

HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

HISTORY DATA SECTION

PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT

ARIZONA

by

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PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

INTRODUCTION

PIPE SPRING: THE WINSOR AND PULSIPHER PERIOD

HARD TIMES AT PIPE SPRING

A PLACE OF REFUGE FOR POLYGAMISTS

THE END OF CHURCH OWNERSHIP

PIPE SPRING BECOMES A NATIONAL MONUMENT

STABILIZATION AND RESTORATION: THE INITIAL PLAN

LANDSCAPE CHANGES

THE FORT'S INTERIOR

Ground Floor of the Lower House (room one)

Ground Floor of the Lower House (room two)

Ground Floor of the Upper House (rooms three and four)

Second Floor of the Lower House (rooms five, six, and seven)

Second Floor of the Upper House (rooms eight, nine, and ten)

Interior Woodwork

THE FORT'S EXTERIOR

Courtyard Gates

Second Floor Verandas and Passageway

Upper and Lower Buildings' Roofs

Pointing and Foundation Stabilization

Exterior Woodwork

Stairway Entrance to Room Two

THE WEST CABIN

THE EAST CABIN

APPENDIX A: A Furnishings Overview for the 1870-1880 Period

APPENDIX B: Lists of Contemporary Furnishings extracted from Diaries as well as from Washington County, Utah Estate and Divorce Probates

APPENDIX C: A Summary of the Construction of the Pipe Spring Fort and the Structural Changes made before Its Acquisition by the National Park Service

BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This account of Pipe Spring and its construction/stabilization-restoration history as well as a furnishings overview has been written to provide information for its preservation and interpretation.

My thanks are extended to William Herr of Pipe Spring National Monument and his staff, the personnel of the Western Archeological Center, University of Arizona Library, Arizona Historical Society, Arizona State Archives, Arizona Historical Foundation, the History Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Utah Historical Society, Utah State Archives, University of Utah Library, Brigham Young University Library, Washington County, Utah Courthouse, Denver Regional Archives, the National Archives, and the many others who have aided my research.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1: The Fort's first floor plan, 1872  
Figure 2: The Fort's second floor plan, 1872  
Figure 3: The Fort's second floor plan, 1874  
Figure 4: Sketch of Pipe Spring drawn in 1885 by Albert Tissandier  
Figure 5: The Fort's first floor plan, 1886  
Figure 6: The Fort's second floor plan, 1886  
Figure 7: Map of Pipe Spring based upon Dilworth Woolley's description as it looked in 1886  
Figure 8: Ca. 1900 photograph of the Fort  
Figure 9: April 27, 1891 photograph of the Fort  
Figure 10: The Fort's second floor plan ca. 1895-1905  
Figure 11: 1908 photograph of the Fort and part of a corral  
Figure 12: Ca. 1908 photograph of the Fort  
Figure 13: Ca. 1910 photograph of the Fort  
Figure 14: 1913 photograph of the Fort  
Figure 15: Ca. 1915 photograph of the Fort showing east cabin ruins in the foreground  
Figure 16: Fall of 1920 photograph of the Fort  
Figure 17: Fall of 1920 photograph of the lower house's south exterior wall  
Figure 18: Fall of 1920 photograph of the Fort  
Figure 19: 1925 photograph of the Fort and fence Pinkley used to replace two corrals  
Figure 20: April 1940 photograph showing interior side of the east double courtyard gates  
Figure 21: April 1940 photograph showing interior side of the west double courtyard gates and the passageway between the verandas  
Figure 22: April 1940 photograph showing the lower house veranda  
Figure 23: Ca. 1940 photograph showing the upper house veranda  
Figure 24: 1961 photograph showing the change made to the passageway stairs  
Figure 25: 1925 photograph showing the west cabin ruins  
Figure 26: 1925 photograph showing the east cabin ruins  
Figure 27: 1926 photograph showing the restored east cabin  
Figure 28: Mid-1860s to 1870s table and chairs  
Figure 29: Mid-1860s to 1870s chairs  
Figure 30: Pioneer chair  
Figure 31: Period style rag rug  
Figure 32: Thomas Cottam rocking chair  
Figure 33: Ben Blake rocking chair  
Figure 34: Pioneer couch  
Figure 35: Pioneer couch  
Figure 36: Four post bed  
Figure 37: Hamblin's saddle and horse hair rope  
Figure 38: John Eardley jar

#### STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Located on the SE-1/4 of the SE-1/4 of Section 17, Township 40 north, Range 4 west of Gila and Salt River Meridian, Arizona, Pipe Spring represents both the first white settlement in northwest Arizona and the Mormon heritage of the area. Listed on the National Register, Pipe Spring is of the first order of significance.

## INTRODUCTION

Although Pipe Spring was first sighted in 1858 by the Jacob Hamblin party, a small group of Mormon missionaries who passed the area, James M. Whitmore was the first to settle at that location. On April 13, 1863 Whitmore received a land certificate for a 160-acre tract which included the spring. On this tract he constructed a dugout for quarters, fenced about eleven acres for cultivation, and built some corrals. With at least one hired man, Robert McIntyre, he milked some fifty cows.<sup>1</sup> Misfortune, however, befell Whitmore in that savage land, for in early January 1866 marauding Navajo from east of the Colorado River killed him and his helper, and drove off his livestock.

Although the Mormons formed a militia to oppose Navajo raids, the Indians made life untenable in the northwestern Arizona/southwestern Utah border area. In the summer of 1866 the Mound Valley, Long Valley, Scutempah Valley, Paria, Kanab, Mocosuc, Grapevine Springs, Short Creek, Alexander Ranch, Grafton, and Springdale settlements were abandoned.<sup>2</sup>

Combating the Navajo raids required keeping militia in the area of the Indians' activity, and Pipe Spring held promise as a suitable location for Mormon military. About 1867 a stone house was constructed there to be used for a periodic encampment. On November 24, 1868 Col. John Pearce in command of thirty-six men (twelve from Washington and twenty-four from St.

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1. "Journal History," May 28, 1865, History Department of the Church, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

2. Deseret Evening News (Salt Lake City), September 21, 1866.



George) arrived at Pipe Spring where they resided for a time. Two nights after they arrived, a group of Navajo passed the guard there, driving some stolen horses and mules.<sup>3</sup>

By March 1869 persisting Indian problems led Erastus Snow, the Bishop of Southern Utah, to a decision to make Pipe Spring a permanent supply base for the militia. Men were sent to plant turnips and corn on the ground where Whitmore had once raised his crops.<sup>4</sup> When John R. Young visited the spring in August of that year, he noted that "the Brethren have cut some 4 ton of hay on the Moccasin spring creek 2 1/2 miles this side north of the Springs. The heaviest job will be the hauling of the hay as the road is sandy -- perhaps 12 days labor will be required at the Pipe springs."<sup>5</sup> The stone house, however, needed repairs to make it suitable as a guard quarters. Charles L. Walker, a stone cutter and mason, was sent to make the needed repairs which he accomplished in one day.<sup>6</sup>

By September 12, 1869, however, with the Pipe Spring stone guard quarters repaired, two tons of hay brought to the site, and a shed built to hold sixteen horses, it was decided that Kanab made a better location for an outpost since it was closer to the Colorado River.<sup>7</sup> As a result no militia evidently stayed at Pipe Spring that winter.

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3. James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," p. 303, bound typescript in the History Department of the Church.

4. Deseret News (Salt Lake City), March 2, 1869.

5. John R. Young to Erastus Snow, August 15, 1869, Erastus Snow MSS, History Department of the Church.

6. Charles Lowell Walker diary, September 6, 1869, History Department of the Church.

7. Jacob Hamblin and John R. Young to George A. Smith, September 12, 1869, "Journal History," September 12, 1869.

#### PIPE SPRING: THE WINSOR AND PULSIPHER PERIOD

In early 1870 Brigham Young, the Church president, passed Pipe Spring. As he paused, he was struck by the area's very abundant grassland and spring water which could serve as an ideal pastureland for part of the Church's growing cattle herd, thereby helping to solve some of the Church's problems. Those difficulties arose when President Young initiated the Church's movement west to unsettled Utah in an attempt to isolate the membership from trouble encountered east of the Mississippi River with suspicious and sometimes jealous non-Mormon neighbors. To keep contact with the outside to a minimum required self-sufficiency. More and more tracts of land were required for agriculture and the manufacture of all types of goods, especially since Mormon immigrants continued to pour into Utah. As the population increased, people were sent to settle in ever-increasing distances from the Church center at Salt Lake City. Isolation, combined with most of the immigrants lack of hard cash, resulted in a money-poor economy. In order to tithe their required tenth, many people gave of the fruit of their labor which was sometimes a cow or calf. As a result the Church acquired large cattle herds, both from tithing and from natural increase, that could not be kept on scarce, prime farmland. When Young passed the Pipe Spring area in early 1870 and saw the abundant grass and water, he determined to develop that tract for part of the Church's southern Utah cattle herd. It could produce both meat and dairy products which would feed those who donated their labor to the Church and produce revenue as well. Others before Brigham Young had also noted the potential of the area for rangeland. On February 27, 1869 Edwin G. Woolley, a member of the Utah Territorial Militia temporarily at Pipe Spring, wrote that the area, for thirty miles in either direction to the east and west, was

a vast sea of grass.<sup>8</sup>

Brigham Young needed a man to care for the Church herd he placed at Pipe Spring. In April 1870 he chose Anson P. Winsor, the Bishop of Rockville, Utah. Winsor did not immediately move with his family to Pipe Spring; instead he sent his fifteen-year-old son, Anson junior, ahead to plant a garden so the family would have vegetables when they ultimately arrived. Young Winsor lived in the Whitmore dugout.<sup>9</sup>

Although the threat of Navajo raids had greatly diminished by this time, Brigham Young wished to take no chances with the residents' safety. He planned fortified quarters in case any trouble arose, and charged Joseph W. Young with overseeing the construction. Although the Deseret Evening News of September 23, 1870 described the structure which the Church was about to build, Joseph Young gave a more detailed account. He wrote,

I am appointed to superintend the building of a fort, which the Church is building at Pipe Spring, the place where Dr. Whitmore was killed. It is to be a big affair, on the plan of Cove Creek Fort. It will be 152 feet long and 66 feet wide, the wall next to the bluff 30 feet high, with milk rooms, &c, inside. This work will keep me out most of the winter, but it is a very necessary work, and I am willing to do my part in it. This Pipe Spring and Kanab country is right between us and the Navajos, and is the best country for stockraising that I ever saw, if it can be made safe against the raids of these marauding Indians. I start tomorrow /October 17/ with a small company to commence the work.<sup>10</sup>

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8. C. Gregory Crampton and David E. Miller, eds., "Journal of Two Campaigns by the Utah Territorial Militia Against the Navajo, 1869," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX (April 1961), p. 154.

9. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," p. 42.

10. Joseph W. Young to Horace S. Eldredge, October 16, 1870, "Journal History," October 16, 1870.

Actually, the plan called for two stone dwellings which faced each other across a courtyard, the ends of which were walled with sandstone blocks. Entrance to the courtyard was gained through large, wooden double gates in both walls. Because of the uneven terrain, the north house was placed on higher ground than the south residence. As a result the north dwelling was referred to as the upper house, while its counterpart came to be called the lower house.

Brigham Young acted to purchase the land for the Church from James Whitmore's widow Elizabeth. He promised her \$1,000; however, that sum was not paid until 1873.<sup>11</sup> The ranch, of course, encompassed much more land than the 160 acre tract held by Mrs. Whitmore. Young obviously purchased her claim because of the spring water it contained. The cattle ultimately grazed for miles around the Pipe Spring area, although most of the land was no doubt common ground with other herds.

By the time Joseph Young arrived to superintend construction, Anson Winsor had moved to Pipe Spring and taken up residence in the stone quarters just east of the fort's planned site. Joseph brought John R. Young, Francis Squires, Elisha Averett, and Graham McDonald with him. John Young, who was called to board the workers, came to Pipe Spring with his wives, Albina and Tamar, and resided in the stone structure west of the fort's site.<sup>12</sup> That building was evidently erected in 1870 to house the workers.

While John Young, Elisha Averett, and probably Graham McDonald quarried

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11. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," p. 43.

12. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 29-30, Woolley-Snow Family collection, typescript in the Brigham Young University Library Special Collections; Interview of Brigham A. Riggs by Leonard Heaton, December 5, 1940, Pipe Spring National Monument files.

the red sandstone on the hill just west and north of the site, Francis Squires began to excavate the foundation with pick, shovel, and wheelbarrow, probably with Winsor and his older sons' help. Fortunately, a group led by Lewis Allen, from the defunct Mormon settlement at Muddy River, stopped and helped for awhile.<sup>13</sup> Otherwise, the small work force might have had difficulty cutting back the bluff against which the north wall of the upper house was placed. Ultimately, that small work force could have been the reason for the fort's dimensions which were reduced from the planned size indicated by Joseph W. Young to one of 40x60 feet. Elijah Averett, Elisha's brother, was also asked by Brigham Young to go to the spring and help with the stonework. He arrived by late December or early January with his second wife Johanna and her children. Soon after Elijah reached Pipe Spring, Elisha became ill and left.<sup>14</sup>

Construction continued for a year and a half to complete the fort. The sandstone blocks were loaded on a sledge made of <sup>juniper</sup> ~~cedar~~ logs and dragged by Oxen to the building site. John R. Young in the meantime located a lime deposit on a knoll in the valley eight miles to the west near Cedar Ridge. Two lime kilns were made just below the hill on which the west stone house was located. The lime was burned, put in a pit and leached, and then covered with earth until it was used. Lumber was brought from a sawmill on Mt. Trumbull about fifty miles to the southwest. Nails were produced by Samuel Adams, a St. George nail maker. The shake shingles possibly came from the

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13. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 30, 33.

14. Murray Averett, "The Averett Narrative," pp. 7, 10, typescript in the University of Utah Library Special Collections; "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 32.

same sawmill, but former Superintendent Leonard Heaton stated they came from Orderville, Utah.<sup>15</sup>

When the workmen left in April 1872, all but the wooden gates and interior plaster was finished. The completed fort consisted of two red sandstone block buildings, each with two stories, that faced across a courtyard (figures 1 and 2). A mortar, made of clay, sand, and lime, held the block in place. Shingles consisted of hand-cut shakes which were three-eighths inch thick and sixteen inches long. The rear of the north or upper building was butted against a hill which contained the source of the spring water. That building was so placed to take advantage of the water, for it was directed beneath the floor of the west room, then through a covered, stone-lined trough under the courtyard, and into the west room of the south or lower building. In the west room of the lower house the water dropped into a large stone box, the overflow of which ran into a twelve-to fourteen-inch-wide wooden trough.<sup>16</sup> From the trough the water exited through a line in the southwest corner of the room. Thus, two advantages were gained from such a system. The cold spring water, which cooled the west room in the lower house, provided an excellent medium to prevent spoilage of the milk

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15. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 30-32. Not all of the lumber came from Mt. Trumbull as the Woolley-Snow reminiscences claimed for John D. Lee claimed to have shipped 1,500 feet of the lumber to Pipe Spring from his mill located about thirty miles north of Kanab. Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876, vol. 2, (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955), p. 158; Interview of Leonard Heaton (former Pipe Spring National Monument Superintendent) by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

16. J. H. Beadle, The Undeveloped West: or, Five Years in the Territories, (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1873), p. 659; Interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, June 1, 1949, Pipe Spring National Monument files; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), May 1941.

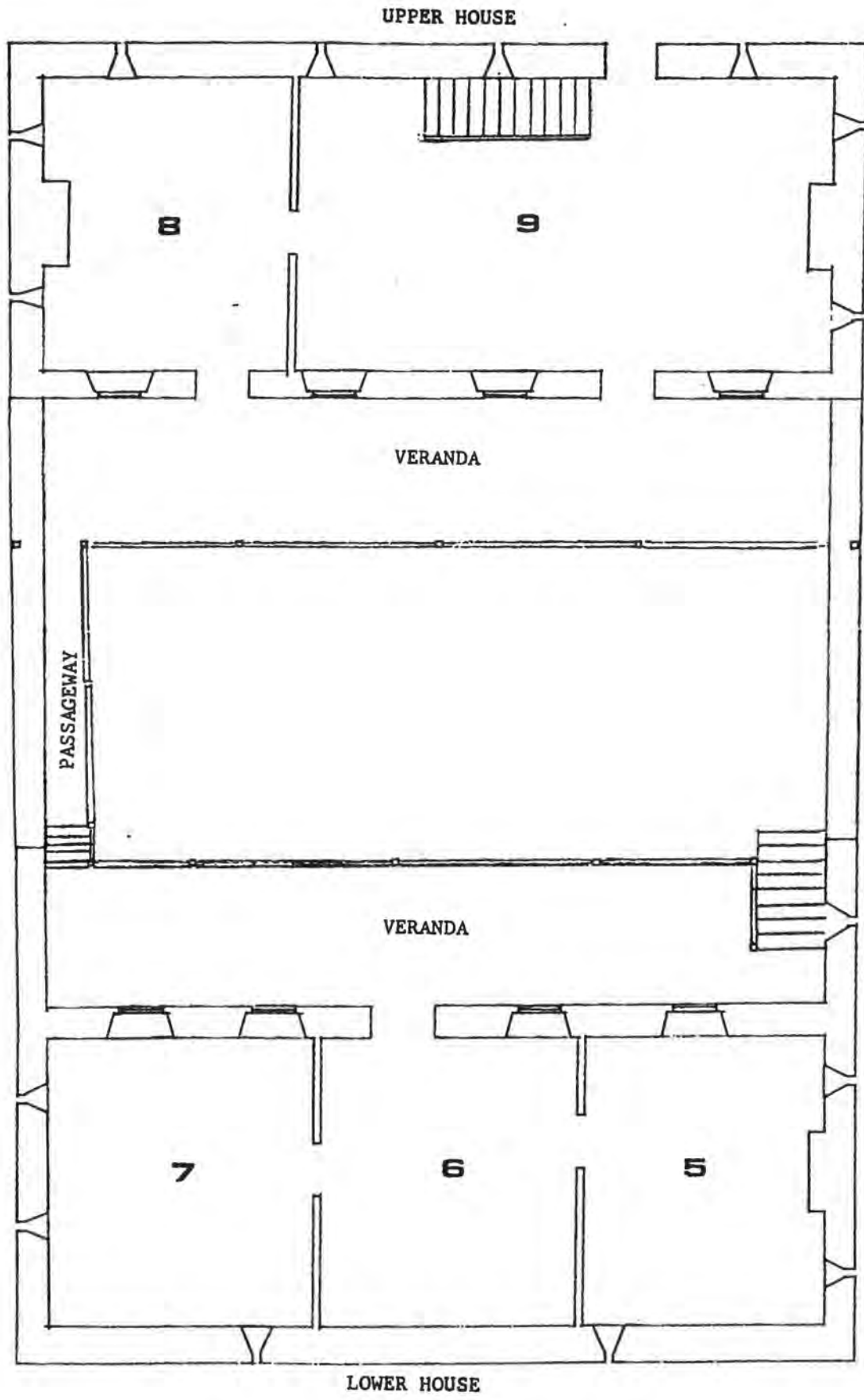
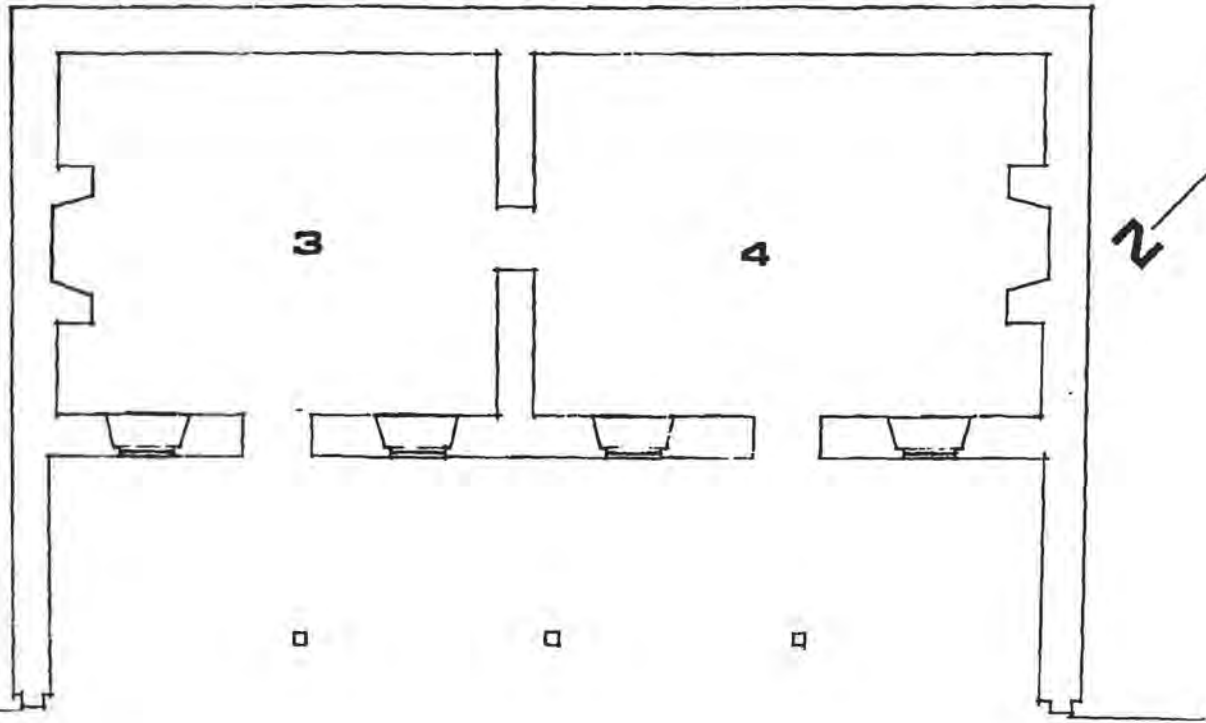


Figure 2  
SECOND FLOOR PLAN.  
 1872

UPPER HOUSE



LOWER HOUSE

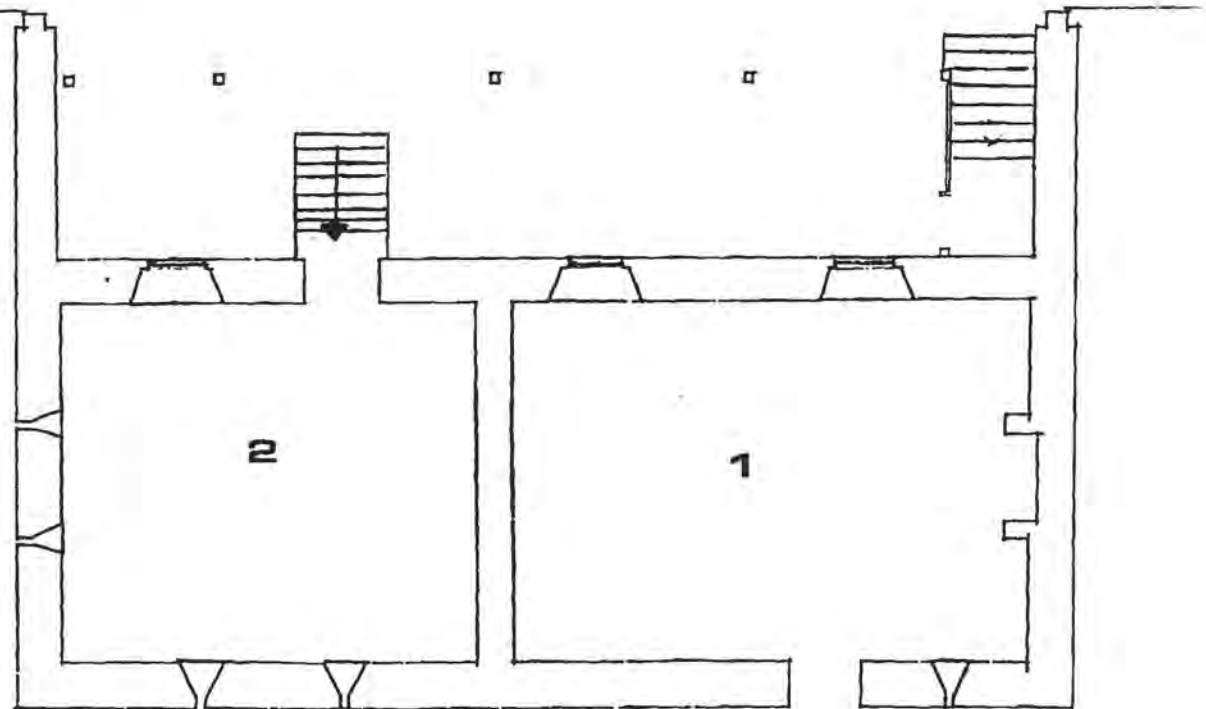


Figure 1  
FIRST FLOOR PLAN.  
1872



and foodstuffs stored there. In addition there was a readily available supply of water in case of an Indian attack.

Red sandstone block walls with double wooden gates enclosed the ends of the courtyard. The gates were made three boards thick with the center board running straight up and down while the boards on either side slanted in opposite directions. The gates opened outward. Huge, square, red pine logs extended along the tops of the walls which enclosed the courtyard.<sup>17</sup>

To reduce the possibility of marauding Indians gaining entrance to the fort, neither building had windows in the walls which faced outside. For protection, gun slits were placed in those walls. Two doorways, however, allowed access to the fort without entering through the gates. One door was in the south or lower building and led into the first floor east room. Originally, aside from a trap door in the ceiling, it was the only entrance into that room. The other door led from the second floor east room of the north or upper building onto the hillside behind the fort.

The lower floor of the upper house contained two rooms. The east room housed the kitchen which had built-in wooden cupboards with doors that flanked a fireplace on the east wall. A stairway against the north wall led to the second floor. The enclosed area beneath the stairway served for storage. Random-width (four and one-half to six inches wide by one inch thick) tongue-in-groove boards covered the kitchen floor. They were nailed to 2x6 inch joists. A living room was located in the slightly smaller west chamber. Except for the absence of a stairway, it resembled the kitchen.

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17. Interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, June 1, 1949; Dilworth Woolley to H. E. Woolley, August 21, 1943, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Two bedrooms were located in the upper house's second floor. The much larger east room contained the exit to the hillside. It had a fireplace on the east wall and the staircase which led to the kitchen below. The smaller west bedroom had a fireplace on the west wall.

On the courtyard side of the upper house, doors in the two bedrooms led onto a second level, canopied veranda which was supported by shaped, square posts. A balustrade of turned balusters with hand and sill rails spanned the gaps between the posts. Former superintendent Leonard Heaton stated that the hand rail had originally been painted red and the sill rail painted green.<sup>18</sup> A balustraded walkway, inside the west stone wall above the gate, allowed an individual to cross to the second story veranda of the lower house. Since the south building rested on an elevation below the upper house, it was necessary to descend several steeply pitched steps at the south end of the walkway to gain entrance to the veranda.

The lower house also had two rooms on the ground floor. As previously stated, entrance to the larger east room was gained only from outside the walls. Inside, a fireplace was located against the east wall. Florence Woolley, who visited Pipe Spring in January 1933, told custodian Leonard Heaton that a wooden floor existed in the room when she lived there from 1886-91. The west room, into which the spring water flowed, served as a cooling area for milk, cheese, butter, and foodstuffs. Entrance was gained by descending several stone steps off the courtyard. No heating device, of course, existed in the room. It had a stone floor.<sup>19</sup>

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18. Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

19. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), January 1933.

