Olie, a fine young man, died today. He was loved by all and his death is mourned by all."⁸³

Despite the loss of Obed, Sam seems to have been comfortable returning to Panguitch. In June of 1891 he wrote a letter to the Deseret Evening News, describing conditions that spring.

We have passed through quite a severe winter with a heavy fall of snow in the mountains, but it is passing off without much high

⁷⁹ Ibid., 52.

⁸⁰ Deseret Evening News, 2 April 1903, 7.

⁸¹ John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" [97].

⁸² Deseret Evening News, 6 May 1889.

⁸³ Melda Owens Beck, comp., Life History of William Thomas Owens, Sr. (n.p., 1961), 55. Journal entry for 1 May 1889.

water. Our mountains are putting on their verdure and look beautiful. . . . 84

On a more colorful note, Sam reminded his readers that shotgun law still existed in the territory.

The good citizens of Panguitch met some three years ago and divided the range, giving the sheep about three-fourths and the cattle one-fourth. The division has been complied with by our local sheep men, but some transient herders covet that spot of ground and are determined to sweep it of every vestige of grass. Our citizens held a mass meeting and appointed a committee to wait upon the gentlemen and induce them, if possible, to leave that spot for our cows.

Their reply was, "This is the best grass we have had for our sheep for a long time; see how contentedly the feed," and they would not let go. Rumor says that some men visited the sheep camp in the night with Winchester rifles and persuaded the intruders to leave, which they did in short order.⁸⁵

Three more children were born in the first years after the Crosby's return to Panguitch. On 19 July 1890, Adelia had twins, Urie Glen and Eunice Naomi. Urie was a sickly child and died one month later on 29 August. During this difficult time, Hannah did have the assistance of her younger sister, Elethra Calista Bunker Earl, who, along with her children, had come up from Bunkerville for the summer. Joseph Ira Earl, when he came to escort his family home, stayed for three weeks in

⁸⁴ Deseret News, 3 June 1891. Reprinted in, Chronicles of Courage (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1992) 3:27-28.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

August to do some work on the home for Sam. ⁸⁶ Two years later, Stephen Abbott, the last son, was born on 23 November 1892.

Mission to England, 1894-1896

In the fall of 1894 Sam was called to fill a two year mission for the LDS Church in Great Britain. Sam's mission would have been a difficult challenge for the family. Elida, the oldest surviving child had married Arthur Haycock in July of 1894. Her marriage left Adelia with only fourteen year-old John to help her sustain the family. Adelia had four additional children under the age of ten, Ed (9), Rowell (6), Naomi (4), and Steve (2). Adelia's burden would be compounded by personal health problems.

Sam left for Great Britain on 6 November 1894.⁸⁷ Traveling through Salt Lake, he joined five other missionaries for the trip across the Atlantic. Taking the train from Salt Lake to New York, the men boarded the American Line steamer, Southwark, arriving in Liverpool on 30 November 1894.⁸⁸

Upon their arrival, Sam was assigned as a traveling Elder in the Liverpool Conference by Anthon H. Lund, President of the European Mission. Working under the direction of the Conference President, Heber C. Boden, Sam traveled among the four branches of the Conference—Liverpool, Preston, St. Helens and Blackburn—working with the members, holding street meetings to attract

⁸⁶ Earl, Journal,7 August 1890, It is very probable that it was during this time that Sam and Hannah established the hotel. Earl was a skilled carpenter who had worked for Sam on many occasions in Bunkerville. He would have been very capable of doing the remodeling work required when the home was converted into a hotel. Unfortunately, Earl does not specify what work he was doing for Sam.

⁸⁷ Deseret Evening News, 29 October 1896.

⁸⁸ Millennial Star, 56(1894):794.

investigators, distributing pamphlets, speaking at Church services, and any other activities that might contribute to the growth of the Church.⁸⁹

When Sam arrived in England, the British Mission was in a period of decline. Baptism totals were very modest compared to the 1850s when his father was in England. There were 364 baptisms in all of Britain during 1894. In 1895 the baptism total was 378, and in 1896 the total was 347.90 With approximately 150 missionaries serving in the mission annually, this averaged out to just over two baptisms per missionary each year.91

Regionally, the number of converts seems even smaller, as the Liverpool Conference only baptized ten new members in 1895. Combining this with the emigration of eleven Saints and the death of two others, the Liverpool Conference membership was slowly decreasing. 92 This was true throughout Britain. Sam explained that there was a "general indifference to a religion that requires good works to manifest its principle of faith."93

After ten months of labor in Liverpool, Sam was reassigned by President Lund to assume the presidency of the Manchester Conference. Almost twice as large as the Liverpool Conference, Sam now had the responsibility to direct the efforts of five teams of traveling Elders spread throughout ten branches.⁹⁴ It was

⁸⁹ Deseret Evening News, 29 October 1896.

