

Traveling in the Ministry: The Life of Jesse Wentworth Crosby

by Jeffrey E. Crosby

PROLOGUE

In the fall of 1837 Benjamin Brown, an Elder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints residing in Pomfret, Chautauqua County, New York, was instructed through the “power of the Spirit” to begin preaching the message of the Restoration.¹ Brown felt inspired to labor primarily within the vicinity of Chautauqua County. After six months of effort, Brown encountered modest success in the neighboring township of Portland, where he converted and baptized fourteen individuals before the end of 1838. One of his first converts in Portland was a teenager named Jesse Wentworth Crosby.

Jesse W. Crosby proved to be an eager convert to Mormonism. Notwithstanding the fact that he was never a prominent figure within the Church, Jesse dedicated his life to serving the cause of Mormonism. He was one of the pioneering settlers of four different Mormon communities— Nauvoo, Illinois; Salt Lake City, Utah; St. George, Utah; and Overton, Nevada. Jesse served five proselyting missions in the United States, Canada, and England, committing between eight and ten years of his life to spreading the message of the Restoration.² He accepted and lived the principles taught by the Prophet, Joseph Smith, including the practice of plural marriage. Jesse was married three times, to Hannah Elida Baldwin, Ann Shelton and Minnie Bauer Karl, and had eleven children. In addition to Jesse’s life, I have attempted to add material on each of his

three wives. This history concludes with the death of Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby³ in 1907.

1 CHILDHOOD

Jesse Wentworth Crosby was born on the twenty-fifth of November in 1820, at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, Canada. Jesse was the sixth and youngest child of Joshua and Hannah Corning Cann Crosby. At the time of Jesse's birth, the Crosby family had been in Nova Scotia for roughly sixty years. His great-grandfather, Lemuel Crosby, moved to that region in answer to the request for settlers to supplant the Acadians, who were being driven out by the British after the French and Indian War. It would seem that Lemuel left Yarmouth, Massachusetts in 1761 seeking economic improvement.

For what appear to be similar reasons, Joshua Crosby moved his family to Portland, Chautauqua County, New York in 1822. At the time of this move, Jesse was barely two years of age. His two older brothers, John and Obed, were ten and seven. Hannah, the oldest child, was fourteen, and her two younger sisters, Elizabeth and Frances, were twelve and five respectively.

Joshua and Hannah sailed with their family from Yarmouth to Boston sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1822. In Boston they procured a horse and wagon, and completed the journey overland, a distance of more than 500 miles. The Crosby family arrived in Portland before December of that year.⁴ Ten-year-old John might have been of some assistance to his father, and fourteen-year-old Hannah would have been capable of watching the younger children, but this long journey of more than six hundred miles must have proved arduous for Joshua and Hannah.

With several young children in the family, it is difficult to understand why Joshua and Hannah decided to emigrate, although economics were a probable factor. Both before and after the Revolutionary War, Nova Scotia had difficulties establishing a viable economy. The maritime industry was always inferior to the New England ports, and agriculture was marginal and required the importation of some foodstuffs. The population increase brought by the arrival of the loyalists after the Revolution did little to improve this situation.⁵ Samuel Wallace Crosby has suggested that they departed as a result of losses in the fire at Maitland, Nova Scotia in 1820.⁶ However, there is no evidence to support this conjecture, even though it was reported that thirty-four families had lost their possessions in the fire.⁷ Regardless of the reason, Joshua moved to the frontier of western New York, where he and his wife raised their family.

At this time, Portland township was a heavily wooded area, and was still sparsely populated. It was necessary to clear the land of trees in order to farm, but it was good soil, being primarily composed of a fine clay loam. The land throughout the township was generally level, except along the shore of Lake Erie where there was “a bluff with an elevation of from 30 to 50 feet.” This bluff extended along the lake front, and proved to be a detriment to local shipping, as portions of the shoreline were “precipitous and rocky.”⁸

Joshua and Hannah settled their family on land close to Lake Erie, originally occupying a plot of land just north of the village of Brockton.⁹ Joshua later moved two miles further north onto the shores of the lake.¹⁰

The records indicate that the Crosby farm in Portland was not large. It is quite likely that Joshua maintained some kind of fruit crop. Grapes, apples and pears were common crops of the time, and Portland was especially well known for its fruit production during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹¹ It is difficult to

determine if farming was profitable for Joshua, but it is evident that he did not depend upon farming for his only means of support. He seems to have followed several other vocations. This was a common practice during this period, and in particular the natives of Nova Scotia frequently engaged in multiple occupations. One history of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia described the men of that region as traders and fishermen, “who filled up their spare time . . . with a little farming.”¹² Joshua Crosby was no exception.

Along the Atlantic Coast of Nova Scotia, between the Gut of Canso and Yarmouth, the southern peninsula was heavily wooded with rocky soil. Only lumbering and fishing proved to be profitable in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The soil was inferior for farming. The agricultural area of Nova Scotia was on the north coast along the Bay of Fundy.¹³ It is probable that Joshua and his family saw similarities between Portland and Yarmouth, but the richer soil of New York provided them with a more stable livelihood.

Throughout his life, Joshua was a physically active man. A photograph, taken after he settled in Utah, shows him to have been a square-faced individual, with a broad nose, and a somewhat grim countenance.¹⁴ Evidently, he was also very self determined, almost stubborn. A contemporary living in Brockton wrote that Joshua, “was somewhat eccentric in his habits, a genius in his own way, and was original in his designs. Previous to coming to [Portland] he was a sailor, but while here worked at various trades as fancy dictated.”¹⁵ This description could just as easily have been applied to Jesse, especially after he settled in St. George.

One of the occupations that Joshua engaged in was shipping. In 1811 he was one of the original stockholders of the Inland Navigation Company, which was organized and designated to facilitate shipping on the inland lakes of Nova Scotia.¹⁶ Pursuing a similar enterprise after his move to New York, in 1824 Joshua

and one of his neighbors attempted to begin a shipping operation at Portland. According to Dr. Horace C. Taylor, “. . . Joshua Crosby and Simon Burton built a boat at the barn of Mr. Crosby near Brockton, which was taken to Chautauqua Lake on trucks. In this they made a trip to New Orleans.”¹⁷ It is not known how successful this venture might have been. Taylor implies that the two men made only one trip, and this fact would seem to indicate that it was not especially profitable.

In 1837, Jesse’s older brother, Obed, built a sloop to bring lime from Canada. “It was a small affair and made but one successful trip before the vessel was wrecked.”¹⁸ It is very possible that Jesse, by this time a teenager, participated in his brother’s venture.¹⁹ Clearly, the family involvement in so many varied enterprises had a marked influence on Jesse. While Jesse was undoubtedly required to work on the farm as a boy, it is not known how active he may have been in his father’s other activities. Like his father, Jesse practiced many different occupations during his adult life.

How difficult life was for the Joshua Crosby family cannot be determined, but there clearly were trials. Jesse’s older sister Frances, in a brief autobiographical sketch, wrote about her childhood in Portland. “Our home was on the beautiful shore of Lake Erie, where I spent my childhood and early life. Though bred to toil and privation incident to the settling of a new country, had many pleasant recreations.”²⁰ Jesse was equally terse in his own history. He contented himself with a single sentence to summarize his youth. He recorded, “In the midst of these wilds, and accustomed to the toils and hardships of a new country, I spent the days of my boyhood.”²¹

Jesse’s educational opportunities were probably limited. The first school was started in Portland in 1810.²² On one occasion, Jesse made a reference to “my old

familiar school-house”,²³ but how much education he had is unknown. Whether by formal schooling or not, Jesse developed good writing skills. His history is well written, thoughtful and descriptive. Education was clearly important to him, as the Crosby home was used for schooling both in Salt Lake City and St. George.

2 CONVERSION

During the writing his personal history, Jesse was most frequently concerned with recording the cause and progress of Mormonism. Commonplace daily activities were repeatedly ignored in his writings. This attitude is reflected in Jesse’s two accounts of his conversion to the Church. Jesse believed deeply in the power of prayer, and like many of the early adherents to the teachings of Joseph Smith, he wrote about seeking for truth and a church to associate himself with. The first account of Jesse’s conversion was recorded in his history.

As for religious teachings and ceremonies I knew but little, having a mind free and untrampled by the idolatries of the 19th century, I was accustomed to thinking for myself, yet my parents were of a religious turn of mind, and I was taught especially by my mother, whose tender care was always over me, for good, from the earliest period of my recollection to practice virtue and lead an upright and honest life; to speak the truth and deal justly with all men. In connection with this, I was also taught to pray, to believe in and worship God as the maker and preserver of all things; and as I increased in years, faith and spiritual strength increased within me, till I learned to call upon the Lord in faith, who heard and answered my prayers, visibly and sensibly, at various times, and my whole soul was filled with love and gratitude toward God, the Father of the spirits of all men.

By this time I had arrived at the 16th year of my age, and I began to see and feel the necessity of joining some people, and belonging to some church. I, as it were, awoke from the sleep, looked around me and beheld the state of the religious world, and meditated upon it for the first time in my life. Said I to my self, Which of all the churches is the Church of the Living God who has heard and answered my prayers? Let me see and hear for myself. I attended churches of different persuasions with a prayerful heart, but there was an aching void still. I

retired day after day to the woods and there, where no human eye could behold, I poured out my prayers and supplications to Almighty God that he would send some kind messenger, called and ordained of him to guide my footsteps in the paths of truth.

In answer to repeated supplications, I received the assurance that calmed my mind and gave me to understand that the truth in its fulness should be unfolded to me. None of the excitements of the day moved me. My feelings were known to God and to Him alone, for I told them to no one on earth.²⁴

In 1881 Jesse submitted an account of his conversion to the Juvenile Instructor. This account provided several details not reported above. Jesse wrote that prior to the arrival of the missionaries in Portland,

. . . in a vision of the night I saw my body and spirit separated, and they were in features, form and size, exactly alike. I was calm and composed, and the recollection is with me to-day, just as vividly as forty-two years ago.

. . . I saw that the vision was given to show me that the immortal spirit is exactly like the tenement it lives in. This gave me joy, and while in this happy mood, word came that the Latter-day Saints were going to preach at my old familiar school-house.

This was the first time I had heard of Saints in our day, and the very name brought conviction to my mind; for I remembered that the people of God in ancient times were called Saints, but not Catholics, Protestants, Methodists or Baptists.

Faith sprang up in my heart that these Saints were the people who possessed the truth . . .

. . . I was, and still am, thoroughly convinced that these Elders came in answer to my earnest prayers that God would send messengers to teach me the true religion . . .²⁵

It is evident that Jesse was deeply concerned about religious truth at an early age, and his writings serve as evidence that he found Mormonism to be the truth he had been seeking.

The Mormon Elders first arrived in Portland in the spring of 1838. Jesse wrote that he was immediately touched by their preaching. “I paused, I considered, I thought upon the prayers and desires I had poured out to God, and of the visions of my mind, and as the speaker proceeded the Spirit of God fastened the truth upon

my heart.”²⁶ The Elder who so affected Jesse was Benjamin Brown, a resident of nearby Pomfret.²⁷ Jesse readily accepted Brown’s message, and along with his mother, Jesse was baptized on June 24.²⁸ Eventually Brown was successful in converting every member of Joshua Crosby’s family, except for the middle daughter Eliza and Joshua himself. It was almost thirty years later that Jesse’s father finally accepted Mormonism.

By the winter of 1838-39 Brown had converted fourteen individuals in the Portland area.²⁹ Most of these converts were from two families, the Crosbys and their neighbors, the Mumfords.³⁰ These two families combined with Brown’s own family formed the core of a small branch of Saints. It would appear that this branch never exceeded twenty-five or thirty members.

The unity and spirituality of the group led to numerous spiritual manifestations. Jesse reported that people were healed, members had visions and prophecies, and frequently people spoke in tongues.³¹ Benjamin Brown recorded a number of these miraculous healings and visions. He described one incident in which a woman was poisoned by the enemies of the Church. This poisoning had been prophesied in a branch meeting through the speaking of tongues. The woman was cured of the poison, and the blindness which the poison brought upon her.³²

These miraculous events, occurring so quickly after his conversion experience, had a lasting impact on Jesse’s life. However, none of these events touched Jesse as deeply as his own healing at the hands of Benjamin Brown.

During the winter of 1838-39, the Crosbys, Browns and Mumfords made the determination that they would depart and join the Saints in Missouri the following spring. While preparing for this journey, Jesse suffered an accident that could have been crippling or fatal. He was out in the forest with his brother and brother-in-law, and “the wind being high, a branch from a high tree some six inches in diameter

fell, and struck one end upon the ground, the other upon my head which struck me lifeless to the earth.”³³ When the unconscious Jesse was brought home, Joshua sent for a doctor who determined that an instant operation would be needed. The falling limb had broken Jesse’s skull, “forming a hollow about as large as the palm of a man’s hand.”³⁴ Jesse’s mother refused the doctor permission to operate, and instead she sent for Benjamin Brown, requesting that he administer to Jesse. When he arrived, Brown cleared the room of all onlookers except Jesse’s family. Brown had received a sign that Jesse would recover, and being sensitive to the fact that unbelievers should not be privy to the miracles of God, he “like Peter of old, cleared the house of all but Jesse’s relatives, and administered to him in the name of the Lord.”³⁵ Jesse regained consciousness, spoke, and then slept. He was back on his feet within a few days.

When he recorded his account of these events, Jesse wrote:

When my reason returned, I recognized the inmates of the room and in being asked if I knew anyone, I replied that I knew them all. This was the first that I had seemed to understand or know since the accident. I found that I had been severely injured and that I was extremely weak, but the whole affair seemed like a dream. However, I was able in about three weeks to follow my former avocation and driving teams.³⁶

Greater trials were ahead, and Jesse’s commitment to the cause of the Latter-day Saints would be tested repeatedly. These early experiences seem to have done much to strengthen Jesse’s commitment to the Church.

3 JOURNEY TO NAUVOO

In April of 1839, the small branch prepared for the thousand mile journey to join the Church at Far West, Missouri. At this time the members of the Pomfret

branch were unaware of the events which had taken place in Missouri during the winter or that their destination would change.

This must have been an especially difficult time for the Crosby family. Joshua had not joined the Church and refused to travel west, but Hannah and her children were determined to go. Hannah had the assistance of her three boys, Jesse being the youngest at eighteen, but it must have been awkward to leave her husband of over thirty years. With the assistance of the Browns and Mumfords they departed during the week of April 14-20, 1839.³⁷

The traveling group was small. Lorenzo Brown, Benjamin's son, recorded that the ". . . company was composed of my father with two teams, Grandfather Mumford and Charles with one, Enoch Crowel in one drawn by a single horse and John and Jesse Crosby, who joined us two days after, with a three-horse team. We were altogether fifteen in number."³⁸ The Crosbys traveling in the group included Jesse, his mother, his brother John, and his sister Frances. Jesse's other brother, Obed, probably also traveled with the group, but this cannot be determined for certain. His two oldest sisters did not travel with the group. Hannah, was married to Edward Mumford—both were members of the Church and traveled to Illinois later. Eliza did not join the Church and remained behind in New York.

The branch began hearing reports of the Missouri persecutions very early in their travels. Lorenzo Brown reports that they began the journey knowing that Missouri was no longer their destination. "Started on our westward journey together with the Saints, but where to go we hardly knew as this winter past, the brethren were expelled from Missouri, and there was now no particular location."³⁹ They continued onward toward Missouri, certain that a new gathering place would be established. According to Jesse, "nothing could daunt our courage; our course

was onward.”⁴⁰ The branch reached Springfield, Illinois before receiving instructions to turn towards the new settlement at Commerce, Illinois.⁴¹

Both Jesse and Lorenzo Brown describe the journey west as being very pleasant. According to Lorenzo:

Had a first-rate time on our journey, laying still on Sundays and attending prayers both morning and evening. One Sunday, while in the state of Ohio, there was a violent storm of rain. The next morning we had gone but a little way when we were stopped by a stream swollen high by the rain. Whilst consulting, one of our number spoke in tongues, which being interpreted, that if we attempted to cross some of us would drown. This we afterward proved true. We stayed there all day. The brethren killed game, the sisters cooked. A pile of rails hard by made a very good table, and we had an excellent dinner. Each one contributing something. T'was a fine family and was enjoyed by all present.⁴²

Jesse also records this incident, indicating that it occurred somewhere in the prairie of Indiana or Illinois.⁴³

Jesse reported that they averaged about 25 miles each day on this journey. He also describes stopping in Kirtland, Ohio where they viewed the Kirtland Temple. He indicates that much of the town appeared deserted.⁴⁴ Jesse was clearly affected by the Temple. In his mind it represented their commitment to the Gospel. He wrote:

We entered the Temple, and beheld the fixtures, the curtains, the seats, etc., with astonishment, being so different from anything we had before seen and being, as we believed, built by revelation and commandment of God. Here the Saints, though few in number and poor, in the infancy of the Church, surrounded with opposition, nevertheless, rich in faith and in knowledge of God, united their efforts, some toiling for a whole year together, without pay and with scanty food until this fine edifice was completed, being the first in the 19th century, and at the time the only building on the face of the earth built by revelation from heaven.⁴⁵

Leaving Kirtland, the company moved first south and then west, ultimately traveling 450 or 500 miles. The small band of travelers arrived in Commerce,

Illinois on 6 June 1839 after a journey of approximately six weeks. Jesse was clearly affected by what he saw upon his arrival. He noted that “instead of meeting the Saints in comfortable circumstances as we had expected to find them in Missouri, they were, as many as had been able to get through, living in tents and wagons for want of houses”. He added:

I walked about the place. The sight was beautiful, though uncultivated and for the most part, covered with timber, brush and grapevines. I concluded to stop and share with the people of the Lord . . .