Three rooms were located on the lower house's upper floor. The east and central rooms contained sleeping quarters. Only the east room had a fireplace for heat. The west room served as the telegraph office and operator's bedroom from the day it was inhabited.<sup>20</sup> Since the latter room had no fireplace, a stove was obviously the source of heat.

Only one outside entrance was built in the lower house's upper level.

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20. Telegraph lines were strung to Pipe Spring in late 1871 before the fort's completion. The first message was sent at 12:31 pm on December 15. In June 1871 Brigham Young wrote to Erastus Snow giving him instructions on how to construct the telegraph line. He desired that cedar poles be used. In addition he wrote, "over an unprotected and untravelled country like that the poles need not be so long as are usually set elsewhere. We expect to use Glass insulators for the Pinoche & Kanab Lines, they can be placed on the top of the poles thus superceding the use of the blocks which must have a four or five inch Surface to spike it to. It is not necessary that the poles should all be from 70 to 80 yards apart. Should the Lines run across a Kanyon Gulch or Valley some hundred yards wide 2 good poles only are needed to span it. These spans should not exceed this distance as the weight and ascillation of the wire during storms would be apt to break it from its moorings and give us much trouble. As a general thing the poles must not be over 80 to 85 yards apart in fact much depends on the length of the poles and the lay of the land. In passing over a hill one pole should be set immediately on the summit and not as in some cases on out present line put the poles on each side as to let the wire almost touch the brow of the hill. In passing through settlements the Line must not cross or recross the road oftener than what may be actually necessary as hay or other wagons and travel more or less interferes with the Line and poles and often give us trouble. The poles should be put at least 3 feet in the ground with the earth well rammed around them. Short curves in the Lines must be avoided as much as possible as they are very often a source of much annoyance. A careful and intelligent person should be employed to see personally to the setting of the poles and that none are employed that would not answer the purpose. The Country selected should be as direct as possible making only such divergence as may be necessary to reach settlements where you may wish to have Telegraph Offices also keeping in view the easy facilities of first putting up the wire and afterwards keeping Lines in repair." Brigham Young to Erastus Snow, June 7, 1871, Erastus Snow MSS. Twenty days later Young added some additional thoughts on the telegraph. He wrote to Snow that, "I think your East Line should run from Rockville to Short Creek thence to Winsor thence to Kanab and thence to Long Valley where it should stop for the present. If you want to run the Pioche Line through Pine Valley all right. You must make your calculations to sustain the operators for the offices in your different settlements. The wire leaves New York on monday. The materials weigh thirty-four tons." Brigham Young to Erastus Snow, June 27, 1871, Erastus Snow MSS.

That doorway led to the center of the three rooms from a canopied veranda. The veranda was similar to the one on the upper house except that a stairway on the east end allowed an individual to descend to the courtyard.

Two ponds were located south of the fort which acted as holding areas for spring water used for irrigation and cattle. These ponds were probably built soon after the fort was finished, although they were not rock lined until later. Below the ponds, the Winsors planted apple and plum trees. The plums were of the greengage and potowatomi varieties. They sowed a garden just west of the orchard and surrounded it with black and yellow currant bushes. A field of alfalfa was located just beyond the garden.<sup>21</sup>

Judging from the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company records, the interior plaster and doors remained unfinished when the workmen left in April 1872. In April 1874 Anson Winsor paid George B. Wing \$21 for making doors. Two months later he gave the same man \$182.80 for carpenter work. During that period, one can speculate that the wall making a third room on the second floor of the upper house was installed (figure 3). Later in 1874 Winsor bought 4,000 lath from the Kanab Lumber Company, as well as hair for plastering. As a result the interior plastering was obviously delayed for some time after the exterior was completed. Evidently, interior work continued into 1876, for, on July 1 of that year, G. D. Macdonald was paid \$243.75 for plastering. Even as late as September 1878, Charles Pulsipher, Winsor's successor, paid \$32.25 to have an upper room plastered, but that could have been repair work.<sup>22</sup>

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21. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 38.

22. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," Rancho and Improvements. Kanab Lumber Company, and Expenses for Building Materials, Microfilm in the Pipe Spring National Monument files.

With the fort completed by April 1872, Winsor could devote his full time to the ranch. J. H. Beadle, who passed through Pipe Spring on July 8, 1872, noted that Winsor milked eighty cows.<sup>23</sup> His wife Emeline took charge of the cheese and butter making.<sup>24</sup> In addition to cattle, Winsor kept a few sheep and pigs. For his work caring for the Church herd, which numbered 411 by early 1873, he received \$1,200 per year.<sup>25</sup>

By 1873 other Mormon stock owners in the area evidently wished to be included in the use of the Church's land for grazing. The Church agreed, for on January 2, 1873, a meeting was held to organize a livestock cooperative which was to be called the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company. The Church through its Trustee in Trust, Brigham Young, was the largest subscriber with \$10,000. Young, with his own money, bought \$2,350 of the stock. Other shareholders included: Anson Winsor with \$3,000, Alex F. MacDonald with \$1,000, and Joseph W. Young with \$300, while Amos Musser, John W. Freeman, Elijah F. Sheets, and Lorenzo D. Young each held \$200.<sup>26</sup>

On February 15, 1873 Anson Winsor agreed to superintend the operation at a salary of \$3,500 per year.<sup>27</sup> His responsibilities still included overseeing the Church's cattle as well as milking its cows, but with the added burden of

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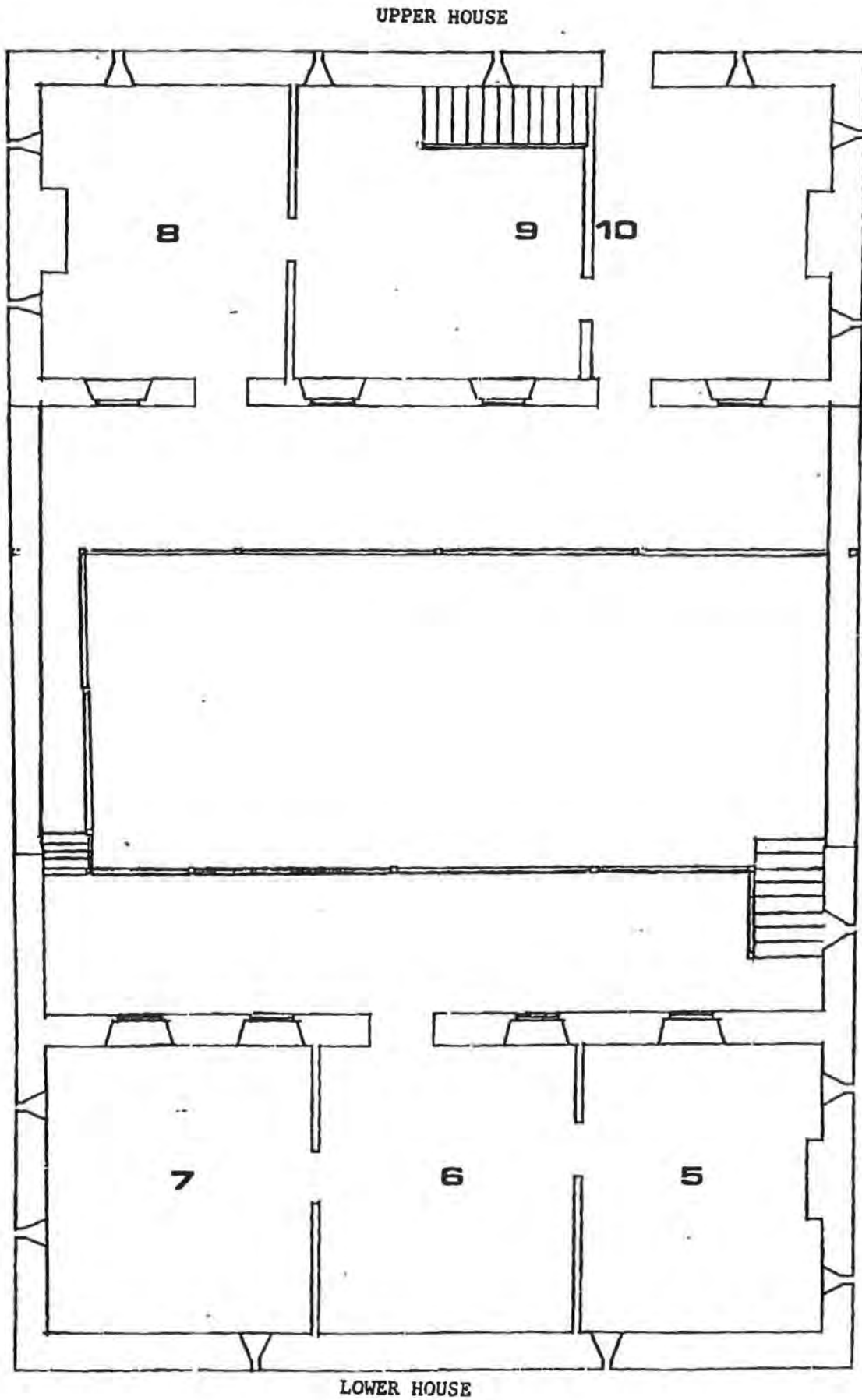
23. Beadle, The Undeveloped West: or, Five Years in the Territories, p. 659.

24. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 39.

25. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," p. 162; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 52-53.

26. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," p. 161; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," p. 52.

27. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," p. 190.



UPPER HOUSE

LOWER HOUSE

Figure 3  
SECOND FLOOR PLAN.  
Ca. 1874

caring for the stockholders' private herds. The number of cattle at the ranch dramatically increased from 411 in February 1873 to 1,341 by mid-1874. By the middle of the next year the number rose to 1,678 and again by mid-1876 an inventory counted 1,983.<sup>28</sup>

Beginning in 1873, thirty Church cattle per month, as well as butter and cheese, were taken to St. George to feed the workers who were starting to construct the temple there. Meat and dairy products were also supplied to the miners living in Leeds and Silver Reef. In addition, butter and cheese was periodically delivered to the St. George House, St. George Cooperative Mercantile Institute, St. George Bakery, Colorado Station, the men working at the Mt. Trumbull lumber mill, and to a host of private individuals. Cowhides were sold to the St. George Tanning and Manufacturing Company.<sup>29</sup>

From the records during Anson Winsor's tenure, there seemed to have been two groups of individuals who worked for the Winsor Castle Company -- those who periodically drove cattle to and from the ranch and those who labored as cowhands. They all did not work simultaneously, for only during roundups were larger numbers required. The names of those individuals who drove cattle included: Charles Riggs, Charles Pulsipher, Abram Winsor, Walter Winsor, A. McNeil, J. Larson, Joseph B. Macdonald, Frank Bentley, Woodruff Alexander, Peter Olsen, J. R. Murdock, P.T. Farnsworth, F. Molen, and C. P. Liston. The ranchhands included: Johnson Johnson, Abraham Sprague, Graham Macdonald (who usually did the branding), Jacob S. Workman, James Cooper,

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28. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 1, 6, 8, 11-12.

29. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 38, 40; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 191, 225, 232.

Anson Winsor, Jr., Alonzo Winsor, Christian Larsen, and Peter Hansen.

Cowhand wages ranged from \$15 to \$35 per month with the most common at \$30. One other person listed on the payroll, Anna C. Christian, evidently helped Mrs. Winsor occasionally.<sup>30</sup>

In the fall of 1876, Anson P. Winsor left the ranch and moved to St. George. His son Walter remained to care for the property until Charles Pulsipher was named superintendent on January 3, 1877. Pulsipher had resided in Hebron, Utah where he had been in charge of another Church herd. He evidently was not overjoyed with moving to Pipe Spring. His brother John felt it would be a toilsome task. Despite that feeling, Pulsipher proved a capable administrator. Under his tenure the number of cattle at Pipe Spring continued to grow. In mid-1877 the figure stood at 2,097, while one year later the herd increased to 2,269.<sup>31</sup>

Pulsipher made no distinction between those individuals which he temporarily hired to drive cattle and the men who worked on the ranch. The names of cowhands which appeared on the books during his administration included: William Cowley, Frank Butler, Orson Robbins, A. J. Allen, Charles Pulsipher, Jr., Elroy Cowley, J. C. Tyler, Alonzo Winsor, and Thomas J. Pearce. William Cowley performed the dual tasks of foreman and blacksmith. Pulsipher seemed more generous than Winsor with his wages since the men received \$50 per month.<sup>32</sup>

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30. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 60-68, 244, 253, 255.

31. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 42; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 14, 16.

32. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 68-69, 168, 325, 415, 420; Adella C. Gibson to Paul Franke and Leonard Heaton, September 13, 1957, Pipe Spring National Monument files.



Pulsipher married for a second time in December 1877. His new wife, Ann, together with his first wife, Sariah, had charge of making cheese and butter. The number of cows milked, however, declined especially after the St. George temple was completed in 1877, for the workmen there had created the biggest demand for cheese and butter. Gradually, the ranch concentrated on beef cattle raising.<sup>33</sup>

During the time he lived at Pipe Spring, Charles Pulsipher evidently made no changes in the buildings.

#### HARD TIMES AT PIPE SPRING

The Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company stockholders evidently foresaw a declining value of the ranch as a cattle raising area. On January 1, 1879, they held a joint meeting with the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company and unanimously voted to sell their property to the latter group. They could not sell the ranch land, of course, since it was owned by the Church. Instead the Canaan stockholders leased the property from the Church. That policy fell in line with the idea of John Taylor who succeeded Brigham Young as Church president upon the latter's death in 1877. Under Taylor's policy, superintendents were no longer required to care for Church property. Instead, the Church real estate was leased to a company or man who would use it as an investment and care for the Church property.<sup>34</sup>

Canaan's superintendent, James Andrus, was placed in charge of gathering,

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33. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 42; Edna Cunningham, "A Short History of Charles Pulsipher," Pipe Spring National Monument files.

34. "Canaan Cooperative Stock Company Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Stockholders from July 24, 1875," Stockholders' meeting of January 2, 1879, p. 85, microfilm in Pipe Spring National Monument files; "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 44.

driving, and branding the Winsor Castle cattle. It was decided to brand the livestock with a "C & P" on the left side. Charles Pulsipher was retained for a time to aid the transfer. Any dairy cattle remaining at Pipe Spring were transferred to Canaan's dairy ranch at Upper Kanab. Pulsipher evidently left Pipe Spring in early March 1879, for in the middle of that month the Canaan stockholders voted to supply the "Winsor Castle house with the necessary furniture and fittings for the convenience of the family or families living there and for keeping travelers."<sup>35</sup> Probably, the fort's inhabitants consisted of cowboys and a cook. Andrus did not live there, for he would have lived at Canaan's main ranch headquarters at Canaan which was near Short Creek.

The Canaan Company made the wrong decision when it bought out the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company and leased the Church's Pipe Spring land. Too many cattle in the Church and private herds, as well as neighboring cattleman's herds, had severely overgrazed that northern Arizona rangeland. A drought which struck in 1879 compounded the problem. By mid-1879 the herd at Pipe Spring had been reduced to 1,351 by scattering nearly 1,000 cattle from there to Canaan's other holdings in an effort to improve the situation. Still, the herd suffered. The stockholders received a report on July 21 that seventy-five head died from lack of grass and water.<sup>36</sup>

In early March 1879 the Canaan Company sought to alleviate the water problem by approving the building of a reservoir, eighteen rods long and four

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35. "Canaan Cooperative Stock Company Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Stockholders from July 24, 1875," Stockholders' meetings of January 30, 1879 and March 14, 1879, pp. 88, 93.

36. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," p. 430, Canaan Co-op Stock Co. livestock on hand as of July 1, 1879; "Canaan Cooperative Stock Company Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Stockholders from July 24, 1875," Stockholders' Meeting of July 21, 1879, p. 97.

feet high, about twelve miles southwest of the fort in an area of Sheep Creek. The construction bill for that reservoir, described as on the "Pipe Spring ranch," was presented at the December 29, 1879 stockholders' meeting. It came to \$606.96.<sup>37</sup> Sparse rainfall, however, negated the reservoir's usefulness.

Late in 1879 James Andrus resigned as the company superintendent. As a result the cooperative hired James S. Emmett, a Kanab bachelor, on December 17 as its new manager to oversee the Andrus Spring, Short Creek, and Pipe Spring ranches, for \$1,500 per year. Emmett obviously did not live at any of those ranches, for the 1880 census enumerated him in Kanab.<sup>38</sup>

In the meantime the Canaan Cooperative president, Erastus Snow, wrote several letters to Church President John Taylor that the company would not renew the Pipe Spring lease for 1880 if the rent were more than \$250 per year. Although the answer was slow in coming from Salt Lake City, Taylor evidently agreed to the Cooperative's request, for the Canaan Company continued its lease for another year.<sup>39</sup>

The situation at Pipe Spring in 1880 continued for the worse. Sparse grass and little water proved too burdensome for the Canaan Company to continue its lease. On December 15, 1880 they released James Emmett as superintendent because he asked too great a salary for the coming year --

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37. "Canaan Cooperative Stock Company Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Stockholders from July 24, 1875," Stockholders' Meetings of March 7, 1879 and December 29, 1879, pp. 91, 118.

38. Ibid., December 17, 1879, p. 117; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Kanab Precinct, Kane County, Utah, RG 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

39. "Canaan Cooperative Stock Company Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Stockholders from July 24, 1875," Stockholders' Meeting of January 3, 1880, p. 121.

\$1,200. Three weeks later, on January 5, 1881, the company notified Church President Taylor that they would not renew their lease.<sup>40</sup> Pipe Spring stood vacant. The Canaan Company recorded no changes made to the fort during the two years that it held the lease.

With the return of rain in 1881, the abandoned Pipe Spring rangeland recovered somewhat. At least it evidently was better rangeland than the overgrazed property held by two adjacent non-Mormon neighbors, for they began to run their cattle there. With great concern about the future of Pipe Spring, Erastus Snow, Bishop of Southern Utah, wrote to Church President John Taylor to ask that he consider "the necessity of some church agent occupying Pipe Spring Ranch with church stock." Snow was irritated that the two non-Mormon neighbors, Messrs. Webber and Levinger, had allowed their large herd to roam onto the Pipe Spring land where the cattle were "feeding it down." Snow continued,

All our Stock men feel the necessity of riding our ranges of these strangers and their stock. If you do not wish to occupy it with your church stock we would prefer a herd of sheep to eat out the range, and follow up and drive these intruders and their stock away, for we do not want them sandwiched between our herds, and using [sic] our watering places, without compensation, at this late day after we have made the roads, subdued the country, fed and fought the Indians. We perceive also that your corrals & buildings at Pipe and field fences are being used up and wasted and gullies washed through the garden field and with the tramping of stock and campers and leakage of reservoir, there is a danger of it also unless a responsible man be placed there.<sup>41</sup>

President Taylor did not let Snow's plea go unheeded. Later in 1882 he

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40. "Minutes of Board Meetings and of Stockholders of Canaan Coop," Minutes of the Meetings held December 5, 1880 and January 5, 1881, pp. 25-27, microfilm in the Pipe Spring National Monument files.

41. Erastus Snow to President John Taylor, February 24, 1882, John Taylor Family papers, University of Utah Library Special Collections.

leased Pipe Spring to a Kanab resident Joseph Gurnsey Brown. He and his family moved there in late 1882. Brown evidently did not put much effort into improving the rangeland conditions, but, of course, the modern idea of limiting the number of cattle on semi-arid land to prevent overgrazing had not occurred to anyone of that day. Brown also evidently did nothing to the Pipe Spring buildings.

Erastus Snow was clearly unsatisfied with the way Joseph Brown ran the Pipe Spring ranch. In 1883 he tried to get his son-in-law, Edwin D. Woolley, to buy the lease. When Woolley, the manager of the Canaan Cooperative dairy at Upper Kanab, failed to respond, Snow wrote to encourage him to act on the matter. He told Woolley to write to Brown about selling the lease. In the meantime, Snow telegraphed President Taylor about changing the lease from Brown to Woolley. Taylor replied that he could not interfere with Brown's lease and that at some future time, when Brown no longer wished to renew the lease, then Brigham Young, Jr. would be given first chance on the Pipe Spring property. It seemed that Young had already spoken for the lease when Brown no longer wished to renew it. As a result one would have to wait to determine the future leaseholder.<sup>42</sup>

Brown still held the lease in 1885 when a Frenchman, Albert Tissandier, briefly visited Pipe Spring. He spent one night there before continuing to Kanab. Returning from Kanab, he stopped again at Pipe Spring. On the second occasion he wrote,

Leaving Kanab, it was necessary to return to Pipe Spring,  
one of the unusual places where one finds a source of fresh

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42. Erastus Snow to Edwin D. Woolley, October 19, 1883, Edwin D. Woolley, Jr. correspondence, incoming, Woolley-Snow Family Collection; John Taylor to Erastus Snow, November 11, 1883, John Taylor Family papers.

water. Its friendly inhabitants had already given me their hospitality; again the mistress of the dwelling and her daughters gave a cordial reception. Although I had been surprised by the bishop's residence in Cedar City, I was even more surprised by the fort at Pipe Spring. I wish to be sincere; these mormon women are distinguished, well educated, and aware of the reality that the mormons are living in a remote and savage place. In the countryside of France as well as the corners of our most remote and unknown provinces, and even the citizens who live abroad are assured of a better life feeling less abandoned than those of Utah or Arizona, however I want you to know that they [the citizens of Utah and Arizona] are often less civilized.

Great herds of cattle guarded by cowboys, hardy young men who are habituated to privation, pass around Pipe Spring. Isolated, living always at these ranches far from all of society these mormon shepards always have an active existence and never one without interest. They have for distraction the hunt, the contemplation of the grandiose nature of these deserts; since everyday they are on a horse chasing cattle, the work is rude and laborious.

They have a man who watches over the animals during the calving season. Their [the animals] completely wild state often makes this occupation difficult and sometimes dangerous, since they have, among other obligations, that of branding the newborns. Each rancher has his special mark which he imprints on the flanks of the small animals; without this precaution it would be impossible to distinguish ownership. In the United States, the cattle-breeders have books in which they can easily consult the names and brands of various cattlebreeders.

I was told that, some fifteen years ago the cattle were more numerous than now [1885] in the area of Pipe Spring; the reason for the decline in animals is that in eating the grass they destroyed the roots, which have hardly returned in this arid land; as a result the dry [ripe] seeds do not germinate and the prairie does not regenerate and the terrain becomes a desert. On the roads cattle skeletons bear witness to the decline of the ranches.

On the other hand, the antelope, the wild horses, that formerly abounded, have more and more moved to locations where they can obtain food.

I bid goodbye to my gracious hostess of Pipe Spring.  
Some cowboys made a toast to my good health with spring  
water, all helped me saddle my horse.<sup>43</sup>

Tissandier's insightful description of the Pipe Spring area, which had turned from lush grassland to almost a desert, showed that in 1885, even after more than six years of overgrazing, the cattlemen had learned nothing of rangeland management. They seemingly continued to keep large herds of cattle on land slowly becoming a desert, although what Tissandier perceived as "great herds" may not have been that large since, having come from France, he would not have been accustomed to seeing cattle in great numbers. Still, the area had rapidly declined in vegetation since the mid-1870s.

When he passed through Pipe Spring on his way to Kanab, Tissandier drew a picture of the fort there (figure 4). He did not have the sketch printed in his book, but instead presented it to a Kanab family.<sup>44</sup> The sketch, which is the earliest known picture of Pipe Spring, shows the fort with its courtyard walls and gates intact. The east stone structure is visible in the foreground as well as corral fences. Few trees appear in the drawing, but in 1885 Pipe Spring did not have the present number of trees. Only the orchard of apple and plum trees, which the Winsor family planted, would have been there at that date.

#### A PLACE OF REFUGE FOR POLYGAMISTS

Erastus Snow finally got his wish to have his son-in-law, Edwin D.

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43. Albert Tissandier, Six Mois aus Etats-Unis; Voyage d'un Touriste dans l'Amerique du Nord, Suivi d'une Excursion a Panama, (Paris: G. Masson, 1886), pp. 78, 82-84, translated by Berle Clemensen and Nicholas Scratfish.

44. Robert Olsen, a former Pipe Spring National Monument historian, obtained a copy of Trissandier's sketch from Ena Spendlove of Kanab. It had been passed down in her family. The picture was not made in 1881, however, as Ena Spendlove told Olsen, but in 1885.



Figure 4  
Sketch of Pipe Spring drawn in 1885 by Albert Tissandier  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

The sketch shows the fort from the east with the gates intact as well as the east cabin and easternmost corrals.



Woolley, lease the Pipe Spring ranch in late 1885 when Joseph Brown gave up the property. Woolley remained in Upper Kanab tending the dairy business there and sent a foreman to oversee the ranch operation. George Hicks served first and longest in that capacity. Some of the others who held that position were Lorin Little and Squire Hepworth.<sup>45</sup>

In the Spring of 1886 Edwin Woolley moved his second wife Florence and her three children to Pipe Spring. Federal marshals, who had begun to enforce the anti-polygamy laws in Utah, caused many Mormon polygamists to flee from arrest or send their plural wives elsewhere. The isolation of Pipe Spring made an ideal refuge. As a result, not only Florence Woolley lived there for a time, but many other wives came and went.<sup>46</sup>

Florence Woolley moved into the upper house at Pipe Spring. She used the first floor east room of that building for her kitchen. Instead of using the fireplace in that room for cooking, she had it bricked up and a flue hole cut in the chimney to accommodate her cooking stove which she brought with her from Kanab. Since the fireplace chimney in that room as well as the one in the lower west room did not draw well, she had brick extensions built onto the chimney tops.<sup>47</sup>

Florence used the lower west room as a living room. Sleeping quarters were on the upper floor. She and her daughter used the east room, while her two sons occupied the center area. The west end was reserved as guest

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45. "The Cattle Business," pp. 3-4, Woolley-Snow Family Collection.

46. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 51; Florence Snow Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," p. 62, typescript in the Woolley-Snow Family Collection.

47. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 53-54.

quarters.