⁹⁰ Richard L. Evans, A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1984), 244. When compared to the 8, 064 baptized in 1851 it is easy to see that growth had slowed significantly in the British Mission.

 $^{^{91}}$ Ibid., 243. Richard L. Evans reported that 79 missionaries arrived in 1893. Sam was one of 91 missionaries sent in 1894. In 1895 there were 71 new missionaries, and 167 arrived in 1896.

⁹² Millennial Star, 58(1896):158.

⁹³ Deseret Evening News, 29 October 1896.

⁹⁴ Millennial Star. 58(1896):123-24.

his obligation to see that the Elders were given area assignments within the Conference.

Sam also had the responsibility to see that his missionaries were properly clothed and housed. Although the Elders of the Church still traveled abroad without purse or scrip, the membership was no longer large enough in the Manchester area to provide support for the missionaries. The Elders in Sam's Conference therefore required some assistance from home to feed and house themselves. One of Sam's missionaries, a William Salt had great difficulty in acquiring funds to continue his missionary work. Sam wrote to William Hopper, the Bishop of Salt's ward in Utah.

I wrote you some time ago about William Salt who is in destitute circumstances:- in fact is in rags. Elder Go. H. Bradshaw had to lend him some clothes to enable him to go to our Conference . . . Bro Salt is one of our best missionaries and must have assistance. the idea prevails among the saints at home that the elders should travel without purse or script, this I think is the proper way in some places but it cannot be done that way here under the present system. We take lodging and buy in our provisions and they must be paid for. The saints are good to us but are so few in number that they cannot feed and lodge us. I think three or four elders could get along here without purse or scrip but then they must live on bread and butter & beef &c and it must be paid for and some one has it to do. Who are the best able, the poor saints here or those who have plenty at home?

Continuing the letter, Sam described the living costs the missionaries were encountering in Britain, noting that the Elders required between eight and ten dollars per month to subsist. Sam further added the observation that "Elder Salt is not fit to be seen in company let alone a minister."⁹⁵

⁹⁵ S. O. Crosby to William Hopper, 14 August 1896. Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah [pp. 156-7].

Sam continued to labor in the Manchester Conference until September of 1896 when the new Mission President, Rulon S. Wells released him to return home. Traveling with four other missionaries, Sam departed from Liverpool on 24 September 1896 on board the steamer, City of Rome. 96 Upon arrival in New York and before heading west, Sam traveled northward, spending approximately three weeks in Maine and Massachusetts visiting his mother's relatives. 97 He reached Salt Lake City on 29 October 1896, traveling south by train the following day.

While Sam was in England he enjoyed "moderately good health." ⁹⁸ Unfortunately, Adelia had a hard time with her own health in his absence. Remembering the difficulties she faced, Adelia's nephew, George H. Crosby, Jr. wrote:

How well I remember her during Uncle Sam's mission to England in 1894, 1895 and 1896, with a growing family that often taxed her executive ability and ingenuity to keep them on the right road of life, a goodly-sized farm and a business all to look after. And how well she did it. Uncle's business was never in better shape than when he came home, tho it was right during the days of the "hungry nineties" and those hard times. How during those struggles I admired the splendid piece of Mormon womanhood, Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby. He body was frail, but her wonderful will power, her unshakeable faith in Mormonism and her far-seeing mind made up for it. 99

Without giving details, in her autobiography Adelia admitted to poor health during Sam's mission.

⁹⁶ Millennial Star, 58(1896):585; Deseret Evening News, 29 October 1896.

⁹⁷ John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" [96]; Deseret Evening News, 29 October 1896.

⁹⁸ Deseret Evening News, 29 October 1896.

⁹⁹ George H. Crosby, Jr., "Aunt Dee" [108].