Here in the midst of these wilds with but little earthly substance, I toiled and assisted in opening some of the first streets in that part of the city, with my own hands by cutting down the timber and underbrush . . . At length we were checked a little, for the sickly season came on and many, very many, felt its withering influence. . . . [Many] who on account of their great exposure were easily overcome and fell victims to the destroyer, amongst whom were my mother and brother, and for months together there were not well ones enough to administer to the sick. I, myself, was taken sick in July and was laid up until late in September, and the house which I commenced was not finished for the season. By and by the scene changed more favorably. As the winter approached, the sickness disappeared, and plans were laid for draining some parts of the land which lay low, etc.⁴⁶

Within a month of their arrival, Jesse’s mother died, succumbing to the unhealthy environment of Nauvoo. Lorenzo Brown described the death of Hannah Crosby. “Some died, among whom was Sister Crosby, who came in with our company and was highly respected, dearly beloved and sincerely mourned by all her acquaintance. After an illness of about one week, she departed this life July 8, 1839, being the first one of the Saints that laid down her body in Nauvoo, then called Commerce.”⁴⁷ Jesse’s brother, Obed, also grew ill and died on September 9. According to Lorenzo Brown, Obed was the fourth member of the Pomfret Branch to die since their arrival in Nauvoo. Jesse also became ill during the summer.

These trials could have easily weakened Jesse's resolve. Just short of his nineteenth birthday, Jesse found himself separated from both parents—one dead and the other many hundreds of miles away. The home he had been building for himself, his mother and his sister, Frances, was incomplete, and he had been very ill for many weeks. Despite these trials, Jesse remained with the Latter-day Saints.

Jesse lived in Nauvoo from June of 1839 until April of 1841. His history tells us little about his life at this time. He was ordained a Seventy on 6 October 1840, the day following General Conference.⁴⁸ He did participate in the opening of the temple quarry on 19 October 1840 and the laying of the temple cornerstones at the General Conference of the Church on 6 April 1841.⁴⁹ One week later, Jesse departed on his first proselyting mission for the Church.

4

NAUVOO MISSIONS

Beginning in April of 1841, Jesse spent forty-one of the next forty-eight months in the mission field, serving three separate missions. This intensive missionary activity marks a significant period of Jesse's life. It is equaled only by his forty month mission to England and Nova Scotia from 1850 to 1853. Little is known about the first two missions, but during the third mission Jesse kept a detailed journal and his companion, Benjamin Brown, also recorded their experiences.

First Mission: April 1841-August 1842

In October of 1840, Jesse was called and set apart to serve a mission to Nova Scotia. He departed Nauvoo on 13 April of 1841 and worked his way east to New York City. He reports that he preached the Gospel whenever he had the

opportunity. From New York he sailed to Nova Scotia, where he spent the winter of 1841-42 circulating books, preaching and baptizing. He returned to Nauvoo almost exclusively by water—traveling through New York, up the Hudson River to Albany, down the Erie Canal and sailing through the Great Lakes to Chicago. After being gone approximately fifteen months, he arrived in Nauvoo in August of 1842.⁵⁰

Jesse provides few details of this first mission to Nova Scotia, as he apparently did not keep a journal. However, this mission did provide him with an awareness of the region and set the stage for his future missionary activities in north-eastern Canada.

Second Mission: September 1842-March 1843

Within weeks of his return, a special conference of the Church was held on 29 August 1842. At this conference, a number of men were called to travel throughout the neighboring states in an effort to improve public opinion about the Church. Jesse was assigned to labor in Michigan where he contended “earnestly for the Constitutional rights of the Latter-day Saints.” He was gone six months and traveled one thousand miles.⁵¹ As with his first mission in Nova Scotia, Jesse did not keep a journal in Michigan.

Third Mission: August 1843-April 1845

Within two months of his return to Nauvoo, Jesse was extended another mission call. He declined, “being somewhat worn down with traveling.”⁵² The same month, on 29 May 1843 the Twelve Apostles met in Nauvoo and dictated a letter to the Saints in Philadelphia, directing them to gather with the Church at Nauvoo. In addition, the Twelve issued mission assignments to eight men.

Benjamin Brown and Jesse Crosby were directed to the province of Nova Scotia.⁵³ According to Benjamin Brown, Jesse was primarily responsible for their call to preach in Nova Scotia.⁵⁴ Jesse apparently hoped to have the opportunity to share the Gospel with relatives in the region. They planned to depart in July. Interestingly, while the mission call was to Nova Scotia, the two missionaries labored in north-eastern New York and New Brunswick.

Prior to their departure, during a special conference held under the direction of the Twelve on 3 July 1843, it was decided that the Church should attempt to “disabuse the public mind” regarding the events surrounding the arrest of Joseph Smith the preceding month.⁵⁵ Jesse and Benjamin, along with Thomas Gillet, were assigned a special mission to Cook County.

Leaving Nauvoo on 1 August 1843, the three missionaries traveled by carriage in company with other brethren assigned to various northern Illinois counties. The three men only labored in Cook County for less than three weeks, finding it “was not an effectual field”.⁵⁶ On 24 August, Jesse and Benjamin left Thomas Gillet in Chicago, and boarded the steamboat “Illinois” bound for Buffalo. Accompanied by Elders Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde, they had a smooth passage through the Great Lakes, arriving at Buffalo in only four days.

Jefferson County, New York

From Buffalo the two missionaries traveled on to Toronto, then across Lake Ontario to Sacket’s Harbor, Jefferson County, New York arriving on 1 September 1843. Sacket’s Harbor is located on Black River Bay, an inlet on the eastern end of Lake Ontario.⁵⁷ Jefferson County, New York is bounded by Lake Ontario on the west and the St. Lawrence River on the north. The county is drained by the Black River—which flows west for 120 miles from the Adirondacks to Black River Bay

—and by the Indian River—which flows west approximately 80 miles. In the 1840s it was heavily wooded with deposits of iron, limestone and talc.⁵⁸

When Jesse and Benjamin arrived in Jefferson County, branches of the Church had been established in the area for eight or ten years. Warren Parrish and Ira Patten had proselyted the area as early as 1834, and David W. Patten and William E. McLellin visited Sacket's Harbor in 1835. At that time the branch had nineteen members.⁵⁹ Preaching exclusively in Jefferson County, Jesse and Benjamin baptized fifty individuals in four months.

At a conference in late December the missionaries prepared to continue their journey into Canada, but at the request of the Saints they determined to wait until spring. Establishing circuits among the communities of the county, the two missionaries organized or expanded branches in nine communities. Jesse estimated that he had traveled 2500 miles between the towns and villages of the county.⁶⁰

Prior to leaving, Jesse and Benjamin held a second conference in the village of Adams on 25-26 May 1844. There were 313 members in attendance at this conference, one hundred and fifty of which had been baptized since September.⁶¹ While there were undoubtedly some members who could not attend the conference, it would appear that in nine months of effort, the two missionaries came close to doubling the Church membership in Jefferson County.

Jesse and Benjamin boarded the steamboat "Rochester" at Alexandria Bay on 3 June 1844 at 6:00 P.M. Traveling down the St. Lawrence River, they arrived at Montreal the next day at 3:00 P.M. Montreal is situated on an island bounded by the Ottawa River on the north and the St. Lawrence River on the south, just a few miles east of the confluence of these two rivers and forty miles north of the United States border. In the 1840s, Montreal was a shipping center. One of the two largest

cities in British Canada, Montreal was primarily a French city with a strong Catholic influence. The population in 1844 has been estimated at 44,000.⁶²

Jesse and Benjamin spent the next two days viewing the city. Jesse described Montreal as having narrow and irregular streets and small, compact buildings. His perception was that two-thirds of the population was French. They visited the Parish Church, and climbed the spire where they had the opportunity to view the city through a telescope. According to Jesse, the tower was 260 feet high and required 285 steps.⁶³ The two men also visited the Gray Nunnery. This was a hospital maintained by an order of nuns. Known as the Gray Nuns, this Catholic order became one of the most prominent institutions in the city. By the 1840s the original eighteenth century structure had been tripled in size with a chapel and spire centered in the middle of the main wing of the building.⁶⁴

At 6:00 P.M. on 6 June the missionaries boarded the steamer “Charkafox” for Quebec, arriving the following morning at 9 A.M. Quebec was the center of French Canada and capital of the province of Quebec. It is located on the north bank of the St. Lawrence River, at the junction with the St. Charles River. Quebec is 180 miles by river from Montreal and approximately 400 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. The upper town was erected on a bluff above the St. Lawrence and was dominated by the Citadel. The lower town stretched out along the river below the bluff. At the time of Jesse’s visit, the capital of Canada had just been moved from Quebec to Kingston.⁶⁵

The two men took lodging at Meriam’s Hotel and proceeded to examine the City. Staying in Quebec for four days, Jesse and Benjamin proceeded to tour both the lower town and the upper town. Obtaining a pass from the commanding officer, and attended by a soldier, they visited the Citadel. Situated on the rise above the city, the Citadel was begun by the French in 1703. Judged inadequate by the

British, major improvements were begun in 1803, designed by the Duke of Wellington.⁶⁶ Jesse seemed particularly impressed by the size of the garrison (1500 troops), the number of cannon, its military stores, arms, and provisions.⁶⁷

From the Citadel, they proceeded to the Plains of Abraham, on the bluff beyond the Citadel. This was the site of the battle where Quebec fell to the British during the French and Indian War. On the night of 13 September 1759, General James Wolfe had his British forces climb the cliff face where the bluff overlooked the river, forcing the French to come out and face them. This ended a three month siege of the city. Jesse seemed particularly affected by this place.

The clash of arms, the groans of the dying have long since ceased—all was silence. The roar of cannon, the crack of musketry no longer fill the plains with blood and carnage; Here fell two brave warriors—Wolfe and Montcalm [sic.]. I seated myself beside a monument bearing this inscription: “Here died brave Wolfe.” We passed over the battleground and descended the bluff where Wolfe and his men ascended, dragging their cannon after them. All was silent and lonely.⁶⁸

New Brunswick

After a stop of four days, the companions left Quebec on 11 June 1844 traveling down the St. Lawrence, disembarking on the south bank at Riviere de Loup. From there the two missionaries proceeded south-west by land to Lake Temisquata, where they bought a canoe. Traveling on lakes and rivers they continued working south-east until they finally reached the St. John River at Little Falls. The St. John River is the largest river in New Brunswick. It travels from north-west to south-east across the entire province, emptying into the Bay of Fundy.⁶⁹ They had now passed through French Canada into the English speaking province of New Brunswick.

Following the Revolutionary War, large numbers of loyalists moved from the United States into the Maritime region of Canada. During this period, the western portion of Nova Scotia became New Brunswick province. Growth was rapid, especially along the fertile St. John valley. In 1840, just a few years before the arrival of the two missionaries, the provincial population was about 155,000. This region of Canada became predominantly anti-American, the St. John River valley in particular was heavily loyalist in its outlook. This may help explain some of the hostility the missionaries would encounter. Brown was an American, and Jesse, despite being born in Nova Scotia, would most likely have also been viewed as an American.⁷⁰

Jesse and Benjamin continued down river until they reached Fredericton on 19 June. Fredericton became the provincial capital of New Brunswick in 1785. Located in York County, sixty miles upriver from the Bay of Fundy, Fredericton was both the political and commercial center of the region.⁷¹

The two companions chose Fredericton and York County as the center of their missionary activity. According to Jesse, they scheduled meetings, but there was strong opposition to their preaching.

We were the first Latter-day Saints that ever journeyed that way. Our undertaking was an arduous one. We had to clear the ground of heaps of superstition before any seed could be sown to advantage. Priestcraft had reigned predominant and had become strongly rooted. At first it seemed impossible that any of these captives could be made free through the truth.

Hireling priests labored to save their craft. One modern Pharisee prophesied that we could not find one individual who would receive our testimony in the Province. One or two preachers attempted to discuss, as challenges were given by us, but were put to flight and shame. Those who prophesied against us were soon proven to be liars.⁷²

Whatever the motivation, Jesse and Benjamin faced considerable opposition to their work in York County. A group of men entered a complaint with the Governor at Fredericton, accusing the missionaries of attempting to influence the people to leave the province and go to the United States and speaking against the established church. According to Benjamin Brown, these men had found an old provincial statute forbidding dissenters to hold public religious services without a written license from the governor. This ordinance had never been enforced, but they attempted to use it to drive the missionaries from the region.⁷³

Supported by two local magistrates, Jesse and Benjamin were able to successfully defend themselves before the governor. One of these magistrates was Dr. David Booth Shelton. Dr. Shelton and his wife Bethia Slason were the parents of twelve children. Early in September 1844, Dr. Shelton and several other members of the family were baptized. The eldest daughter, Ann, later became a plural wife of Jesse. The conversion of the Shelton family seems to have further enraged the opponents of the missionaries.

Charles Shelton, the second son of the family, was one of those opposed to the Mormons. Indeed, he was one of the leaders of the mob, who began to plan an attack on the missionaries.⁷⁴

On 11 September the missionaries held a meeting near the Shelton's home. Jesse was the principal speaker, using chapters 12-14 of Revelation as his theme. Benjamin Brown and others bore their testimonies. The meeting closed about sunset and the two missionaries went to the Shelton house for supper. After dinner, Benjamin Brown left the house and walked down the street toward a Mr. Foster's. Just before he reached the house, he was met by Charles Shelton and a group of men who knocked him down and began to beat him. Jesse wrote that "Brother

Brown was brought back half dead, covered with blood and dirt. I washed his wounds, found him cut and bruised in a horrible manner".⁷⁵ The men later returned to the Shelton home after gathering additional assistance. Benjamin Brown describes this mobbing incident as follows:

Unfortunately one of them overheard me promise to visit one of the brethren after I had been preaching one day. This mobber, with a party of about ten others, waylaid me. Some of them held me while the rest beat me about the head with their fists; but not being able to bruise me sufficiently in this manner, one of them took off one of my boots, and belabored me about the head with the heel of it, until I was covered with blood, which ran down onto my clothes and the ground. Some of them then threw me down, and jumped upon me with their knees, until they broke several of my ribs.

All this while I had been calling out loudly, whenever they did not stop my mouth. But it suddenly occurred to me that, if I feigned myself dead, they would leave me, thinking their murderous work accomplished, so I groaned loudly as if dying, and resigned myself into their hands, holding my breath as much as possible. This succeeded, the darkness of the night favoring my purpose, and they left me, and ran off as fast as they could. Directly they were gone, I arose, though with great difficulty, and went into a house not far from there, where I washed the blood off my person, and Elder Crosby, who also came there, laid hands upon me. The mob, however, by some means discovering that I was not yet dead, and that Elder Crosby was with me, met and resolved to attack the house that night, and, if possible, get possession of both of us, after which they purposed to cut off Elder Crosby's ears, tar and feather us, carry us out into the middle of St. Johns River, and, after tying stones to our feet, sink us both.

The first intimation that we received of this determination was by a wooden rail being hurled against the window. The rail broke through the window, came in upon the bed where we were sleeping, and awoke us both. We immediately sprang up, and Elder Crosby rushed to the door where they were hammering to get in. He held it as well as he could, but in another moment they would have succeeded, had not Mrs. Shelton, who had been alarmed by the noise, come upon them unexpectedly with a lighted candle, and surprised them in the

act. This frightened them, and alarmed lest they should be known, they fled with the rest that had been posted at the other parts of the house.

We were quiet after this for about an hour, and Justice Shelton, at whose house we were stopping, went to alarm the neighbors, and his son who lived some distance off, so that we might have assistance in case of the mob returning. The mob returned while he was gone, having recruited their spirits with whiskey. They made a second attack upon the house, trying another door this time. But Elder Crosby held the door, with an iron grasp, and the resolution of a lion, so they were again unsuccessful. After drinking round, they tried a third time, and one of them managed to get his arm through the door opening, but while doing so he was caught round the waist in the arms of Mr. Shelton's son, who, with several others, entered the place at that moment. And thus the Lord delivered us out of their hands, for they were not long dispersing themselves after this. Several of them were recognized by our friends.⁷⁶

After this mobbing, Brown was unable to appear in public for several days. The two men found it necessary to sleep in the woods, but they continued to preach—eventually converting Charles Shelton.⁷⁷

Late in the summer of 1844 the missionaries held a conference with the Saints in York County and organized them into two branches. They had baptized forty-seven individuals in three months of effort.⁷⁸ Leaving for Maine in September, where they preached before continuing, the two men arrived at Boston in October 1844.

Massachusetts

One of the two or three largest cities in the United States, and an important commercial center, Boston had a population of over 100,000 in 1840. It was also a center of Latter-day Saint activity at this time, but little is known about the Boston

Saints from that period as emigration kept the membership from stabilizing. Jesse reports that in the fall of 1844 there were 200 or 300 members.⁷⁹

From Boston, Jesse wrote a letter to the Church in Nauvoo reporting on their missionary activities:

In August, 1843, Elder B. Brown and myself (having been appointed to visit the British provinces) proceeded to western New York, where we spent the winter. We organized several branches of the church, baptized upward of 150 souls and held to conferences. After tarrying eight months we went to Montreal and Quebec, making a short stay in each of these Catholic cities, preached some and circulated some books, pamphlets, etc. We proceeded to New Brunswick, and amid much opposition, persecution and personal violence, baptized 47; organized them into two branches, both in the county of York, above Frederickston. We returned to Boston in October and have spent a few weeks in the regions round about.⁸⁰

The arrival in Boston represented an end to missionary activity for the companions, and at this point the two men decided to separate, with Benjamin Brown returning to Nauvoo. Jesse remained in New England until the spring of 1845 for health reasons. He does not record the nature of the illness.⁸¹ For a time he visited the Saints in New Hampshire. After his return to Boston, Jesse was invited to assume the Presidency of the small branch in Lowell, Massachusetts. Located 30 miles from Boston on the Merrimack River and at the mouth of the Concord River, Lowell was a “Company town”. Its location chosen because of the availability of water power, Lowell was established by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, specifically as a textile center in 1822.⁸² Jesse arrived in Lowell on 1 December 1844. He remained until the end of March, holding regular meetings, studying “some useful sciences”, preaching and baptizing.⁸³

Jesse left Lowell on 29 March. Traveling through Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, Jesse finally reached Pittsburgh where he took passage down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi River, arriving in Nauvoo on 25 April 1845.