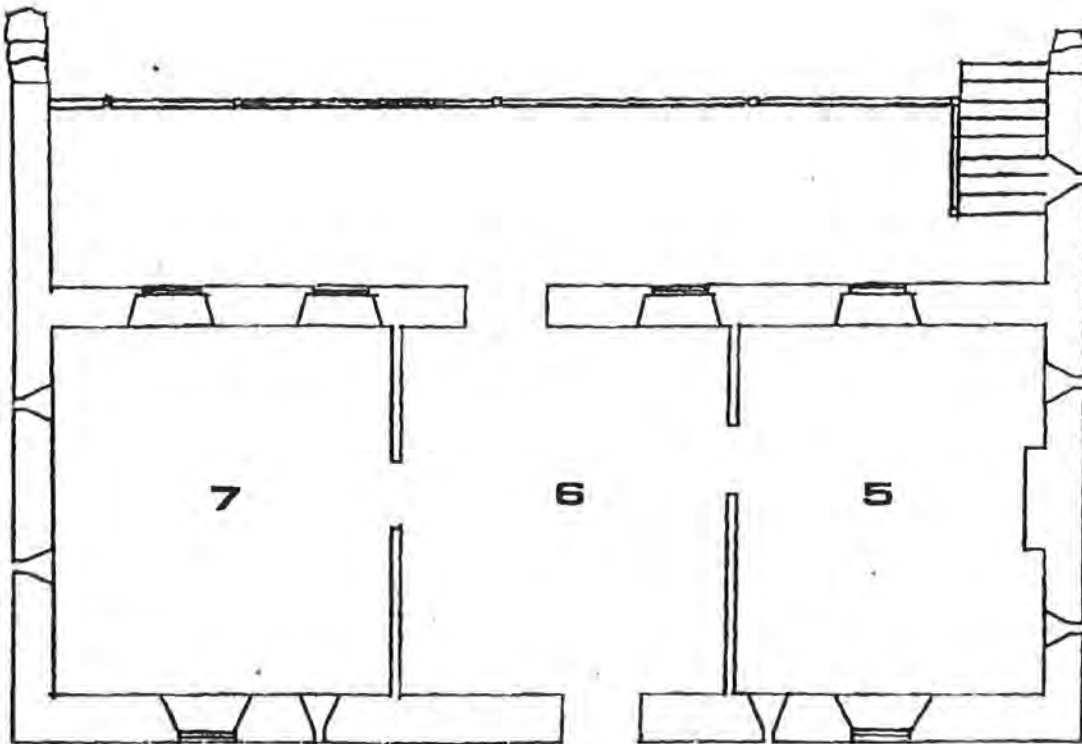
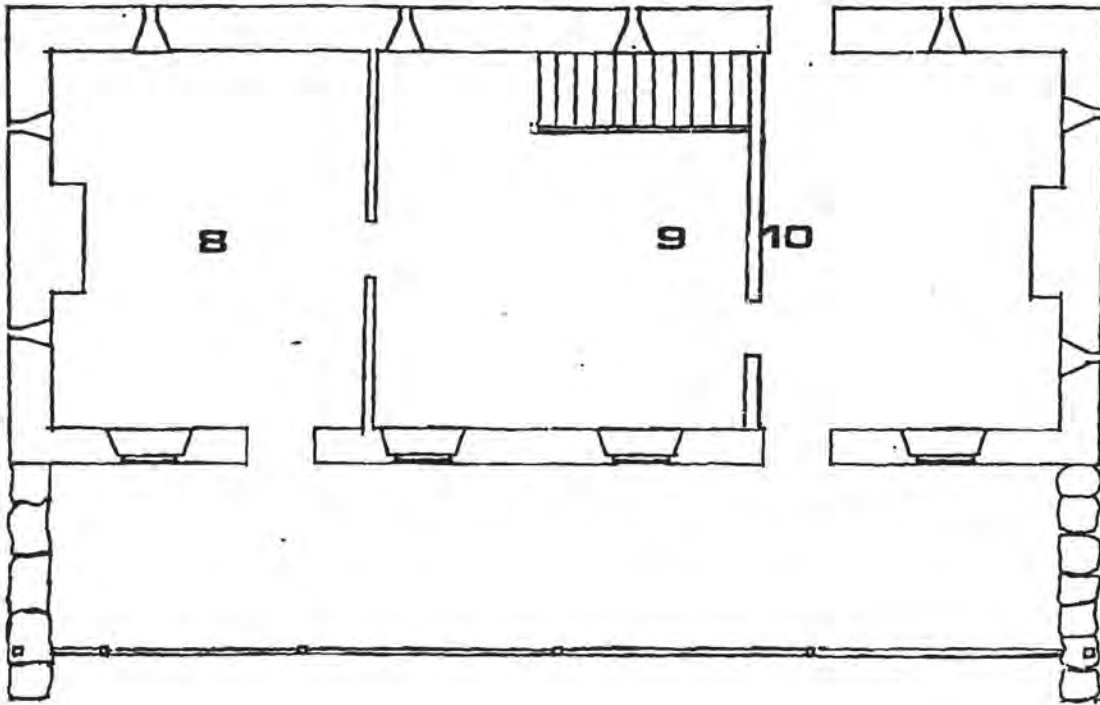
The east ground floor room in the lower building was used by the cowboys to store their equipment and as a workshop on rainy days where they mended their gear as well as made ropes. In July 1888, however, John Adams and his wife Min, who were hired by Woolley, moved to Pipe Spring and lived in that room. She did part of the cooking over the fireplace located there. On the west end, the spring room was used to store foodstuffs. Upstairs, the east and center rooms were used as sleeping quarters for the cowboys until plural wives began to use the fort as a refuge. The west room still served as the telegraph office and the operator's quarters until a telephone was installed about 1888.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to the fireplace and chimney changes, Florence Woolley caused other major alterations to be made in the fort during the six years she lived there (figures 5 and 6). Because she felt that Pipe Spring was her prison to which she went to keep her husband from going to jail for polygamy, she decided to make the fort less like a prison. As a result, in the summer of 1886, she had the large wooden gates removed from both ends of the courtyard. In the process of taking them down, the large, squared, red pine logs were taken from atop the walls and the sandstone blocks above the gates were removed. In that same summer Florence also had some changes made in the lower building to make it less gloomy. A window was installed next to the door in the south wall of the ground floor east room. Upstairs, a door was placed in the center room's south wall, but an exterior stairway was never constructed, so

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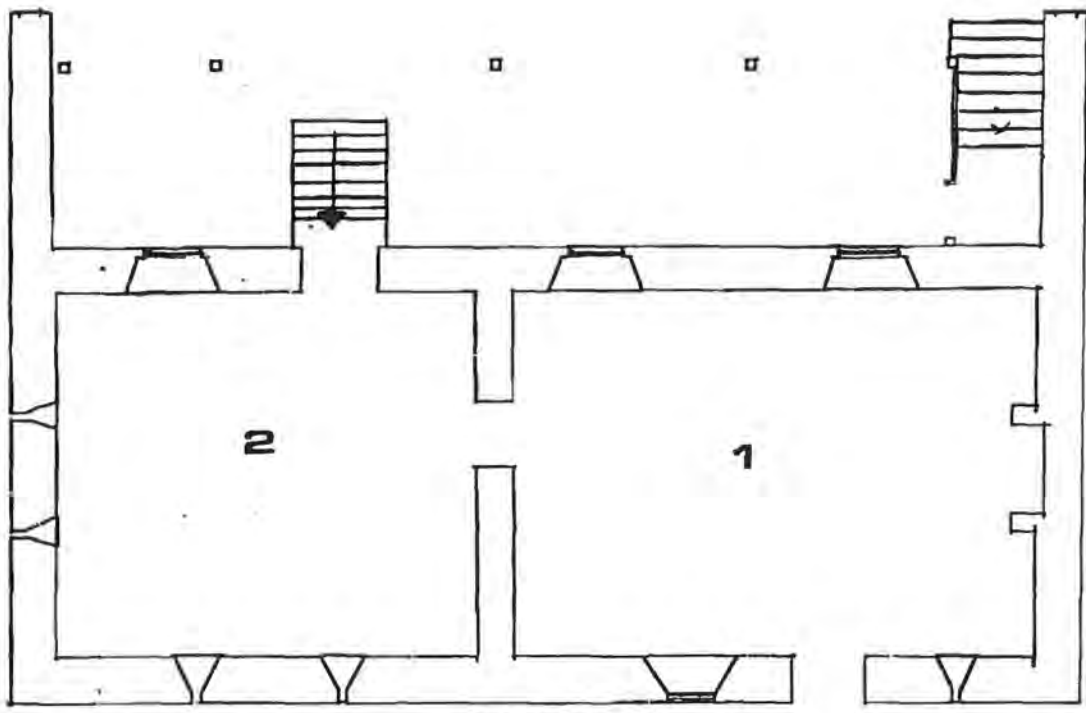
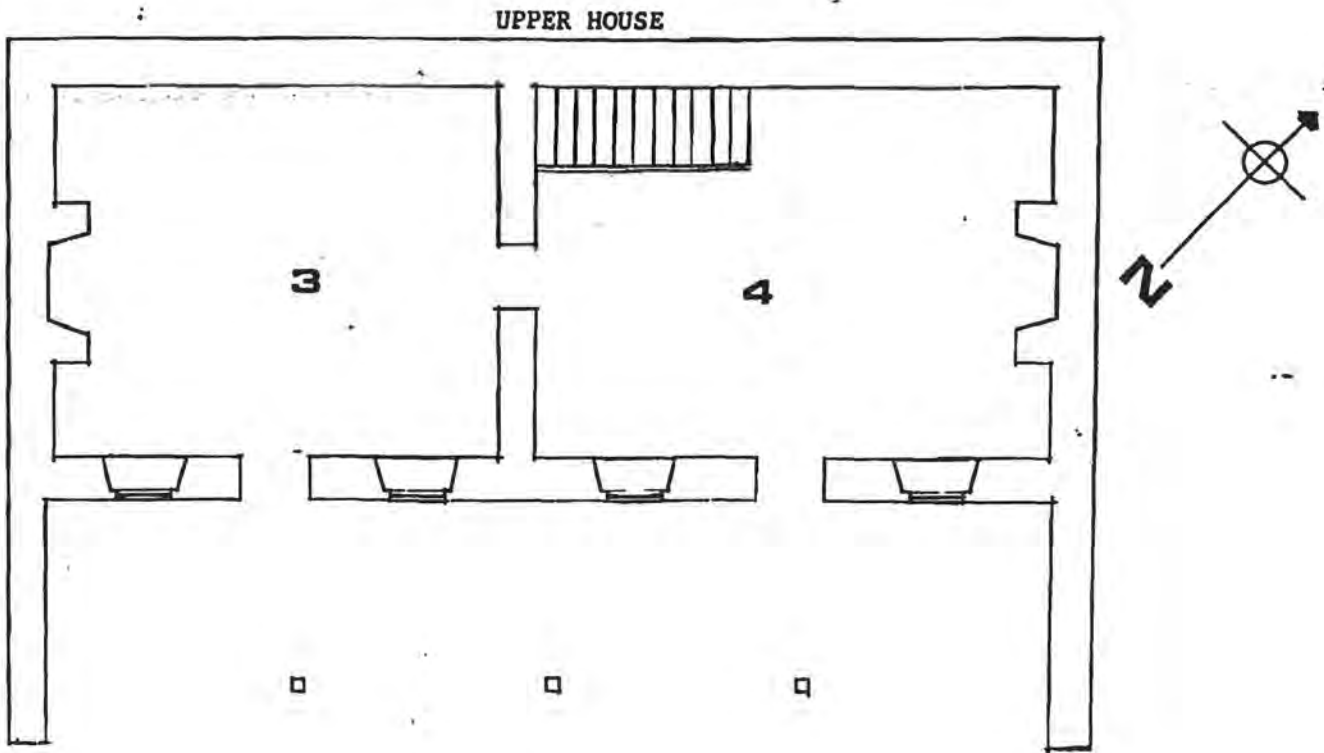
48. Ibid., pp. 55-58; Interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, June 1, 1949.

UPPER HOUSE



LOWER HOUSE

Figure 6  
**SECOND FLOOR PLAN.**  
1886



LOWER HOUSE

Figure 5  
FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

1886

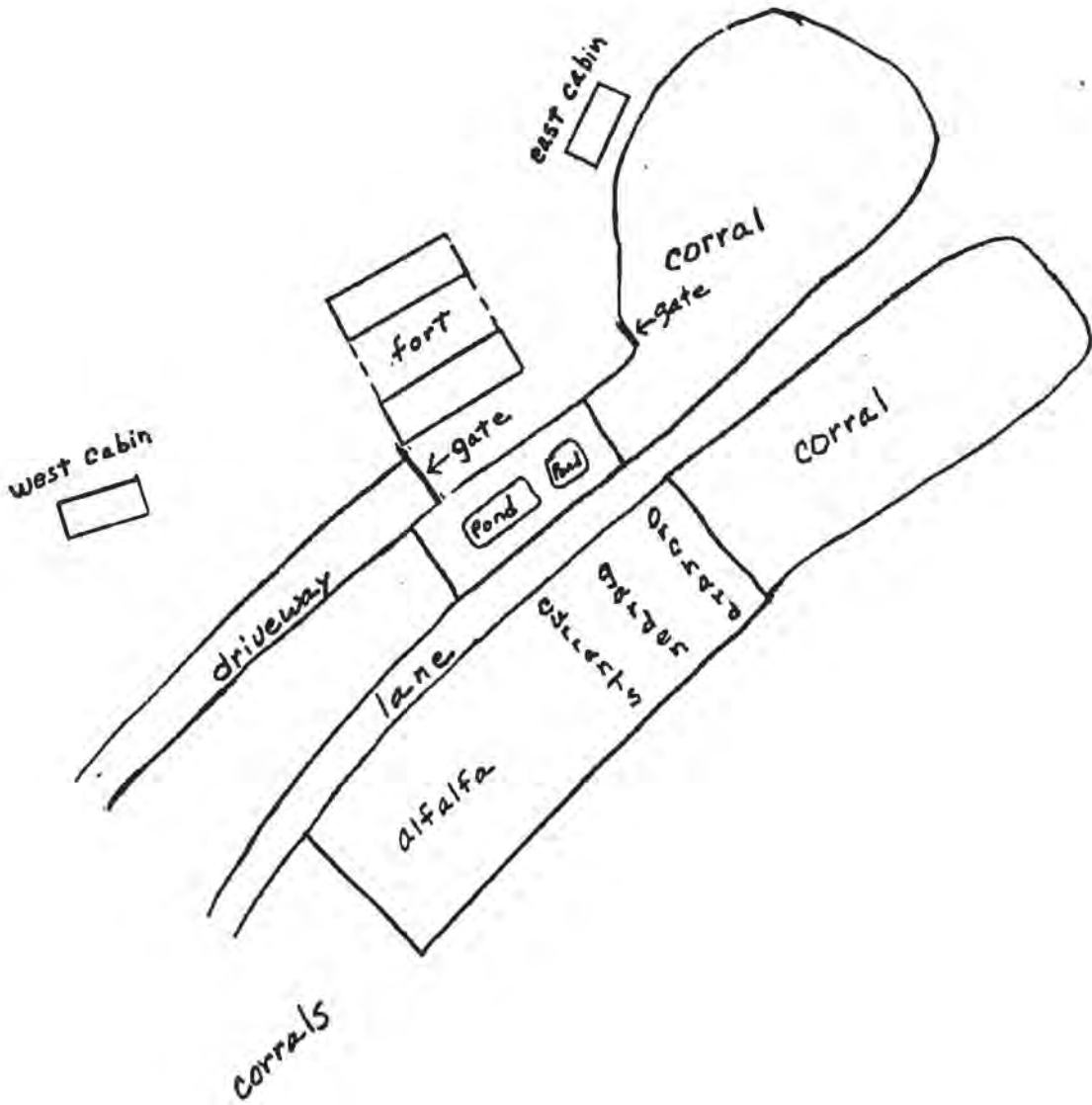


Figure 7

Map of Pipe Spring based upon Dilworth Woolley's  
description as it looked in 1886

it remained a doorway which led nowhere. Windows were also made in the east and west upper level rooms' south wall.<sup>49</sup>

The area south of the fort, which Dilworth Woolley remembered when he arrived with his mother, contained a driveway between the fort and ponds. It had gates at both ends, the east of which connected to a corral fence. A lane ran between the ponds and a fence which surrounded the field. It was not closed by gates. The easternmost part of the fenced field contained the orchard of apple and plum trees as well as some grape vines. A garden was located next to the orchard. It, in turn, was separated from an alfalfa patch in the west end by a row of black and yellow currant bushes (figure 7).<sup>50</sup>

In 1886 several landscape changes were made. The two ponds south of the fort were enlarged, and built-up banks and stonework were installed. Since the overgrazed land contained large patches of bare earth, windstorms became dirt storms and fine red dust would filter into the fort. Florence wrote that she would "literally shovel the sand up from the floors" after such a storm. As a result Edwin Woolley planted a large number of cottonwood, willow, and elm trees around the fort in an effort to curtail the wind.<sup>51</sup>

About 1888 a telephone was installed. It was attached to the door frame in the north house's lower west room. The phone, as Dilworth Woolley remembered it, was a piece of board with a box-like structure holding a black

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49. Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," pp. 51-52.

50. "Questions on History of Pipe Spring Answered by Dilworth Woolley," Woolley-Snow Family Collection.

51. *Ibid.*; Dilworth Woolley to H. E. Woolley, September 3, 1943, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service.

mouthpiece. It also had a bell and receiver.<sup>52</sup> The telephone made the telegraph obsolete.

When the Woolleys arrived at Pipe Spring, the cattle were watered in troughs made of hollowed-out tree trunks set partly in the ground and located just outside the west corral fence. Edwin Woolley built four additional water tanks there which were four feet deep, six feet wide, and twelve feet long. They were made from planks which were twelve feet long and three inches thick.<sup>53</sup>

Most of the year only one or two cowhands helped the foreman during the Woolley administration at Pipe Spring. They oversaw the Church cattle and herds owned by Woolley and several local ranchers which he permitted to use the range. In the Spring a roundup was held to brand calves. Another roundup took place in the Fall at which time those cattle that were ready for market were separated and driven about 150 miles to the railroad at Elsinore. During the roundups, the cattle were driven into large corrals by the fort. Those corrals were there when Woolley obtained the lease. Only a couple of milk cows were kept at the ranch and the milk was used solely for domestic consumption.<sup>54</sup>

Although Florence Woolley found Pipe Spring to be located in a very isolated area, she was never lonely. Her guest room was often occupied by Brigham Young, Jr. or Amos Musser as well as many friends and relatives

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52. *Ibid.*; Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," p. 52.

53. "The Cattle Business," p. 10.

54. Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," pp. 58-59.

from Kanab or St. George who needed a "safety zone." In addition nine other plural wives used Pipe Spring for a refuge at various times between 1886 and 1891. Two of those refugees included Florence's sisters Georgia Thatcher and Josephine Tanner. One woman, Mary Janette Bringham, lived in a one-room wood structure which was located just east of the ponds (figure 8). Most of the wives came from either Orderville or Toquerville, Utah. Mary Jane Meeks, a midwife, would come to deliver babies during that period. Eight children were born at Pipe Spring between 1886 and 1891.<sup>55</sup>

On April 27, 1891 Mrs. Meeks happened to be at Pipe Spring to deliver Ann Chamberlain's son Joseph when J. J. Booth, a traveling photographer from Salt Lake City, stopped and took a group picture (figure 9) just outside the east end of the fort.<sup>56</sup> That photograph showed the missing gates and the brick additions to one of the chimneys on the upper house.

#### THE END OF CHURCH OWNERSHIP

On July 30, 1887 the United States government began an active campaign to divest the Mormon Church of its extensive property holdings. On that date an escheatment suit was filed in the Utah Supreme Court based upon section three of an act of July 1, 1862 and section thirteen of the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act. Section three of the 1862 act stated that no corporation or association with religious purposes could acquire or hold real estate valued over \$50,000. The intent for passage of that act had been directed against the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but the government never

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55. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 51-52; Interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, June 1, 1949. The other wives who stayed at Pipe Spring included: Linda F. Murringer (who operated the telegraph), Ellen Chamberlain, Ann Chamberlain, Caroline Woolley, Emma Seegmiller, and Mrs. Langford.

56. "Arizona History" Pipe Spring Monument," p. 10.



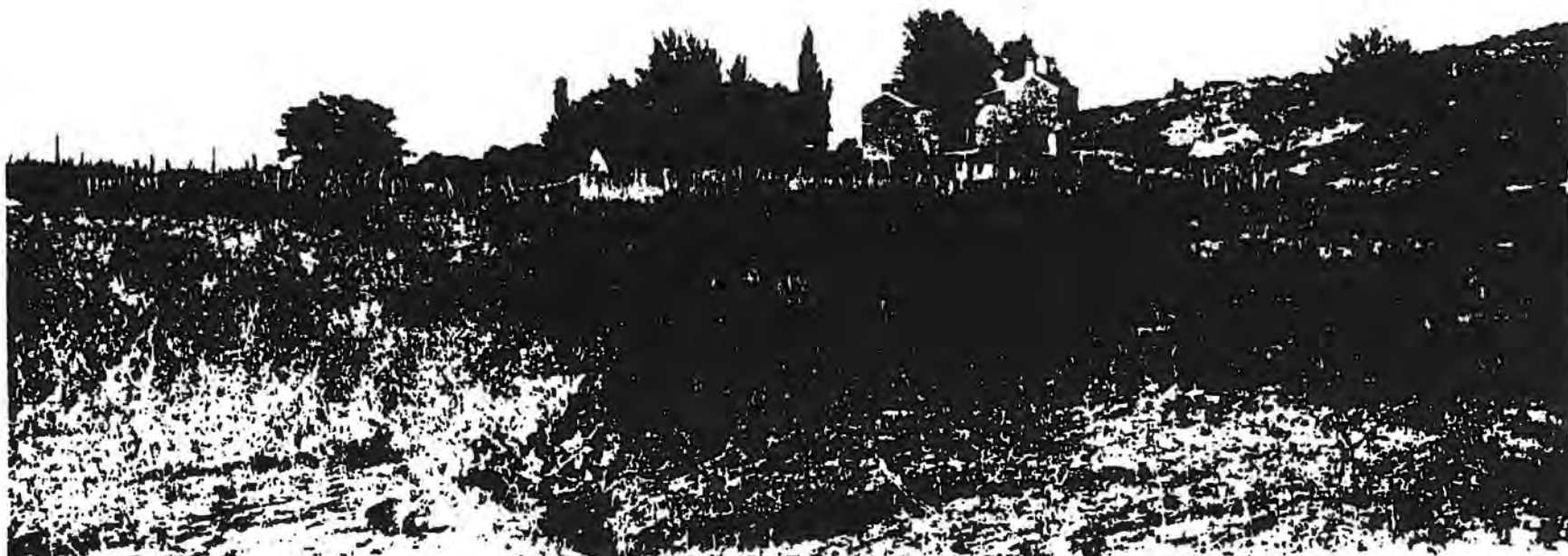


Figure 8

Ca. 1900 photograph courtesy of the Arizona Department of Library, Archives, and Public Records, Phoenix, Arizona. The above photo shows Pipe Spring from the east about the turn of the century. It reveals the easternmost corrals, east cabin with roof, and the wooden one room structure just east of the ponds. The apparently leaning building visible just above the east cabin could be an outdoor toilet.

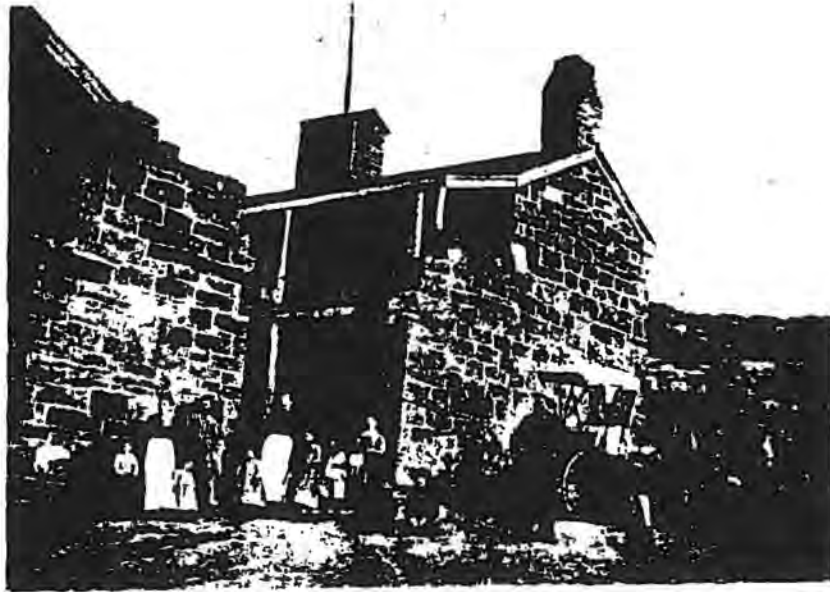


Figure 9

Photograph taken by J. J. Booth on April 27, 1891  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

The photo is the earliest known picture of the fort after the gates were removed and the extensions placed on the chimneys of the upper house. The individuals shown in the photo include Edwin D. Woolley, several hired men, and polygamist wives and children including Woolley's second wife Florence.

acted to enforce it until the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887. While a better known section of the latter act was directed against polygamy, section thirteen instructed the United States Attorney General to begin proceedings against any religious corporation in violation of the 1862 act. Any escheated land was to be sold and the proceeds used to support schools in the state or territory where it was located. The Mormon Church, which had been incorporated by the territory of Utah on July 19, 1855, was estimated to hold real estate valued at \$2,000,000. Pipe Spring was included as a part of that holding. The Utah Supreme Court, which heard the case in November 1887, upheld the government suit. The Church, which held the acts to be unconstitutional, appealed to the United States Supreme Court, but, when that court reviewed the case in 1890, the Church again lost.

In the meantime on August 22, 1887, before the escheatment case came before the Utah Supreme Court, John W. Young formed a holding company under New York state law (Kaibab Land and Cattle Company) to control Pipe Spring for the Church. As a result Pipe Spring escaped the escheatment action and Edwin D. Woolley continued his lease.

One year later in 1888, Daniel Seegmiller, Edwin Woolley's partner in the Upper Kanab dairy business, but not a co-leaseholder in Pipe Spring, must have thought that he could take advantage of the escheatment action on other Church land and obtain Pipe Spring for himself. He petitioned the United States General Land Office to grant him the Pipe Spring tract in exchange for land script he had obtained from Thomas B. Valentine, a Civil War veteran.<sup>57</sup>

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57. Some Civil War veterans were given land script by the government for their service during that war. It was to be used to obtain a homestead on the public domain or sold to others for that purpose.

The General Land Office, however, refused to take his script or allow him a homestead because the area had not been surveyed.

When the escheated lands were returned to the Church in October 1893, the Kaibab Land and Cattle Company probably stopped being the agent to administer Pipe Spring. Edwin Woolley, however, continued his lease on the land.

In mid-1895 the Church sold its Pipe Spring land to Benjamin F. Saunders, a local rancher. In order to obtain a clear title, Saunders evidently felt it necessary to buy any interest Daniel Seegmiller might have in the ranch. Although in reality Seegmiller had no hold on the land, Saunders paid him and received the Valentine script on July 23, 1895. In all likelihood Saunders made no changes in the fort.

Saunders owned Pipe Spring for only a short time. On December 2, 1895 he sold the land to David D. Bullock and Lehi Jones for \$3,550. When Bullock inspected the property before buying, he was impressed with the facilities, especially the corrals which he felt were the best he had seen on a ranch. The ponds just south of the fort contained fish which he thought to be carp.<sup>58</sup> After he purchased the property, Bullock hired Uriah Leigh to live at Pipe Spring and act as caretaker.<sup>59</sup>

Bullock and Jones, as chief stockholders, formed the Pipe Spring Cattle Company on May 24, 1897. That corporation in turn sold the ranch to A. D. Finley on November 3, 1902. Like Bullock and Jones, Finley evidently found it necessary to infuse the operation with more money since he, too, incorporated.

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58. Mrs. David C. Bullock, "The Buying of Pipe Spring," n.d., typescript in Pipe Spring National Monument files.

59. "The Cattle Business," p. 15.

On April 13, 1907 Finley formed the Pipe Spring Land and Livestock Company. His Pipe Spring holding was reduced to forty acres later that year when part of the township was withdrawn to create the Kaibab Indian Reservation. Less than two years later, Finley sold the forty acres to Jonathan Heaton and his sons William, Israel, Ira, Junius, Jonathan, Jr., Charles, and Fred. When they purchased the land on January 2, 1909, Finley carried the mortgage. The Heaton family obviously purchased the small land parcel for the water it contained.