While my husband was away on his mission, I was very ill, and the doctor gave me up, but I never lost faith and requested my brother-in-law to see that no one sent for my husband. I felt that if he stuck to his post, the Lord would take care of me, which He did. 100

With the assistance of her nephew, her oldest son, John, and others, Adelia managed to sustain the family in Sam's absence.

Showing the mischievous side of her nature, Adelia was reunited with Sam late in October of 1896. When Sam left Salt Lake on 30 October, he traveled by train as far south as Richfield, where his nephew, George H. Crosby, Jr., was living. Sam was unexpectedly reunited with Adelia in Richfield. George H. wrote:

If I live fifty lives I shall never forget their meeting on his return. It was in my home at Richfield. I met Uncle at the train alone, and at my home I introduced my wife with "this is my wife, Uncle Sam" when Aunt Dee whom he supposed was in Panguitch, stepped to the door with "And this is your wife."

Recalling this event with affection, George H. added that "The Crosby men had wonderful ability to select wonderful wives, but none of them beat Samuel O. when he chose, courted and won the dear one who has just left us." ¹⁰¹

Final Years Together

Sam was forty-seven years-old when he returned to Panguitch. Adelia was forty-three, and had regained her health. Both the hotel and the store were

¹⁰⁰ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 3 [105].

¹⁰¹ Crosby, "Aunt Dee" [109].

prospering, and their financial outlook was promising. A final daughter, Beulah, was born on 28 August 1898, when Adelia was forty-five years-old.

Sam and Adelia also accepted new Church responsibilities. Sam served as a member of the Panguitch Stake High Council and was also the president of the High Priests Quorum. 102 John also noted that his father "was exceptionally successful in his administration to the sick". 103 Adelia became heavily involved in the Stake Relief Society, serving as both a counselor and later president. 104

Sam and Adelia were also politically involved in Panguitch and the county. When national party politics first entered the Utah political scene in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Garfield County became a Republican stronghold. However, several prominent citizens of the community supported the Democratic party. This seems to have been a choice of conscience for many citizens. William Thomas Owens, Sr. recorded in his Journal on 17 July 1891 that "Our Stake President has gone Republican. I think I rather lean on the Democratic Side but haven't made up my mind yet." 105

Sam and Adelia Crosby elected to join the minority Democrats. ¹⁰⁶ Indeed, Sam seemed to relish politics. In the Spring of 1891 he had written to the Deseret Evening News that "The agitation which is raging in Salt Lake City and surrounding country over national political lines is beginning to be felt down here,

¹⁰² Deseret Evening News, 2 April 1903.

¹⁰³ John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby" [96].

¹⁰⁴ Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 166.

¹⁰⁵ Beck, Life History of William Thomas Owens, Sr., 51.

¹⁰⁶ Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 43.

and we welcome it with pleasure."¹⁰⁷ Within the Bunker family, Sam was known as their "Democratic Uncle."¹⁰⁸

One amusing story best illustrates the commitment Sam and Adelia made to their politics. In the 1890s the young Republicans organized the "Flambeau Club". Members were uniforms and staged parades in town. The young Democrats also formed a club.

Judge Powers and Sam Thurman, two leading democrats of the State, were to hold a rally here [Panguitch], so this bunch of young democrats, mostly girls, got out in their suits all ready to parade. When one is the "under dog", it always gives one an "inferiority complex" and no one would lead the parade. So Aunt Dee Crosby, a very prominent democratic lady, got Joseph Lewis, and lead the parade and it was really good. But how everyone did laugh, especially the "Flambeau Club", and you would too, if you had seen it 109

Widow

Having already watched four of her children precede her in death, Adelia suffered an even greater loss when she became a widow in 1903. On 5 March 1903 Dr. J. J. Steiner operated on Sam to relieve hemorrhoids. The operation was successful, but an infection developed, and Sam died March 24, 1903, at the age of fifty-three. His obituary appeared in the Deseret Evening News on 2 April 1903. It reported in part:

. . . hearing of the United Order being established in Bunkerville, Nevada, he moved his family there in May 1879, and when the order

¹⁰⁷ Deseret News, 3 June 1891. Reprinted in, Chronicles of Courage (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1992) 3:27-28.

¹⁰⁸ Walker, Bunker Family History, 46.