Jesse undoubtedly found Nauvoo changed upon his return. The Prophet Joseph Smith was dead, having been murdered in June of 1844. Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve were now leading the Church, and much of the Saints efforts were engaged in the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. In addition, the mob activity that had taken Joseph Smith's life was again increasing, and the Saints were beginning preparations to abandon Nauvoo and journey to the Rocky Mountains.

5 **MARRIAGE**

Throughout his Nauvoo missions, Jesse remained single. When he had arrived in Nauvoo on 6 June 1839, Jesse was only eighteen years old. Six years later, after filling three missions, he had reached the age of twenty-four. Forty-one months as a missionary did not provide Jesse many opportunities for social interaction with the single women his age. Courtship proved to be a challenge for the young single missionary, as his time spent within the principal Mormon community was limited. As a consequence, Jesse was naturally attracted to several young ladies during the course of his missionary service. There is evidence that he proposed marriage to at least two other women prior to his marrying Hannah Elida Baldwin on 23 November 1845.

Ruth Mosher

During the winter of 1843-1844 while Jesse and Benjamin Brown labored in Jefferson County, they converted a twenty-year-old single woman named Ruth Mosher. Ruth had been born in Kingston, Canada in 1824. When Ruth was three, her father moved the family to St. Lawrence Corners, New York where he operated a saw mill.

Ruth first learned of the Mormons when she heard Warren Parrish and Ira Patten preach near her home in 1834. She was ten. She maintained an interest in the Church and was finally baptized in the winter of 1843-44 by Jesse in the St. Lawrence River. They had to cut a hole in the ice so that the baptism could take place.

As a teenager she had become friendly with a Brother and Sister Maynard who lived near her home. Sister Maynard was a tailoress, and Ruth spent time in the Maynard home learning the craft. With them she traveled to Nauvoo in the fall of 1844, leaving her family behind. One of her daughters wrote:

Upon arriving in Nauvoo she [Ruth Mosher] went to work for John Pack in the Mansion House, a building that had formerly belonged to the Prophet Joseph. She arrived there in the Autumn after the martyrdom of the prophet. Here she again met Jesse Crosby, the elder who baptized her and they started keeping company. Jesse was called on a mission but before leaving he asked Ruth to be his wife when he returned. She loved him and accepted his ring and said she would give him his answer when he returned. She continued to work at the Mansion House and late in the year of 1845 Pres. Heber C. Kimball called to have a talk with her. He told her that it was the will of the Lord for her to be sealed to John Pack. She had already given up so much for the sake of the Gospel, and wishing to live it in its fulness, she did not hesitate. John Pack was called into the room and they were immediately married. Ruth thinking at the time that she was being sealed for eternity and not for time. As soon as Bro. Kimball had performed the ceremony he said, "Sister Ruth I intended to have

you myself but Bro. John got ahead of me.” Ruth was a very beautiful and attractive girl.

After the Nauvoo Temple was completed Ruth worked there for six months cutting and making Temple clothes. On Jan. 21, 1846 she was sealed to John Pack in the Nauvoo Temple as his third wife for time and eternity. When Jesse Crosby returned home from his mission she gave him back his ring but throughout her life she remembered him with tenderest of feelings.⁸⁴

Jesse labored on his third mission from August 1843 until April of 1845. It was during this mission that Ruth Mosher was baptized and moved to Nauvoo. Between May of 1845 and May of 1846 Jesse remained in Nauvoo and labored on the temple.⁸⁵ Jesse did not serve a mission during this time. It is impossible for the courtship of Ruth Mosher to have occurred exactly as recounted by her daughter, but the idea that Jesse proposed marriage upon his return to Nauvoo in 1845 seems plausible.

Ann Shelton

During this same mission, Jesse met a second young lady who seemed to hold some attraction for him, Ann Shelton. As previously mentioned, the Shelton family figured prominently in the missionary efforts of Jesse and Benjamin Brown in York County, New Brunswick, Canada. Ann was the oldest child of David and Bethia Shelton. She was baptized in the summer of 1844, along with her father, mother and brother James.

When they met, Ann was a school teacher in Fredericton. Ann would have been 24, the same age as Jesse. According to Ann’s younger sister, Eliza, there was a shared attraction between Jesse and Ann, but Ann refused to leave her family at that time. This decision may have been affected by the illness of Ann’s mother, who died the following year.⁸⁶

Members of the Shelton family finally traveled to Utah in 1854, possibly encouraged by a visit from Jesse to York County in the fall of 1852.⁸⁷ Upon their arrival in Salt Lake they were welcomed into the Crosby home. Eliza reported that

Jesse Crosby and my sister Ann were not long in remembering their old courtship days from when he was in our country. He was about her age, but she would not leave with him then. In the meantime he had married another and had three fine boys. Three weeks after our arrival, he and Ann were sealed. On the 12th of November we were all re-baptized and confirmed in the Ward schoolhouse.⁸⁸

Thus in 1854 Jesse entered into plural marriage with a woman whom he had courted prior to his having met Hannah Elida Baldwin, his first wife.

Hannah Elida Baldwin

Jesse's early relationship with Hannah Elida Baldwin is difficult to pin down. A few months older than Jesse, Hannah was born 4 March 1820 at St. George, New Brunswick, Canada. She was the second daughter of George Baldwin and Elizabeth Hanson. Hannah's father died in March of 1821, leaving Elizabeth a widow with two young daughters. Before long, the widow married Nathan Leavitt and they eventually relocated their family to Clinton, Maine.

As a young woman, Hannah moved to Lowell, Massachusetts. It was probably at Lowell that she first met Jesse Wentworth Crosby.⁸⁹ Lowell provided needed employment opportunities for the young women of New England. These women lived in company boarding houses and worked a twelve hour day, six days a week. Wages varied from \$2.25 to \$4.25 weekly, with \$1.25 deducted for room and board.⁹⁰

According to family tradition, Hannah became a member of the Church in Salem, Massachusetts.⁹¹ The date of her baptism is unknown. This probably

occurred while she was living in Lowell. Even after Hannah's departure west, several of her sisters continued to live in the Lowell area, some as late as 1906.⁹² A Brother Longee, who served as clerk of the Lowell Branch in the 1840s, was married to one of Hannah's step-sisters, Sarah Leavitt.⁹³

Whether they met in Lowell or Nauvoo, Jesse courted Hannah and they were married on 23 November 1845 by Brigham Young.⁹⁴ Two months later, they were sealed in the Nauvoo Temple on 28 January 1846. Indeed, the temple figured prominently in their lives during these months. Even as they were preparing to move west, the Saints worked to complete the temple. As noted above, Jesse worked regularly as a laborer on the Nauvoo Temple between June of 1845 and May of 1846, reporting that he worked 262 days on the temple during that period.⁹⁵ In addition to being sealed, both Jesse and Hannah took out their Endowments on 10 January 1846.

While all of this activity was revolving around the Temple, the Saints were also preparing to abandon Nauvoo. The first families left in February of 1846, crossing the frozen Mississippi into Iowa Territory. Near the end of May, Jesse and Hannah packed their possessions and prepared to join the exodus from Nauvoo. On Monday, May 25 they crossed the Mississippi and camped two or three miles west of the river. They began moving westward at a daily pace of 12 miles.⁹⁶

By June 16 they had reached Mount Pisgah, Iowa, but they had lost one of their oxen.⁹⁷ This loss stopped their westward progress, and by July 3 Jesse had determined that they were unable to proceed further. Jesse and Hannah made the determination to pursue two different actions that might provide them with funds to move west. Jesse would travel to St. Louis, or some other city, and attempt to gain employment. Hannah would travel to see her family in Maine and lay claim to

money that was owed her. They traveled eastward and arrived at Keokuk, Iowa on July 10, where they separated. Hannah was five months pregnant.

While Hannah traveled east, Jesse moved through Iowa looking for employment. He found a job working for two members of the Church who were operating a mill in Farmington, Iowa. He wrote to Hannah from Farmington on August 8.

Think some of going to St. Louis. Will meet you there or in Cincinnati, I do not care which. . . . It is unnecessary to say anything about your returning, You know my mind too well to need comments. Shall expect you back in Sept. certain, & shall not rest contented till you come. I could once dwell alone, but now am out of my element.⁹⁸

One month later, September 6, Jesse was still in Farmington. Jesse had expected Hannah to return in September, but she became ill on the journey east. While he now knew she was feeling poorly, he did not yet know how sick she had become.

I have been very anxious about you, am sorry to hear of your fatigue & slow journey, have often wished I had said more to you about going the quickest route . . . I have made my arrangements to go to St. Louis to meet you, but the mail is so slow that I know not what to do. Think, however, of continuing on the mill, where I work, one week longer⁹⁹

Two weeks later, Jesse had learned how ill his wife was, and he made immediate plans to join her in Maine. Apparently Hannah's health continued to deteriorate as she traveled east. She wrote on 24 August in response to Jesse's letter of 8 August.

I have been here most of two weeks. William came to Fairfield and met me with the horse and wagon and brought me home. They took

me out of the wagon and carried me into the house, and I have not been out yet. I went to bed as soon as I could and not been able to sit up one hour at a time yet. I have a doctor. He says I have the fever and ague, but thinks it will not last long. Oh I cannot tell how much I have suffered since I saw you, and how many times I have wished you had come with me. I must stop for my strength is all gone.

I have been asleep and eaten a bowl of rice broth and feel somewhat refreshed, so I will try what I can do again. I can have my money at any time I want it. If you say I must come home this fall, well it is possible I shall, but I am sick abed now and two months is all I can have anyhow. I would be glad if you could come down, but I want you to do what you think best about it. The Dr. thinks I have run a great risk in coming on so long a journey. I know not how I can stop here all winter, but fear I shall be obliged to.¹⁰⁰

In a postscript, Nathan Leavitt informed Jesse that Hannah's health would probably prevent her traveling until spring. He invited Jesse to come east for the winter. Acting on this note, Jesse left his goods in St. Louis and headed east on 23 September. He traveled by way of the Illinois River, the Great Lakes, the Erie Canal, railroad, and steamboat, reaching Clinton, Maine on 21 October, a journey of 2400 miles. Four days later, George Henry Crosby was born.

Jesse and Hannah remained with her family for three months. They left on 14 January 1847, traveling to Lowell, Massachusetts. Jesse and Hannah remained among friends in Lowell until 12 April when they began the return trip across country. With the improving railroads they made good time, reaching St. Louis May 1. They then waited in the city until 11 May for a steamer that would take them to Council Bluffs. Arriving at the Bluffs on 24 May, they immediately began procuring supplies for the trip west. Despite the setbacks they had encountered, they were determined to follow Brigham Young's pioneer company by the beginning of June.

6**CROSSING THE PLAINS**

Jesse, Hannah and the baby left Winter Quarters on Saturday, June 5, 1847 in a company of about 50 wagons. For the next two weeks they moved slowly westward, building rafts and bridges as necessary. On June 14 their company had grown to about 200 wagons. They then remained in camp on the west bank of the Elk Horn, until June 19 while they were organized as an emigration company. All the men and boys over the age of 12 were counted and divided into groups of ten. Five groups of ten formed a fifty, and two groups of fifty formed a hundred.

The first hundred was captained by Daniel Spencer. It was organized June 15-17. Jesse, Hannah and George Henry traveled in the first ten of the first fifty of the Daniel Spencer hundred. This was the first emigration company. The captain of their fifty was Peregrine Sessions. The captain of their ten was Elijah F. Sheets. Because only the men were counted each group was significantly larger. There were twenty-five souls in Elijah Sheets' group of ten, and there were 177 Saints in Peregrine Sessions' fifty.¹⁰¹ According to Jesse, they first attempted to travel "five wagons abreast, or as close as may be. But finding this order inconvenient, we traveled two abreast". They camped by group of fifty, forming two half-moons with an open space between. The cattle were kept in the open space between the half-moons.¹⁰² Following the path of Brigham Young's pioneer company, the emigrants made slow progress in June, being only 130 miles west of Winter Quarters by the end of the month.

Jesse's travel record for July contains very few entries for mileage. It would appear that the company covered approximately 332 miles in twenty-five travel days during the month, an average of 12.6 miles, but this is only an estimate. On Thursday, July 1, 1847 the company was camped on the south side of Loup Fork.

As they passed along the north side of the Platte they encountered a wide variety of animals—herds of antelope and buffalo, mountain goats, and prairie dog towns, which Jesse described as a “curiosity”. In particular, the buffalo proved troublesome, as they would mingle with the cattle herds and the company would loose stock.

Despite the difficulties, the buffalo also brought a blessing by providing fuel. On July 19, approximately 300 miles from Winter Quarters, the company ran out of timber, and buffalo chips—dried dung—became their only substitute. On July 22 and 23, the company encountered an Indian camp of the Sioux nation. Jesse estimated that there were 100 or 110 Indian lodges in their camp. The Indians proved to be friendly and the company gave them a feast both days. The Saints also traded bread, meal and corn for moccasins and Buffalo robes.¹⁰³

On Sunday, August 1, 1847 the company lay in camp. Jesse noted that some cattle were sick, apparently caused by saltpeter in the soil. Resuming their travels on August 2, the company worked through sandy plains with little feed. On August 5 they crossed the Platte at Fort Laramie. To the west of Laramie, the company began to enter hills that slowed their progress. They also found it necessary to limit distances because of the need for water and timber at the camp site. Finally, on August 14, “a man from the Mormon Ferry, met us, brought tidings from the Pioneers that they had pitched upon a place for the Saints to Locate—Had laid off a City and Temple lot near Salt Lake, 450 miles from us.”¹⁰⁴ Heartened by this news, the company pressed on.

In all, the emigrants traveled twenty-seven days during August, averaging 11.9 miles. Throughout the month, Jesse’s journal entries are a litany of miles traveled and difficulties encountered with water, timber, feed or livestock.

On Wednesday, September 1, 1847 Jesse and his family began the last month of their journey, still 240 miles from Salt Lake. The next day they traveled through South Pass—the continental divide. On Saturday, September 4 they “Lay in camp” and met with the Quorum of the Twelve, who gave them “a full description of the land, a good report.”¹⁰⁵ They continued making steady progress through the mountainous region, resting again on September 8. They reached Fort Bridger on September 12, and again stayed over for a day. Resuming travel on September 14 they averaged between 10 and 15 miles each day for the following week, resting on Saturday, September 18. They viewed the valley for the first time on September 23 and entered the valley the following day, Friday, September 24, 1847, having had to chain two wheels during both the ascent and the descent of Big Mountain.

In September, Jesse’s company traveled for twenty-four days. During the month, they rested in camp four days, and traveled twenty, covering approximately 240 miles, an average of twelve miles daily travel. Even in mountainous terrain, the company had maintained daily mileage totals similar to August.

By Jesse’s own calculations, the emigrants had traveled 1024 miles in 90 travel days, averaging 11.3 miles per day. The total journey required 112 days. This should have proved difficult, especially for Hannah. George Henry was only seven months old when they left Council Bluffs. In addition to the care that an infant required, Hannah had to contend with the day-to-day operations of a camp. According to one granddaughter:

[W]hile crossing the plains [Jesse] suggested that she leave the dishes to wash when they got to their next camp, but Hannah could not do such a thing. She was very neat and clean and a wonderful manager. They had a cow and they carried the milk in a small covered barrel on the back of the wagon and each night when they camped, there would be chunks of butter on top of the milk. the moving wagon had churned the milk into butter.¹⁰⁶

While Jesse's history omits any details of the family's routine, these brief comments by Mary Karma Crosby Stalker demonstrate that Hannah had to face the challenge of maintaining domestic chores on the trail. With the exception of about six months in Nauvoo, since being married, Jesse and Hannah had been without a permanent home. The end of the trail must have certainly seemed like a great blessing to the young couple.

Salt Lake Valley

Upon their arrival, the emigrant company found a few fields planted, and a fort under construction. The Salt Lake Valley was largely grassland. As he had the opportunity to look around him, Jesse was clearly impressed with his new home.

This Valley is said to be about 100 by 20 in extent, with a deep rich soil covered with grass, the whole being beautifully diversified with springs and streams of the very best of water, the largest of which runs West of the City, and is called western Jordan. This Valley is on or near the boundary between the Utah and Snake or Shoeshone nations of Indians. There are at no great distance from the City warm and hot springs of both fresh and salt water; good measures of water out of Salt Lake makes one of the very best salt, when evaporated, and abundance of salt is procured about the shore at this time of the year. . . . There is but little timber in the Valley, and that little is found along the streams and is called "Cottonwood" or "Balm of Gilead" in the Canyons or deep cuts between. We find Oak, Maple, Balsom, or Fir, etc. This last named timber resembles Pine; from these Canyons we have to haul nearly all our wood and timber from 6 to 10 miles.¹⁰⁷

Life must have been difficult during the first winter. Shelter was required. Food needed to be produced or procured. And completion of the fort was essential.

It was a busy time. Fortunately for the settlers, they had a moderate first winter. Jesse recorded that the first snowfall occurred on October 20.¹⁰⁸

The year 1848 brought little relief to the struggling settlers, but Jesse seems quite upbeat in his History even as he reports the cricket plague and the coming of the seagulls. During the year, Jesse and Hannah were able to move out of the fort and into their new home on the corner of 200 West and North Temple. However, it is unlikely that this move came early in the year, and they were probably still living in the fort when Jesse Wentworth Crosby, Jr. was born June 23, 1848.

The birth of a third son followed in 1849, as Samuel Obed Crosby was born August 26. With three young sons, a new home in the Seventeenth Ward, and a developing farm, Jesse and Hannah were beginning to establish themselves in Salt Lake. While they could not be described as prosperous, the 1850 census records show that their possessions and property were valued at \$500.¹⁰⁹ A mission call to Great Britain in the spring of 1850 would bring further changes into their lives.