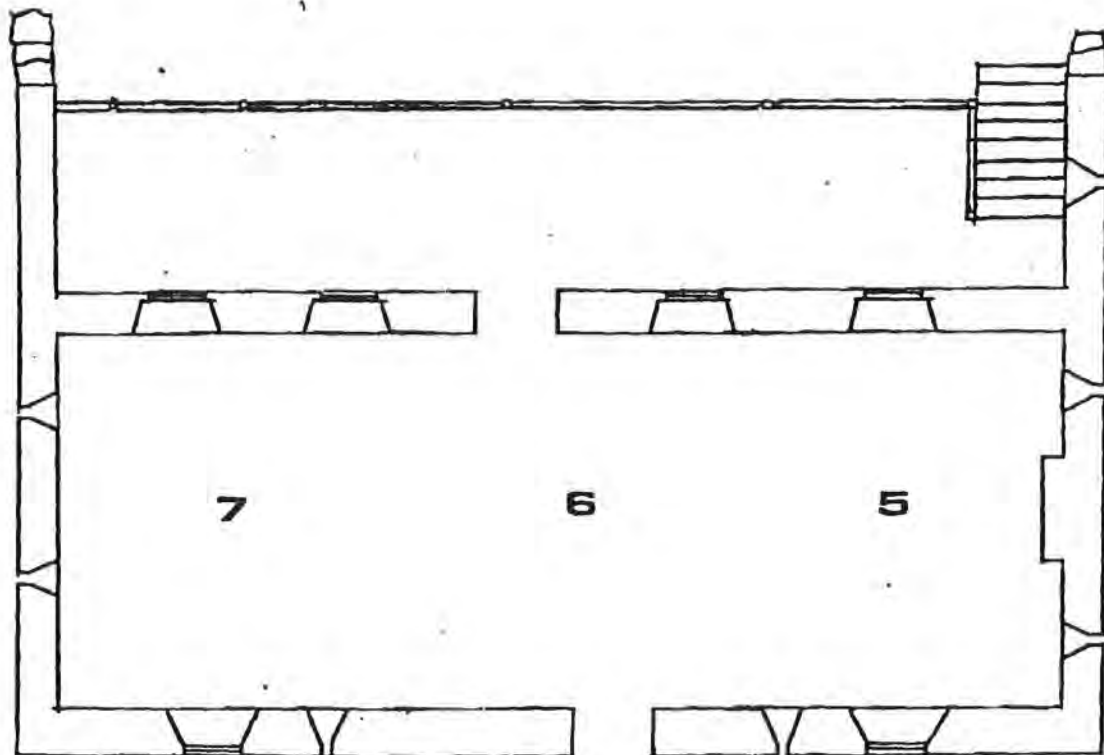
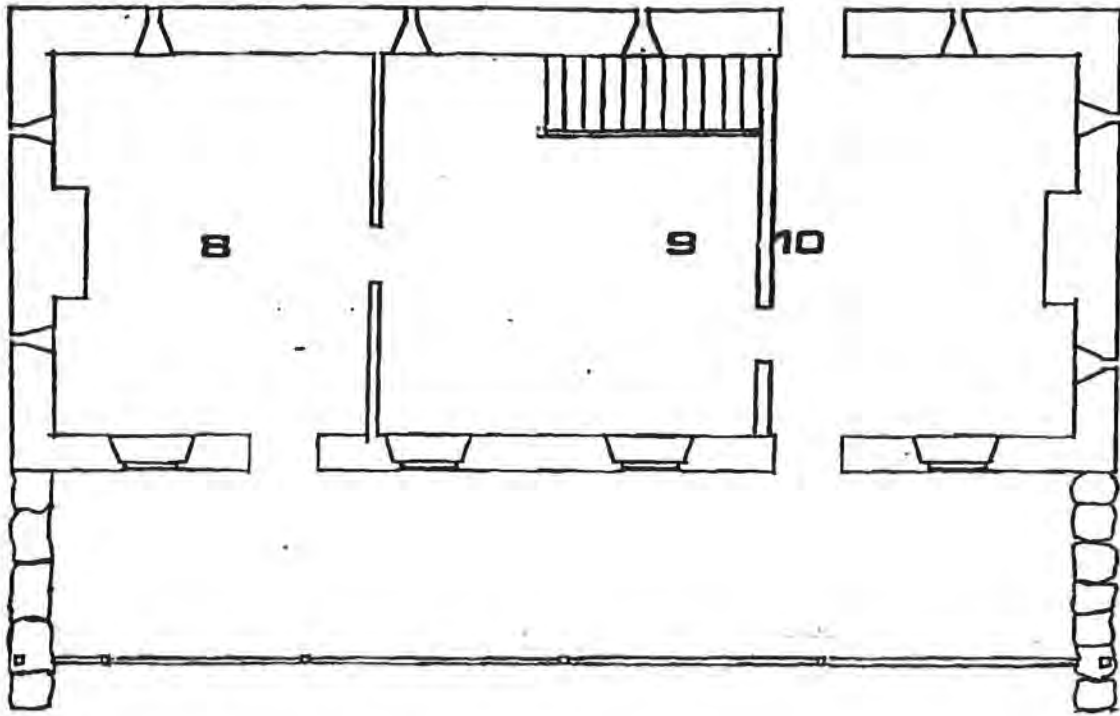
During the ownership of both Bullock and Jones, and Finley, Pipe Spring was occupied by caretakers and cowhands. At some point during the time they held the property, the two partition walls on the second floor of the lower house were removed, making the area one large room (figure 10). After the Heaton family acquired Pipe Spring, they fixed the floors (which undoubtedly meant replacing the water damaged floors in the first floor rooms of the upper house), repaired the windows, and did some plastering. They also removed the so called "crow's nest" from the roof of the north house about 1914. Without maintenance after 1895, the two stone cabins on the east and west of the fort began to deteriorate. Vandals also had a hand in the destruction. Several small wooden structures, including one located just east of the ponds, which David Bullock found there in 1895, were removed at an unknown time.<sup>60</sup> Five photographs (figures 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15) of the period show the fort in much the same condition as figure 6. The telegraph station sign, which was attached to the east end of the upper house's veranda and not visible in figure 6, was evidently replaced around 1908.

The Heaton family did not continuously use the Pipe Spring ranch for

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60. Interview of Mrs. Margaret Heaton by Richard Wilt, July 23, 1973; Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980; Bullock, "The Buying of Pipe Spring."

UPPER HOUSE



LOWER HOUSE

Figure 10  
**SECOND FLOOR PLAN.**  
- Ca. 1895-1905



Figure 12  
Ca. 1908 photograph  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

Photo taken from the east reveals the fort only slightly more  
deteriorated than in 1891

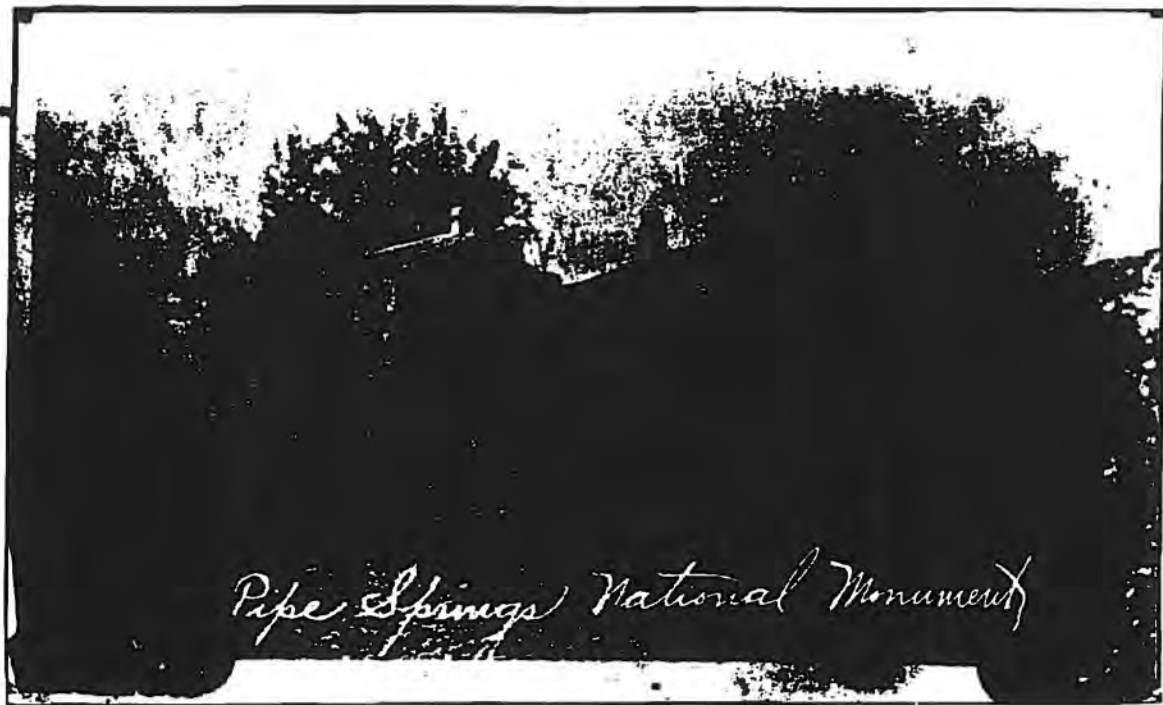


Figure 11  
1908 photograph by Charles Heaton  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

Photo taken from the east shows part of a corral in the foreground





Figure 14  
1913 photograph by J. Cecil Alter  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

Photo taken from the east shows the wretched condition of the shingles on the lower house



Figure 13  
Ca. 1910 photograph  
Courtesy of the Arizona Department of Library,  
Archives, and Public Records, Phoenix, Arizona

Photo taken from the east shows in good detail the crow's nest and flagpole atop the upper house roof. It also reveals a partly missing top course of stone above the ledge on the east chimney of the lower house. That course of stone, which had disappeared by the time the Park Service acquired Pipe Spring, was never replaced.

their cattle. In the 1915-17 period they rented the land to William Rust for \$10 per month. He wanted to purchase the ranch, but the Heaton would not sell it.<sup>61</sup> Sometime after Rust left, John White lived at Pipe Spring and acted as a caretaker for the Heaton.

In 1917 the remainder of the township, except the Pipe Spring acreage, was placed in the Kaibab Reservation. In early 1920 Charles Heaton, acting for his brothers, became alarmed that they might lose their property when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs counted it as part of the reservation. As a result on March 3, 1920 he petitioned the General Land Office to grant the Heaton brothers title to the land. He tried to use the Valentine script, which had been passed down from the successive owners, to obtain the forty acres. The General Land Office refused to grant Heaton a title because the records showed it was privately owned by A. D. Finley. Through an oversight, the Heaton had failed to get Finley to sign over the land to them after they had paid the mortgage which Finley held. To rectify the situation, Charles Heaton had his brother Israel get a quitclaim deed from Finley along with all water rights. They obtained the title on December 18, 1920.

#### PIPE SPRING BECOMES A NATIONAL MONUMENT

In the Fall of 1920, while scouting the southern Utah/northern Arizona area for potential new parks which would increase tourism to that region, Stephen Mather, the Director of the National Park Service, visited Pipe Spring. He was evidently looking for a number of natural and historical sites which

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61. "Notes for Pipe Spring from Life of William Rust," Woolley-Snow Family Collection.



Figure 15  
Ca. 1915 photograph by George K. Lewis  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

Photo taken from the east reveals the ruins of the east cabin  
in the foreground

could be easily promoted as a package for tourists. By interesting a transportation concern like the Union Pacific Railroad in such an arrangement, he could persuade them to provide some of the funds needed to add more parks to the system. At the same time it would benefit such a company with an additional source of revenue. Upon seeing Pipe Spring, Mather decided that the fort and its adjacent land had significant historical merit to qualify as a national monument.<sup>62</sup> One year later, in the Fall of 1921, Mather returned to the southern Utah/northern Arizona area with a group of Union Pacific officials to show them the area's potential.

On his first visit Mather briefly discussed the idea of Pipe Spring as a national monument with the Heaton's. They seemed receptive to the suggestion and promised to furnish the labor for restoration should it be added to the National Park Service. Over a year later, Mather wrote to George Smith, an official of the Mormon Church, to ask him to approach the Heaton's about selling Pipe Spring. Mather wanted Smith to negotiate a purchase price and then act as spokesman to raise the necessary funds. In addition he placed a heavy emphasis on his belief that Pipe Spring as a national monument would "be a big stimulus to the work that is now going on to develop the tourist possibilities of this southern Utah and northern Arizona country."<sup>63</sup>

Smith worked with Heber J. Grant, the Church president, to shepherd the Pipe Spring project to fruition, but the Church proceeded slowly. Grant wrote to Mather almost a year and a half later that he had corresponded with

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62. Stephen Mather to Charles Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 6, 1921, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

63. Stephen Mather to George A. Smith, January 18, 1922, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

Charles Heaton and established \$5,000 as the selling price. The Church, he said, would subscribe some of the money and he intended to approach the Oregon Short Line, a Union Pacific subsidiary, for additional funds. Mather quickly replied to Grant that it was urgent to have the money for Pipe Spring within a month so President Warren Harding could sign the proclamation before he left on his western trip. He ended the letter, "so please do all in your power to put this pet project of mine through in the next thirty days."<sup>64</sup>

Mather obviously felt the Mormon Church would not work to raise funds within the month, for, on the same day that he wrote to Heber Grant, he also wrote to Lafayette Hanchett, president of the National Copper Bank in Salt Lake City, to enlist his aid. Mather told Hanchett that Grant was endeavoring to get contributions for the purchase of Pipe Spring, but he wanted Hanchett to provide a little outside stimulation to hasten the process. He then revealed the reason why he wanted the money raised so quickly to buy Pipe Spring and get it proclaimed a monument before Harding left Washington. Mather had already scheduled a trip to take several congressmen to the southern Utah/northern Arizona area soon after the president departed for the west so "Pipe Springs must be a national monument by the time I reach it so that we can convince the Congressmen who are going to accompany me, and who happen to handle these specific appropriations, that we need funds for its proper restoration."<sup>65</sup>

In the meantime, Mather had A. E. Demaray draw up the proclamation.

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64. Heber J. Grant to Stephen Mather, May 12, 1923; Stephen Mather to Heber J. Grant, May 21, 1923, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

65. Stephen Mather to Lafayette Hanchett, May 21, 1923, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

When that task was accomplished on May 23, Mather submitted it to Charles Burke, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Burke returned the proclamation two days later, but disapproved it for lacking a provision by which the Indians on the surrounding Kaibab reservation could use Pipe Spring water. He provided a clause that he wanted inserted. It read, "the Indians of the Kaibab Reservation, shall have the privilege of utilizing waters from Pipe Spring for irrigation, stock watering and other purposes, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior." In haste and without any forethought to the future consequences of such a provision, Mather had it written into the proclamation and returned it to Burke who endorsed it on May 28. Mather rushed the proclamation to the president who signed it on May 31, 1923.<sup>66</sup>

Although Pipe Spring had become a national monument, the Heatons still owned it, for the fund raising had not been completed in time. Despite that fact, Mather worried that the Heatons might discontinue caring for the property. As a result he directed B. L. Vipond to ask the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs to have the superintendent of the Kaibab Reservation look after the place to prevent vandalism.<sup>67</sup>

Mather's request soon led to an acrimonious confrontation at Pipe Spring when A. E. Demaray arrived there in July with the congressional delegation. On his doctor's advice, Mather did not travel with the group,

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66. Memorandum for Mr. Mather by A. E. Demaray, May 23, 1923; Memorandum for the Secretary by Charles Burke, May 25, 1923, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

67. Memorandum for Mr. Meritt, Asst. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by B. L. Vipond, June 7, 1923, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

but sent Demaray in his place. When the group reached Pipe Spring, Charles Heaton met them there. He was extremely irritated because he thought the Kaibab Reservation superintendent, E. A. Farrow, had come to Pipe Spring to oust his caretaker, John White, and administer the place. Local ranchers, including Heaton, intensely disliked Farrow because they felt he too zealously acted in the Indians' interests, even to the point of overstepping his bounds. As a result Heaton refused to sell Pipe Spring unless White were assured he could remain there. In addition Heaton had evidently heard of the proclamation provision which allowed the local Indians the "privilege" of using Pipe Spring water. Evidently worried that if Farrow became the Pipe Spring manager the Indians would get all the water, he informed the visitors that he had sold some of the water rights to local ranchers which he insisted would have to be recognized as a precondition to selling the property. When Demaray could not make any promises that Heaton's demands would be met, the argument intensified. Congressman Louis B. Cramton, chairman of the subcommittee for Interior Department appropriations, was not impressed by the situation in which he found himself. He stated that he could not accept Heaton's demands and even went so far as to say that under the circumstance he would not promise any money for improvements and restoration. As a result Mather's grand scheme to obtain the necessary funds for Pipe Spring, by showing the place to the congressmen who could supply the money, crumbled. Only a partial concession was made to Heaton by allowing John White and his family to live at Pipe Spring until the end of 1923,<sup>68</sup>

In early September 1923 Stephen Mather journeyed to Pipe Spring where

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68. A. E. Demaray to Heber Grant, July 30, 1923, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.



he met with Charles Heaton to continue the sale negotiations. Mather agreed to allow local cattlemen access to one-third of the water. In return Heaton confirmed the \$5,000 selling price of which he would donate \$500 with another \$500 to come from the people of Kane and Washington counties. If the latter sum could not be raised, then Heaton said he would contribute the entire \$1,000.<sup>69</sup>

The collection of money for purchasing Pipe Spring seemed to drag on interminably. Finally, on December 5, 1923 the Union Pacific sent its \$1,000 pledge to complete the \$4,000 which the Mormon Church had been charged with collecting, but that still left the \$500 Charles Heaton was to get from the people of Kane and Washington counties. Mather wrote to Ole Bowman of Kanab, Utah to inquire about the latter sum. Bowman replied that he was unaware that anything was being done to raise the \$500.<sup>70</sup>

About the time that Mather wrote to Ole Bowman about the Kane and Washington counties' contribution, Charles Heaton also made an inquiry. He wrote to Heber Grant, the Church president, that no money had been collected. As a result, he was ready to donate the final \$1,000. Heaton also stated that he had a quitclaim deed drawn up by which the Park Service would get two-thirds of the Pipe Spring land while the remainder would be held by local ranchers, "that is one-third of the water and enough land for corrals in handling cattle." That land division surprised Grant, so he notified Mather about Heaton's

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69. Memorandum on Pipe Spring by Stephen Mather, n.d., National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

70. Dan Spencer to Stephen Mather, December 5, 1923; Stephen Mather to Ole Bowman, December 10, 1923; Ole Bowman to Stephen Mather, December 20, 1923, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

action. Mather telegraphed Grant to say that Heaton had evidently misunderstood the water agreement he had made with him. The Park Service wanted a deed for the entire forty acres without conditions. As a result he asked Grant to "please defer payment."<sup>71</sup>

Heaton's behavior set off another round of negotiations. Mather wrote to him on February 11, 1924 to express his regret about the land matter and explained that he had only agreed to allow local ranchers to have one-third of the Pipe Spring water which would be piped one to two miles away from the site so as not to obstruct the view. Heaton replied that he was sorry about the misconception, for he was only trying to make sure the cattlemen got their one-third of the water. He also asked to have a public water reserve established about a mile southwest of Pipe Spring where the tunnel spring water could be piped for cattle. Mather informed him that he would look into such a public water reserve, but, since it would be located on the Indian reservation, he would have to consult the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.<sup>72</sup>

Mather requested that Commissioner Burke get the executive order which established the Kaibab reservation amended so a water reserve could be located where Heaton wanted it. E. A. Farrow, the Kaibab reservation superintendent, intruded into the affair and convinced the Indian office engineer not to approve the water reserve. With that denial, Mather went to see Burke and succeeded in getting the decision reversed. In the meantime, Frank Pinkley,

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71. Charles Heaton to Heber Grant, December 18, 1923; Stephen Mather to Heber Grant, January 4, 1924, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

72. Stephen Mather to Charles Heaton, February 11, 1924; Charles Heaton to Stephen Mather, February 29, 1924; Stephen Mather to Charles Heaton, March 13, 1924, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

chief of the Park Service's Southwestern Monuments, met with Heaton and Farrow to try to bring the two men to a mutual agreement over the water situation. Farrow became belligerent and announced that when the cattlemen's permit to graze their livestock on the reservation expired in three years, he intended to prevent its renewal, thereby cutting the ranchers off from getting Pipe Spring water which he felt should be used to irrigate Indian land. Heaton, to say the least, was not overjoyed with Farrow's attitude. Pinkley, however, kept the situation in control and suggested that the cattlemen water their livestock on one corner of the monument. He hoped, by that arrangement, the Park Service would be in a better position to settle any future dispute. Farrow then recanted and agreed not to protest the use of reservation land for watering cattle with Pipe Spring water and in addition, if the grazing permit were not renewed in three years, the water could be piped beyond the reservation to the public domain. Water rights, however, again became an issue at a later date. Finally, with all parties in accord for the moment, Mather could relax. After Heaton received payment on October 8, he forwarded a quitclaim deed which was received by the Secretary of the Interior on October 23, 1924.<sup>73</sup> With Pipe Spring at last owned by the National Park Service, the work of restoration could begin.

#### STABILIZATION AND RESTORATION: THE INITIAL PLAN

In September 1923, about a year before the National Park Service acquired title to Pipe Spring, Mather asked Frank Pinkley to go there and

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73. Stephen Mather to Charles Burke, March 13, 1924; Stephen Mather to Frank Pinkley, May 30, 1924; Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, June 10, 1924; Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, June 13, 1924; Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, to Stephen Mather, October 23, 1924, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

assess the restoration needs. Mather told him that the fort's large wooden gates needed to be rebuilt so the courtyard would again be enclosed. He also informed Pinkley that much of the woodwork needed replacement and the roof required new shingles. Three photographs which Mather took of the fort in the Fall of 1920 (figures 16, 17, and 18) also showed a need to point the mortar in some areas of the two buildings. Since the incident in July between Heaton and Farrow had prejudiced Congressman Gramton against providing restoration funds for the 1924-25 fiscal year, Mather suggested that Pinkley visit George Hunt, the governor of Arizona, and solicit money from him both for Pipe Spring and for road improvements.<sup>74</sup>

Pinkley traveled to Pipe Spring in early October 1923. After consultation with Charles Heaton, he reported that he thought the stone structure west of the fort should be restored first since it would provide experience with local materials and labor. The fort would have to wait until later, but in any case restoration would take a number of years because of scarce money.<sup>75</sup>

In the meantime John White, Heaton's hired man who lived at Pipe Spring, wrote to Stephen Mather to inquire if the Park Service Director wished him to stay beyond the end of 1923. Mather, who directed his reply through Charles Heaton, expressed the hope that White would stay at least until the summer of 1924, although the Park Service had no money to pay him to do so. In early 1924, upon hearing that White received only \$25 per month from the Heaton's, Mather provided an additional \$25 monthly through June from his own funds. The subject of what to do with White came up in June 1924. Since Pinkley

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74. Stephen Mather to Frank Pinkley, September 8, 1923, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924.

75. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), November 5, 1923.

Figure 16

Photograph taken by Stephen Mather in the Fall of 1920 .  
Courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Photo taken from the southeast shows the poor condition of the shingles on the upper house, the loss of brick on the chimneys, missing balusters in the upper house veranda balustrade, and the lack of mortar in some areas. A second canopy support post was evidently placed on the east end of the upper house's veranda not too many years before the picture was taken.

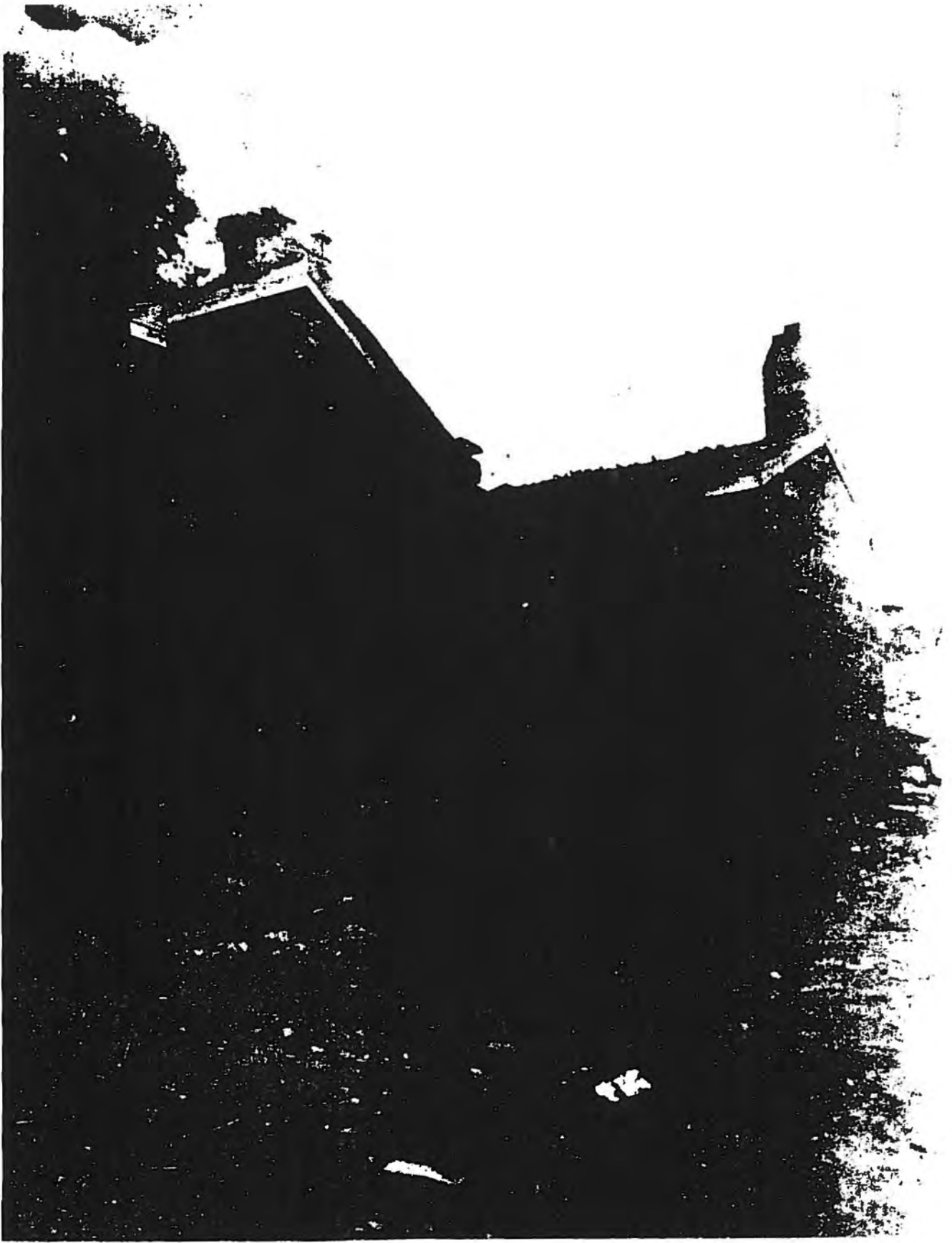


Figure 17

Photograph taken by Stephen Mather in the Fall of 1920  
Courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Photo taken of part of the south wall of the lower house. It reveals a need to replace mortar in some areas.