¹⁰⁹ Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 45.

broke up he returned to Panguitch the last of May 1888. He left on a mission to England in the fall of 1894 and returned in 1896, having been gone two years . . . at the time of his death he was a member of the High Council and President of the High Priests' Quorum. 110

Like most of the Crosbys, Sam was a large vigorous man. He had a "deep throaty" voice and a "hearty laugh" according to his niece, Josephine Bunker. 111 His son John felt that his death came "far too young for a man of his habits and physique." 112 His premature death certainly had an impact on his wife and children, especially since Adelia's health continued to be a problem for her.

At the time of Sam's death, only two of the children, Elida and John, were adults. The other children ranged from the teenaged Ed to the four-year-old Beulah. 113 John was at school in Provo when his father became ill, and Sam's death interrupted his schooling.

While the store and hotel provided a solid income for the family when Sam was alive, with his death the businesses became a burden for his widow. In her autobiography, Adelia admitted how difficult life became after Sam's death.

In 1903 my husband died, leaving me with hotel and store to look after. We worried along for four years. Then my eldest son, John, was called on a mission to the Southern States. the burden then fell so heavy on me, I broke down in health and was taken from the hotel to my sister's home, where my life was again despaired of, but with her tender care and the blessings of the Lord, I was restored again to health. I again refused to have my son called from his labors until his

¹¹⁰ Deseret Evening News, 2 April 1903, 7

¹¹¹ Walker, Bunker Family History, 46.

¹¹² John S. Crosby, "Samuel Obed Crosby", [94].

¹¹³ At the time of Sam's death, Elida was twenty-eight; John was twenty-two; Ed was seventeen; Rowell was fifteen; Naomi was twelve; Steve was nine; and Beulah was four.

work was done. Being broken down in health and weighted down with responsibility, I sold the hotel and moved onto a sagebrush farm. This is where the hardest part of my married life began. We were ten years, the boys and I, clearing up the farm.¹¹⁴

Two years after Sam's death, in October of 1905, John left for a mission to the Eastern States. As Adelia admitted above, his absence put added strain on the family and his mother's health. In addition, Adelia was concerned about her younger sons. Without the guidance of a father, Ed and Rowell began making choices that did not please Adelia. She was especially unhappy with some of their friends and activities. Among other things, she felt that the hotel created a negative environment for her sons.

Living in a hotel was an adventure for the Crosby children when they were growing up. Naomi Crosby Bliss had many pleasant memories of her years growing up in town. She repeatedly told a story surrounding the death of Annie Parker—the mother of Butch Cassidy. Naomi recalled seeing a beautiful black horse in the stable one evening when Mrs. Parker was staying at the hotel. When Naomi commented on the horse to one of her older brothers, either Ed or Rowell, she was told to "hush" as the horse belonged to Butch Cassidy, and he had come to visit his mother who was dying. 115

Lula Parker Betenson recorded the events relative to her mother's death in her book on her brother, Butch Cassidy. She records that Annie Gillies Parker was stricken with an illness in April of 1905. Annie was taken from Circleville to Panguitch because there was a doctor there. Annie stayed in the Crosby Hotel for three weeks, attended by Lula. Annie died 1 May 1905, and was buried five days

¹¹⁴ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 3 [106].

 $^{^{115}}$ Naomi recounted this story at least twice in my presence. The account here is based on notes I made in the summer of 1980 after my father and I had been to visit with her at her home in Salt Lake City.

later in Circleville. Butch was in South America at the time, and did not visit his mother before she died, nor did he attend the funeral. 116

Naomi also recalled an incident where her mother sent John to retrieve Ed and Rowell one evening. Apparently the two younger brothers had been rambunctious enough to draw the attention of the sheriff who was prepared to house Ed and Rowell for the evening. When John arrived, he objected, remarking that the sheriff just "had it out" for his two younger brothers. A discussion followed in which John told the sheriff to release his brothers or he would "whip" the sheriff. Naomi proudly announced that the sheriff "was unwilling to test John." 117

Although a somewhat atypical action for John, incidents of this kind were what convinced Adelia that she needed to move out of town before she lost control of her boys, especially Ed and Rowell. Consequently, while John was in the mission field, Adelia sold the hotel to Abe and Ella Church in 1907.¹¹⁸

John preserved many of the letters he received while on his mission. The letters that he received from his mother provide some fascinating insights into Adelia's challenges and concerns as she struggled to raise her family in the first years after her husband's death. She clearly relied on her oldest son, confiding in him regularly despite the distance.