7

MISSION TO BRITAIN AND NOVA SCOTIA

After the settlement of Utah, most mission calls were issued from the pulpit at general conference. Many times this was the first indication a man had that he was being asked to serve. At the spring conference of 1850, nine men were called on missions to Great Britain, including Jesse. One of those called at this time was a Salt Lake resident named Claudius V. Spencer.

At the April conference, 1850, I felt a presentiment that I might be called on a mission, and kept away from conference until near the close of the last afternoon's meeting, thinking that if I were not seen, I

should, perhaps, not be remembered, and then went to the door, and standing on the outside pressed it open about two inches. Just as I did this a man arose on the stand and said, “It is moved and seconded that Claudius V. Spencer go on a mission to Europe.”¹¹⁰

In addition to Jesse and Claudius Spencer, the other men called to England at this time were: John O. Angus, William Burton, Robert Campbell, Moses Clawson, Isaac C. Haight, Appleton W. Harmon, and James Works.

This mission call must have represented a hardship for Jesse and Hannah, but Jesse did not record any reluctance to accept this assignment. He reported that he had sixteen days in which to prepare for departure, leaving his wife and three young sons.

I accordingly set about the work and made every provision within my reach for my wife and children, three in number, the youngest, Samuel Obed, born August 26, 1849, but eight months of age. I got ready to leave my family, my farm, city lot, houses, etc., that I had toiled so hard to improve; and on the 19th of April bid farewell to the beautiful Valley, and left all for Christ’s sake, and the Gospel’s, to go to a foreign nation and travel without purse or script, in the midst of this unfriendly and uncharitable generation, far away from kind friends and Happy Home.¹¹¹

Despite his willingness to serve, Jesse’s comments show that he recognized the difficulties this would present to Hannah. At the time of his departure for England, the three boys were four, two and one 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.¹¹² It is unclear why Susan was living with the Crosbys, but she was probably there to help with the three young boys. How Hannah earned a living in Jesse’s absence is unknown.

Prior to departure, the nine missionaries met with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and other Church leaders, at which time they were set apart for their missionary service. Heber C. Kimball spoke to them and forbid them from “taking either money, watches, rings or chains of gold or silver”.¹¹³ Brigham Young set apart Jesse for his mission.

Brother Jesse W. Crosby: We bless and set thee apart to go on a mission to England in the name of Jesus Christ: and we pray our Heavenly Father to enlighten thy mind that thou mayest comprehend all the Arts and Sciences. Thou shalt have power over the wicked. Thy enemies shall flee before thee. Lift up thy voice to the Nations of the earth and the Lord will give thee language that thou shalt be able to confound the wisdom of the wise. The angel of the Lord shall go before thee that thy feet slip not. Thou shalt have all that thy heart desires in righteousness, and thou shalt return to thy family in peace and be mighty in Israel. The elements will be subject to thee, and thy soul will be satisfied. We seal these blessing upon thee in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.¹¹⁴

This meeting was designed to help the missionaries dedicate themselves as they prepared to leave the valley and their families.

Journey to Britain

A group of more than thirty missionaries left Salt Lake on April 19, bound for the eastern States or Europe. Traveling with these men, Jesse recorded the snow in the mountains was still quite deep and progress was slow. Only ten miles from Salt Lake they encountered ten feet of snow, and the men were compelled to break a road by walking in two lines and “treading the snow with our feet in the middle of the day when the snow was soft, then at night the frost formed a hard road, especially where we had trodden, so as to bear our horses, oxen and wagons, by

this means we crossed over snow at least 20 feet deep”.¹¹⁵ Claudius Spencer wrote that they tested the snow to a depth of over twenty-seven feet. He added:

We cut poles made holes in them for the wheels of the wagons, beat one end of the poles in the shape of a sleigh runner, and pulled and pushed our wagons in places by hand. We would frequently sink into the snow almost to our necks, and after crawling out the sun would melt the snow on our clothes so that at night we were as wet as though we had been immersed in the water. In the mornings we stood on the snow crusts beat our boots and pantaloons over the wagon wheels to get the ice out of them before we could dress. We took our stockings to bed with us and dried them among our clothes.¹¹⁶

The missionaries struggled through deep snow and mud with soft roads for three weeks. Breaking a road through the snow was exhausting, and many of the men complained of poor health. They also found there was little or no feed for their animals. The missionaries finally reached Fort Bridger on Wednesday, May 8.

Traveled 10 miles, came to Fort Bridger. 113 miles from Salt Lake City. Thus after 20 days of hard and incessant toil we found ourselves out of the snow and in little better footing after trading a little with the mountaineers; move onto a camping place of

some Frenchmen, with who we traded cattle, bought provisions, etc.¹¹⁷

Continuing east from Bridger, trail conditions began to improve. Water was high on most of the creeks and rivers they passed, forcing them to use chains or raise wagon beds, occasionally getting their provisions wet. Feed continued to be poor.

Late in May the missionaries began to encounter trains of miners headed for California. Jesse repeatedly referred to them as “Gold Diggers”. These miners were

just the first of many westbound companies the the men would pass. Both miners and emigrants crowded the trail in 1850.

On May 26 the missionaries reached the Platte River. After a month of very difficult work, their oxen were exhausted from pulling the wagons over the difficult roads and from the lack of feed. Camping on the Platte for the next eight days, the missionaries traded their oxen for horse teams, helped construct ferries for use over the river and relaxed in an effort to regain their strength.¹¹⁸

Resuming their journey on June 3, the missionaries began to make good progress. Jesse's daily entries indicate that they were able to travel as much as thirty miles in a single day.¹¹⁹ They reached Fort Laramie on 10 June. Weather conditions were now favorable to their continued progress, but as the weather grew warmer Cholera began to afflict the emigrant companies traveling toward them from the west. Two days east of Laramie the missionaries encountered their first Cholera victims. They would continue to witness the ravages of the disease all along the trail to Kaneshville. Claudius Spencer wrote that the men "frequently had to leave the road to avoid the stench of those who had died by its ravages, and were but slightly covered over by their comrades."¹²⁰

On June 24 the missionaries met Lorenzo Young traveling in a small company. Brigham's brother was traveling to the valley with 427 sheep and 70 cattle.¹²¹ The following day they met the first of the Mormon emigrant companies, captained by Milo Andrus. Over the next ten days they passed all of the Mormon companies that came west that summer. Each company was between two and three weeks west of Kaneshville. On June 29 the missionaries met the William Wells company. Jesse was pleased to find his brother John and family in this company.¹²²

The missionaries arrived in Kaneshville on 5 July. Here they sold their teams and wagons, and hired someone to take them south to St. Joseph, Missouri by

wagon. From St. Joseph they were able to book passage to St. Louis on the steamer “Sacramento”, arriving on 22 July. Once in St. Louis the missionary company began to disperse, as the men bound for the various eastern States separated for their areas of labor.

The nine missionaries bound for England also broke into smaller groups, some choosing to travel east by train, others by water. Jesse traveled with Appleton Harmon. The two companions first went north to Chicago and then by water through the Great Lakes. This route was certainly familiar to Jesse, having traveled through the lakes on several occasions during his Nauvoo missions. Apparently they chose this route because Appleton Harmon had friends in the area.¹²³

The two men traveled by steamer as far as Buffalo. They then completed their journey by train, arriving in New York on 8 August.

Great Britain

With all nine missionaries reunited, Jesse and his companions left New York City on 14 August 1850. It was the maiden voyage of the sailing ship, “Lady Franklin.” The vessel required thirty-one days to cross the Atlantic, arriving at Liverpool on September 14. It appears to have been a relatively uneventful voyage. Jesse confined many of his journal entries to weather reports and describing wind conditions. There was some rough weather, and one passenger was buried at sea, but the missionaries reached Liverpool without mishap. Jesse seems to have enjoyed the voyage.¹²⁴

The mission headquarters had been in Liverpool since 1840, and upon their arrival, the nine men proceeded to the mission office on Wilton Street. Elder Orson Pratt had been serving as president of the British mission since August of 1848. He

gave the men a few days to recover from the voyage while he determined where to send each missionary.

During this period, most American missionaries were designated to serve as conference presidents or traveling elders. While they did engage in proselyting activities, much of their time was occupied in holding meetings, solving problems within the branches, encouraging emigration among the members, preaching and directing the work of local missionaries. The figures for baptisms and emigration indicate the mission was busy during this period, but the number of traveling elders arriving each year was quite small prior to 1852.

Jesse served his mission to Great Britain during the peak of activity in the nineteenth century. In particular, baptisms were at an all time high. More than half of the missionaries who came with Jesse received assignments as conference presidents. The remainder served as traveling elders.¹²⁵

Jesse was assigned as the President of the Warwickshire Conference. Located in the industrial center of England, this conference consisted of 22 branches in January of 1851, including the manufacturing center of Coventry. Establishing his residence in Leamington, Jesse assumed the presidency of the conference in January of 1851. As president of the conference, it was Jesse's responsibility to travel from town to town, holding meetings and preaching to the local members of the Church and outsiders who had elected to attend. While he was directly responsible for the missionary work in his conference, most of the proselyting was done by local members working under his direction.

Jesse was energetic in assuming responsibility for the Warwickshire Conference. During his first nine months in Britain he traveled continually among the branches of his conference, preaching, distributing pamphlets and directing the affairs of the Saints. Some of the towns where he labored included Leamington and

Coventry. During a visit to Rugby he saw Queen Victoria. At Stratford-on-Avon he visited the birthplace of William Shakespeare. During this period Jesse recorded that over sixty people were baptized into the Warwickshire Conference,¹²⁶ and that the total membership exceeded 800 Saints.¹²⁷

Through this period Jesse seems to have enjoyed his labors, but his health was not good. He recorded that “my health has been but second rate as the climate does not agree with me it being to damp and consumptive.”¹²⁸ Apparently Jesse was experiencing weight loss and a certain amount of lethargy. He had not actually contracted consumption (tuberculosis), but his health continued to plague him throughout the remainder of his missionary experiences in Britain.

London Conference and the Crystal Palace

In June of 1851, a special Church conference was held in London. Meeting on Sunday, 1 June at the Literary and Scientific Society on Aldersgate Street, somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000 members gathered for the morning session of the conference. Later in the day the Saints separated into smaller meetings at various sites around London. The following afternoon, Monday, June 2, a festival was held in the Masonic Hall. A full day leadership meeting was held on Tuesday, June 3.¹²⁹

Elder Franklin D. Richards presided over these meetings, having succeeded Orson Pratt as president of the mission in January. Three other members of the Quorum of the Twelve—John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow and Erastus Snow—were also present. At least twenty of the forty conference presidents also attended the meetings, including Jesse. He recorded little concerning the conference meetings, but Jesse wrote a vivid description of the festival.

The Festival was held on Monday, June 2nd, in the Masonic Hall, Queen Street, London. 1100 persons were present and as many excluded for want of room. The meeting was opened by prayer and singing; a band was in attendance; several songs were sung as the performances of the day were being carried into effect. Twenty-four Young Ladies marched round the room dressed in white, with wreathes of flowers on their heads; Twenty-four Young Men with staves in their hands marched in like manner, while the Mountain Standard was sung . . .

Then 12 men (Young) with bible in the right hand and Book of Mormon in the left, then 12 ladies with bouquets of flowers; then 12 aged men with staves. A piece was sung "Say what is truth." . . .

Refreshments were served up consisting of oranges, raisings, cakes and cold water. Several speeches were made—one in favor of the young men—and of the assembly wherein a synopsis of the history of the Church was given . . .¹³⁰

Like most of the men who attended the conference, Jesse took the opportunity to visit the sights while in London. Jesse does not record the dates of his stay in London, but he does note that he was away from Warwickshire for three weeks. It would seem probable that he spent somewhere between 8 and 10 days seeing the sights of the capital. He visited the Tower of London, the British Museum, the Zoo, Kew Gardens and Buckingham Palace. Many of these locations are within easy walking distance of one another, but Jesse clearly made special efforts to visit locations such as Kew Gardens to the west near Richmond. Oddly, he makes no mention of visits to St. Paul's Cathedral, the Houses of Parliament or Westminster Abbey.¹³¹ He also visited the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace.

I spent two days in the Crystal Palace, and looked upon the work and specimens of art from no less than one hundred different nations, with interest. Here wealth and beauty presented itself on every hand.¹³²

Queen Victoria formally opened the exhibition at the Crystal Palace on 1 May 1851. The scheduling of the Church conference and festival was set to coincide with the opening of the exhibition. Jesse was not alone in visiting the Crystal Palace. Indeed, most of the missionaries attending the conference in London took the opportunity to visit the exhibition.

The Crystal Palace was situated in the south-east corner of Hyde Park, just east of the present location of the Albert Memorial. The structure was designed by Joseph Paxton, superintendent of the gardens of Chatsworth. At the suggestion of the his employer, the Duke of Devonshire, Paxton was invited to submit a design. He developed the plans for the Crystal Palace in nine days.¹³³ The Crystal Palace was physically imposing and the wonder of the age.

It covered 772,824 square feet in plan, about nineteen acres. It was 1,848 feet long by 408 feet wide and had an addition on the north side measuring 936 by 48 feet. Its longitudinal central aisle, . . . was 72 by 66 feet high, and its vaulted transept was 72 by 108 feet high. Nine hundred thousand square feet of sheet glass . . . formed its walls and roof. It was supported by 3,300 cast-iron columns, 2,224 principal girders and 24 miles of main gutter; 205 miles of wood sash bar held the glass roof panels in place.”¹³⁴

Jesse was clearly impressed with the Crystal Palace, even recording sections of the guidebook into his Journal.¹³⁵

While in London, Jesse’s health continued to trouble him. Consequently, when he left London during the third week of May he traveled south to Brighton. Situated on the English Channel, Brighton became a popular resort during Victorian times. While he did meet with the Brighton Saints during the week, Jesse wrote that he had come “to bathe in the Ocean and get the sea breeze”.¹³⁶

After a week in Brighton, Jesse traveled back through London, visiting the Crystal Palace for a third time. From London he returned to the Warwickshire Conference, attending meetings and traveling among the branches.

On 24 June Jesse had the opportunity to be in Coventry to witness the procession commemorating the ride of Lady Godiva. This festival became a part of the Coventry fair in 1678 and has been held traditionally at intervals of seven or eight years.¹³⁷ Witnessing this event led Jesse to record some rather sordid statistics relating to prostitution, violent crimes and the general condition of the world.

Jesse continued to labor in Warwickshire until January 1852. Apparently his health had continued to trouble him and he had requested a change in missionary assignment. Franklin D. Richards acted upon Jesse's request and assigned him to labor in Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia

Jesse sailed from Liverpool on the "Empire State" in February. He reached New York in March, after a voyage of thirty-three days. Jesse then traveled to Lowell, Massachusetts, stopping to see friends. He finally reached Yarmouth, Nova Scotia in April, having arrived by packet boat.

During the years that Jesse knew Nova Scotia, the province grew rapidly. The population of Nova Scotia was 86,000 around the time of Jesse's birth in 1820. It exceeded 200,000 by the time of his first mission in 1841-42. In 1851, just before Jesse returned for his final mission in the area, the population was almost 277,000.¹³⁸

With this growth, Nova Scotia would seem to have been well suited to proselyting efforts, but how much success may have come in these early years is

hard to determine. In addition to Jesse, I have been able to identify eight other men who proselyted in Nova Scotia between 1830 and 1852, including Heber C. Kimball, Lyman E. Johnson and Wilford Woodruff.¹³⁹ Results seem to have been limited.

In examining journals and Church records, I have been able to identify only thirty individuals from Nova Scotia who joined the Church during its first two decades of existence, and that includes Jesse's immediate family. While there were certainly others, membership did not grow rapidly.¹⁴⁰

Nevertheless, Jesse was energetic as he worked in his native land. We can only assume that his health improved. He no longer made mention of health problems in his history, and he traveled extensively.

After a three week stay in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Jesse journeyed south, first to St. John, New Brunswick and then on to Boston and New York. He had determined "after some deliberation" to not return to Utah until the spring of 1853. Jesse recorded that his "labor was not thoroughly done".¹⁴¹ He spent the remainder of May and most of June attempting to recruit emigrants for the following year.

Returning to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in late June, Jesse spent the remainder of the summer traveling between St. John, Sackville, Halifax, and several smaller towns. He preached, visited with the Saints and baptized a few individuals.

Two events seem to have held special importance for Jesse during this time. First, in September he journeyed to St. George, New Brunswick to search out the family of his wife. Jesse records that he "preached at the Temperance Hall several times to [his] Wife's friends and promiscuous crowd of hearers".¹⁴² How much success he had with these visits is uncertain, but he was successful in locating

members of Hannah's family, ultimately baptizing his wife's sisters, Thankful Amelia Bancroft and Sarah Shaw in January of 1853.¹⁴³

Second, Jesse took the opportunity to return to Fredericton, New Brunswick in October of 1852. This trip to New Brunswick seems to have served a double purpose. His wife's uncle, Benjamin Hanson, lived in the area, and Jesse took the opportunity to visit family. Fredericton was also the locale where Jesse and Benjamin Brown had converted the Shelton family and others in 1844-45. The Shelton family was still living in Fredericton. It is probable that Jesse was hoping to entice the Sheltons to join his emigrant company the following spring.¹⁴⁴

Jesse continued to labor in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick through the winter and into the spring. Leaving the provinces in late March, he traveled south, arriving in New York City a few days prior to 20 April when his assembled emigrant company departed by steamer up the Hudson River for Buffalo.¹⁴⁵

Emigration of 1853

In October of 1852, Jesse wrote a letter to Brigham Young reporting on his missionary efforts since his return from Great Britain. He described his "tour" through the states that had taken place the previous spring in an effort to recruit an emigration company. He wrote:

I was happily disappointed in finding more faith and more saints than I had expected. I took with me the 7th General Epistle and read and added "To your tents Oh Israel." I informed all of my intentions to raise a company from the provinces and as many as would fall in and join us at New York City, May 1st¹⁴⁶

At this time, all missionaries emphasized the need for the Saints to emigrate to Utah. Jesse intended to bring a company of Canadian Saints, but he attempted to

enlarge the party by recruiting in New York and Massachusetts. He seems to have used the Presidency's letter as his theme as he taught emigration.