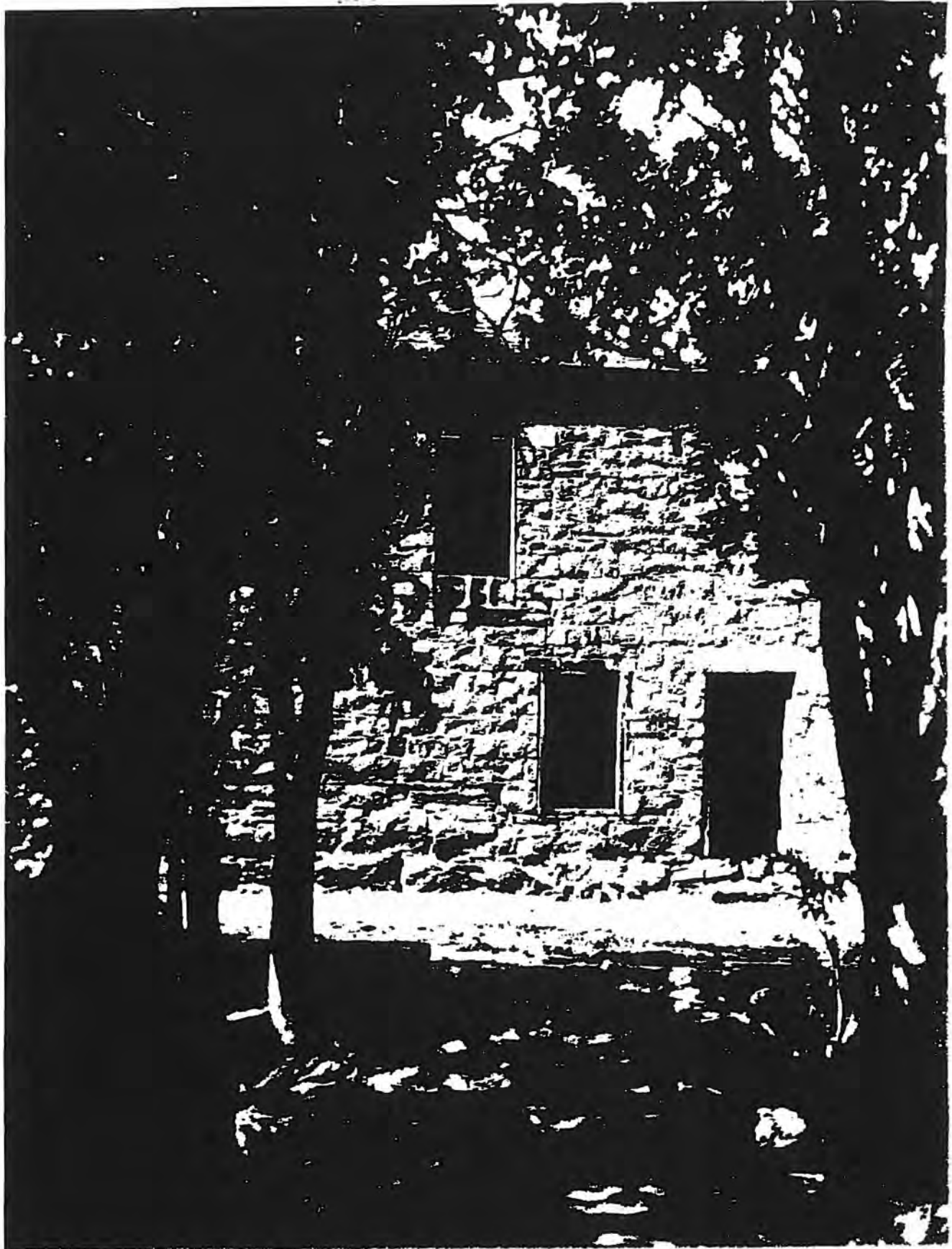




Figure 18  
Photograph taken by Stephen Mather in the Fall of 1920  
Courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Photo taken from the east displays most of the same deficiencies  
shown in figure 13.



did not think he was good custodian material, he proposed that Charles Heaton be made custodian with White retained as a laborer working under Heaton's direction. A. E. Demaray, the acting Park Service Director, opposed Pinkley's idea to hire Heaton as custodian since, as a representative of the ranchers' water rights interests, he might provoke E. A. Farrow, the Kaibab superintendent, into taking a more extreme position in the Indians' behalf. Demaray did not offer any immediate solution to the White problem. He evidently did not feel White could remain at Pipe Spring indefinitely, since Demaray did not envision him as part of the ultimate plan for the place which was to make it into a camping and lunch station for tourists traveling between Zion and the north rim of the Grand Canyon. Without a firm decision on his future, White remained and, with a meager appropriation in the 1924-25 fiscal year, began the initial restoration under Charles Heaton's direction.<sup>76</sup>

Mather notified Pinkley that on October 15, \$300 had been set aside for Pipe Spring restoration. Since Pinkley had already decided to work on the outbuildings first, John White was put to work gathering native materials for the west cabin. In the Spring of 1925 he notified Stephen Mather that his financial situation made it necessary for him to have additional income. He asked to be granted a five year permit for a gas station at Pipe Spring. Mather wrote to Pinkley about White's request and observed that he disapproved such a scheme. It fell to Pinkley to tell White of the decision, but he softened the answer with a promise that White could stay another year and

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76. John White to Stephen Mather, November 16, 1923; Stephen Mather to Charles Heaton, November 24, 1923; Stephen Mather to Charles Heaton, February 11, 1924, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, June 6, 1921-June 12, 1924; Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, June 28, 1924; A. E. Demaray to Frank Pinkley, July 9, 1924, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926.

augment his income by selling vegetables, fruit, butter, milk, and eggs to tourists. Evidently that concession did not entirely satisfy White, for he soon asked to use the ground floor rooms of the upper house to prepare and serve hot lunches to tourists. The use of those rooms proved unfeasible for such an undertaking, however, because of the deteriorated floors. Unable to provide his family with a decent income, White sought his fortune elsewhere in the Fall of 1925. As a result Stephen Mather decided to offer the custodian position to Charles Heaton's son Leonard. Since he was a local boy, Mather felt that Leonard would be better suited to the job than an outsider and, besides, it would keep the Heatons more directly interested in Pipe Spring.<sup>77</sup> Leonard began work in February 1926.

#### LANDSCAPE CHANGES

Frank Pinkley traveled to Pipe Spring at the end of June 1925 and spent the entire month of July working to oversee John White and some local laborers in landscape changes and restoration. He reported to Mather that:

We took out a hundred yards of fence on the line as one approaches from the west. This was a fence made of cedar posts planted as closely as they would stand some eight or nine feet high and they obscured the foreground as one approached the place. We replaced this with a barbed wire fence which is quite inconspicuous as compared with the other.

We put in a cattle guard at the west entrance to the monument. . . .

The main buildings at Pipe Spring, as you know have long

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77. Frank Pinkley to Charles Heaton, October 21, 1924; John White to Stephen Mather, April 1, 1925; Stephen Mather to Frank Pinkley, May 6, 1925; Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, July 27, 1925, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Monthly Report of Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, April 1, 1925, Western Archeological Center, Tucson, Arizona.

been used as headquarters for this whole cattle range and the place was all messed up with corrals and fences. We took out a cedar post fence just west of the spring which was spoiling the view to the southwest; a fence around the pools which was an eyesore and is no longer needed; two corrals to the east of the buildings which were in the foreground as one approached from the east [figure 19]; a fence and gate which connected these corrals with the fence around the pools; and the big corrals where the round-ups have been held these last forty years and would have continued to be held if we had not removed them. We changed the line of about 200 yards of other fence, throwing it behind trees and bushes and hiding it almost completely.

According to Dilworth Woolley's description of Pipe Spring as it looked in 1886, the fence around the pools, the two east corrals, and the fence and gate which connected those corrals to the pools were there at that date. In addition to removing the fences, Pinkley wrote:

We rebuilt 100 yards of rock wall around the two pools and graded two sites, one at the east and one at the west end of the pools for automobile campers. We built a terrace wall 30 feet long and from one to three feet high in line with the front of the big building and in front of the spring.<sup>78</sup>

In his early years at Pipe Spring, Leonard Heaton made some other landscape changes. He reported in March 1926 that he had planted a few peach trees, and some gooseberry and currant bushes on the south side of the field and around the cattle corral. Later that year Pinkley gave Heaton permission to plant more fruit trees and some grape vines. In April 1927 Heaton set out fifty-four apple and plum trees south of the fort and twenty-five elm trees to the west along the fence south of the road. He also

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78. Monthly Report of Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, August 1, 1925; "Questions on History of Pipe Spring Answered by Dilworth Woolley."



Figure 19

Photograph taken by Frank Pinkley in 1925  
Courtesy of the National Park Service,  
Western Archeological Center, Tucson, Arizona

Photo taken from the east shows the type of fence in the foreground that Pinkley installed to replace the two corrals.

planted 500 grape vines.<sup>79</sup>

In early 1934 a Civil Works Administration work crew of fifteen men helped to make additional landscape changes. The road between the fort and ponds was relocated so vehicles could not drive in that area. They cleaned the outer four feet of the Tunnel spring drainage system which was timbered, cut an additional fourteen feet back from that area, stone lined the span, and installed a manhole. They graded and filled a wash and, lastly, removed functionless fence.<sup>80</sup>

#### THE FORT'S INTERIOR

Since the initial restoration appropriation was not used on the fort, Pinkley did not turn his attention to those two buildings until early 1926. Only the second floor of the upper house was in fair condition when the Park Service acquired Pipe Spring. Moisture beneath the ground floor in that structure had wreaked havoc upon the joists and floor boards. The lower house also required considerable restoration. The upper story had been converted to one large room which had some warped floor boards and needed plaster, while the ground floor rooms required extensive renovation.

#### Ground Floor of the Lower House (room one)

The east room (room one) of the lower house was in poor condition

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79. Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, March 19, 1926; Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, September 24, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, April 7, 1927, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, February 1926-July 30, 1930.

80. Report of A. E. Cowell, Park Engineer on Civil Works Projects in Pipe Spring National Monument. Full Operation Period December 16, 1933 to March 22, 1934, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

by the 1920s. Little plaster remained on the walls, the floor was only dirt, and the window, which Florence Woolley had installed in 1886, was devoid of glass. Pinkley was puzzled about the composition of the original floor. Mrs. Margaret Heaton told him that she remembered a wooden floor in the room, but another individual had stated that it was covered with stone. Pinkley wrote to Leonard Heaton that when he was at Pipe Spring in July 1925, "I did not trench around the room, for I thought we would not get to that problem for two or three years; but I could not find indications in the walls where sills had been in and I suspect the original floor was of stone slabs and in later days a wooden floor was put in without bedding the sills in the walls. If this is the case, we will want a stone floor in that room."<sup>81</sup> (Eight years after Pinkley's observations, Florence Woolley recounted that a wood floor existed there in the 1886-91 period.)

More than likely, Pinkley was incorrect about the room originally having a stone floor because he did not know the use for which the room was intended. If the room were intended for use by the cowhands, as it was used when Florence Woolley arrived at Pipe Spring in 1886, then it could have initially had a dirt floor over which a wooden floor was soon laid. It is logical to assume that it was designed for the cowboys' use since it was a room isolated from the rest of the fort, having its only door in the exterior wall. Thus an individual could come and go without going through the courtyard. (The interior door to the west (spring) room was installed at a later, unknown time.)

Leonard Heaton did some investigation on the floor. He reported that

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81. Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, January 20, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), January 1933.



as near as he could determine the room seemed to have had no floor, for everyone he asked could only remember dirt in the room. After an investigation, he wrote, "there are no flat rocks that I can find, but on the south side there are a row of rocks that extend out six inches in the room and are about two inches above the present level of the floor. On the north side there are in one place rock which extend out about four or five inches."<sup>82</sup> Heaton asked Pinkley what type of floor should be laid in the room. Pinkley replied that the best and least costly would be flat slabs of rock. As a result, Heaton and his father installed a rock floor in March and April 1927. The rock came from Bullrush wash. In April 1944 the weathered rock was replaced and new concrete mortar was put in the cracks between the rocks.<sup>83</sup>

In his early 1926 communication with Heaton, Pinkley told him to plaster the entire room since the original plaster was so nearly destroyed that it could not be saved. Heaton accomplished the task later that year. In July 1941 much of the interior north wall was replastered by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Almost three years later, in May 1944, the other walls were patched where plaster had fallen. On July 21, 1959 an earthquake occurred in the area and caused some small cracks to appear in the plaster on the north and south walls. These openings were promptly repaired.<sup>84</sup>

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82. Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, March 19, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926.

83. Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, March 31, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Superintendent's Monthly Reports for April and May 1944, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949.

84. Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, January 20, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Superintendent's Annual Report, July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942, Pipe Spring General Correspondence, 55-A-269, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, Regional Archives, Denver, Colorado; Superintendent's Monthly Report for May 1944, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949; Memorandum to Zion National Park Superintendent from Leonard Heaton, July 22, 1959, Pipe Spring National Monument Files.

Pinkley reminded Heaton in his January 1926 letter that the windows should have old-style, small, glass panes and not the more modern glass sheets. In January 1959 the window on the south wall was removed and the opening filled with sandstone blocks from the old rock quarry to return it to its original appearance. Glass was placed in the rifle slits in the 1950s.<sup>85</sup>

#### Ground Floor of the Lower House (room two)

Room two has traditionally been called the "spring room," for here the Pipe Spring water was used to cool the area to benefit cheese and butter making, and food storage. The floor in the west room proved less of a mystery since most of the rock floor remained. Only the rocks several feet from the north wall were missing. Heaton and his father replaced those stone in March 1927. In April 1944, as in room one, the cracks between the floor rocks were cleaned, the weathered rock replaced, and new concrete mortar put in the cracks.<sup>86</sup>

Since Heaton found room two needed plaster as badly as room one, he also plastered the former room in 1926. In 1944 plaster cracks were repaired. By early 1950 moisture in the room had caused considerable plaster to fall and the sandstone behind it to deteriorate. That situation existed until November 1952 when all the plaster was removed and a cement plaster applied to the walls. The 1959 earthquake caused small cracks in the plaster. They

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85. Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, January 20, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Pipe Spring Maintenance Records, File B-1-PISP, Zion National Park Files; Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

86. Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, January 20, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, April 7, 1927, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, February 1926-July 30, 1930; Superintendent's Monthly Report for April 1944.

were promptly repaired.<sup>87</sup>

Pipe Spring water had evidently ceased to flow into the spring room for a number of years. In August 1926 Leonard Heaton located the area where the spring water passed into the upper house, crossed the courtyard, and entered the lower building. He restored the flow by using a two-inch pipe to conduct the water into the spring room where it entered a two feet square concrete box. It exited the box into a wooden trough in the room. From there the water left the room and flowed into a rock-filled ditch which carried it to the east pond.<sup>88</sup>

Heaton restored the glass in the room's one window in 1926. Glass was placed in the four rifle slits in the 1950s.<sup>89</sup>

The interior doorway between rooms one and two was not original. It was cut in the wall at some unknown time, but most likely in the 1895-1905 period. Heaton found that the wood in the frame and door had been milled with more modern methods than the woodwork in the rest of the fort.<sup>90</sup>

#### Ground Floor of the Upper House (rooms three and four)

The greatest problem encountered in rooms three and four has been the containment of spring water seepage which has caused the floor joists and

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87. Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980; Superintendent's Monthly Report for May 1944; Superintendent, Zion and Bryce Canyon to Regional Director, Region 3, April 3, 1950; Assistant Regional Director, Region 3, to Regional Director, November 18, 1952, Pipe Spring General Reports, 55-A-269; Memorandum to Zion National Park Superintendent from Leonard Heaton, July 22, 1959.

88. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), March 1, 1927.

89. Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

90. Ibid.

boards to rot to the point of replacement about every twenty to twenty-five years.

While at Pipe Spring in July 1925, Frank Pinkley noted that the floors in the two, first floor rooms of the upper house needed replacement since the sills and most of the boards had rotted. The floor in the east room (room four) was the worst. When Leonard Heaton removed the floors in August 1926, he found water standing on the ground beneath them. Since he found the place where the spring water had at one time been piped beneath the floor of room three, Heaton evidently felt that restoring the flow to the spring room would take care of the moisture situation. At any rate he made no effort to waterproof the area once he had restored the piping system. He merely replaced the floors with tongue-in-groove pine boards obtained from a local lumberyard which he nailed to new 2x8 inch joists. Heaton did not measure the old floor boards or joists since his father had replaced the floors about 1910. Although not mentioned as the cause, the moisture problem was probably the reason Charles Heaton had installed new floor boards and joists at that time.<sup>91</sup>

Moisture again became a noticeable problem by 1940. An inspection revealed decaying floor and mop boards as well as the bottom two to three feet of the door frames and cupboards where they came in contact with the walls. Water continued to stand on the ground beneath the floor. The following year, to correct the problem, Heaton had a CCC work crew excavate the east, north, and

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91. Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, July 27, 1925; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, September 12, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Memorandum to Zion National Park Superintendent from Leonard Heaton, December 9, 1947, Pipe Spring Ruins Protection, 55-A-269.

west sides of the upper house to ten inches below the foundation. A tarred concrete foundation was placed under the foundation rock and extended out four to six inches. Drain tile was laid on the north side at the base of the rock foundation to try and divert moisture from collecting under the floors.<sup>92</sup>

Despite the effort in 1941, Heaton reported in early 1942 that moisture continued to be present and had caused the floor boards in both rooms to warp. Nothing was done at the time to rectify the problem. By 1947 the floor in the east room (room four) had rotted to the point of replacement. When he removed the floor on that occasion, Heaton had to break up most of the boards both because they had decayed so badly and because the nails had rusted into them. Half of the 2x8 joists fell apart from rot when the floor was removed. Since he found no water on the ground beneath the floor this time, he ascribed that fact to the success of the drain tile. The interior back and west walls, however, were very damp. At the same time Heaton removed the cupboards from either side of the fireplace. He had evidently not removed them in 1926, for he found part of the original floor beneath them. Those tongue-in-groove boards measured from four and a half to six inches wide and were one inch thick. They were nailed with old square cut nails to 2x6 inch joists. Before he replaced the floor, Heaton pointed the lower wall and base cracks and placed wooden blocks on which to nail the cupboards and base boards. All of the floor wood which came in contact with the foundation rock as well as all the wood under the floor was treated with an oil and wood preservative. Before

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92. Memorandum for the Director by Dale King, May 27, 1940, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), May 1941.

he reinstalled the cupboards, he replaced any rotten and termite-eaten wood, cleaned and renailed them, and reset the hinges. He also removed the fireplace mantle and repaired it.<sup>93</sup>

Heaton waited eleven years before attending to the floor in the west room (room three). On January 30, 1959 the decaying pine floor boards were removed from that room and all the loose dirt beneath the floor was removed to bedrock. Five vent holes were drilled in the foundation to allow air circulation under the floor. Three of the holes were cut on the south or courtyard side while the remaining two were placed in the opposite foundation. The wall below floor level received a coat of cement plaster and the area where wood came in contact with the foundation was coated with hot tar. Instead of using pine, Heaton chose pretreated 2x8 fir for the joists. He covered them lengthwise with thirty pound building paper. Over the paper he nailed three-fourths inch thick 4x8 feet sheets of moisture-resisting plywood, which was treated on both sides. He completed the task with 3/4x6 inch tongue-in-groove floor boards treated on the underside. The finished floor was coated with linseed oil.<sup>94</sup>

The extensive attempts to prevent moisture damage to the floors went for naught, for by 1976 water seepage had again rotted the floors in the two rooms necessitating the removal of the west room floor in that year and the east room floor the following year. They had not been replaced by early 1980.<sup>95</sup>

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93. Leonard Heaton to the Superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, February 3, 1942, Pipe Spring General Correspondence, 55-A-269; Memorandum for the Zion Superintendent by Leonard Heaton, December 9, 1947, Pipe Spring Ruins Protection, 55-A-269; Superintendent's Monthly Report for December 1947.

94. Pipe Spring Maintenance Records, File B-1-PISP, April 1959.

95. Superintendent's Annual Reports for 1976, 1977, and 1978.

Several original items remain in the two rooms. The window frames, but not the glass, survived as well as the ceiling lath and closets. In 1926 Heaton put glass in the windows. The ceilings were replastered in the 1930s. Although he could not recall the date, Heaton put approximately one inch of cement plaster on the walls in the two rooms.<sup>96</sup>

#### Second Floor of the Lower House (rooms five, six, and seven)

At the time the Park Service acquired Pipe Spring, the partition walls between the three rooms on the second floor of the lower house were missing leaving one large space. In addition a number of floor boards were severely warped and the walls needed plaster. Pinkley felt that Leonard Heaton should replace the warped floor boards and then lay a second floor, which would be stained, on top of the existing one.<sup>97</sup>

With a limited budget, it took Heaton three years before he could attend to the floor. In 1929 he removed the first five or six floor boards from the north side across the entire length of the building and laid new floor boards in their place. With that task accomplished, he doubled the floor and stained it. In 1929, after the floor problem was corrected, the entire upper story was plastered. Early in the following year, Heaton restored the two interior walls with doorways and plaster. Thus, again, the second floor contained its historic three rooms.<sup>98</sup>

Plaster appeared to provide the greatest maintenance problem in the three

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96. Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

97. Frank Pinkley to Leonard Heaton, January 20, 1926; Memorandum for Mr. Mather by Frank Pinkley, August 14, 1926, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926.

98. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring), December 3, 1929 and February 10, 1930; Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

rooms. In July 1941 a CCC workforce replastered the ceiling in the east room (room five). During 1959, soon after the 1886 windows were removed from rooms five and seven and the door from room six and replaced with sandstone blocks, the loose plaster was scraped from all the walls and partitions. The rock walls were replastered with concrete while the partitions received a coat of gypsum and lime plaster. Later that same year, the earthquake caused a large crack in the ceiling and east wall of room five. One small crack appeared in room six while similar figures emerged in the ceiling and west wall plaster of room seven. All of the openings were promptly replastered. Glass was placed in the rifle slits in the 1950s.<sup>99</sup>

#### Second Floor of the Upper House (rooms eight, nine, and ten)

Of all the areas in the fort, the second floor of the upper house was in the best condition when the Park Service acquired Pipe Spring. At that time the upper story contained three rooms of which the center and east (rooms nine and ten) had been created by a partition which was probably added about 1874. To return the building to its original appearance, Leonard Heaton had the wall removed in the 1950s, thus returning the area to two rooms (figure 2). The floors and the wall plaster remain original.<sup>100</sup> Cleaning was all that Heaton needed to do on the second floor to refurbish it in the 1920s.

By early 1939, however, more and more plaster began to fall from the ceilings in the center and east rooms (nine and ten). As a result the old

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99. Superintendent's Annual Report, July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942; Pipe Spring Maintenance Records, File B-1-PISP; Memorandum to Zion Superintendent by Leonard Heaton, July 22, 1959.

100. Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.



blocks in place. Heaton had located the original blocks neatly stacked near the fort. By August of that year he had constructed the gates and had three of the four hung (figures 20 and 21).<sup>102</sup> Heaton did not replace the large, square red pine logs atop the walls since he was unaware that they had ever existed.

Heaton ultimately felt that the restored gates did not conform with the originals so he had them replaced in 1949. A local blacksmith forged the iron hinges and locks.<sup>103</sup>

#### Second Floor Verandas and Passageway

By 1926 the two verandas had significantly deteriorated, especially the one on the lower house. In July of that year Pinkley expressed his hope to restore them within several months. By September the lumber had arrived so Heaton began the work. He had the entire south veranda, except for the center support post, replaced by April 1927 (figure 22). On the north side he reinstated the missing balusters and replaced the floor, but retained the original floor joists (figure 23).<sup>104</sup>

Decay and termites weakened both verandas by 1951. In May and June of that year Heaton reinforced both porches. New 2x6 boards were placed on the

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102. Report of Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, August 4, 1926; Report of Frank Pinkley to the Director, National Park Service, February 1, 1928; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring), February 1, 1927, April 1 and September 5, 1928.

103. Superintendent's Monthly Report for June 1949; Zion Superintendent to the Regional Director, Region 3, April 3, 1950, Pipe Spring Ruins Protection, 55-A-269.

104. Memorandum for Mr. Mather by Frank Pinkley, August 14, 1926; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, September 12, 1926; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, April 29, 1927; Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

plaster was stripped from the ceilings of those rooms in June 1940 and a new coat applied. Glass was placed in the rifle slits in the 1950s.<sup>101</sup>

The 1959 earthquake caused some plaster to crack and fall from the ceiling and west wall in room eight. Fissures also appeared in the north and west walls of room nine as well as in the ceiling.

#### Interior Woodwork

Although reports occasionally mentioned replacement of interior woodwork, no specific locations were ever given. Leonard Heaton did state in 1940 that the woodwork was native long-leaf yellow pine. The usual preservation practice was to periodically coat interior wood with linseed oil.

#### THE FORT'S EXTERIOR

When the Park Service acquired Pipe Spring in 1924, the large double wooden gates at each end of the courtyard were missing, the roof needed reshingling, the so-called crow's nest required replacement, the second floor verandas needed restoration, and the mortar in the walls and chimney had to be pointed in areas as well as missing chimney bricks replaced.

#### Courtyard Gates

In July 1926 Frank Pinkley visited Pipe Spring and decided that part of the new fiscal year's appropriation should be used to restore the double gates at either end of the courtyard. Heaton reported in February 1927 that, when the weather warmed, he and his father planned to begin restoration on the rock work around the gates. The work progressed slowly, for, one year later, Heaton made the same report. It was not until March 1928 that he got the sandstone

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101. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports, January, February 1939, and June 1940.