Her letters were newsy, describing events in Panguitch, finances, and the activities of the family. While she generally tried to be positive in her letters, she did not hesitate to share family problems. Frequently she expressed concerns regarding John's younger brothers, Ed and Rowell.

¹¹⁶ Lula Parker Betenson, Butch Cassidy, My Brother (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 164-68.

¹¹⁷ Based on notes made in the summer of 1980 as cited above in note 104.

¹¹⁸ Golden Nuggets of Pioneer Days, 310-11. See discussion on pages 40-41 below.

Eddie has gone out west a party of surveyors took the big team for the baggage and the big buggie, gets \$5.00 a day and all expense except feeding his own team. I secured the job for him while he was gone with wood. We have Jim Steele [?] for him. Eddie can do well if he will, but he seems quite reckless with his means and does not do as I would like to have by quite a lot, but all I can do is pray for him. I wish he would get married I think it would be the best thing for him. He said he would send you some money and I want him to do it as he is not using it to the best advantage. I told him when he started out I wanted him to pay for his buggie when he came home next but . . . he is owing 85 on it yet not due till Nov but he may not have the money then. 119

Adelia rarely mentioned her own illnesses. However, in a letter sent shortly after John arrived in West Virginia she described her poor health. "Oh how I long to get out of the business so I could lay off one day when sick even. I was in bed all day yesterday and had about 10 persons come to do business."¹²⁰

Adelia occasionally included a spiritual exhortation for her missionary son. In an early letter she encouraged John to travel without purse or scrip. "Inclosed find check for \$6.00 to keep you going until you get well located. When you will do better to travel without purse or scrip."¹²¹

However, her health continued to fail and seems to have been one of the major reasons that she sold the hotel. In 1906, Hannah had rented the hotel for a year. When she realized that she would not be able to resume its operation because of her health, Adelia concluded to sell the hotel to Abe Church in exchange for property and cash. She then concluded several other transactions until she was able to procure a small home and three tracts of land—what became known in the

¹¹⁹ Hannah Adelia Crosby to John S. Crosby, 16 June 1906 [pp. 160-1].

¹²⁰ Hannah Adelia Crosby to John S. Crosby, 16 December 1905 [p. 158].

¹²¹ Ibid.

family as the Church Field, the Sand Wash, and the Threemile Creek farm. The Church Field and Threemile Creek were good established properties. The Sand Wash was undeveloped sagebrush. Added to the already existing Lynn Field, the three properties made up a sizable farm.

In the letter describing these property transactions to John, Adelia admitted that she had hoped to hold on to the hotel until he returned from his mission, but that she was not prepared to ask that he be released early in order for her to retain the property. Emotionally, she wrote:

Now there is another thing that makes me feel bad and that is this, that when you come home you will not have the old home to go to. I told the children I expected I would shed many a tear over it, but I hope I shall never have reason to regret the move we have made for we all felt it was the best thing for us to do under the circumstances.

In this letter she finally admitted to John how poor her health had become. "Now I want to lay the matter before you just as it is. I am a physical wreck, can't do one single hard days work."¹²²

As noted above, her concern for her children, especially her sons, was another reason for buying the ranch.

I was pleased with your letter to him [Rowell] and hope it will do him some good, but he would not admit it if he did endorse anything in it. I really believe it did Eddie more good than him. I have been labering with Eddie some and endeavoring to show him where he stood and the result of his course if persists in it and saw that I had made some impression and he seemed to accept of all you said to Rowell and voiced your sentiments. I tell you Eddie is a pretty good principled boy, but has been disapointed for some time, and felt that he was impressed on and always had been and had not had the oppertunities he should have had. . . . And Oh dear how my heart has ached over

¹²² Hannah Adelia Crosby to John S. Crosby, 11 May 1907 [pp.169-170].

him and Rowell, and Steve is now following right in the wake, and we must get them out of it no matter what it costs.¹²³

Adelia's motivation for many decisions during this time seems to have been the need for a positive influence on her children.