Issued 18 April 1852 by the First Presidency, this lengthy epistle was published in the *Millennial Star* and circulated among the Saints by the missionaries. Designed to encourage the Saints to come west, the Presidency reported on developments in Utah, including the winter weather, the construction of the New Tabernacle, the excavation of the wall around the Temple Block, the manufacture of Deseret pottery, the opening of a nail factory, the increasing number of saw-mills, the commencement of the second volume of the *Deseret Evening News*, the session of the Territorial Legislature, the emigration of 1851, the current assignments given to the Council of the Twelve, and many other matters of Church business. In conclusion the Presidency wrote:

Finally, brethren, fear God; work righteousness; and come home speedily. Prepare, against another season, to come by tens of thousands; and think not that your way is going to be opened to come in chariots, feasting on the fat of all lands. We have been willing to live on bread and water, and many times very little bread too, for years, that we might search out and plant the Saints in a goodly land. This we have accomplished, through the blessing of our Heavenly Father; and we now invite you to a feast of fat things, to a land that will supply all your wants, with reasonable labor; therefore, let all who can procure a bit of bread, and one garment on their back, be assured there is water plenty and pure by the way, and doubt no longer, but come next year to the place of gathering, even in flocks, as doves fly to their windows before a storm.¹⁴⁷

Seventy-nine people responded to Jesse's recruitment, most of them Canadian Saints. Jesse departed New York City on 20 April. From there the company traveled up the Hudson River and west across New York to Buffalo. As Jesse worked west with the company, he traveled through Portland, New York,

looking for his father. Jesse wrote that he “Stopped at dear old Portland where I spent my early days; expected my father to accompany me but he had gone.”¹⁴⁸ Jesse had arranged to have Joshua travel west to see his family. For whatever reason, Joshua left ahead of Jesse’s arrival in Portland. Joshua reached Keokuk on his own, where he was able to join Jesse for the trip west.

After the death of his wife in Nauvoo, Joshua remarried. His second wife, Melinda Lewis, was a widow and had a daughter, Lansa Ann. Melinda was considerably younger than Joshua and the couple had three children, Harriet, Ammy and Ella Josephine. They continued to live in the Portland area until 1862. There is some evidence that the age difference between Joshua and Melinda created problems within the marriage. They did ultimately separate in the 1860s. Whatever the cause, Joshua left his second wife and family in the spring of 1853 to travel to Utah. He was sixty-three years-old. He did not return to Portland until the following year.¹⁴⁹

In addition to the Saints who met Jesse in New York City, a group of Canadian members from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick assembled in St. John. This group traveled through New York and the Great Lakes, planning to meet Jesse’s company either at Keokuk, Iowa or in route from New York City.

One member of this Canadian group was seventeen year-old Marriner Wood Merrill. A future member of the Quorum of the Twelve, Marriner had joined the Church in April 1852. He was ordained a priest in September 1852 by Jesse and then labored under the direction of his branch president, William Atkinson, in Sackville, New Brunswick until the following spring. When the Atkinson family decided to emigrate to Utah in Jesse’s company, Marriner determined to journey with them.¹⁵⁰ The Atkinson group reached Keokuk, Iowa on 9 May 1853.

With the entire company now gathered together they were able to organize and complete preparations. Jesse served as President of the company. It was his responsibility to serve as spiritual leader of the company and direct them to Utah. William Atkinson was elected Captain, and young Marriner Wood Merrill was elected as Captain of the Guard.¹⁵¹

The company of seventy-nine Saints left Keokuk on 18 May 1853 with twelve wagons, fifty-six oxen, three horses and twenty-six cows. While crossing Iowa, William Atkinson and his wife lost their two year-old daughter to illness. This was the only death in the company. Marriner Merrill described some of the other difficulties that affected the company.

We had a somewhat difficult journey across Iowa, 330 miles owing principally to the country being new and the lack of bridges, rains, etc. However, on June 17 we arrived at Council Bluffs . . . On the first day of July we left the Missouri River . . . On one occasion I came near being drowned in the Platte River, but through the blessings of the Lord and the kind aid and assistance of one Brother John Resse, a Welsh Brother with one eye . . . [he] being an excellent swimmer, saved me from a watery grave by assisting me from the middle of the river where I had lodged on a sand bar. . . .

On another occasion we were stopped by a large band of some 500 hostile Sioux Indians who placed themselves across the road and stopped our teams. They made a demand on us for coffee, flour, sugar, tobacco, etc. We complied cheerfully with their wishes because we had to, and it was our only safety. After receiving our presents they reluctantly let us pass on our way. We also had one small stampede with our teams as they were hitched to the wagons, but without serious damage.¹⁵²

After an absence of three years, four months and twenty-two days, Jesse entered the valley on 10 September 1853. He calculated that he had traveled 24,744 miles during this mission.¹⁵³ Jesse spent much of the following day at his

sister Hannah's home as many of the family gathered to greet Joshua. Lorenzo Brown recorded in his journal that "J. W. Crosby and his Father came in from the states last evening. All hands have been at Mr Mumfords to day to see them. [My] wife has not seen her father for 15 years".¹⁵⁴

Jesse's return from Britain, and his father's visit to Utah brought 1853 to a happy close for the Crosby family. Now Jesse would be able to settle in and improve his Salt Lake property.

8

SALT LAKE CITY

Jesse faced a number of adjustments and challenges when he returned to the valley in the fall of 1853. During his absence, his three boys had changed greatly. George H. was now seven; Jesse W. Jr. was five; and Samuel Obed was four. While George H. probably had some recollections of his father, the two younger boys certainly had no memories of Jesse. He would now face the challenge of getting to know his sons. In addition, Joshua would have seen his grandsons for the first time.¹⁵⁵

The Crosby home was on the south-east corner of 200 West and North Temple. Described as a single floor adobe dwelling,¹⁵⁶ the size of this first home is unknown, but by 1854 it had been expanded and was large enough to house Jesse, Hannah, their children, and others. Jesse also owned two five acre farm plots in the big field. Farming seems to have been Jesse's principal occupation, but he also kept cattle and manufactured molasses from beets, turnips and carrots.

The Church was important in the Crosby home. In 1854, Jesse became one of the presidents of the thirty-seventh quorum of Seventies.¹⁵⁷ At this time, Seventies quorums were not organized on a geographic basis. This assignment,

when it came, was one that Jesse would hold throughout most of his life, continuing in this office in both St. George and later Overton.

The Crosbys lived in the Salt Lake City Seventeenth Ward. Their first Bishop was Joseph L. Haywood. He was succeeded by Thomas Callister in 1855.¹⁵⁸ In those early years, other members of the ward included Charles C. Rich, John M. Bernhisel, Henry W. Bigler and George A. Smith.

In the early years, the Salt Lake wards served many important functions beyond those of an ecclesiastical unit. In many ways, the wards were like small communities, and the Seventeenth Ward was no exception. For example, at a meeting in 1849 the ward members determined that all yards in the ward should be entirely fenced and the roads improved to two rods in width. Two months later they decided that a school should be established by a direct tax on ward members' property. This school met in the meeting house after it was completed in 1849. Gardens and fruit orchards were also planted in these early years.¹⁵⁹

Educational opportunities were not only provided for the children, but also for the adults. In January of 1855 Brigham Young encouraged the establishment of a Scientific Society. Meeting regularly at the Social Hall throughout 1855, the members discussed topics that included Saracen History, extemporaneous speaking, Church History and Doctrine, why the Lord had allowed imperfections in the U. S. Constitution, and the Deseret Alphabet. Members of the Society included W. W. Phelps, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Orson Pratt, Ezra T. Benson, John Taylor and Brigham Young. Jesse was also a member of the Society. He had the opportunity to both learn from and associate with most of the leading men in the Church.¹⁶⁰ This Scientific Society was just one of many organizations

organized by the Saints to provide both educational and cultural opportunities within the community.

It was also during the Salt Lake years that Jesse attempted to prepare his history. Journals that he had kept in the mission field and crossing the plains were compiled with linking sections describing other activities. Ann Shelton seems to have been instrumental in this process, and her death, early in 1860, coincides with the end of Jesse's written history.¹⁶¹

Plural Marriage

In the fall of 1853, David Shelton, now a widower, sold his property near Fredericton, New Brunswick. His health was failing and he hoped that he might do better in the city. This move also seemed to be designed to encourage his children to emigrate to Utah. The previous fall, Jesse had visited with the Sheltons and encouraged them to move west.

Consequently, on 10 May 1854, Charles Shelton left New Brunswick with his wife, children and sisters to travel to Utah. It was a difficult and tragic journey for the Shelton family. On the trail, everyone in the party contracted measles except for Charles and Ann. According to their younger sister, Eliza:

We suffered very much. Rebecca, Charles' wife had the cholera and suffered dreadfully until death came to her relief. My sister Louisa, first had the measles, and was beginning to get better, when she had a setback, cholera set in and she died, a bride of three weeks.

The men, my brother Charles and brother-in-law Thomas Obray, took their loses very hard. Charles' six children one after another died, save the boy, Albert. He was worn out with waiting on the sick. We had lost seven of our company . . . We girls continued very weak, not much appetite and poor digestion until we reached the Valley. The 29th of September, 1854 we arrived in Salt Lake. We drove through the city and down towards the Jordan on the camping

grounds. The next day Jesse Crosby's wife came to our camp and invited us to come to their home to stay. Jesse was in the canyon at the time. After a few days, after we had washed our clothes and cleaned up as well as we could, we drove up there. sister Crosby cleared out two of her best rooms for us, and we moved part of our belongings into them, and left the rest in the wagons.¹⁶²

Hannah Crosby seems to have understood Jesse's special attachment to the Shelton family, especially Ann. The manner in which she opened her home to the Sheltons would seem to indicate that she had already given approval for Jesse to enter into plural marriage with Ann. Opening her home as she did would have been doubly difficult at that time because Hannah was seven months pregnant with her fourth child.

Subsequently, in early October Ann Shelton became a plural wife to Jesse Wentworth Crosby. Jesse was now married to two of the three women he had courted in the early 1840s. Ann and Jesse's marriage was childless, but she and Hannah seem to have amicably shared the home in the Seventeenth ward. Jesse's children affectionately referred to her as Aunt Ann. Ann kept a school in the home for five or six years.¹⁶³ On 30 December 1844 Hannah gave birth to her fourth child and first daughter, Elida.

While 1854 seems to have been a happy year for the Crosby family, the following year, 1855, almost brought financial ruin. In his history Jesse recorded that grasshoppers "in great numbers appeared every where; hatched in the fields and commenced their depredations." He continued:

As soon as the grain had fairly commenced to grow, field after field was laid waste and destroyed, root and branch; even after the grain had obtained the height of a foot or more; they moved like armies, sweeping the country of every green things. And the courage of many failed. My crop was entirely destroyed; and late in June I plowed my

wheat land and planted it to corn. The corn was all we had to subsist on. We depended much on our cattle, but the Lord seemed determined to try us. The winter was a dreadfully severe one and our stock died at wholesale. I lost one-half of all I had. many were reduced to straightened circumstances, even bran bread was used and famine seemed to stare us in the face . . . [The Lord] did not wish to destroy but to make us feel after him. He effectually removed the grasshoppers with a great wind which swept them in masses into Salt Lake as they arose in the air in the middle of each day. The destruction was so great rows of grasshoppers were soon along the shores of the lake for scores of miles. Thus was the army removed effectually, and the heavens seemed to smile upon us again.¹⁶⁴

Brigham Young and other Church leaders viewed the grasshopper invasion as a sign that the Lord was displeased with the worthiness of the Saints.¹⁶⁵ Led by Brigham's counselor, Jedediah Grant, a reformation was instituted among the Church. Members were read a list of questions and asked to commit to live the gospel. After demonstrating their commitment to the gospel they were rebaptized as a sign of their promise.¹⁶⁶

As did most of the Saints, Jesse accepted the chastisement delivered by his leaders and committed to the reformation.¹⁶⁷ He was rebaptized in March of 1857 by Nathan Davis, a counselor in the ward Bishopric.¹⁶⁸ Despite the crop loss and other hardships, Jesse and Hannah's family continued to grow. On 30 April 1856, Hannah gave birth to her second daughter, Thankful Amelia.

Utah War

The approach of Federal troops in the summer of 1857 proved to be disruptive for the Crosby household, as it did most families in the Salt Lake valley. Jesse's account of his participation in the Utah War is colorful and engaging.

Jesse recorded that on 25 September the men in his company “were called in haste and left at 12 o’clock at night, and proceeded to the mouth of the Emigration”. What followed was several days spent in the saddle with little to eat and little to keep them warm. He wrote that when they arrived at Cache Cave, after two days of hard travel, they were “chilled with cold; our guns, stirrups, etc., covered to some extent with frozen mud and ice. Here we stopped a short time, gathered what little fuel we could find, made some fires”. Many of the men had to remove balls of snow from their horses’ hooves. Others ran to keep warm.¹⁶⁹

Jesse’s company pressed on to Fort Bridger, arriving the following morning. After some discussion, a group of men, including Jesse, continued on to Fort Supply. In what is certainly the most quoted section of his history, Jesse describes the burning of Fort Supply.

I went to Fort Supply with a small company of men to help take care of the crops, and to make ready to burn everything if found necessary, but were soon disturbed by the arrival of an Express from Bridger, ordering everything destroyed. We took out our wagons, horses etc., and at 12 o’clock set fire to the buildings at once, consisting of 100 or more good hewed log houses, one saw-mill, one grist mill, one threshing machine, and after going out of the Fort, we did set fire to the Stockade and grain stacks etc. After looking a few minutes at the bonfire we had made, thence on by the light thereof.

I will mention that owners of property in several cases begged the privilege of setting fire to their own, which they freely did, thus destroying at once what they had labored for years to build, and that without a word. Thence on the way a few miles we stopped and set fire to the City Supply—a new place just commenced—10 or 15 buildings perhaps, and warmed ourselves by the flames. Thus we laid waste in a few hours all the labor of a settlement for three or four years, with some 500 or 600 acres of land fenced and improved.

Our work of destruction was now finished and we moved silently onward and reached Bridger a little after daylight and found it in ashes, having been fired the night before.¹⁷⁰

After the initial excitement of this ride, Jesse's company joined Robert Burton's main camp in Echo Canyon. They were drilled in climbing the Bluffs and manning the fortifications. Scouting parties watched the Federal troops continually until the army settled near the ruins of Fort Bridger and encamped for the winter. Jesse's company was then allowed to return home, early in November.¹⁷¹

Over the course of the winter, Brigham Young—with the assistance of Thomas L. Kane—was able to negotiate a peaceful solution to the hostilities. However, as a precaution, the Church leaders had all the members evacuate their homes and move south in case the army did not keep its word.

In April of 1858, 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.¹⁷² The Keelers were unable to provide shelter for the Crosbys, and the move was further complicated for the family because Hannah had an infant son. Joseph Crosby had been born on 15 December 1857.

Once the army had passed through Salt Lake and camped in the west valley, the members began to return to their homes, but difficult times were ahead for Jesse and his family. In September of 1859, Hannah gave birth to a third daughter, Mary Elizabeth. The infant only lived fourteen months, dying in November of 1860. Ann Shelton Crosby also became ill during this period. She died with an inflammation of the bowels on 24 June 1860.¹⁷³ Another baby girl, Hannah Ann, was born on 22 June 1861. Named for both wives, Hannah Ann only lived sixteen months. Growing ill, she died in St. George in October of 1862.

The deaths of Mary and Ann were followed by further unpleasantness when it was discovered that their bodies, along with many others, had been stripped of their burial clothing. John de Baptiste was the grave digger for the Salt Lake cemetery from 1859 to 1862. Italian by birth, Baptiste joined the Church in

Australia and emigrated to Utah in the late 1850s. Living near the cemetery, Baptiste robbed clothing from the graves of over 300 women and children. This ugly crime so shocked the citizens of Salt Lake City that the *Deseret Evening News* did not report it in an effort to prevent agitating the outrage felt by the community. On 28 January 1862 the clothes found in Baptiste's home were displayed at the county courthouse so that family could identify the clothing.¹⁷⁴

Identifying the burial clothing of both Ann Shelton and her infant daughter, Mary Elizabeth, at the courthouse, Hannah found it necessary to have the bodies dug up and re clothed after Jesse had departed for St. George. Lorenzo Brown wrote that this was “the lowest, the meanest, the blackest crime” he had ever heard.¹⁷⁵

Despite some difficulties, 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. They also had another teenage girl, Louisa Wilson, living with them. Between real estate and personal property, Jesse estimated his worth at \$2700.¹⁷⁶

While certainly not wealthy, Jesse had begun to prosper in Salt Lake. With the approach of 1861, that prosperity would change. Jesse would face the difficulties of selling his property and moving to a new home in Utah's Dixie.

9 ST. GEORGE

During the October Conference of 1861 over 300 families were called to move to southern Utah and establish a new community where cotton could be grown. The importance of this project was demonstrated by the call of Apostles

Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt to lead the colony. Consulting among the Church leadership, Brigham Young looked for men who would “stick” in southern Utah. He also wanted men of varying occupations—the community would need to be self sustaining. Andrew Karl Larson has written:

A careful scrutiny of this pioneer roll indicates the care that was taken in the selection of personnel to this difficult mission. The Church authorities did their best to send a group that would “stick to the mission” and build up Zion.¹⁷⁷

Jesse seems to have been selected because he knew how to make molasses. The authorities were also probably confident that he would “stick.” Taking the three older boys with him, Jesse left Hannah and the younger children and headed south in November or December of 1861. Jesse and his sons helped develop the roads and other public projects. They also worked to complete a small rock home on their lot.¹⁷⁸ This home was located on the south-east corner of First South and First West.