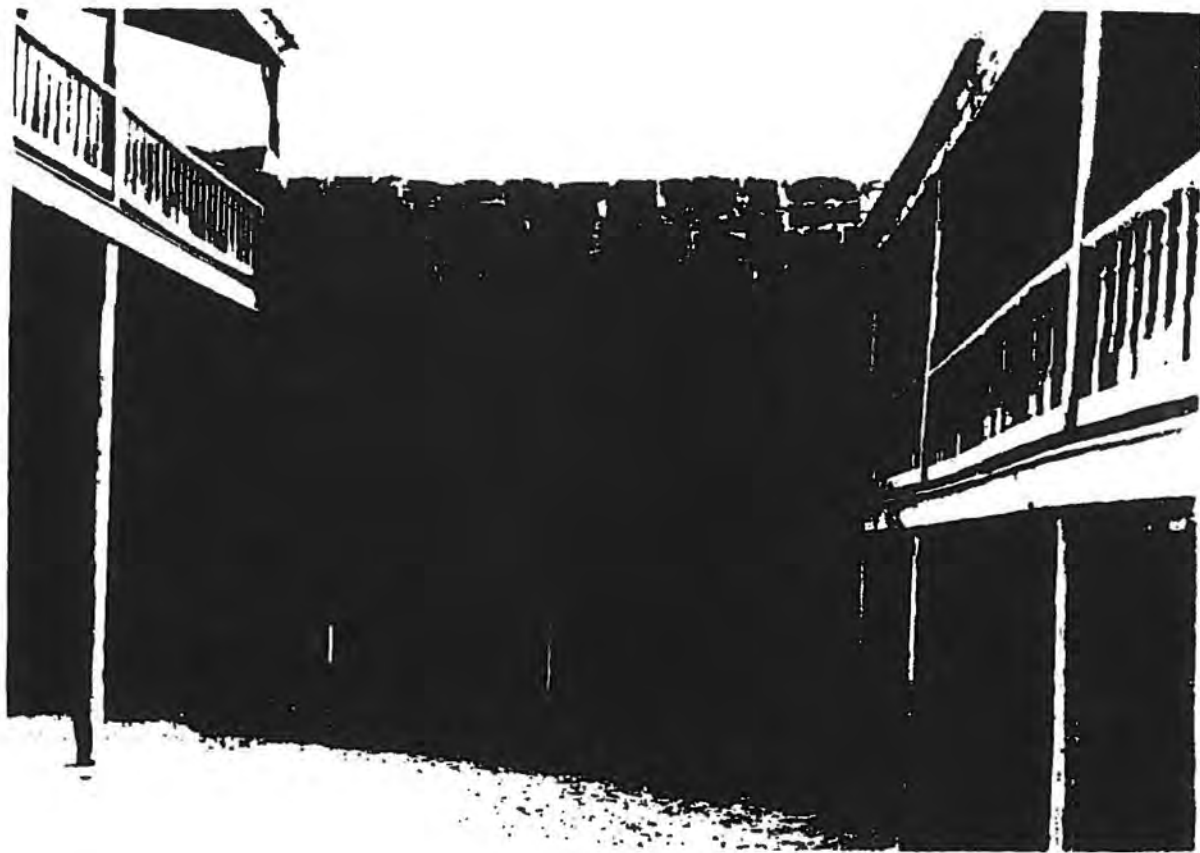


Figure 20  
April 1940 photograph  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

Interior view of the double gates hung in the east courtyard wall in 1928.



Figure 21  
April 1940 photograph  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

Interior view of the double gates hung in the west courtyard wall in 1928 as well as the passageway over the gates and its steeply pitched stairs leading to the lower house's veranda.

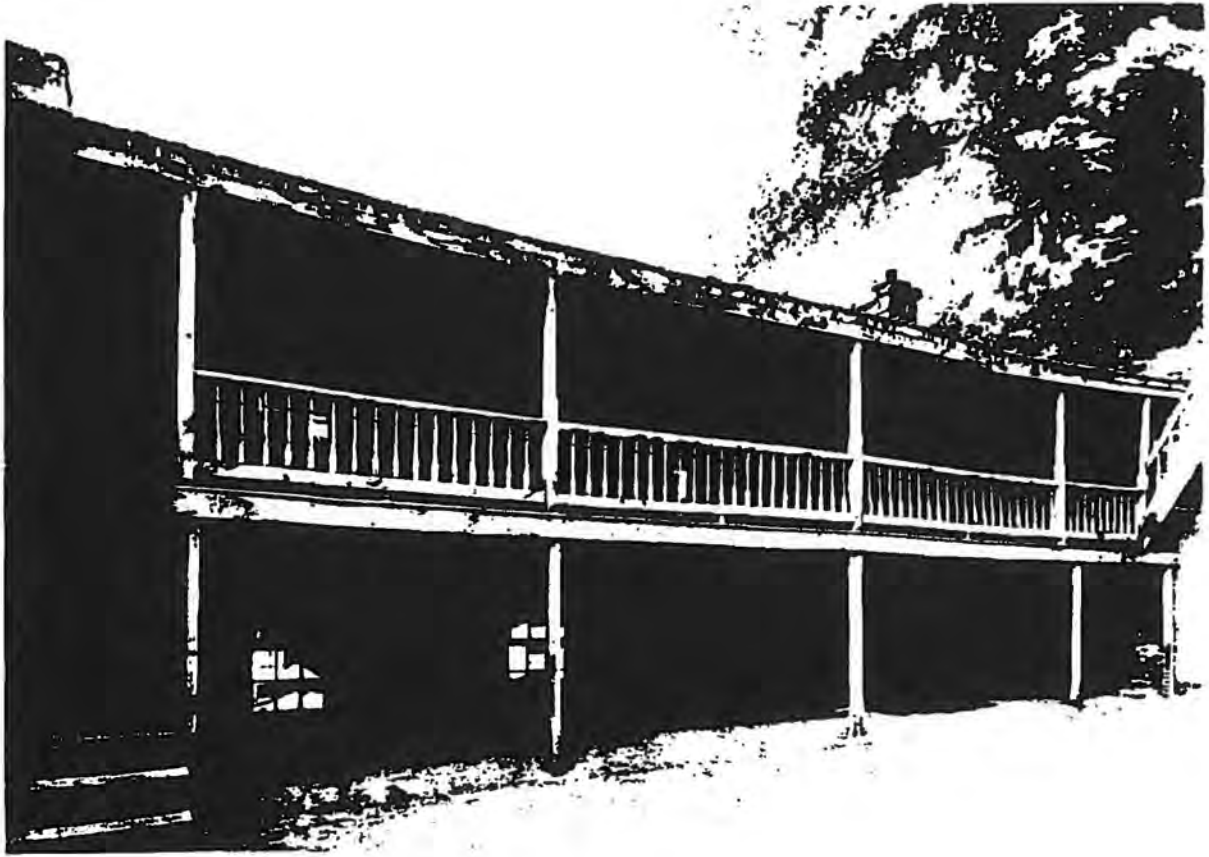


Figure 22  
April 1940 photograph  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

View of the lower house veranda.

west side of the old 2x6 floor joists and nailed together with No. 20 common nails. Angle irons were first bolted to the floor stringers to help support the new joists. In addition 2x6 bridging was placed at each end of the joists as well as midway between the stringers. A short piece of angle iron was bolted to the tops of the support posts, while concrete footings were placed under each of those posts with a three-fourths inch ten pin driven five inches into the posts and also into the concrete. The concrete footings for the north veranda posts measured 12x12 inches while those on the south were 12x8 inches. It was probably at this date that Heaton replaced the north veranda floor.<sup>105</sup>

With the verandas repaired and the gates in place, Heaton began to reconstruct the balustraded walkway which was located inside the west courtyard wall above the gate (figure 21). The walkway allowed an individual to pass between the verandas without descending to the ground floor. Heaton included the steeply pitched steps at the south end of the passageway which were necessary to reach the veranda level of the lower house. Those stairs ultimately proved a problem to visitors, so in 1961 he cut the walkway back a few feet and installed less steep stairs for safety (figure 24).<sup>106</sup>

The only problem which Leonard Heaton had with the passageway, aside from the safety factor, was one of floor joist decay. Because of its location in

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105. Report on Rehabilitation by Leonard Heaton, July 9, 1951, Pipe Spring Construction Projects, 55-A-269. In an interview of Leonard Heaton, he stated that the north veranda received a new floor in 1927 and had subsequently been refloored, but he could not remember the latter date. Extant records do not show that the floor was replaced a second time.

106. Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980; Pipe Spring Maintenance Records, File B-1-PISP.

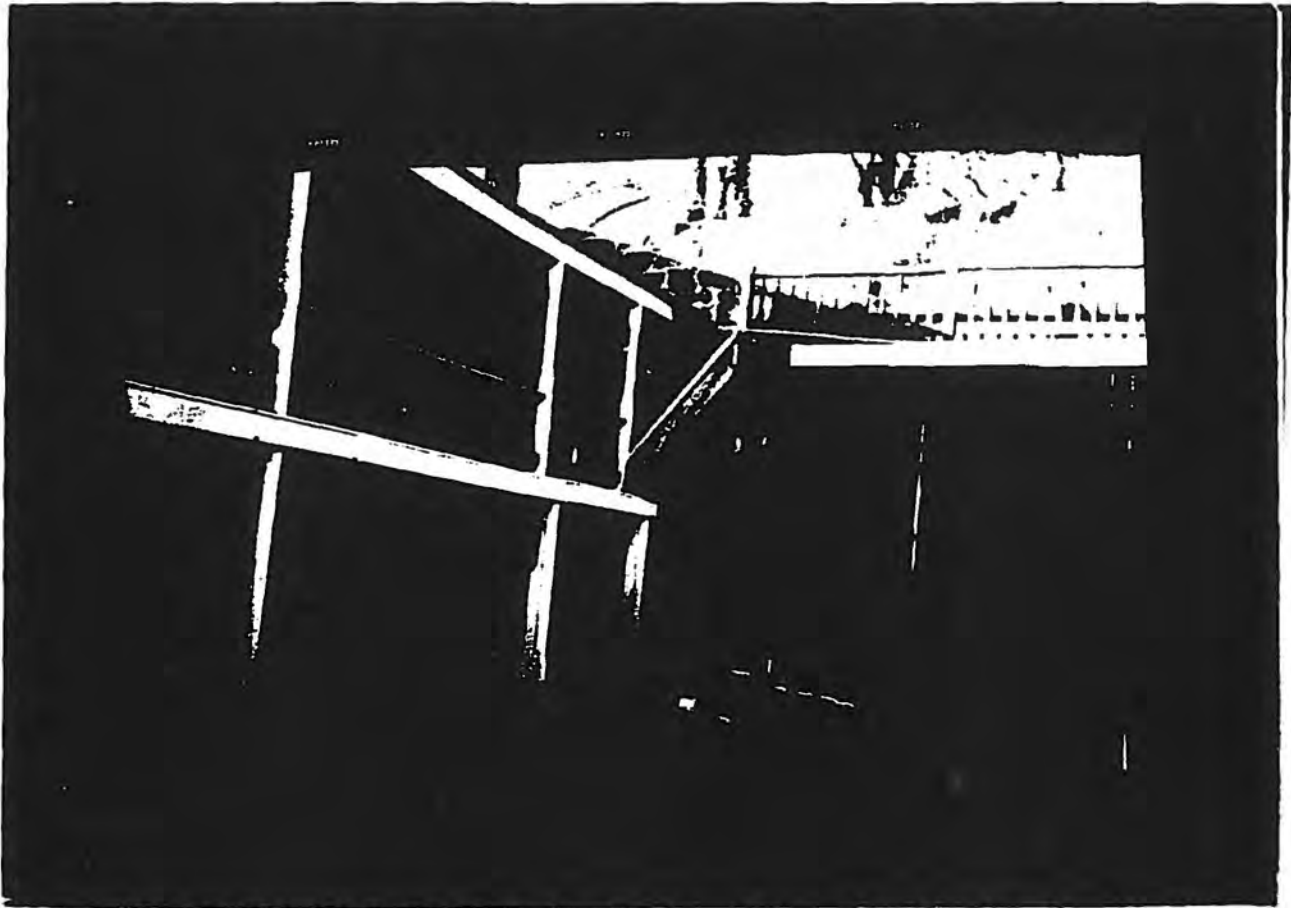


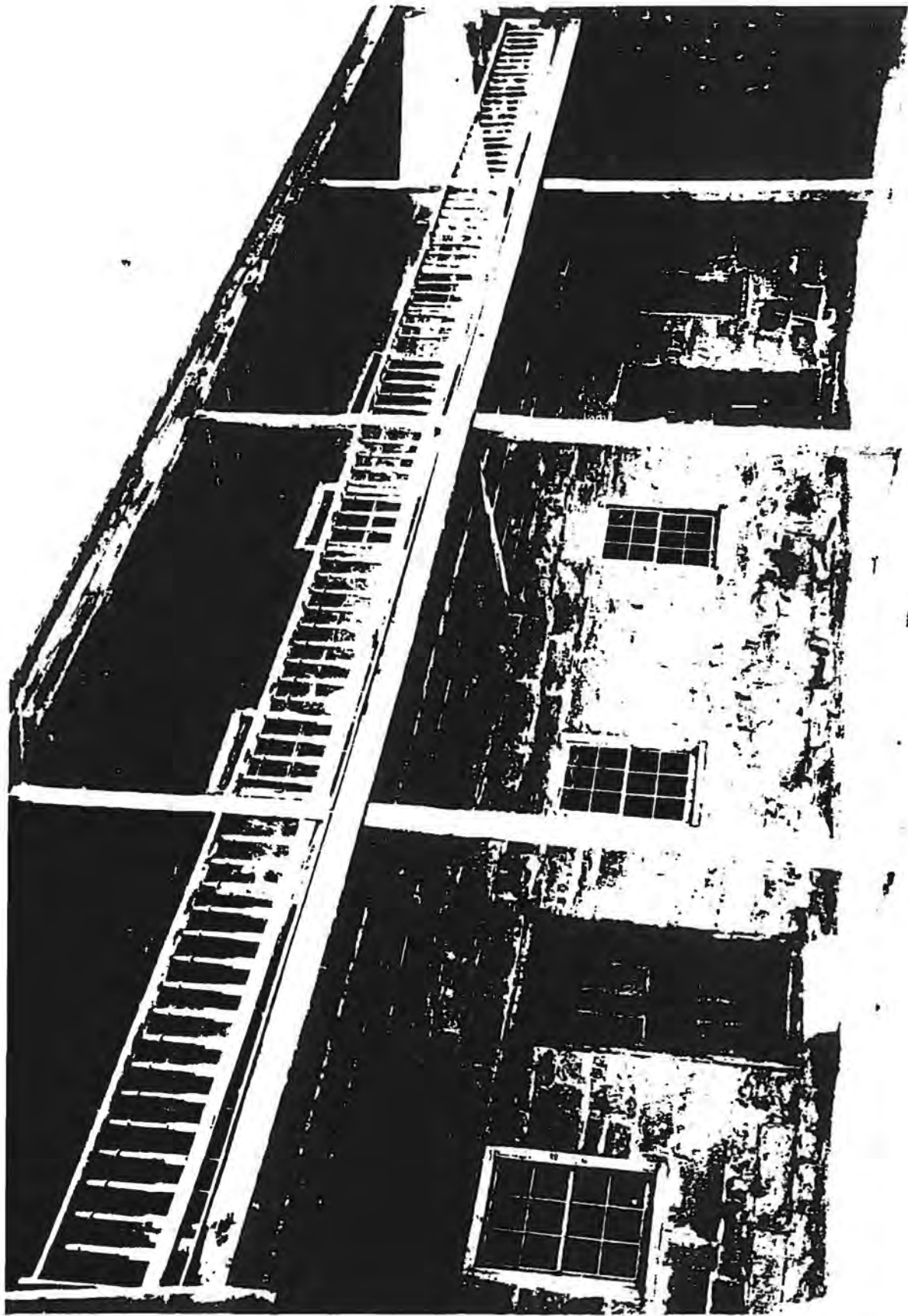
Figure 24  
1961 photograph by Leonard Heaton  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

View of the less steep change made in the stairs between the lower house veranda and the passageway over the west gates. The interior of the double gates which Heaton installed in 1949 are also visible.

Figure 23  
Ca. 1940 photograph by Charles W. Porter  
Courtesy of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

View of the upper house veranda.





a shady area, the joists retained moisture, necessitating an occasional replacement of one.<sup>107</sup>

#### Upper and Lower Buildings' Roofs

When Frank Pinkley inspected the Pipe Spring structures in July 1926, he decided to use part of the appropriation for replacing roofs on the fort buildings. He felt it was more appropriate to use hand-split shingles than commercial ones. Evidently, it was not difficult to obtain the former type of shingle since Heaton completed the work on the lower house's roof in early September of that year. In 1927 Heaton reinstated the so-called crow's nest atop the roof on the upper house as well as the flagpole which was attached to it. In the process he used all new lumber.<sup>108</sup>

A windstorm on March 31, 1936 blew away about one-third of the shingles and nailers on the north side of the west end of the upper house. Only the trussing remained. Heaton immediately replaced the missing portions of the roof and stained the shingles to remove their new appearance. The storm also tore off the flagpole and caused a dozen bricks to fall from the east chimney on the same structure.<sup>109</sup>

The duration of the hand-split shingles, which Heaton used in 1926, was apparently limited, for by 1938 they had begun to curl badly and needed

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107. Memorandum for the Director by Dale King, May 27, 1940, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949.

108. Report of Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, August 4, 1926; Leonard Heaton to Frank Pinkley, September 12, 1926; National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

109. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), April 1936; Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

replacement. The same shingle condition was reported in 1940. As a result special hand-split shingles were ordered in early 1941 and placed on the upper and lower houses by the CCC in May of that year. During the reroofing, Heaton reported that he located one of the original hand-cut shake shingles which showed draw knife marks. It measured three-eighths inch thick and sixteen inches long.<sup>110</sup> No later documents exist to show if the roofs on the two structures were subsequently reshingled.

#### Pointing and Foundation Stabilization

Leonard Heaton reported in August 1938 that the southwest corner of the lower house needed bracing, for it had begun to move outward. Nothing was done at the time to rectify the situation. As a result, two years later he noted that the same area showed alarming tendencies to settle and fall apart. When Charles Richey, the Southwestern Monuments assistant superintendent, inspected the building several months later, he felt the walls could be stabilized by repairing the foundations. He recommended exposing the exterior side of the footings so that the joints between the stones could be cleaned and filled with a waterproof concrete over which could be placed a coat of hot tar and a waterproof membrane. Since some cracks had appeared in other walls of the two buildings, he applied his proposal to both structures. At the same time Richey thought the mud mortar should be removed near wall cracks and pointed with adobe.<sup>111</sup>

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110. Frank Pinkley to the Acting Regional Director, Region 3, December 20, 1938, Pipe Spring Buildings General, 55-A-269; Report of Inspection, Pipe Spring National Monument by Charles A. Richey, Asst. Superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, November 8, 1940, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report (Pipe Spring), May 1941.

111. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring), August 1938 and April 1940; Report of Inspection, Pipe Spring National Monument by Charles Richey, November 8, 1940, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File 1933-1949.

Work on the wall and foundation stabilization began in mid-1941 with the CCC furnishing the workforce. Essentially, they followed Richey's recommendation, except they used concrete mortar for pointing the walls instead of adobe. The new mortar was stained with a clay mixture in an effort to disguise it, but the result was not as successful as anticipated.<sup>112</sup>

The foundation work in the southwest corner of the lower house did not provide a permanent solution to the wall sag. By 1957 the problem again appeared. At that time the corner was exposed and a concrete foundation used to support that area. In June 1959 decayed mortar in the two buildings' walls was replaced with concrete mortar. Again the clay stain did not completely hide the newly pointed areas.<sup>113</sup>

#### Exterior Woodwork

Although Leonard Heaton and his successors mentioned that carpenter work was done over the years to replace decayed, broken, or missing materials on windows, eaves, doorways, and the crow's nest, they never gave specific locations of those repairs. At the same time when the painting of exterior woodwork was reported, no detail was given as to the type of paint or color.

#### Stairway Entrance to Room Two

The stone steps which led to the spring room entrance was extended into the courtyard area by Leonard Heaton so that they came directly in line with the outer edge of the above veranda. Originally, that stairs contained fewer

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112. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring), June and July 1941.

113. Pipe Spring Maintenance Records, File B-1-PISP.

114. Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

steps.

#### THE WEST CABIN

The west cabin, a two room structure, was built in 1870 to house the workforce which had arrived to construct the fort. No mention of the building's subsequent utilization has been made in extant documents which treat the historical period, but it has been assumed that the structure was used to house cowhands who worked on the Pipe Spring ranch. That assumption was probably true during the Spring and Fall roundups when the workforce increased, but during the rest of the season, when the number of cowboys dwindled to usually two, the building probably stood vacant. After the mid-1890s the west cabin was probably never used. It was allowed to deteriorate to the point that it had no roof and only partial walls by the time the Park Service acquired it (figure 25). Since it required fewer repairs than the east cabin, Frank Pinkley decided to make it the first restoration project at Pipe Spring.

In October 1924 Charles Heaton offered his advice on restoration materials for the west cabin. For a roof he suggested that Pinkley use trimmed and peeled cedar posts which were snugly fitted together and covered with two inches of concrete. Pinkley accepted the idea except he preferred to cover the cedar posts with hay and a thick layer of dirt instead of concrete. As a result John White was put to work in the winter of 1924-25 cutting and peeling local cedar trees for the roof. White, however, was unable to locate cedar large enough to serve as roof stringers so Pinkley told him to cut pine trees for that purpose. In addition White cleaned twenty loads of dirt from the two rooms, removed rock which had been placed in the chimneys by vandals,

and obtained stone to reconstruct the walls.

When Pinkley arrived to spend the month of July 1925 at Pipe Spring overseeing reconstruction, he evidently changed his mind about restoring the west cabin first. Instead, he used the materials John White had collected the previous winter to restore the east cabin. It was not until 1929 that the west cabin received attention. In the main Leonard Heaton restored the structure based upon Pinkley's ideas. Stones were gathered to rebuild the walls to their original height. Decayed mortar was removed and the walls pointed. Window frames were installed. Pine stringers were used to support the cedar pole roof. As the final touch it was covered with cedar bark and dirt. Part of the roof collapsed in July 1931 when a beam broke. By the Spring of 1938 Heaton placed new clay on the roof since wind and rain had eroded the old dirt. In the Summer of 1940 he added twelve inches of rock to the chimneys.<sup>116</sup>

The cedar bark covered with dirt evidently did not provide adequate roof protection against moisture. In July 1941, with the aid of a CCC crew, Heaton removed the existing clay and cedar bark, and replaced it with asphalt covered with clay.<sup>117</sup>

Leonard Heaton spent most of July 1942 pointing the south wall with

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115. Charles Heaton to Frank Pinkley, October 3, 1924; Frank Pinkley to Charles Heaton, October 21, 1924; Frank Pinkley to Charles Heaton, November 11, 1924; John White to Frank Pinkley, January 14, 1925, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Report of Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, January and March 1925.

116. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring), July 1931, April 1938, and June 1940.

117. Ibid., July 1941.

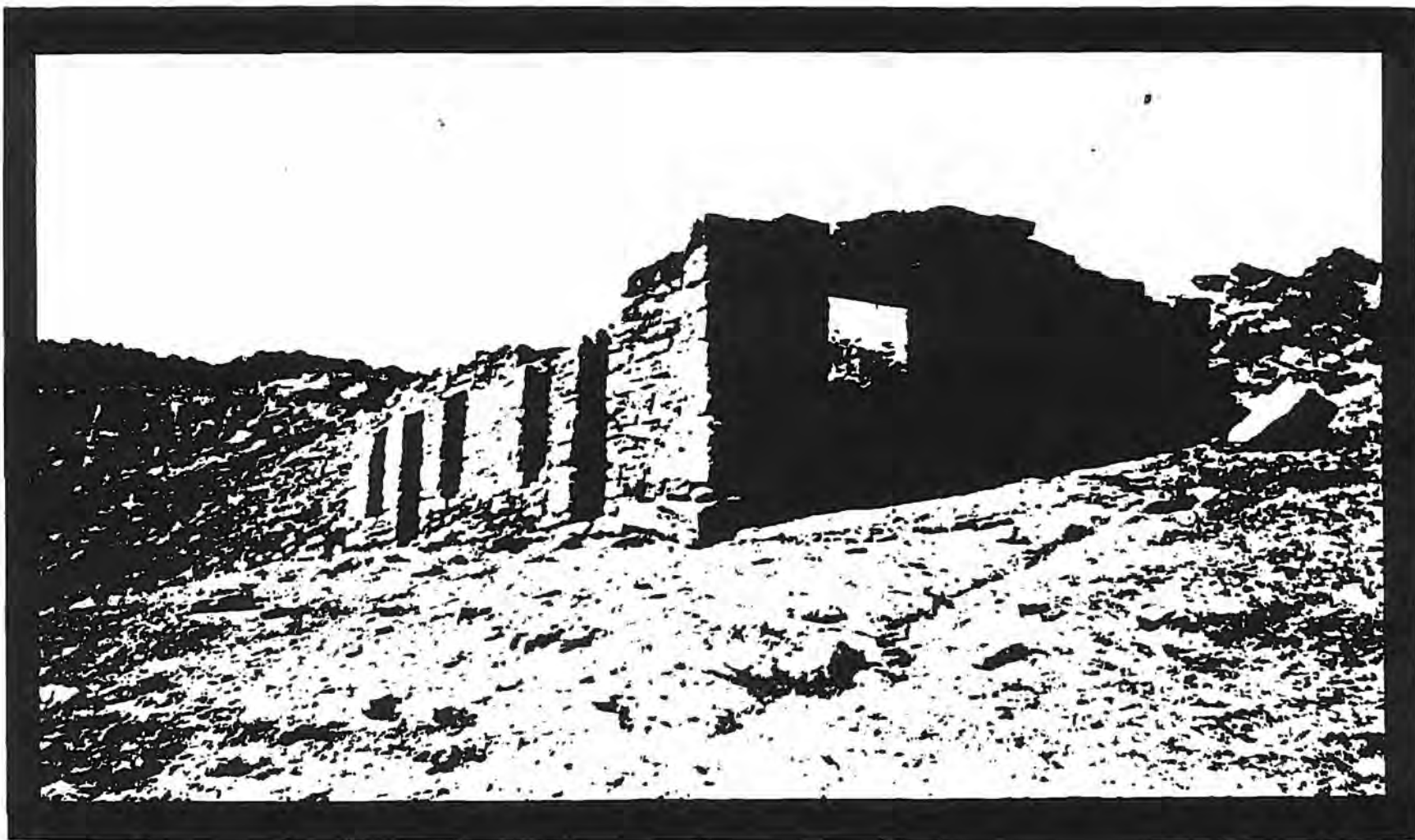


Figure 25  
1925 photograph by Frank Pinkley  
Courtesy of the National Park Service  
Western Archeological Center, Tucson, Arizona

View of the ruins of the west cabin.

concrete mortar. As had been done at the fort, the new mortar was painted with a clay mixture.<sup>118</sup>

In early 1950 the west cabin sustained considerable damage from ground moisture. The sinking southwest corner caused floor to ceiling cracks in the west and south walls of the west room. To correct the problem, Heaton dug a trench to expose the entire foundation on both the exterior and interior of the building and filled it with concrete. In addition, to keep the walls from pushing outward, posts were laid below the floor level inside the rooms with their ends embedded in the concrete used to fill the trench.<sup>119</sup>

In June 1959 the walls were pointed with concrete in the areas where old mortar had decomposed. Once more the new mortar was painted with a clay mixture which did not successfully disguise its existence.<sup>120</sup>

In the mid-1970s the west cabin roof was replaced. On that occasion the contractor did not remove the bark from the cedar posts before placing them on the roof. That condition, combined with the concrete covering over the posts, detracted from the historic appearance of the building.

#### THE EAST CABIN

The east building was constructed several years before the fort for use by the Mormon militia. Anson Winsor and his family lived there while the fort was under construction. No mention was made in extant documents as to the use of the building in the period 1872 to 1886. The Woolleys utilized

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118. Superintendent's Monthly Report for July 1942.

119. Zion Superintendent to Regional Director, Region 3, April 3, 1950, Pipe Spring Ruins Protection 55-A-269; Superintendent's Monthly Report for June 30, 1950; Interview of Leonard Heaton by Berle Clemensen, January 24, 1980.

120. Pipe Spring Maintenance Records, File B-1-PISP.



the structure as a chickenhouse and stable from 1886 through mid-1891.<sup>121</sup> As a result the east cabin could well have been used for the same function in the preceding period. It is very doubtful that it was ever used as a blacksmith/carpenter shop as presently interpreted since Anson Winsor did not perform his own blacksmith or carpentry work at the ranch.