A further opportunity to influence the younger children presented itself in 1908. Within a year of his return from the mission field, John was married to Mary Ann Owens. Now able to leave John and his bride to run the farm in Panguitch, Adelia moved to Beaver, Utah where her children could attend the Beaver Academy. John had attended school in Beaver prior to his mission and found it a positive experience. According to Adelia:

I had a strong desire to give my children an education. there being no high school in Panguitch, and my son John married after he returned from his mission, I took the younger children and put them at school at Beaver, leaving John with the farm. We took in boarders, etc. to pay our way for three years. I went back to Panguitch in 1911.¹²⁴

Adelia sacrificed many things for her family, but she never did any of it grudgingly. The education and betterment of her children were the driving forces of her life after Sam's death.

Upon returning to Panguitch in 1911, the evidence suggests that Adelia continued to struggle financially. In 1914 her name appears in the Panguitch Progress as being delinquent in her payments to both the Long Canal Irrigation Company and the West Panguitch Irrigation and Reservoir Company. 125 In May of 1915, the Panguitch Equitable Association posted a delinquent tax notice in

¹²³ Hannah Adelia Crosby to John S. Crosby, 18 September 1907 [p. 165].

¹²⁴ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 3 [106].

¹²⁵ Panguitch Progress, 30 January 1914.

Adelia's name. ¹²⁶ And as late as 1926 Adelia's name appears in the Garfield County News in association with delinquent taxes. ¹²⁷ This should not be taken as evidence of poverty, Adelia's name was just one of many on these rolls, but it does show that her monetary situation was not always stable.

She faced the death of one more of her children during these years. Rowell died in January of 1919, one month short of his thirty-first birthday. Married a few years previously, Rowell and his wife, Mabel, had established a homestead in Dog Valley.

Adelia also continued to work actively in the community, both in politics and Church service. She remained involved in the Relief Society throughout her life. In her Autobiography, she proudly noted that she had been a subscriber to first the Women's Exponent and later the Relief Society Magazine throughout her life. ¹²⁸ She also continued as a dedicated Democrat. In May of 1914 a "Peace Meeting" was held in the Panguitch Ward Tabernacle. Adelia was the concluding speaker. ¹²⁹

Of Adelia's children, only John and Beulah remained in Panguitch. John taught school and operated the farm, eventually purchasing the Church Field, Lynn Field and Sand Wash from the family. Earl and Beulah Allen purchased the Threemile Creek property. Throughout the remainder of Adelia's life John and his boys made certain that she had fire wood, that fences were mended, and general chores around her property were completed. Grandsons who were sent to chop fire wood usually received a sugar cookie or some other treat as payment.

¹²⁶ Panguitch Progress, 28 May 1915.

¹²⁷ Garfield County News, 3 December 1926.

¹²⁸ Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography", 3 [106].

¹²⁹ Panguitch Progress, 15 May 1914.

Late in the winter of 1932 Adelia became quite ill. After watching his mother suffer for several weeks from a lingering illness, John administered to her on the night of 12 March 1932, asking the Lord to relieve her suffering and take her. Hannah Adelia Crosby died the next day, March 13, 1932. She was seventynine and had been a widow nearly twenty-nine years.

Her obituary in the Deseret Evening News focused on her efforts as a pioneer.

Never strong in body she has been a tireless worker in pioneering the five settlements of Toquerville, Santa Clara, Panguitch, Bunkerville and Veyo. 130

Attributing her death to "general debility", A second brief notice reported on the funeral. The services were held the following Tuesday in the Panguitch North ward chapel. The speakers were Maria L. Heywood, Sarah D. Spratt, Bishop Hans P. Ipson, and Adelia's brother, George Bunker. ¹³¹

Three of Adelia's daughters wrote a special tribute to their mother. I will let them have the last word.

We feel all we have accomplished in life has been through the good training of our parents. Among their outstanding teachings were a love of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, fair play, hospitality, honesty, and cleanliness . . .

No matter what the task in hand, we were taught that if it was worth doing, it was worth doing well. Education was an important thing in life and we were never allowed to unnecessarily miss a single day of school. . . .

¹³⁰ Deseret Evening News, 14 March 1932. I have been unable to find any reference relating to a time when Adelia may have lived in Veyo. Because of Veyo's proximity to Santa Clara, it may be that Adelia's father maintained a farm or second home in the community.

¹³¹ Deseret Evening News, 17 March 1932.

Mother has been able in her life, to choose the things that were most worthwhile. She was practical, resourceful, kind, quiet, fair in her decisions, just to all her children, and interested in all other people. 132

¹³² Walker, Bunker Family History, 49-50.