Jesse was in St. George about four months before he returned north to retrieve his family. Brigham Young had counseled the settlers to sell all their property in the north so that they would not be tempted to return. Late in October of 1861 Jesse began negotiating with his brother-in-law, Lorenzo Brown. Lorenzo wished to purchase a part of Jesse’s farm. Perhaps we can see evidence of some reluctance on the part of Jesse to move, as he did not complete this transaction until late April of 1862.¹⁷⁹

According to Crosby family tradition, Jesse sold the remainder of his property to Brigham Young for a very small sum. Some members of the family had hard feelings regarding this for many years. There is also a tradition that Jesse deposited large quantities of grain with the Church so that he could draw upon this

in St. George. While this is possible, it seems unlikely because Jesse had ruined his seed wheat in the spring of 1861 by soaking it too long in brine. He was forced to plant his fields a second time that spring.¹⁸⁰ Regardless of his financial situation, Jesse packed up his family and left for St. George on 19 May 1862.¹⁸¹

While Jesse was absent from St. George, four wards were organized on 22 March 1862. As had been previously done in Salt Lake City, these wards not only functioned as Church units, but they were designed to help further the development of the community. The Crosby home was located in the Fourth Ward. Robert Gardner was the first Bishop. Nathaniel Ashby succeeded him in 1869. David H. Cannon became the third Bishop of the ward in 1877.¹⁸²

Arriving in St. George for the first time, Hannah would have seen little to encourage her. As a teenager, Martha Cragun Cox visited St. George in the spring of 1862. She described the early appearance of the settlement.

The ride was wonderful—through a deep sand stretch extending for three or four unbroken miles after which we had to pass through and ugly gorge called “The Twist,” then down the steep red hills that led into a low, flat, little valley. Here there were tents, brush sheds, and three or four houses. In those houses lived the families of Orson Pratt, J. W. Crosby, and Lysander Dayton. Dayton’s house was the first to be built in St. George. there was also a row of log houses where Erastus Snow lived.¹⁸³

The first Crosby home in St. George was a small rock structure. For a time, Jesse found it necessary to use a tent in addition to the house for shelter. A granddaughter, Mary Stalker, remembered Hannah’s description of life in this rock home. “Even in a rock house things were bad. The weather was hot and the water was bad; along with so many flies and insects.”¹⁸⁴

Jesse worked to improve his home. The early homes in St. George “were small ones of one or two rooms with a gable roof, a leanto with a shed roof

addition, built of adobes”. Most of these homes were built back on their lots so that additions could be made in the front. “As the need for better homes was required a large front structure was added. Many such were of the same type of building with a basement, a first and second floor.”¹⁸⁵

Built in this manner, the Crosby home was a large structure of two stories. It had two front doors and several large rooms on the main floor. The second floor had numerous bedrooms and a balcony that extended over the front porch. There was a fireplace located at each end of the structure.

Occupations

The Crosby home was large enough that Hannah was able to operate a boarding house for visitors to St. George. According to Helen Shurtliff, the Crosby home was one of “the better homes kept for the traveling public throughout the city.”¹⁸⁶ During the construction of the temple, workers were boarded at the Crosby home.¹⁸⁷

Hannah also attempted to supplement the family income from silk production. A group of Relief Society sisters planted mulberry trees in an effort to raise silkworms. Mary Stalker wrote that “When Ann C. Woodbury and a few other women raised silk worms in St. George; Hannah did it also and she spun and had cloth made from the silk yarn for a Temple dress”.¹⁸⁸

While living in the Salt Lake valley, Jesse had primarily earned his livelihood from farming and molasses making. With the move to St. George, Jesse became involved in a wider range of enterprises to earn a living.

One of these activities was freighting to California. According to Albert E. Miller, “When the people were located in St. George, various persons made trips to California for goods needed by the people, among whom were Jesse W. Crosby,

Franklin B. Wooley, and Henry W. Miller.”¹⁸⁹ In 1865 an attempt was made to form a mercantile organization for the purpose of freighting supplies to St. George from southern California.¹⁹⁰ Lorenzo Brown recorded the details of this meeting, which was held at Jesse’s home on 8 December 1865.

Evening a merchants meeting at Jesses to consider the propriety of sending to California for merchandise either as a mercantile firm or to raise means and send. There were 25 men present and something over 1500.00 were subscribed for a permanent mercantile firm. Letters were sent to different settlements inviting citizens to invest with company. Adjourned for one week.¹⁹¹

Jesse took charge of the freight train. It departed for California on 2 February 1866. The freighters made good time, as Jesse had returned by 11 April when he settled accounts with Lorenzo Brown.¹⁹² This was not the first trip of this type made by Jesse. He had taken at least one freighting trip two or three years earlier.¹⁹³

Jesse also formed a partnership with Lorenzo Clark. Clark was a tanner, and he and Jesse built a tannery on the north side of town near a spring off Diagonal Street.¹⁹⁴ The men collected their tan bark up in the Pine Valley mountains.¹⁹⁵

Jesse continued to farm in St. George, and he made molasses. By early in 1863 he had begun to build up molasses storage.¹⁹⁶ Rather than establishing a fixed location for production, Jesse seems to have traveled among the Dixie communities with his molasses mill.¹⁹⁷ This allowed him to be paid for manufacturing the product without his having to provide storage. It also reduced costs for farmers who did not have to transport their beets, fruits and sugar cane to Jesse’s site of operation.

Jesse also seems to have been involved with the cotton project, exchanging several letters with Brigham Young.¹⁹⁸ However, there is no evidence that he ever participated in cotton production.

Colorado River Expedition

While building up the community, the southern Utah leaders were also concerned with exploration of the region. Sites for additional settlements were sought, and means of improving shipping and transportation were also concerns. In 1867 Erastus Snow led an expedition south to determine if the Colorado River could be safely navigated between the Grand Wash and Callville, Arizona. It had been determined that a good road could be built to cover the seventy-eight miles from St. George to the mouth of the Grand Wash, but they needed to determine if the Colorado River could then be navigated further south. Accompanying Elder Snow on this expedition were Jacob Hamblin, James Andrus, Ira Hatch, David Cameron, Henry W. Miller, and Jesse W. Crosby.¹⁹⁹

The men traveled south from St. George, passing the divide between the Virgin and the Colorado rivers, and down the Grand Wash to its mouth. At the Colorado, on Monday, April 15, Erastus Snow, James Andrus, Ira Hatch and David Cameron left to travel overland to St. Thomas, on the Muddy River. Jacob Hamblin, Henry W. Miller and Jesse launched a sixteen foot skiff and headed down river. It was intended that the two groups meet in St. Thomas on Wednesday, April 17. Jacob Hamblin acted as steersman, with Jesse and Henry Miller doing the rowing. Henry Miller wrote an account of their expedition for the *Deseret Evening News*.

We now headed downstream, the river at this point running south-west. We had no way of measuring exactly the distance we made; but judge that our rate of traveling was about five miles an hour on the average during the time we were running. We were on an unexplored part of the Colorado, and every sense had to be actively exorcised, for from the nature of the banks, or walls, as they might be

very correctly termed, on either side, there were places where it would have been impossible to escape from the river had an accident occurred. The width of the Colorado, where we explored it, varies from not less than five rods in some parts to about forty rods in others; but about forty rods is the general width.²⁰⁰

As they fought their way down the river during the next two days, the men faced dangerous rapids and swift currents. While they did traverse the distance safely, it was clear that the Colorado could not be used for navigation to St. George. They reached Callville on Tuesday and were able to rejoin Elder Snow and the others at St. Thomas, Nevada on Wednesday, April 17 as planned. Beginning in St. Thomas, Elder Snow and his companions held meetings with the Saints on the Muddy before returning to St. George. This was apparently Jesse's first visit to these settlements.

Joshua Crosby

A few years after Jesse moved his family south, St. George also became home to his father, Joshua. Ten years after his first visit to Utah, Joshua Crosby again attempted to visit his children. His second marriage to Melinda Lewis had failed, and in May of 1862, Joshua and Melinda sold their property in Portland, New York to John Dudley and William Reounard for two hundred and fifty dollars.²⁰¹ This sale was made to eliminate any claims the Utah family might have had on the property. Melinda then apparently moved to Illinois.²⁰²

With his affairs settled in New York, Joshua prepared to travel west. He journeyed by stage to Omaha, Nebraska.

Getting off the stage coach in Omaha, the old gentleman asked if there were any Mormons there . . . [the agent] told him that they were camping down by the river and pointed the way. The old gentleman

went down and found the ox team train of Daniel D. McArthur camped by the river. he asked if the people were Mormons, they said “Yes.” “Do you know anyone out in Utah named Crosby?” “Yes,” replied one of them, “there is a Crosby boy down there shoeing his break blocks.” It was my father George H. Crosby, and the old gentleman said to the sixteen year old boy, “Is your name Crosby?” “Yes,” said my father. “Who is your father?” asked the old gentleman. “Jesse W. Crosby” answered George. “Then I am your Grandfather and I have come to see if you wouldn’t take me out to Utah, so I can see my children.”²⁰³

George H. was in Omaha in 1863 because the Church leaders had instituted a new emigration program. Church trains were established annually during the 1860s. Various communities would be asked to contribute wagons, teams and drivers to ship Utah goods to the east. With the merchandise unloaded, the teams would then return to Utah carrying emigrants and supplies purchased by Church agents in the east. Twice Jesse and Hannah sent George H. out with the Church trains, first in 1863 and again in 1866.²⁰⁴ Jesse Wentworth Jr. also made one trip in 1864.²⁰⁵

Known as the “Dixie Train” because most of the teamsters were from southern Utah, the McArthur company left Florence, Nebraska on 6 August 1863. It consisted of seventy-five wagons and at least 400 emigrants. Approaching his seventy-fourth birthday, Joshua must have found this trip west challenging.

Captain McArthur had charge of the company . . . Everybody in camp was called to an early breakfast after which the day’s journey began. We traveled until noon when a stop was made for dinner, rest one hour, then resume the journey until sundown. Sometimes the noon meal would be prepared and a sand storm would come up and blow everything away. Food obtained from the commissary consisted of beans, rice, bacon or ham, and brown sugar. Baking powder-soda bread was prepared. The distance traveled per day would vary

according to the condition of the roads. The oxen were slow, but sure and steady. All persons enjoying good health and strong bodies covered the entire distance on foot, most of them wading barefooted and wading shallow streams. The early evenings, after supper, were spent in singing, dancing and enjoying different sports.²⁰⁶

The train reached Salt Lake City on 3 October 1863.

While it cannot be determined with certainty, Joshua likely spent the winter of 1863-64 in the north visiting with his son, John, and daughter, Hannah Mumford.²⁰⁷ He spent the the summer of 1864 in Pine Valley with his daughter Frances Brown. Joshua then spent the winter of 1864-65 in St. George with Jesse.²⁰⁸ In the spring of 1865 Joshua again returned to the east, but in less than a year he was prepared to return to Utah.

Come the year 1866 and again my father, George H. Crosby, was at the Missouri River with ox teams for emigrants, this time by appointment. The old grandfather, Joshua Crosby, aged eighty-two came and met him and came on to Utah to join the Church. His son, Jesse W. Crosby, who had preached Mormonism and had converted more than a thousand people, the pleading of his wife before she left New York, the teachings of his children in Utah had all failed to convert the old grandfather to the Gospel, but when he got East and people started talking against the Mormon people, against their socialization, against the Gospel that they preached and its doctrines, against the Book of Mormon and modern revelation, the old gentleman defended them until he converted himself.²⁰⁹

Joshua Crosby crossed the plains for the fifth and final time in the summer of 1866. He was seventy-seven years-old. Traveling in the Daniel Thompson train, Joshua and George H. left Wyoming, Nebraska on 25 July 1866. This train had eighty-five wagons and almost 500 emigrants. It arrived in Salt Lake on 29 September.²¹⁰

This time Joshua had come to stay, finally joining the Church. With Jesse settled in St. George, and his sister Frances nearby in Pine Valley, Joshua moved to southern Utah. The old gentleman spent the winters in St. George and the summers in the cooler climate of Pine Valley. In May of 1872, Lorenzo Brown recorded Joshua's arrival for the summer. "Sunday Jesse came to breakfast & brought his Father to stay with us This summer. The old gentleman is 89 years past, hearty to eat but feeble in his legs & cannot get around much".²¹¹ Joshua died at St. George on 22 June 1877. He was ninety-four.

Church Service and Final Mission

Church service was an important part of life in St. George for the Crosby family. Jesse continued in his calling as one of the presidents of the thirty-seventh quorum of Seventies. Along with two other men, Richard Morris and J. S. Woodbury, he was later called to preside over the Seventies in St. George.²¹²

Hannah was also heavily involved in the Church. In 1886 the Relief Society was organized in St. George. Anna Ivins was called as the Relief Society President of the Fourth Ward. Hannah was named as her counselor.²¹³ Hannah served in this calling for many years and later served as President.²¹⁴

After moving to St. George, the Crosby family made regular trips to Salt Lake City to attend conference, usually in October.²¹⁵ Following this practice, in the fall of 1867 the Crosby family traveled to Salt Lake City for general conference and the marriage of Jesse W. Crosby, Jr. The younger Jesse W. and his bride were married in the Endowment House on 4 October 1867. Four days later, on 8 October, at General Conference, 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, laboring in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee. This left eighteen-year-old Sam to care and provide for his mother, brothers, and sisters.²¹⁶

Although they had some contact, Jesse and his sons did not generally labor together in the mission field. Jesse left on this mission sometime in November of 1867, traveling to St. Louis where he met his mission president, John Brown, early in December. After holding meetings in St. Louis, Jesse departed for north-western Georgia. He labored in and around the city of Rome from January of 1867 until the spring of 1869.²¹⁷

Jesse found this mission to be a hard experience. The aftermath of the Civil War left the south impoverished, and racial tension was growing monthly. Early in April, Jesse wrote to the Deseret Evening News from Alabama about conditions in the post Civil War south.

The Spring seems fairly open; peach and apple trees have been in full bloom for ten or twelve days; the people have finished putting in their corn, and are now preparing for cotton planting. All is quiet, but the people, both colored and white, are feverish, and look to the future with much distrust. Secret organizations are said to exist in the neighboring cities, holding their meetings in the grave yards and appearing in winding sheets now and then.

These things, with the appearance of grass-hoppers in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Kansas, etc., are the leading topics; and although but few can see the Kingdom of God and the rising glory of Zion, yet all can see that distress of nations is at hand, and men's hearts are failing them for fear looking after those things that are coming on the earth.²¹⁸

Throughout 1868, Jesse continued to labor in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia.²¹⁹ In December he wrote to Lorenzo Snow. Part of this correspondence was reported in the Deseret Evening News. The paper reported

. . . he has been in the South about one year, traveling through Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. He has found friends, and met with kind treatment. His congregations are good, but few believe the testimonies of himself and the brethren traveling in those regions.²²⁰

Leaving the south in the spring of 1869, Jesse arrived in St. Joseph, Missouri with an emigrant company of Georgia Saints.²²¹ He reached Salt Lake on 18 May 1869. Two weeks later he spoke in the Tabernacle on May 30. He reported that there were twenty-two baptisms the last two weeks prior to heading home.²²² He returned to St. George in June of 1869.

On 31 January 1871, at a meeting of Church leaders in St. George, Brigham Young announced his intention to build a temple in the community.²²³ The site selected for the temple was boggy. To prepare an adequate foundation a cannon was used as a pile driver. This cannon has become part of southern Utah folklore. No one can be quite certain of its origins. One of the more common stories is that this cannon belonged to the forces of John C. Fremont in California and that it was freighted to St. George by Jesse on one of his freighting trips.²²⁴ However, Juanita Brooks was of the opinion that the cannon came from elsewhere.²²⁵

Regardless of the cannon's origins, along with most of the members in St. George, Jesse and Hannah welcomed the temple. As noted earlier, the Crosby home was used to board temple laborers. As he had done in Nauvoo, Jesse worked on the temple, being present when the last roof beam was put in place.²²⁶ On 1 January 1877 completed sections of the temple were dedicated. The dedication of the completed structure took place in April.

Jesse and Hannah were called as temple workers by Brigham Young in January of 1877.²²⁷ Jesse served in this calling for five years. Hannah continued in her calling the remainder of her life, regularly riding the temple wagon each day.

This wagon “was a long covered carriage with seats on either side and drawn by two horses. The driver would go from house to house, where Temple workers lived and take them to and from the Temple.”²²⁸

Other opportunities for Church service came when Jesse was called to serve as a home missionary. Home missionaries were assigned to visit the communities and instruct the members regarding the commandments and their obligations to the Church. Jesse served a rather lengthy home mission in the summer of 1867, prior to his mission call to Georgia. On that occasion he visited more than a half dozen communities.²²⁹ Occasionally these missionaries were called for special reasons, such as teaching the United Order. Jesse was sent on such a mission to Pine Valley in May of 1875.²³⁰ Earlier that same year, in February, Lorenzo Brown and Jesse served together as home missionaries. According to Lorenzo this preaching tour lasted about a month.²³¹

Both as a missionary and after moving to St. George, Jesse would occasionally write letters to the Church newspapers, including the *Times and Seasons*, the *Millennial Star*, and the *Deseret Evening News*. During the 1870s and 1880s, Jesse began writing the occasional Article for the *Juvenile Instructor*. Some of these articles were addressed to the girls of the Church, another described the events surrounding his conversion.²³²

One of the themes that Jesse seemed to focus upon at this time was the Word of Wisdom. He both wrote about it and spoke on the subject repeatedly.²³³ In one of his articles prepared for the *Juvenile Instructor* he wrote:

I often wish I could impress upon the minds of the Saints the importance of the Word of Wisdom, and the terrible tax they impose upon themselves in violating it. All other taxes are trifling compared to it. Hundreds of thousands, yet, well on towards a million of dollars, do the Saints in Utah pay out annually, and that is cash, for articles

with which to violate the Word of Wisdom, which the Lord gave us nearly forty years ago, for the temporal salvation of all that can be called Saints.²³⁴

Jesse and Hannah seemed to have been happy and prosperous in St. George. While it would remain Hannah's home for the rest of her life, Jesse would face the hardships of pioneering one last time.