Between 1895 and the date on which the Park Service acquired Pipe Spring, the east cabin was allowed to deteriorate (figure 26) being used as a cow and pig pen by those who resided at the fort. In 1924 Pinkley learned that it was missing the back wall and part of the front wall as well as the roof. When he arrived in July 1925, Pinkley used the materials gathered by John White the preceding Winter to restore the west cabin to instead reconstruct the east building. He rebuilt the walls and roof which took most of his \$300 appropriation (figure 27). For the roof, he used pine stringers to support the cedar posts which had been stripped of their bark and fitted tightly together. It was topped by cedar bark and dirt. Pinkley added in his report that the money had become so depleted that they were unable to replace the hand-hewn window and door frames. As a result those items were installed in the following year.<sup>122</sup>

The east cabin required no repair work after restoration until mid-1940 when Leonard Heaton replaced two roof beams as well as the cedar bark and dirt. It was evidently decided in the following year, that when the west cabin roof was repaired to make it waterproof, to use the CCC laborforce to

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121. "Questions on History of Pipe Spring Answered by Dilworth Woolley."

122. Charles Heaton to Frank Pinkley, October 3, 1924, National Monuments, Pipe Spring File, August 12, 1925-September 24, 1926; Report of Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather for July 1925.

Figure 26  
1925 photograph by Frank Pinkley  
Courtesy of the National Park Service,  
Western Archeological Center, Tucson, Arizona

View of the ruins of the east cabin.

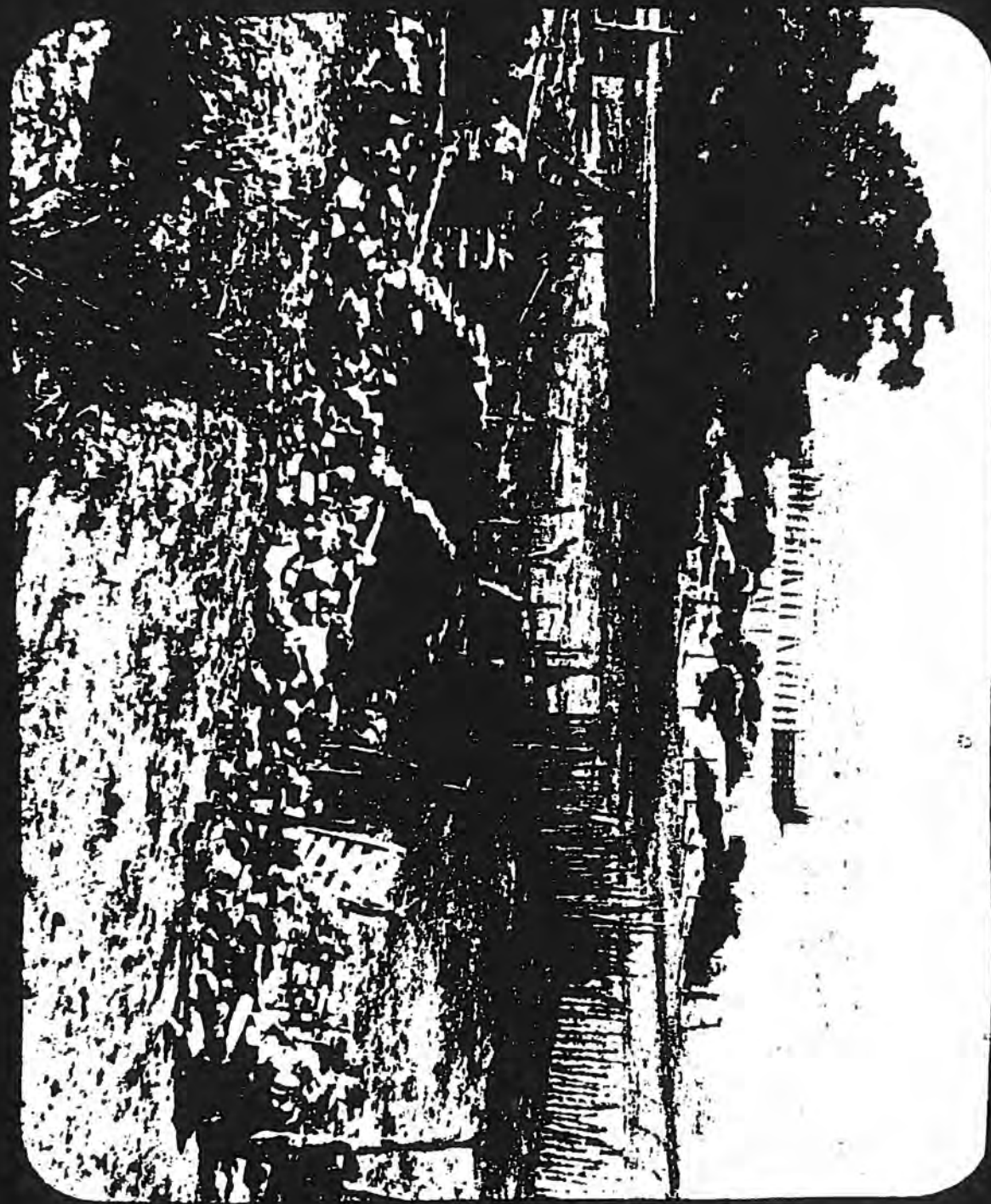




Figure 27  
1926 photograph by Outwest Photo Shop, Boulder, Colorado  
Pipe Spring National Monument Files

View from the east of the east cabin showing Pinkley's 1925  
restoration work.

do the same to the east structure. The dirt and cedar bark were removed and a layer of asphalt was placed on the cedar poles and then again covered with fresh clay.<sup>123</sup>

In July 1943 Heaton used concrete to strengthen the east cabin foundation. The walls were pointed with concrete in June 1959 where old mortar had decayed. The new mortar was then stained with a clay mixture.<sup>124</sup>

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123. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports (Pipe Spring), June 1940 and July 1941.

124. Superintendent's Monthly Report for July 1943; Pipe Spring Maintenance Records, File B-1-PISP.

APPENDIX A

## APPENDIX A

## A Furnishings Overview for the 1870-1880 Period

Although the fort at Pipe Spring has been furnished with items donated or obtained from local residents, it has been questioned whether those objects truly represent the historic period. As a result the purpose of this overview has been an attempt to determine what types of furnishings might logically have been used at the fort in the 1870-80 period. The best single source of material was the Woolley-Snow family collection, located in the Brigham Young University Library in which Florence Woolley and several of her children, who lived at Pipe Spring from the Spring of 1886 to mid-1891, have provided considerable information about furnishings. Additional information on implements used in the cheese and butter making operation was obtained from the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B. Although the fort should be furnished to represent the Winsor family, most of the items described by the Woolleys would undoubtedly have been common to the earlier period and therefore should be used as a furnishing guide.

Since the Mormon Church constructed the fort at Pipe Spring to serve as living quarters for the family which superintended the Church livestock, it was inhabited during the historic period by several families, cowboys, and later polygamist wives.

The Anson P. Winsor family comprised the first inhabitants of the fort. Anson Winsor was born on August 19, 1819 in Ellicottville, New York. Presumably, his wife Emiline Zinette Brown, was also born in New York. Her birth year was 1824. Anson and Emiline were married on March 20, 1842. They came to Utah in 1852 and resided in Provo until they were called to "Dixie" in 1861. In southern Utah they lived first at Grafton for several years and

then they moved to Rockville where Winsor was a bishop. The 1870 census, taken in early June of that year, enumerated the Winsor family in Rockville.

In addition to Anson and his wife, the following children lived at home:

Anson Perry, Jr.	- born October 9, 1854
Alonzo	- born January 20, 1857
Emiline Z.	- born January 7, 1859
Phoebe D.	- born November 11, 1861
Franklin	- born February 18, 1864
Andrew N.	- born February 15, 1866
Mary Jane	- born June 5, 1868
Lucy Thankful	- born September 7, 1869

The Winsors had three older children who no longer resided at home. These included:

Walter J.	- born November 30, 1844
Ida R.	- born May 9, 1847
Margaret E.	- born May 9, 1852

According to the 1870 census, Winsor, a farmer, was by far the wealthiest man in Rockville. He owned real property worth \$3,000 and personal property valued at \$2,000. Those figures can be contrasted with the fact that the average Rockville family held real property worth \$435.42 and personal property assets of \$357.64. As a result one would assume that the Winsors lived in relative comfort with much better than average furnishings, but Eliza Stewart Udall, the first telegraph operator at Pipe Spring, remembered that "everything was very primitive".<sup>1</sup> It was not clear, of course, if she were writing of just her living conditions or those at Pipe Spring in general. Considering the value of Winsor personal property listed in the 1870 census, one could conclude that the family lived well when they moved to Pipe Spring in that year. During Winsor's years at Pipe Spring, however, he must have used most

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1. Nineth Census of the United States, 1870, Rockville, Kane County, Utah Territory; Eliza Stewart Udall to Leonard Heaton, October 21, 1933, Pipe Spring National Monument Files.



of his available cash to invest in the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company for in 1877, his first year in St. George after leaving Pipe Spring, he did not own as extensive property holdings as he did in Rockville. He paid taxes on an assest valuation of \$1,175 in that year. Of that figure, \$1,000 was for land. Household furnishings, except for a clock, however, were not included as taxable property.

Little evidence remains of the nature and extent of personal property that the Winsor family owned. Walter Winsor, Anson's oldest son, did leave a brief description of some family possessions and foods that they ate. They cooked most of their food in a large brass kettle which was hung from a fireplace rod. Bread was baked daily in a dutch oven while meat was fried in frying pans. In the main, their diet consisted of corn bread, milk, molasses, potatoes with milk gravy, dried fruit, and meat. The various types of meat included: salt pork, beef, lamb, deer, antelope, and cottontail. In their garden they raised tomatoes, potatoes, corn, peas, green beans, pumpkins, and squash. The black and yellow currants which they grew were eaten as pie, stewed, or with cream and sugar. Their orchard ultimately provided two varieties of plums, greengage and potowatomi, and apples. In addition to the above foodstuffs, items listed as private purchases in the Winsor Castle Company Ledger B included: flour, corn meal, beans, salt, sugar, vinegar, soda, molasses, dried grapes (raisins), and tea.<sup>2</sup>

On laundry days water was carried from the watering troughs and heated in a large brass kettle in the fireplace. Clothes were rubbed on washboards in wooden tubs. They made the soap they used from lye and rendered fat.<sup>3</sup>

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2. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 37-38; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 34-38.

3. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 40.

Although the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B indicated that the Winsors purchased their lye, most Mormon families during that time obtained their lye from ashes. Soap making has been described in many Mormon diaries and reminiscences. Alice Isom wrote, "we had a cone shaped box at the end of the house, which we emptied all the ashes in. It was called a leach. When mother was ready to make soap she would pour water on the ashes and let it drip slowly through to draw the lye out of them. The soap was soft. People of those days had soap kegs or barrels." Caroline Slack of St. George remembered that they made lye by burning the wood of cottonwood trees to get ashes. The ashes were put into a barrel and water poured over them. The lye water, which slowly dripped out of the bottom, was collected and added to grease to make the soap.<sup>4</sup>

The Winsor family undoubtedly used the east room on the ground floor of the upper building for the kitchen. The cupboards on either side of the fireplace would have been used to store their dishes, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils, and some foodstuffs. Cooking utensils would have included six quart milk pans, dutch ovens, skillets, coffee and tea pots, spoons, ladles, forks, and butcher knives. Condiments, such as salt, pepper, cinnamon, and nutmeg, were probably stored on the fireplace mantle. A large wooden dining table would have been located in the kitchen with enough wooden chairs to seat at least ten people. Figures 28, 29, and 30 show a table and chairs common to southern Utah in the late 1860s and 1870s. Chairs were always positioned with their backs to the table (except, of course, during meals) to allow the family to kneel at them for prayer prior to eating. The Winsors probably had both oil cloth and white cloth table coverings, the

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4. Alice Parker Isom, "Memories of Alice Parker Isom and George Isom, 1838-1923," p. 6, typescript in the History Department of the Church; Caroline Lamb Slack, "Autobiography," p. 3, typescript in the Utah Historical Society.

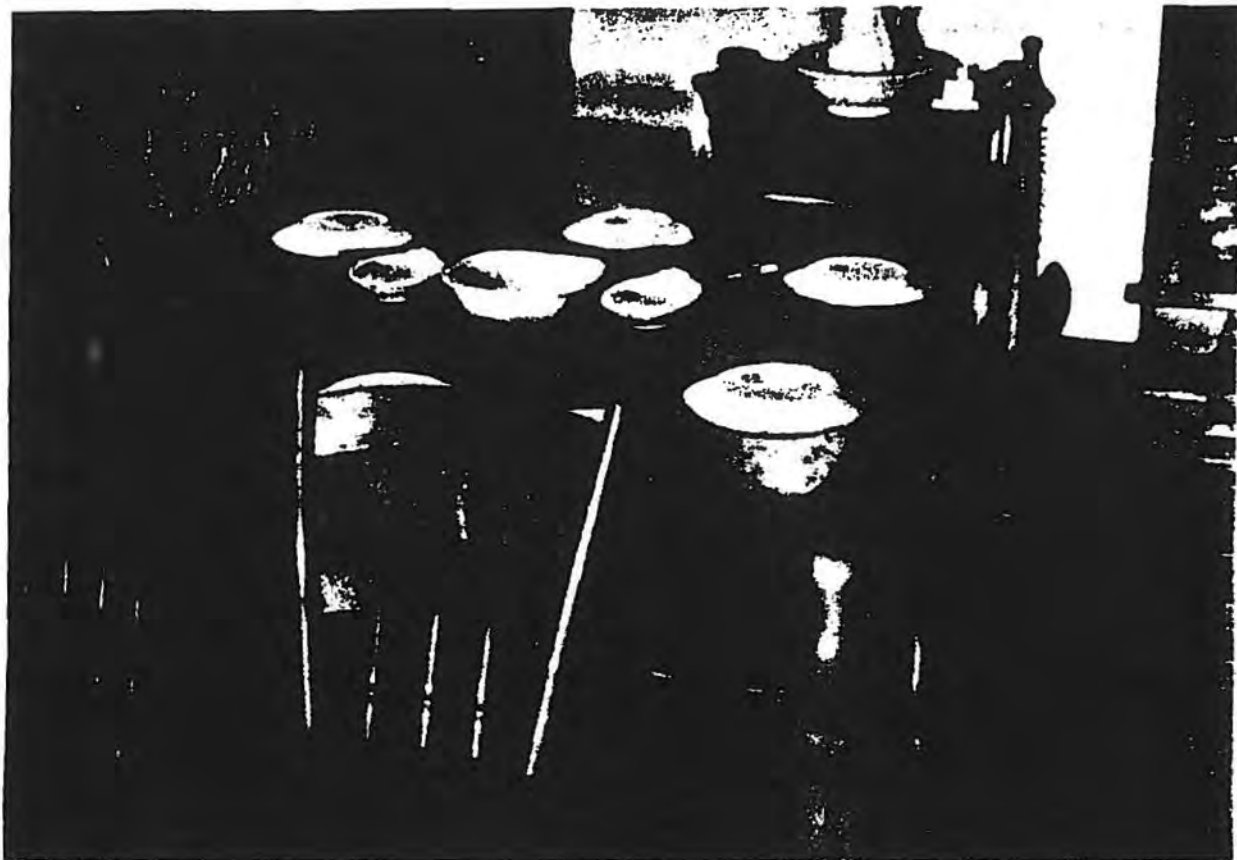


Figure 28  
Jacob Hamblin House, Santa Clara, Utah  
Mid-1860s to 1870s table and chairs

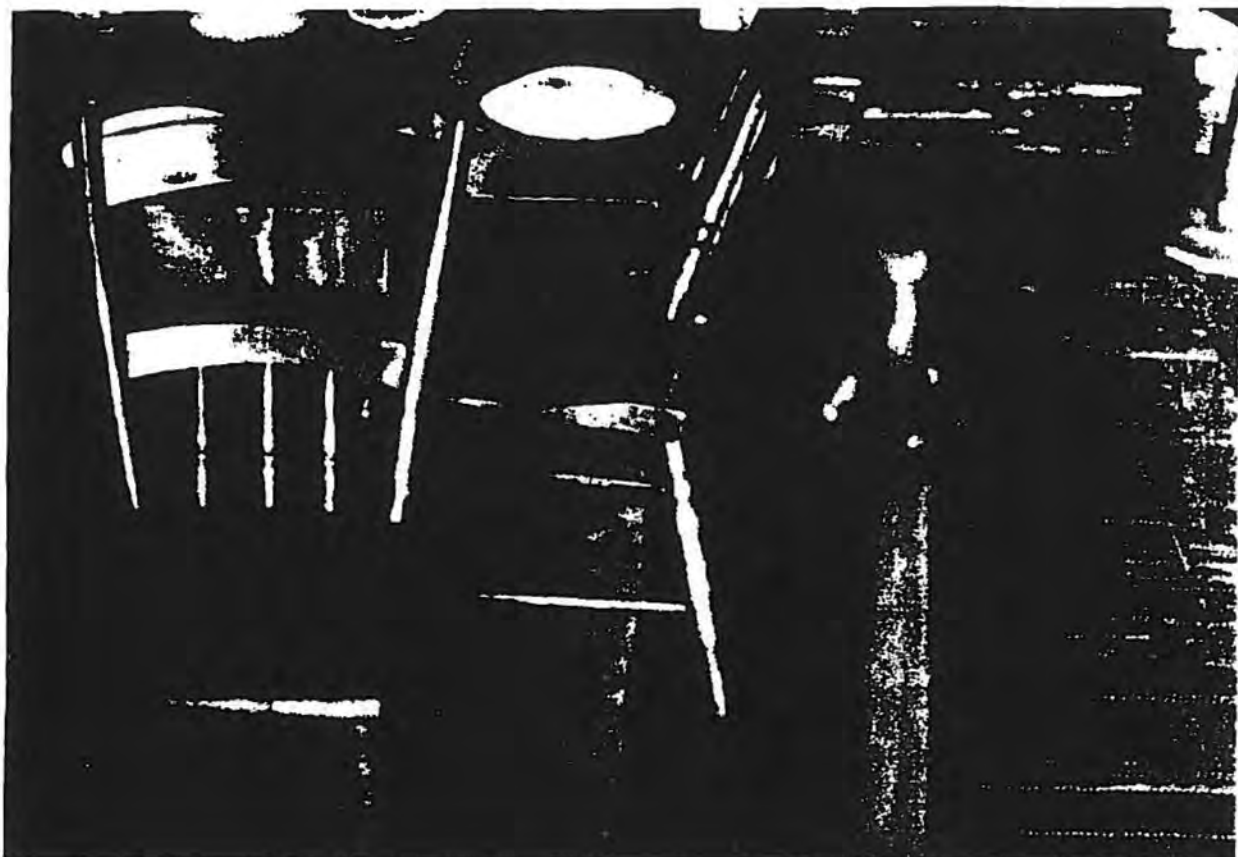


Figure 29  
Jacob Hamblin House, Santa Clara, Utah  
Mid-1860s to 1870s chairs



Figure 30  
Daughters of Utah Museum, St. George, Utah  
Pioneer chair

former used for everyday and the latter used for special occasions. Winsor Castle Ledger B indicated that Charles Pulsipher, Anson Winsor's successor, purchased oil cloth.

Candles were most likely the source of light in the kitchen as well as throughout the fort. Adella Gibson, who lived at Pipe Spring during Charles Pulsipher's administration, remembered seeing candle molds.<sup>5</sup> Additional furnishings in the kitchen may have included a short hook strip with pegs located near the door for hats and coats. A wash bench, with a bucket of water, basin, bar of soap, and comb on it, was probably located in the kitchen near the door. Above it on pegs would have been a towel and tin drinking cup. When the weather moderated, the bench would have been moved outside near the kitchen door. J. N. Heywood, who lived in the Mormon community of Alpine, Arizona in 1881 recounted that just such a wash bench was used by his family. He wrote that everybody "washed in the same basin, used the same bar of soap, wiped with the same towel, and drank from the same cup."<sup>6</sup>

The enclosed storage area beneath the stairway was possibly used to store the wooden wash tubs, wooden buckets, washboards, soap, extra candles, and brooms.

The kitchen probably had a rag rug on the floor in front of the fireplace (figure 31). Cleaning the bare floor as well as the other floors was no doubt accomplished with a broom most of the time, but occasionally they would have been scrubbed. Since scrub brushes were scarce, powdered sandstone was probably used to scour the floor as Christina Kennedy remembered her mother

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5. Adella C. Gibson to Paul Franke and Leonard Heaton, September 13, 1957.

6. J. N. Heywood, "Reminiscences," p. 36, typescript in the Ridge, Ryder Collection, Arizona History Foundation, Arizona State University Library, Tempe, Arizona.

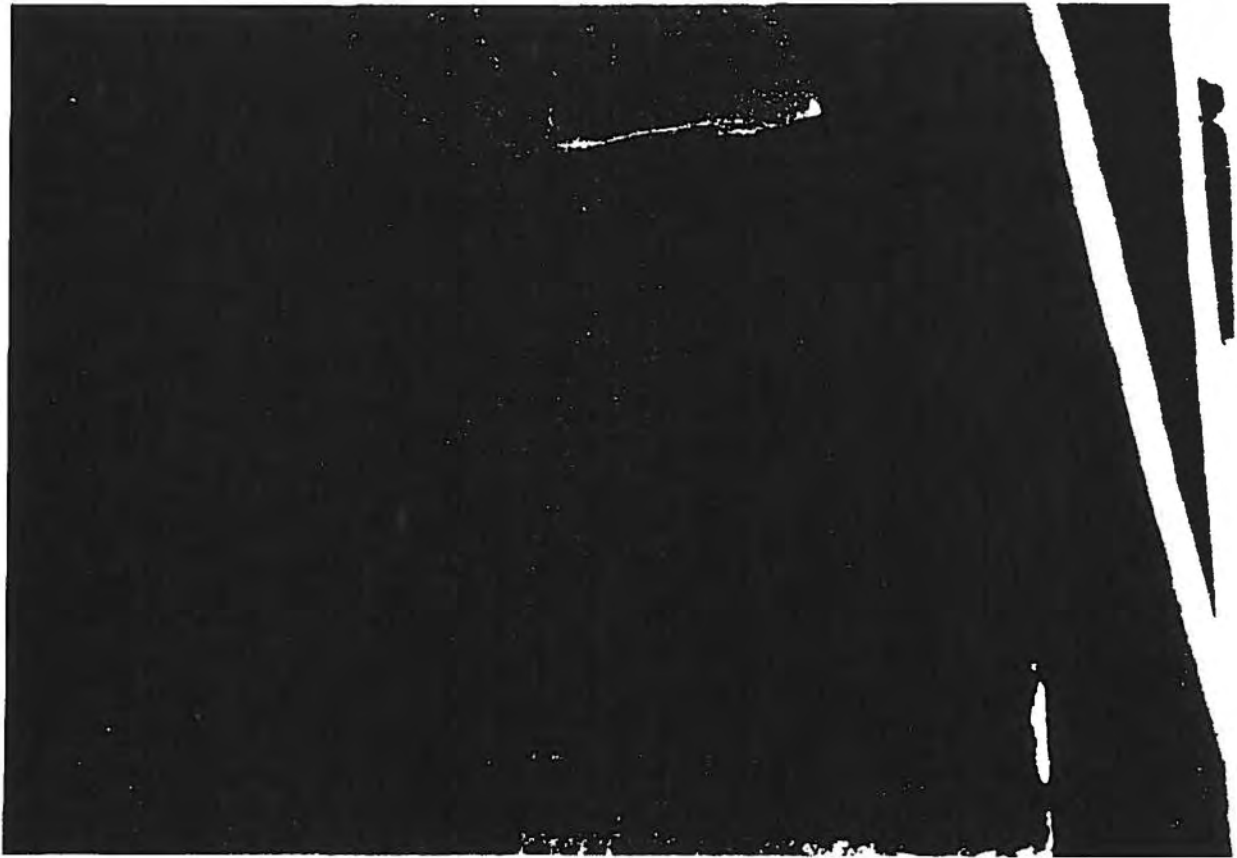


Figure 31  
Daughters of Utah Museum, St. George, Utah  
Period style rag rug

doing in Center Creek, Utah during the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>7</sup>

Calico curtains may have been placed on the kitchen windows while cheese cloth was used for screens since wire screens were nonexistent in the area.

The west room on the ground floor of the upper house was undoubtedly used as the living room. A good period style carpet such as an ingrain carpet was probably used on the floor. A number of chairs and rocking chairs would be found in the room. Those seats would have been manufactured in St. George, Utah by one or both of the two noted area chair makers. One of these men, Thomas Cottam, made cane bottom chairs and rockers with two sets of two slats in the back between which were placed four balls each (figure 32). The other chairmaker, Ben Blake, constructed his chairs and rockers with either rawhide or wooden seats (figure 33). A pioneer couch similar to those shown in figures 34 and 35 was common living room furniture. A desk, like the one presently used for display, would be found in the room and used by Winsor to store records and correspondence material. The enclosed cupboards on either side of the fireplace would have contained books and newspapers. The Winsors subscribed to the Deseret News and the Juvenile Instructor, a Church publication for children.<sup>8</sup> Since the children would have been schooled at the fort, either a McGuffey's or Wilson's Reader, very common school books in the area, would have been among the books in the cupboard. Other books may have been similar to those listed in a divorce suit settlement heard in the Washington County,

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7. Christina L. D. Kennedy, "Autobiography," p. 1, typescript in the Brigham Young University Library Special Collections.

8. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 127, 143.