10 FINAL YEARS

At the request of Church leaders, in 1882, Jesse provided financial assistance for a German convert named Minnie Bauer Karl and her children to emigrate to Utah. A widow, little is known about Minnie or her two children—Alvin and Lena. Again at the encouragement of Church leaders, Jesse married Minnie as a plural wife. While Jesse's first experience with plural marriage had worked well during the 1850s in Salt Lake, this third marriage was a source of friction within his family. Born on 12 July 1844, Minnie was almost twenty-four years younger than Jesse.²³⁵ It was reported by Samuel Wallace Crosby that

This marriage caused some disruption in the Crosby family. Three of the seven surviving children of Jesse and Hannah were still at home and unmarried at the time. . . . Hannah apparently accepted the idea of the plural marriage, because Jesse and his new wife came to visit with the family in her home from time to time. However, she apparently would not accept the new wife to live in her home as she had accepted Ann Shelton years before. In addition, from comments which this writer has heard, many of Jesse's grown children felt that he was too old to take on the responsibility of a new young family and unfortunately they showed their feeling toward the new wife. The situation apparently was not a happy one for her.²³⁶

According to family tradition, Hannah told Jesse he could marry Minnie, but he would need to establish a second home. In many ways this was just common sense. With the open aggression of Federal marshals and prosecutors, it had become difficult for men with more than one wife to live in close proximity to all of their wives during the 1880s. At the counsel of Church leaders, Jesse and Minnie moved to Overton, Nevada, a small settlement on the Muddy River. Jesse wrote that he had moved to Overton “through the advice and persuasion of friends and because I had some reason at least to believe that spotters were on my track.”²³⁷

Located in the lower Moapa Valley, Overton was one of several Mormon settlements that had been abandoned in the early 1870s. Originally believed to be part of Arizona, an 1869 Federal survey placed the Moapa Valley in Lincoln County, Nevada. The settlements were abandoned when Lincoln County officials demanded payment of back taxes. A decade later, Church leaders decided to resettle the region.²³⁸ Jesse and Minnie moved there during this resettlement, probably late in 1862 or early in 1883..

When Jesse and Minnie arrived in Overton they settled on property which Jesse had purchased from a man named Roscoe.

Mr. Roscoe grew restless and wanted to leave the valley. Brother J. W. Crosby came from St. George to look over the prospect and brought the farm belonging to Roscoe, a nice piece of land it was, too, and he moved onto the place in January of 1883. He brought his second wife, a widow with two children by her first husband, one little girl by Crosby and one child expected.²³⁹

Jesse seems to have been a leader in the community. At the same time, some of his actions were a source of controversy. The first problem involved the establishment of a post office for the community. In February of 1883 a post office

was established. Initially the post office was named Crosby, after Jesse, but by May of the same year it had been renamed Overton.²⁴⁰ Apparently Jesse had attempted to have the community renamed for him.

Brother J. W. Crosby began to take steps to get a post office as soon as he arrived. He entered the signed petition, but before he sent his petition out, he inserted the name “Crosby” for the name of the post office. As soon as the people knew of this, they rebelled and sent a petition to have the old name of the town [Overton] retained.²⁴¹

Jesse also took it upon himself to encourage settlement in his new community. In an 1883 letter to the *Deseret Evening News*, Jesse described Overton.

Overton [has] a high and sightly location, with a clear view to the south all the way to the Colorado River . . .

This muddy is a rapid stream about ten feet wide and six feet deep and the only stream, I am told, that runs out of the State of Nevada. . . .

On the Upper Muddy the water is warm and has a milky appearance. At Overton it is cold and clear. Nearly all the timber along this stream was planted by the Mormons. . . . There is good land and it is easily watered; the creek overflows in places, and cause tule swamps, but these are easily drained, and when once dried they will burn say 12 inches deep of the soil, and every acre thus reclaimed is equal to the Missouri bottoms.²⁴²

Initially, the Church membership in Overton was so small that they belonged to the Bunkerville Ward. On 6 May 1883, Overton became a Branch with John Munson as Presiding Elder—they were still part of the Bunkerville Ward. At the time Overton was made a branch, Jesse was appointed clerk and he also served as the Sunday School Superintendent.²⁴³ This close association with Bunkerville gave Jesse the opportunity to see his son Sam’s family. Sam had moved to Bunkerville

in 1877. On several occasions after moving to Overton, Jesse visited Bunkerville and spoke in Church. He and Isaiah Cox spoke in Bunkerville on 2 March 1884,²⁴⁴ and three weeks later Jesse spoke again in Bunkerville. This time his topic was Chinese History.²⁴⁵

After the Branch was organized a committee was appointed to “see to the obtaining of proper titles to land and water purchased by our people in the Muddy valley.” Jesse was appointed to this committee along with Isaiah Cox and Archibald McNeill.²⁴⁶

In 1884 the Overton Branch became a Ward. Isaiah Cox was the first Bishop, but the ward apparently functioned for a time prior to Bishop Cox being appointed. It appears that Jesse was filling the role of “acting Bishop.” This led to further problems.

The Ward of Overton was organized during the fall of 1884 and in the spring of 1885 Brother Cox was made the bishop. there was some trouble and rebellion in the ward over Brother Crosby assuming the role of bishop and then being deposed by the calling of Brother Cox. Apostles Woodruff and Teasdale were with us in their hiding from their enemies in Utah and straightened matters out.²⁴⁷

Wilford Woodruff’s *Journal* provides further insight into this dispute in the Overton Ward.

We met in the Overton School House at 10 oclok. Prayer By Bishop Edward Bunker. G. Teasdale spoke 55 M, Bishop Crosby 25 M. Afternoon. Prayer By Henry Eyreing. H Eyreing spoke 30 m, Edward Bunker . . . 38 M. We held a priesthood Meeting in the Evening to prepare the way for installing Isaiah Cox as Bishop and we had a stormy time in the midst of a great variety of spirits a great deal of division & but little union. I told the people to poor out all they had against the Bishop & nearly all the Hous spoke & when they got through I called a vote and all voted for the Bishop but 2.²⁴⁸

It is difficult to reconstruct this incident from these documents, especially because Elder Woodruff was quite discrete in his entry. However, it would appear that Jesse assumed the role of Bishop when the ward was first organized, either at the instigation of the membership or possibly from Bishop Bunker. Some members were unhappy when Isaiah Cox was proposed as the Bishop, either because they were upset with Cox or because they felt that Jesse should continue as Bishop. The two apostles seem to have resolved the problem without creating divisions in the ward. Unfortunately, we do not know how Jesse felt about this incident.

Bishop Cox was later succeeded by Brigham Whitmore. Jesse continued to serve as Sunday School Superintendent until 1889.²⁴⁹ Throughout this period he also continued serving as one of the presidents of the thirty-seventh quorum of Seventies.²⁵⁰

Life in Overton was hard, but Jesse and Minnie settled in, not only with her two children, but also with children of their own. A daughter, Mary, was born in 1884 and Lawrence Nephi, a son, was born in 1886.²⁵¹

It may have been his growing family and advancing age that caused Jesse to evaluate the quality of life in Overton. Clearly, he could no longer provide for himself or his family as he was accustomed to do. Normally optimistic, Jesse began to feel unappreciated in Nevada. In 1891 he wrote to President Wilford Woodruff:

The other day I asked for a recommend for myself and family to the St. George Temple and was told I owed 24 dollars tithing that I assessed myself with three years ago and that I had paid nothing since. The Bishop showed me the Go Book and his statement was true. I answered, three years ago I was sick most of the year and came near dying and that I had raised no crops since. Nevada thieves have stolen most of my stock, my crop last year was destroyed by cattle

and grasshoppers. This year I have raised a small crop and will be able maybe to pay a little tithing, when grain is thrashed, but I hire most of my work done; hence have but little to do with. I cannot blame my Bishop as he said he would state my case when he went to St. George. Nor do I blame myself for I had such a dread of Marshalls and the pen that thought it better to come here for this time being. The worst thing I have done is to help others out of trouble till my money is gone, and nobody will pay me or loan me means. There is no market here and the people are poor and some have been dishonest with me and failed to return money I have advanced to help them out of trouble.

All these matters has brought me to a tight place I never expected to be in. Will state that I feel that I have claim and feel grieved to think that the Church property I helped to earn should be let to the Saints when the aged infirm and poor amongst us need it so much.²⁵²

Jesse did receive some relief from the Church. President Woodruff sent him an order for one hundred dollars of produce. While this may have helped Jesse feed his family, it did not relieve his other problems. In addition to his financial problems, Jesse had found that the climate in Overton proved to be injurious to his health.

Now over seventy, he was not as resistant to the hot summer weather. His son Sam had not fared well in the heat of Bunkerville, moving his family back to Panguitch in 1888. Jesse seems to have been intent on a similar move. He and his son, Nephi, left Overton late in May, intending to travel to Tropic, Utah. Jesse wished to examine Tropic as a possible community where he could relocate. Close to Panguitch, Tropic would not only have provided Jesse with cooler summer weather, but he would also have been near two of his sons, Jesse W. Jr. and Samuel Obed, as both lived in Panguitch.

Unfortunately, Jesse became lost in the desert. He and Nephi wandered several days until they happened upon the Union Pacific tracks and followed them to safety. They then continued their journey to Tropic. At Parowan, Jesse sent a postcard to Minnie in Overton.

Parowan May 30
1893

arrived here this morning all well windy and cold every thing a munth behind times with good luck will reach Panguitch to morrow

J. W. Crosby²⁵³

Jesse reached Panguitch two days later, on June 1. On 2 June, at his son Sam's home, Jesse suffered a stroke. Paralyzed, his condition deteriorated over the following week, and on Sunday, June 11, at the age of 72, Jesse W. Crosby died. The funeral was held three days later on June 14 and he was buried in Panguitch. His death was reported in the *Deseret Evening News* the following week.

. . . for the past seven or eight years he has resided on the Muddy, in Lincoln County, Nevada.

In the latter part of May, Elder Crosby, accompanied by a seven-year-old son, started from the Muddy for the little settlement of Tropic, near Panguitch, where he thought of making his home. He thought he knew the way well in that part of the country where he was traveling, he got lost on the desert, and with his little boy wandered about for three or four days. He at last came across the grade for the Union Pacific track, and by that means found his way to Desert Springs, from where he came on to Panguitch . . .

On his arrival at Panguitch, the veteran appeared to be well, except that he was somewhat exhausted from his experiences on the arduous journey he had accomplished. He stopped at the house of his son, Jesse W. Jr., to rest, intending to continue his journey on to Tropic, where he thought that the climate, being less sultry than in Lincoln County, would make the place more suitable for a residence than where he had been living. After a night's rest he went to the

house of his son Samuel, and there complained of a pain in his head and a feeling of paralysis in his tongue. In a few hours he became seriously ill and next morning was completely stricken down by paralysis being speechless and unable to move any portion of his body except the left arm. In this condition he remained for eleven days, until released by death . . .²⁵⁴

Only the Panguitch members of the family were able to attend the funeral. Sam was convinced that his father had been allowed to reach Panguitch so that he could have a decent burial. On the day of the funeral, Sam wrote a short note to his youngest brother Joshua.

Dear Brother: Father died June 11 at 11 P.M. at my house. Telegraphed for mother and sent Johnny to Beaver after her the morning before he died, have heard nothing of either since. He passed away without pain, merely went to sleep. We interred him to-day. Think he was sent here where he could have a decent burial, think if all are willing we better move him this fall to St. George. The better part of his life has been spent there, and his labors are known there. S. O. Crosby²⁵⁵

After Jesse's death, Hannah continued to live in St. George, and Minnie continued to live in Overton. Nothing is known regarding Minnie's later years. Indeed, it is not even known if the two wives kept in touch with one another. However, Hannah did keep track of Minnie enough to be able to report her death. In a letter to Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, widow of Samuel Obed Crosby, Hannah wrote that "Minnie Bowe Crosby died at the Mudy the 16 of Oct [1906]".²⁵⁶

Hannah spent her later years as a temple worker. She also remained involved in the lives of her children and grandchildren, keeping track of their activities and communicating information back and forth among the families. For example, in 1906 two of her grandsons, Lawrence Snow and John S. Crosby, were on missions

to the east coast. She hoped that the two young men would be able to meet and visit her remaining family in Lowell, Massachusetts.

I want to send John five dollars and that I would send you this check and you can send it to him . . . I hope he will go to Lowell Mass before he comes home and visit my sisters. I sopose Lawrance Snow is thear to day he was to go to Vermont to the Conference and then go to Lowell to visit our frends.²⁵⁷

Hannah took a great deal of satisfaction from her family and their accomplishments. The mother of nine children, she saw five of them precede her in death. Mary Elizabeth and Hannah Ann died as infants, but Hannah also lived to see the deaths of three of her adult children. Joseph died in 1896; Samuel Obed died in 1903; and Thankful Amelia died in 1905.

Hannah died in St. George on 2 May 1907 at the age of 87. She died at home. Elida, Hannah's oldest daughter, described her mother's last days in a letter to Sam's widow, Adelia.

Her heart was weak the Dr has been giving her heart medicine all winter. She was taken with a chill & a sore throat . . . & she got weaker each day. . . . her right arm swelled in the elbow & caused her much pain & the pain went right accross her brest to her heart. she could not take any thing to eat . . . she did not seem to suffer much & when she went it was just like going to sleep. even her hands dident move.²⁵⁸

The funeral was held in the St. George Tabernacle the following day. The speakers emphasized Hannah's "nobility of character, as manifested in her life and labors." Her obituary in the *Deseret News* noted that she had been a temple worker for thirty years.²⁵⁹

¹ Benjamin Brown, "Testimonies for the Truth," in *Gems For the Young Folks* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 65.

² *Juvenile Instructor* 16(1881):154.

³ 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 Elida Baldwin Crosby, the wife of Jesse. In all other cases I have tried to clearly differentiate which wife or daughter is being discussed.

⁴ Horace C. Taylor, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Portland* (Fredonia, New York: W. McKinstry & Son, 1873), 406. While many of Taylor's dates are inaccurate, the majority of events he has recorded can be verified. Consequently, there is a strong likelihood that he is correct in reporting that Joshua traveled by wagon from Boston. Sailing from Yarmouth, Nova Scotia to Boston and then crossing through Massachusetts and New York by wagon would have been one of the most direct routes for their journey.

⁵ J. Bartlet Brebner, *Canada: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1960), 96-100, 110-111.

⁶ Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby: Mormon Preacher—Pioneer—Man of God* (n.p., 1977), 26.

⁷ J. R. Campbell, *A History of the County of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia* (Saint John, New Brunswick: J. & A. McMillan, 1876), 147-48.

⁸ Georgia Drew Merrill, ed., *History of Chautauqua County, New York* (Boston: W. A. Fergusson & Co, 1894), 549-50.

⁹ John P. Downs, ed., *History of Chautauqua County, New York and Its People*, 3 vols. (Boston: American Historical Society, 1921), 1:221. Joshua Crosby is listed as owner of part of lot 14, town plot 5 in December of 1822, in an area just north of Brockton. See: *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Chautauqua, New-York, From Actual Surveys and Records* (New York: F. W. Beers & Co., 1881), 22.

¹⁰ In 1862, Joshua and his second wife, Melinda, sold the property on lot 16, town plot 5. There is no record of any deed transactions involving Joshua prior to this date. It seems probable that he moved from lot 14 to lot 16 within the first ten years. See: Chautauqua County Deeds, Genealogical Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, 19:227-28. Microfilm of original.

¹¹ Downs, *History of Chautauqua County*, 1:223.

¹² Campbell, *History of the County of Yarmouth*, 97.

¹³ Brebner, *Canada*, 169-71.

¹⁴ Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 378.

¹⁵ Taylor, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Portland*, 406.

¹⁶ George S. Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: a Sequel to Campbell's History* (Boston: Rand Avery, 1888), 361-62.

¹⁷ Merrill, *History of Chautauqua County*, 556.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ While sailing to England in 1850, Jesse demonstrates an awareness regarding sailing terminology, both the physical structure of the vessel and how the wind affects the sails. Jesse Wentworth Crosby, "The History and Journal of Jesse W. Crosby," Brigham Young University Library, typescript of the original, 65-68 [170-73]. References to Jesse's history will be noted to the BYU typescript because it has consistently been the most frequently quoted source in other publications. The page numbers for the annotated version of the history that is reproduced in this volume are listed in following brackets.

²⁰ Frances Crosby Brown, "Autobiography of Frances Crosby Brown," Brigham Young University Library, typescript of the original, 30. This autobiographical sketch by Frances Crosby Brown was written for the St. George Temple records.

²¹ Crosby, History and Journal, 1 [101].

²² Downs, *History of Chautauqua County*, 1:223.

²³ *Juvenile Instructor* 16(1881):154.

²⁴ Crosby, History and Journal, 1-2 [101-102].

²⁵ *Juvenile Instructor* 16(1881):154.

²⁶ Crosby, History and Journal, 2-3 [102-103].

²⁷ Benjamin Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 65-68. Jesse indicated that there were at least two Elders who came to Portland, but Brown never mentions a traveling companion.

²⁸ According to Church records, Jesse was baptized on 24 June 1838. There is a possibility that the date was sometime in July. See: Black, Susan Easton, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830-1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1989).; Lorenzo Brown, "Journal of Lorenzo Brown, 1823-1900," Brigham Young University Library, typescript of the original, 2 vols., 1:4.

²⁹ Benjamin Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 68.

³⁰ Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:9. The Crosbys and Mumfords were related by marriage, as Edward Mumford was the husband of Jesse's sister Hannah.

³¹ Crosby, History and Journal, 3 [103].

³² Benjamin Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 70-71.

³³ Crosby, History and Journal, 4 [104].

³⁴ Benjamin Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 69.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Crosby, History and Journal, 4 [105].

³⁷ Jesse reports that they were underway on April 15. According to Lorenzo Brown, the group left on April 21, with the Crosby family joining them two days later. Crosby, History and Journal, 5 [106]; Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:6.

- 38 Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:6.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 Crosby, History and Journal, 5 [106].
- 41 Benjamin Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 74.
- 42 Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:6.
- 43 Crosby, History and Journal, 5-6 [106-107].
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 *Ibid.*, 8-9 [109-110].
- 47 Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:7.
- 48 Black, *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830-1848*.
- 49 Crosby, History and Journal, 10 [111-12]. While Jesse reports participating in these events, he provides no details regarding his involvement.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 10-11 [112].
- 51 *Ibid.* [113]
- 52 *Ibid.*, 12 [113].
- 53 Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1976) 5:413. Hereafter cited as *HC*. Interestingly, in his History, Jesse records that he turned down a mission call in June because he was too tired, and that this call to Nova Scotia was issued to him in July. Crosby, History and Journal, 12.
- 54 Benjamin Brown, Testimonies for the Truth, 75.
- 55 *HC* 5:485.
- 56 Crosby, History and Journal, 12 [114].
- 57 Leon E. Seltzer (ed.), *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 1621.
- 58 *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 226, 836, 875.
- 59 Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994), 183.
- 60 Crosby, History and Journal, 14 [116].
- 61 *HC*, 7:317.

⁶² Jenkins, *Montreal*; Stephen Leacock, *Montreal: Seaport and City* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1942).

⁶³ Two churches dominated the Montreal skyline in the 1840s. Notre-Dame de Bonsecours was built between 1658 and 1678. It was destroyed by fire in 1754. It was rebuilt on the same site 1771-1775. This structure had a single tower. Commenced in 1824 and completed in 1829, the new parish church, also named Notre Dame has been described as perpendicular gothic. This second church had two towers and would seem to be the building described by Jesse. Jenkins, *Montreal*, 277-78.

⁶⁴ Luc d'Iberville Moreau, *Lost Montreal* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), 141-43.

⁶⁵ Mazo de la Roche, *Quebec: Historic Seaport* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1942), 47.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 196-198.

⁶⁷ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 18 [121].

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* [121-22] Underlining in original.

⁶⁹ Brebner, *Canada*, 190-93.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 107-108.

⁷¹ *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 640.

⁷² Crosby, *History and Journal*, 20 [124].

⁷³ Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 78-79.

⁷⁴ Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 1:8.

⁷⁵ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 23 [127].

⁷⁶ Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 68-70.

⁷⁷ Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 1:11.

⁷⁸ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 25 [129].

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1964) 24 vols., 3:988-992.

⁸⁰ *HC*, 7:317.

⁸¹ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 25 [130].

⁸² *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer*, 1088.

⁸³ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 25-26 [130-131].

⁸⁴ History of Ruth Mosher, typescript of original in the author's possession. This history was copied by MaDonna Nelson Lemon, a great-granddaughter June 1975. It was taken from a copy given to her by an aunt, Lilith Mitchell Hobbs, in 1946 and was apparently written by one of Ruth Mosher's daughters as she refers to Ruth as mother.

⁸⁵ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 28-30 [132-35].

⁸⁶ Eliza Shelton Keeler, "Autobiography", in Kate B. Carter (ed.) *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1962), 285-292. Hereafter cited as Keeler, *Autobiography*.

⁸⁷ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 84 [189-90].

⁸⁸ Keeler, *Autobiography*, 288.

⁸⁹ While there is no direct evidence regarding when Jesse and Hannah met. Lowell would have been the first place their paths were likely to cross. While it is entirely possible that they met later in Nauvoo, the circumstantial evidence would indicate that they met in Lowell between December 1844 and March 1845.

⁹⁰ *Lowell, Massachusetts National Historic Park* (n.p.: National Park Service, n.d.).

⁹¹ *Deseret Evening News*, 14 May 1907. This information is taken from her obituary. Salem and Lowell are in close proximity, so that it is very possible this information is correct.

⁹² Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby to Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, 29 July 1906.

⁹³ *Ibid.*; Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 42.

⁹⁴ Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 44. Lorenzo Young, Brigham's brother, was the witness.

⁹⁵ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 30 [135].

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 30 [136]. The daily travel figure is Jesse's.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 31 [136].

⁹⁸ Jesse Wentworth Crosby to Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby, 8 August 1846 in Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 46.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Jesse Wentworth Crosby to Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby, 6 September 1846.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 47. Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby to Jesse Wentworth Crosby, 24 August 1846.

¹⁰¹ Kate B. Carter (ed.), *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1847) 8:416-419.

¹⁰² Crosby, *History and Journal*, 33-34 [139-140].

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 37-38 [143].

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 41 [147]. Underlining in original.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 43 [149].

¹⁰⁶ Mary Karma Crosby Stalker, "Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby" Typescript in the author's possession. There is a copy filed with the D.U.P. Camp Timp View.

¹⁰⁷ Crosby, *History and Journal*, 45 [151-52].

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 46 [152].

- 109 1850 Census, Salt Lake County, page 72.
- 110 C. V. Spencer, "My Experiences in England" in *Labors in the Vineyard* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1884), 9.
- 111 Crosby, History and Journal, 50 [156].
- 112 The 1850 census records show Hannah as the head of household, indicating the records were made sometime after Jesse's departure in April. The three boys and Susan F. Angel are also listed as living in the home.
- 113 C. V. Spencer, "My Experience in England", 10.
- 114 Crosby, History and Journal, 51 [157].
- 115 *Ibid.*, 50 [156].
- 116 C. V. Spencer, "My Experience in England", 10.
- 117 Crosby, History and Journal, 52 [158].
- 118 *Ibid.*, 54-55 [160-61]; C. V. Spencer, "My Experience in England", 11.
- 119 Crosby, History and Journal, 55 [161].
- 120 C. V. Spencer, "My Experience in England", 11.
- 121 Crosby, History and Journal, 59 [164].
- 122 Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West*, 11(1950):408.
- 123 *Ibid.*, 63 [168].
- 124 *Ibid.*, 65-68 [170-73].
- 125 In addition to Jesse, Moses Clawson, Isaac Haight, Appleton Harmon and Claudius Spencer were all assigned as conference presidents. The remaining missionaries were assigned as traveling elders, having similar assignments, but not being given responsibility for a particular region. T. Edgar Lyon, Jr., "In Praise of Babylon: Church Leadership at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London" *Journal of Mormon History* 14(1988):57-58.
- 126 *Millennial Star* 13(1851):13:207. The actual number of reported baptisms was 78.
- 127 Crosby, History and Journal, 69-73 [175-77].
- 128 *Ibid.*, 73 [177].
- 129 Lyon, "In Praise of Babylon", 52-53.
- 130 Crosby, History and Journal, 73-75 [178-79]. Lyon, "In Praise of Babylon", 49-61. In this article, Lyon provides a detailed list of the Church leaders attending this conference. He demonstrates that Jesse's experience was typical of the men who attended this conference. They enjoyed the conference, but they also had strong impressions of the Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition. Jesse's description of the conference is quoted in the article.
- 131 Crosby, History and Journal, 76-79 [182-83].

- 132 Ibid., 78 [183].
- 133 Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917) 22 volumes, 15:548-549.
- 134 Folke T. Kihlstedt, "The Crystal Palace" *Scientific American*, 254:4(October 1984):133.
- 135 Crosby, *History and Journal*, 76-77 [181].
- 136 Ibid., 78 [183].
- 137 Ibid., 79-80 [184-85]; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 10:515.
- 138 Brebner, *Canada*, 168-69.
- 139 Black, *Membership of the Church, 1830-1848.*; James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-1975); The following men served missions to Nova Scotia between 1830 and 1852: O. D. L. Buckland, Jesse W. Crosby, Lyman E. Johnson, Heber C. Kimball, Joseph Miller, Benjamin Thomas Mitchell, Elias Pulsipher, John Robinson, Wilford Woodruff.
- 140 Black, *Membership of the Church, 1830-1848*. Susan Easton Black records most of these individuals, although I have identified a few others from various sources. In addition, some of the early members from Nova Scotia, like the Joshua Crosby family, joined the Church after moving away.
- 141 Crosby, *History and Journal*, 82 [187].
- 142 Ibid., 84 [189]. Promiscuous can mean casual or irregular. It may be that Jesse found the crowd less than attentive to his discourse.
- 143 Ibid., 85 [190]. Jesse clearly had regular contact with Thankful Amelia and her husband William Bancroft during his mission. The *Millennial Star* reported that Jesse could be reached in Nova Scotia care of William Bancroft. *Millennial Star*, 14(10 July 1852):320. I cannot identify Sarah Shaw
- 144 While Jesse was clearly interested in bringing the Shelton family to Utah, it is highly probable, in the light of subsequent events, that the public announcement of plural marriage issued in August of 1852 may have had some influence on Jesse's decision to visit Fredericton. See: Eliza Shelton Keeler, *Autobiography*, 5:285-292.
- 145 Crosby, *History and Journal*, 86 [191].
- 146 *Journal History*, 2 October 1852; Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 60.
- 147 Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 2:99
- 148 Crosby, *History and Journal*, 86 [191].
- 149 Taylor, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Portland*, 406; 1850 Census, Chautauqua County, Portland Township; George H. Crosby, Jr., "How the Gospel First Came to the Crosbys" *Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, typescript, 7-8
- 150 Melvin Clarence Merrill (ed.), *Utah Pioneer and Apostle: Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family* (Salt Lake City: np, 1932), 28-29.
- 151 Ibid., 29-30.
- 152 Ibid., 30-31.

- 153 Crosby, History and Journal, 86 [192].
- 154 Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 1:144 (11 September 1853).
- 155 It is possible that Joshua had met Jesse's wife Hannah. Jesse and Hannah would have had the opportunity to stop in New York when they returned west from Maine in 1847. George H. would have been an infant at that time. Joshua had certainly never seen Jesse or Sam.
- 156 Mary Karma Crosby 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.
- 157 Kate B. Carter (ed.), Treasures of Pioneer History, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1955), 4:4.
- 158 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.
- 159 An Enduring Legacy, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1980) 2:134-35.
- 160 Joseph Heinerman, "Early Utah Pioneer Cultural Societies" in Utah Historical Quarterly 1979(Winter): 47:1:70-75.
- 161 The last pages of Jesse's history chronicle events relating to the outbreak of the Civil War. Anne Shelton died on 24 June 1860. It seems probable that Ann played a major role in the recording of Jesse's history. He records nothing that might offend either wife, and no material was ever added to the history after Ann's death.
- 162 Keeler, Autobiography, 5:287-88.
- 163 Ibid., 5:285-292.
- 164 Crosby, History and Journal, 87-88 [192-93].
- 165 Paul H. Peterson, "Brigham Young and the Mormon Reformation" in Susan Easton Black and Larry Porter (eds.) Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life & Service of Brigham Young (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 246.
- 166 Paul H. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation of 1856-57: The Rhetoric and the Reality" Journal of Mormon History 15(1989):59-87; Gene Sessions, Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1982).
- 167 Ibid., 89.
- 168 Early Church Information File.
- 169 Crosby, History and Journal, 91 [196-97].
- 170 Ibid., 92 [197-98].
- 171 Ibid., 93 [199].
- 172 Keeler, Autobiography, 291.
- 173 Ibid., 291.
- 174 John Devitry-Smith, "The Saint and the Grave Robber" in BYU Studies, 33(1993):1:22-29.

- 175 Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 68.
- 176 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.
- 177 Andrew Karl Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie* (n.p.: Dixie College Foundation, 1992), 106.
- 178 Elida Crosby Haycock, "Sketch of Life of S. O. Crosby" typescript of original.
- 179 Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 1:420 (29 October 1861) and 1:433 (17 April 1862). Ironically, within the year, Lorenzo and his family would also be called to Dixie, settling in Pine Valley.
- 180 *Ibid.*, 1:404 (11 April 1861).
- 181 *Ibid.*, 1:435 (19 May 1862).
- 182 *Manuscript History of the St. George Fourth Ward*, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
- 183 Martha Cragun Cox, *Face Toward Zion: Pioneer Reminiscences and Journal of Martha Cragun Cox* (n.p., 1985), 71.
- 184 Mary Karma Crosby Stalker, "Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby", n.p.
- 185 *Under Dixie Sun* (Panguitch, Utah: Washington County Chapter of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1950), 333.
- 186 Kate B. Carter (ed.), *Our Pioneer Heritage*, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1973), 16:162.
- 187 Mary Karma Crosby Stalker, "Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby", n.p.
- 188 *Ibid.*
- 189 Kate B. Carter (ed.), *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers,), 3:268.
- 190 James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission" 2 vols, typescript, Brigham Young University Library, A:208.
- 191 Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 2:522. I have added punctuation for clarity.
- 192 *Ibid.*, 2:528, 533.
- 193 Andrew Jenson, *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson, 1920), 1:541.
- 194 Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 277.
- 195 Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 2:494. Brown reports that Jesse was in Grass Valley collecting bark from July 7 through July 17 of 1864. He stayed with the Browns in Pine Valley.
- 196 Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 2:464.
- 197 *Ibid.*, 2:521. In 1865 Jesse was making molasses in Heberville.

- 198 Samuel Wallace Crosby, Jesse Wentworth Crosby, 72-73.
- 199 Andrew Karl Larson, Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), 402-404.
- 200 Deseret Evening News, 3 July 1867, 209
- 201 Chautauqua County Deeds, 97:227-228.
- 202 Taylor, Historical Sketches of Portland, 406.
- 203 George H. Crosby, "How the Gospel First Came to the Crosbys", 8.
- 204 Jenson, Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, 3:355-56.
- 205 Ibid., 1:541.
- 206 Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, 7(1964):49.
- 207 An Enduring Legacy, 1(1978):215. John Crosby was living in Bountiful. The Mumfords were in Salt Lake.
- 208 Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 2:503, 521.
- 209 George H. Crosby, "How the Gospel First Came to the Crosbys", 9.
- 210 Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, 19(1976):409-410.
- 211 Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 2:627. I have added punctuation for clarity.
- 212 Charles L. Walker, Diary, typescript, 2 vols., Brigham Young University Library, 2:698.
- 213 Manuscript History of the St. George Fourth Ward, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
- 214 Deseret Evening News, 14 May 1907.
- 215 Lorenzo Brown, Journal, 2:547, 577.
- 216 Andrew Jensen, Later-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 1:542.
- 217 This information was gleaned from the Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallace, 1941). In particular, see pages 273-75, 301-305, 320-21.
- 218 Journal History, 4 April 1868.
- 219 Ibid., 22 April 1868; 11 September 1868; 9 November 1868.
- 220 Deseret Evening News, 18 January 1869.
- 221 Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown, 320-21.
- 222 Journal History, 18 May 1869; 30 May 1869.

- 223 Richard O. Cowan, "Brigham Young Builder of Temples" in Susan Easton Black and Larry Porter (eds.) *Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life & Service of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 237-40.
- 224 Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie*, 581-82.
- 225 *Arizona Highways*, April 1947, 32.
- 226 *Bleak, Annals*, B:418.
- 227 Janice Force DeMille, *The St. George Temple: First 100 Years* (Hurricane, Utah: Homestead Publishing, 1977), 73.
- 228 Mary Karma Crosby Stalker, "Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby", n.p.
- 229 *Millennial Star*, 30:109.
- 230 *Bleak, Annals*, B:417.
- 231 Lorenzo Brown, *Journal*, 2:638.
- 232 These articles are reproduced in this volume on pages .
- 233 Walker, *Diary*, 2482, 583. Charles Walker reported two different sermons delivered by Jesse relating to the Word of Wisdom on 28 December 1873 and 4 July 1875.
- 234 *Juvenile Instructor* 14(15 September 1879):210.
- 235 Richard B. Taylor, comp., *Nevada Tombstone Record Book* (n.p.: Nevada Families Project, 1986), 401. This information is taken from her tombstone which reads:
- Minnie Bauer Crosby
July 12, 1844 - October 19, 1906
In Memory of Our Mother
- 236 Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 90.
- 237 *Ibid.*, 95. Spotters were Federal marshals investigating the activities and whereabouts of suspected polygamists.
- 238 *Nevada: A Guide to the Silver State* (Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1940), 180-81.
- 239 Cox, *Face Toward Zion*, 150.
- 240 Walter R. Averett, *Directory of Southern Nevada Place Names* (n.p., 1963), 33. "Crosby: The original Overton post office, named for Jesse Crosby. It was established Feb. 1, 1883. The name was changed to Overton on May 24, 1883."
- 241 Cox, *Face Toward Zion*, 151.
- 242 *Journal History*, 10 February 1883.
- 243 *Manuscript History of the Overton Ward*, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
- 244 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), 2 March 1884.

- 245 Myron Abbott, "Diary of Myron Abbott," Brigham Young University Library, typescript of the original, 2 vols., 2:108.
- 246 Manuscript History of the Overton Ward.
- 247 Cox, *Face Toward Zion*, 157.
- 248 Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1985), 8:303 (8 February 1885).
- 249 Manuscript History of the Overton Ward.
- 250 Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 94.
- 251 *Ibid.*, 89; *Deseret Evening News*, 22 June 1893. These dates are based on Jesse's obituary in the paper, but may be in error. Both children would be two years older based on the recollections of Martha Cragun Cox. See: Cox, *Face Towards Zion*, 150.
- 252 Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 95.
- 253 Jesse W. Crosby to Minnie B. Crosby, 30 May 1893 (postcard). original, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
- 254 *Deseret Evening News*, 22 June 1893, 1
- 255 Samuel Wallace Crosby, *Jesse Wentworth Crosby*, 96. Sam, at least, appears to have been aware of his father's financial difficulties in Nevada.
- 256 Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby to Hannah Adelia Crosby, 11 November 1906. Minnie's tombstone shows an alternate date of 19 October 1906. See: Taylor, *Nevada Tombstone Record Book*, 401.
- 257 Hannah Elida Baldwin Crosby to Hannah Adelia Crosby, 29 July 1906.
- 258 Elida Crosby Snow to Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, 7 May 1907.
- 259 *Deseret Evening News*, 14 May 1907, 3.