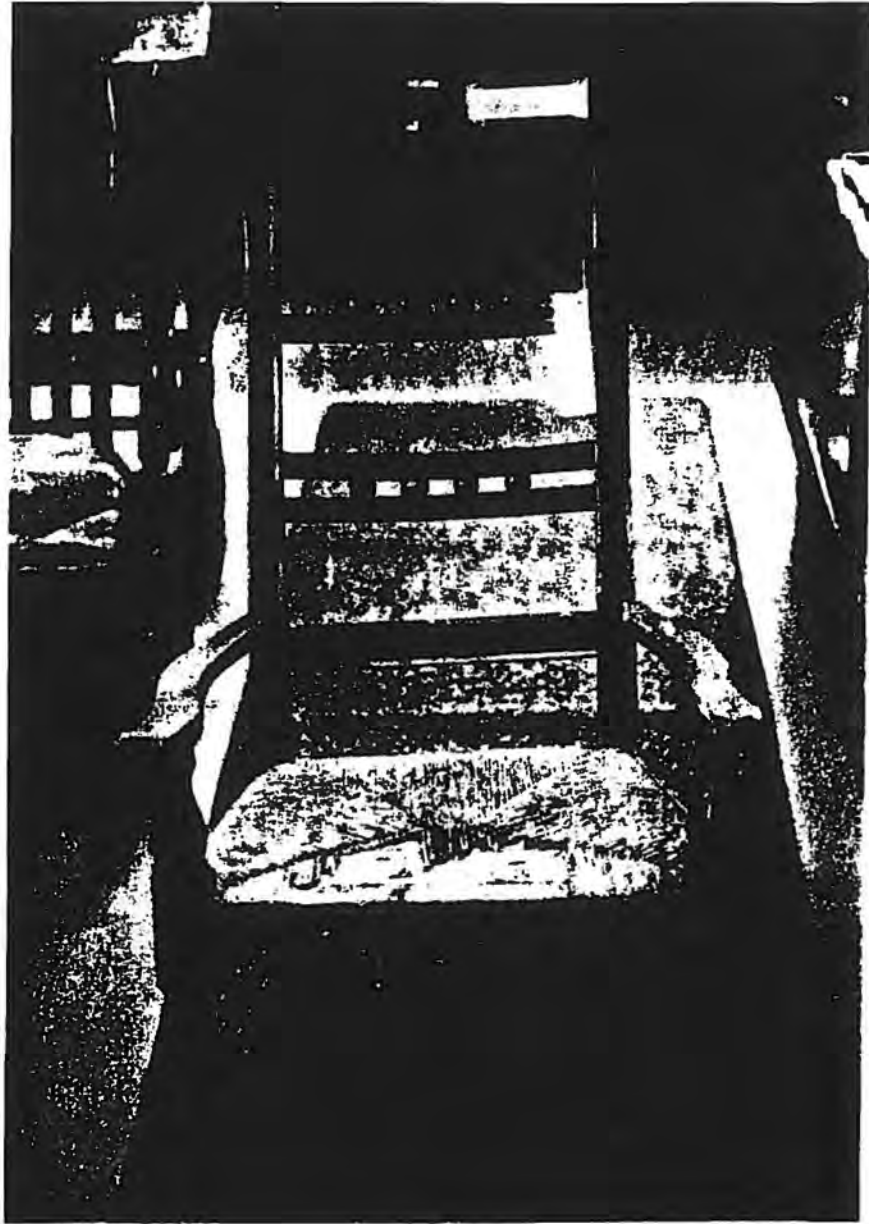


Figure 32  
Daughters of Utah Museum, St. George, Utah  
Thomas Cottam rocking chair



Figure 33  
Daughters of Utah Museum, St. George, Utah  
Ben Blake rocking chair

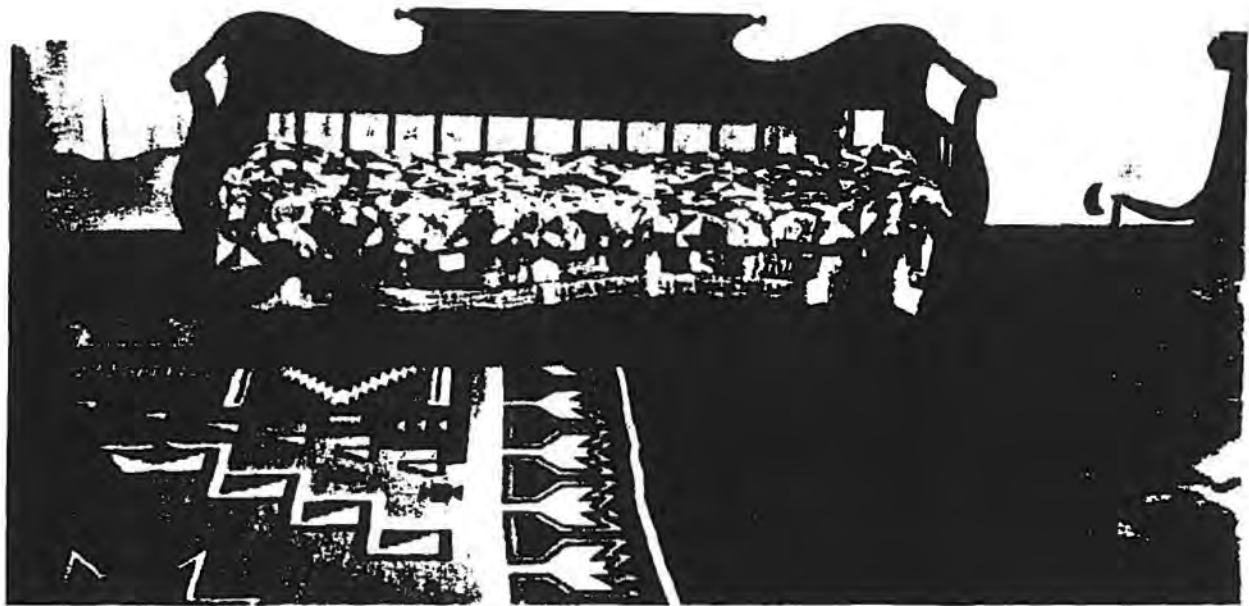


Figure 34  
Jacob Hamlin House, Santa Clara, Utah  
Pioneer couch

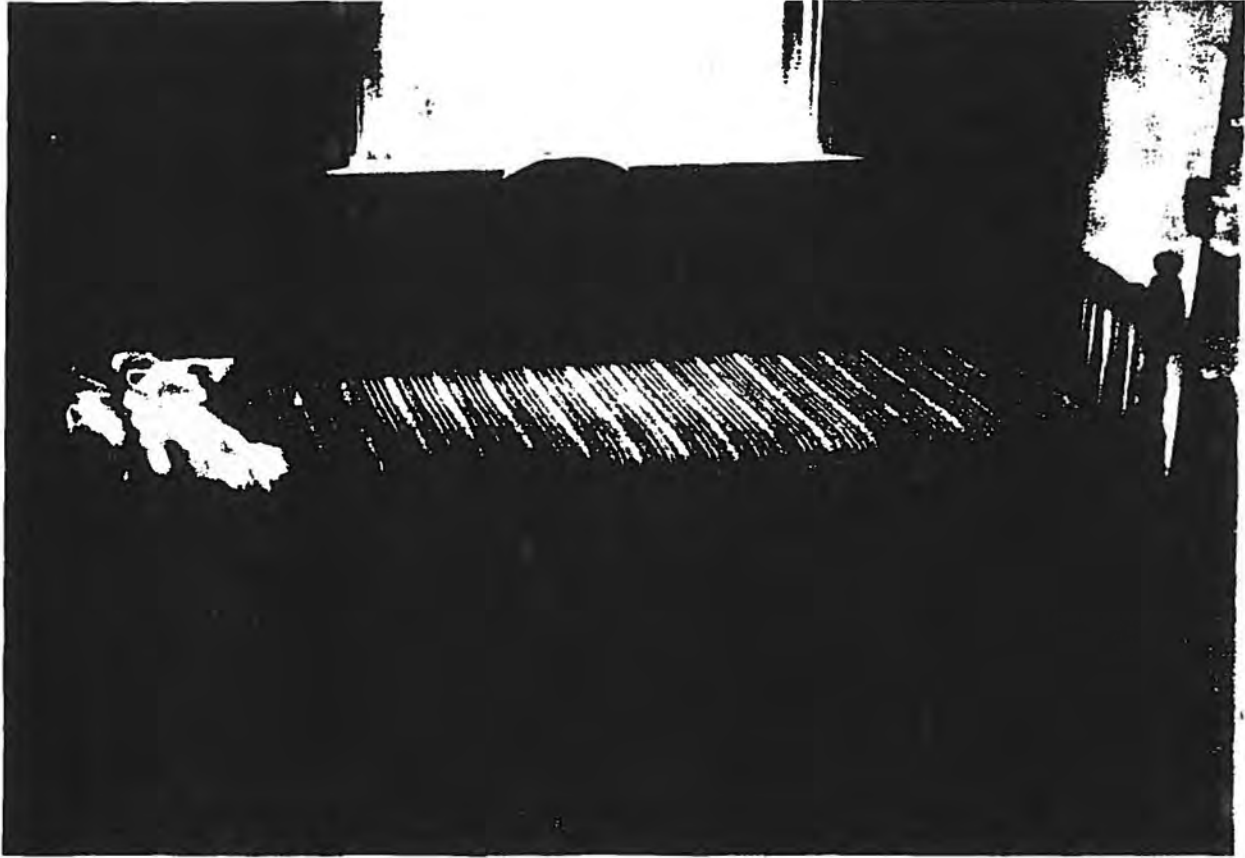


Figure 35  
Brigham Young House, St. George, Utah  
Pioneer couch

Utah (St. George) courthouse on September 14, 1876. Those titles included: Montgomery's Poems, Nurse and Spy in the Union Army, A Parting Gift, Dr. Gurm, Sexual Science, Innocents Abroad, Roughing It, Dr. Naples, A History of the United States, the Bible, and music and hymn books.<sup>9</sup> There may have also been a Book of Mormon, but strangely the authors of diaries and reminiscences from the period only mention reading the Bible. The room also undoubtedly contained a small table or two on which crocheted doilies were placed as well as candlesticks.

Living room decorations would have included a clock on the mantle, victorian bric-a-brac such as vases and statues, and perhaps several sea shells. The walls would have several pictures hanging on them as well as a gilt frame mirror. Pictures listed by the Dunfords in their divorce action included: The Lake, The Mountains, Evangeline, Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire, Innocence, Salt Lake City Temple, Midnight Race on the Mississippi, and two of Brigham Young. In addition a Navajo blanket might be found on a wall. William Solomon recorded in his diary that, on September 10, 1873 while in Kanab, he purchased three Navajo blankets.<sup>10</sup>

Family sleeping quarters would have been upstairs in the upper and lower houses except for the west room in the lower house. Since, in addition to the parents, the Winsor family consisted of four boys and four girls, it would have been convenient to place the two older boys and two older girls in the

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9. Divorce action by the Probate Court of Eudora Dunford and Moreland Dunford, September 14, 1876, Probate Records, Book D, 1873-1836, Washington County, Utah Territory, pp. 55-56, Washington County Courthouse, St. George, Utah.

10. William Henry Solomon, Diary, 1873-1874, September 10, 1873, typescript in the University of Arizona Library Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona.

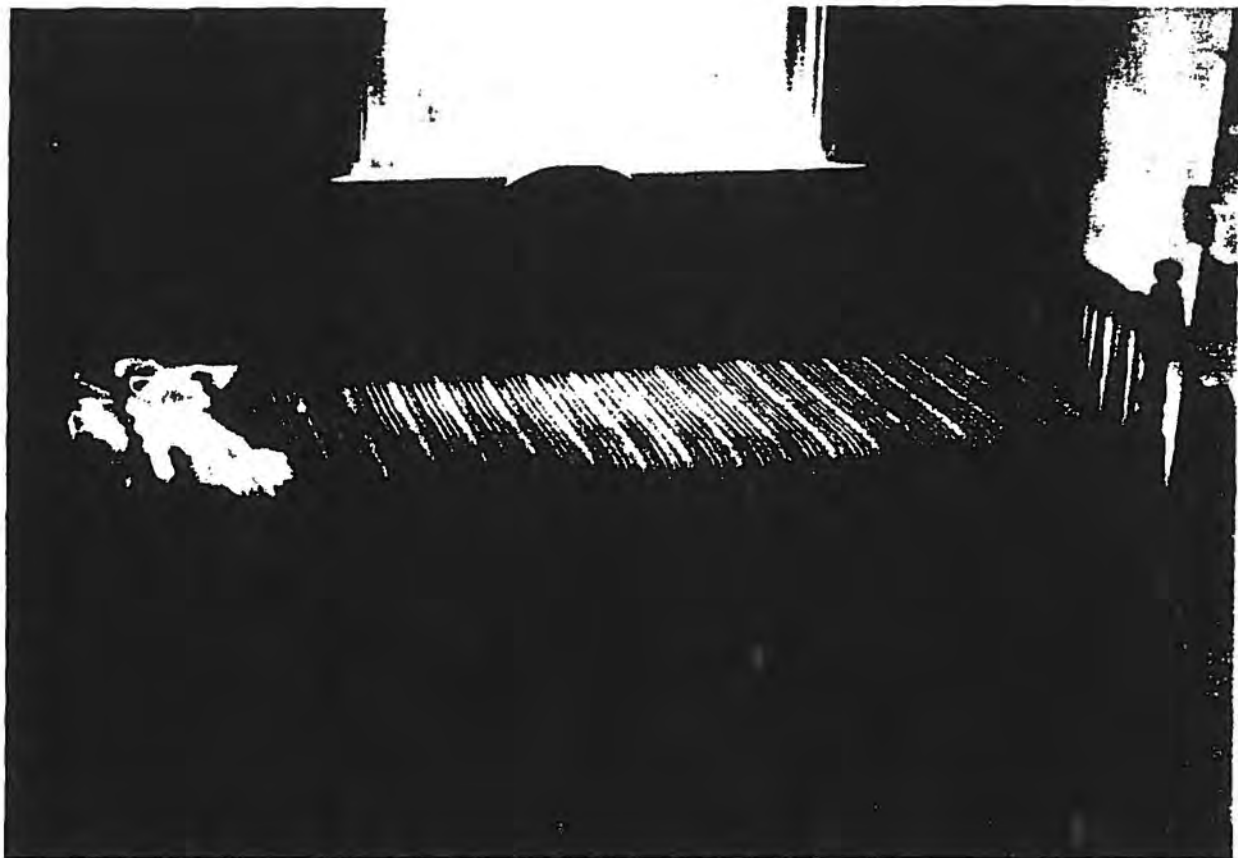


Figure 35  
Brigham Young House, St. George, Utah  
Pioneer couch

east and center rooms of the lower house. The two younger boys could have inhabited the west room in the upper house while the two younger girls probably slept in the parent's east room until a partition was installed about 1874 to create a third room. Anson and Emiline probably had a four post bed similar to the one in figure 36. More people mentioned feather mattresses in their reflections on the period than any other type. Julia Hanson Hall and Mary Ann Bentley, both of St. George, wrote that in preparation for their weddings they obtained twenty pounds of white goose feathers to make feather beds. The cost to Mrs. Hall was twenty dollars.<sup>11</sup> Other types of mattresses mentioned were hay, corn husk, and moss. The feather mattress would have been held on the bed by rope rather than wooden slats. Pillows would have had goose down filling. Since the textile factory had operated at Washington, Utah for several years, cotton sheets and pillow cases would have been available. The bed covering would have been either calico or flannel quilts. A second, smaller bed, perhaps of the two post type, would have been in the room until 1874. Bedding would have been of a similar type as that found on the parent's bed. The youngest Winsor child would still probably have been wearing diapers, and as a result some folded diapers might be found on the bed. Cotton cloth for diapers was undoubtedly available from the Washington factory. In Salt Lake City, Bathsheba Smith wrote that through the mid-1870s she spent time carding and spinning cotton which was used to make cotton cloth for diapers.<sup>12</sup> Several rag dolls would probably have also

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11. Julia Hanson Hall, "Autobiography," p. 10; Mary Ann Bentley, "Autobiography," p. 15, typescript in the Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

12. Bathsheba W. Smith, "Record Book of Bathsheba W. Smith," pp. 36-37, typescript in the Brigham Young University Library Special Collections.



Figure 36  
Jacob Hamlin House, Santa Clara, Utah  
Four post bed



been found on the young girls' bed. Large trunks would undoubtedly have been kept at the foot of the beds.

Other furniture in the room probably included a wardrobe since there were no closets; a night stand; a wash stand with pitcher, bowl, soap in a dish, comb, brush, and hairpins on it; several wooden chairs; and a table for a sewing machine. Although the wardrobe would probably have been made in Utah, it would have resembled period style pieces. Anson and Emiline's clothing would have been kept in it.

Several individuals remembered the clothing of the period. J. N. Heywood wrote that it was considered immodest if a dress did not reach below the ankle and sleeves extend to the waist. Low-necked dresses were forbidden. Dress styles were simple, he noted, with calico and gingham material employed for formal wear while flannel was also used to make petticoats. Corsets were also worn for style.<sup>13</sup> Julia Hanson Hall described the dress of the 1870s. She wrote, "the style of dress in the early days was very different from now [1930s]. Ten yards of material 36 inches wide were required. Six widths being gathered into the tight fitting waist. One could stand straight, take hold of the hem of the skirt and raise the tip to the top or above the head. No glove fitting dresses in those days."<sup>14</sup> Mrs. John Schmutz of St. George wrote that, as an eleven year old girl in 1869, she had both a linsey and a calico dress. When Alice Isom married in July 1868 she had plenty of good dresses which consisted of one silk and mohair dress, one cashmere dress, lawn dresses, and five house dresses as well as nice underwear trimmed with her own work. Lydia Ann

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13. J. N. Heywood, "Reminiscences," p. 11.

14. Julia Hanson Hall, "Autobiography," p. 9.

Brinkerhoff stated that, when she married in October 1876, her wedding outfit consisted of a calico dress and sunbonnet. Lovenia Berry wrote that, in the late 1860s and early 1870s, they obtained colored cloth from the Washington, Utah factory which was used to make dresses.<sup>15</sup> Men's clothing according to Anna Vincent, comprised jean trousers and flannel shirts. It could also have included suspenders and vests as shown on the hired hands in figure 9. Belts were probably a common item as well. John Bushman in a diary entry for December 12, 1871 mentioned buying a belt, vest, and shirt. John Tate also wrote in his diary of the purchase of a vest.<sup>16</sup> The children's clothing, which was no doubt similar to that of the adults, was probably kept in a small bureau.

Footwear may have been kept in the wardrobe or under the bed. Men's, Women's, and children's shoes were probably purchased from a shoemaker in St. George. There was evidently no shoemaker in Kanab at least in 1873, for, when William Solomon visited there from July of that year until early February 1874, he made a number of shoes for men and women. He even sent to "Brother Noble" for a side of sole leather. High heeled boots were probably a necessity for anyone who rode horseback. John Bushman in his diary noted that on December 12, 1871 he purchased both shoes and boots. John Tate also mentioned boots in his diary. J. N. Heywood wrote that men wore high heeled boots.<sup>17</sup>

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15. Mrs. John Schmutz, "Autobiography," p. 5, typescript in the Utah Historical Society; Isom, "Memories of Alice Parker Isom and George Isom, 1838-1923," p. 15; Lydia Ann Nelson Brinkerhoff, "Autobiography," p. 3, typescript in the History Department of the Church; "Lovenia Nicholson Sylvester Berry -- 100 Years," Our Pioneer Heritage, 7 (1964), p. 401.

16. "Anna H. Vincent," Our Pioneer Heritage, 7 (1964), p. 369; John Bushman, Diaries, I, 1871-1889, p. 18; John W. Tate, Diary, 1880-1881, p. 22, typescript in the University of Arizona Library Special Collections.

17. William Henry Solomon, Diary, 1873-1874, pp. 7-13; Bushman, Diaries, I, 1871-1889; Tate, Diary, 1880-1881, p. 22; Heywood, "Reminiscences," p. 29.

Wall decoration in the bedroom probably included a mirror above the washstand and several pictures similar to those mentioned above.

Several Blake or Cottam style chairs, including a rocking chair, were probably distributed throughout the bedroom. One would be found near a sewing table. Since a number of families owned a sewing machine, the Winsors probably had one. Only two sewing machine brand names were ever mentioned and those were in the Caroline Jackson estate which was probated on January 3, 1877. She left one Florence and one Howe sewing machine to her daughters.<sup>18</sup> In addition to a sewing machine on the table, there would have been a sewing basket which contained pins, needles, knitting and crocheting needles, buttons, thread, and cotton yarn. A variety of adult and children's clothing patterns would also be located there. Cloth would probably have been stored in the trunk at the foot of the bed. Autobiographies indicated that young girls began to help their mothers with knitting and sewing about age ten. Not only would clothing have to be cut out and sewed, but patchwork for quilts cut and sewed, women's stockings and men's socks knit, mittens and neck wraps knit, rags for rugs sewed and then knit into rugs, doilies and tidies crocheted, yokes on underclothing embroidered, and rag dolls and their clothing sewed. Bedroom window curtains of perhaps calico material would also have been sewed by Mrs. Winsor. A fireplace served to heat the room in the winter. As a result a poker, ash shovel, broom and wood container would have been placed near it. Rags were stuffed into the rifle slits in the winter to reduce the flow of cold air. After 1874 the items described as used by the

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18. Probate court session on the estate of Caroline A. Jackson, Probate Records, Book C, 1873-1880, Washington County, Utah Territory, Washington County Courthouse, St. George, Utah.

two youngest girls would have been located in the newly created center room.

The west room on the second floor of the upper house was probably the sleeping quarters for the two younger Winsor boys. Furnishings in that room no doubt resembled that used for the youngest girls in the parent's bedroom. Boys, of course, would not have dolls in their room. The younger boys probably had marbles, balls, and hand-carved wooden guns for their play. J. N. Heywood wrote that mothers would make balls by using homemade balls of yarn covered with tough cloth.<sup>19</sup> There was probably no wash stand in the room as the boys no doubt used the one downstairs.

The older children's bedrooms in the east and center rooms on the second story of the lower building were no doubt similar to each other with two-poster beds which could have had slats instead of ropes to hold the feather mattresses. Again, cotton sheets and quilts would have served as coverings. Cotton pillow liners and cases would have been used on the down-filled pillows. Trunks were probably placed at the foot of the beds. Clothes were most likely kept in bureaus. One or two wooden chairs were undoubtedly in each room. A picture or two may have hung on the walls and calico curtains placed at the windows. If there were a washstand, it would probably have been found in the girls' room. The boys in all likelihood washed downstairs. A mirror would most likely have hung on the wall of the girls' room. Only the east room was heated by use of a fireplace. As a result a fuel box, poker, and ash shovel would have been located near it.

The west room on the upper floor of the lower house served as the telegraph operator's quarters. Eliza Udall described the room while she inhabited it.

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19. J. N. Heywood, "Reminiscences," p. 13.

A small, unpainted pine table, on which the instruments set, was located on the north side of the room. "The instruments consisted of a key and a little box relay or receiver in a natural light wood. There was a cot or couch in the room on which I slept . . . and perhaps two chairs." She also had her trunk and belongings in the room.<sup>20</sup> Mrs. Udall never mentioned how the room was heated, but since there was no fireplace, a small stove must have been used. A fuel box, poker, and ash shovel would have been kept near the stove. Except for the bed, the furnishings presently in the room probably most closely reflect the historical period than any room in the fort.

The furnishings presently in the east room on the ground floor of the lower house no doubt bear no resemblance to its historical use. Since the doorway between it and the spring room did not exist, entrance to the room was gained only through the south wall outside of the fort. As a result it would have been very unhandy for the Winsors or their successors to use the room. Instead, it would have been ideal for the hired hands' use since they could come and go without entering the fort. That was the use made of the room when Florence Woolley arrived in 1886, and no reason prevails to not believe it had always been used in that manner. According to the Woolleys, the cowboys used the room to store their equipment such as saddles, saddle blankets, bridles, hobbles, and "Winchester" rifles. The hired men usually did not use the fireplace, instead they cooked outdoors. On rainy days the hands sat in the room and spun horsehair tie and hackamore ropes as well as small strands for cinches. The device used to make the hair ropes consisted of a stick with a wheel on one end which was turned with the right hand.

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20. Eliza Luella Stewart Udall to Leonard Heaton, October 21, 1933.

The wheel had a peg on which the strands of hair were looped to be twisted into a rope. In addition the men made lassoes by trimming thin strands of cowhide and weaving them together.<sup>21</sup> Based upon that description, the room probably contained only a few crude benches on which to sit and a rail or two over which to hang saddles. Hair ropes and saddles were probably similar to Jacob Hamblin's equipment as shown in figure 37. There was probably a gun rack fixed to a wall and a hook strip with pegs on which to hang bridles, hobbles, and hats. Branding irons were no doubt also kept there. When Min Adams and her husband John moved into the room in 1888 and used it for living quarters, the appearance would have changed considerably, but their occupancy would have diverged from its historic use.

The last room in the fort was known as the spring room. There, cheese and butter were made and perishable foods were stored. Spring water served to cool the room. It ran beneath the floor of the west room of the upper house, through a stone-lined conduit buried in the courtyard, and into a large stone box in the northwest corner of the spring room. From there it emptied into a twelve- to fourteen-inch-wide wooden trough which conducted the water to the southwest corner of the room where it exited the fort to run into the east pond.

Two or more big racks used in the butter-making process were situated in the back of the room. They consisted of floor to ceiling 6x6 inch square timbers with cross arms, one on each side opposite the other. The arms were alternately spaced about eight inches apart for the entire length of the timbers. Each arm held four, six quart metal milk pans -- two on each side.<sup>22</sup>

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21. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 57-58.

22. Interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, June 1, 1949.



Figure 37  
Jacob Hamblin House, Santa Clara, Utah  
Hamblin's saddle and horse hair rope

After the cows were milked, part of it was strained into the six quart milk pans which were then set on the rack arms. That process allowed the milk to cool and the cream to rise. The cream was skimmed and made into butter. It was then packed in Eaxley jars which were made in St. George by John Eardley (figure 38). The skimmed milk which remained was fed to the pigs and chickens. Ledger B indicated that in 1873 Winsor had a Blanchard churn, a milk strainer, and two skimmers, as well as sixty-three milk pans.

More than half of the milk, however, was strained into a large vat and made into cheese.<sup>23</sup> Since the Winsors milked eighty cows, Mrs. Winsor, who had charge of butter and cheese making, had a considerable quantity of milk to process each day. Considering that each cow gave less milk than those on present day dairy farms, it would not be unreasonable to assume that each cow produced three gallons of milk per day. At that rate, she had 240 gallons of milk to handle. If sixty percent of the milk (144 gallons) were used to make cheese, then she would have produced about 100 pounds of cheese per day. She made her cheese in cakes which weighed between forty and eighty pounds apiece.<sup>24</sup>

The Deseret News dated December 20, 1871 reported that Anson Winsor was in Salt Lake City where he purchased a Ralph's Oneida Cheese Vat. By using it to make cheese, he hoped to reduce the labor in cheese making by three-fourths. That device might have been located in the spring room along the east wall. There was, however, a good possibility that the vat was not kept in the

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23. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 39; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," p. 221.

24. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 40.





Figure 38  
Daughters of Utah Museum, St. George, Utah  
John Eardley jar

spring room, for it was necessary to build a fire in a small heater beneath it to heat the milk in the initial stage of cheese making. Although the fire would have been small, it would have heated the room somewhat, thereby reducing the cooling effect of the spring water. In addition there was no chimney flue in the room through which to vent the smoke. The vat would not have been kept outside nor would it have been used in the kitchen of the upper house. It may have been placed in the adjoining east room and a flue hole made in the fireplace chimney to accommodate the stovepipe from the vat heater. That circumstance might explain why a doorway was cut between the two rooms. No one, however, has indicated that was the case. As a result it is unclear where the cheese vat was located.

The height of cheese making occurred in the period 1871 to the end of 1876. It was slowly phased out when Charles Pulsipher took over in 1877 and ended when the Canaan Company leased the property in early 1879. The Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B indicated that the cheese vat was sold on July 1, 1879 for \$100.<sup>25</sup>

J. N. Heywood described the cheese making process his parents used in Alpine, Arizona in 1881. They had two buildings -- one in which to make the cheese and one in which to store it. Heywood wrote,

They had a rather deep rectangular vat with a small stove beneath, to bring the milk up to the required temperature needed for coagulating it into curds by stirring rennet into the milk. In a short time the milk became a homogeneous mass of soft curd. At the proper time a knife with four or five long blades set quite close together was carefully run through the hole whole, lengthwise and then crosswise, cutting the curds into small square strips. Time was given for these curds to form into smaller pieces. To stir too

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25. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B", p. 427.

vigorously might make the white whey run which meant that it was draining out the fat, leaving a skim milk cheese, or nearly so. When it the whey was gradually drained through a tap below the curds were worked, or stirred, until they became quite hard and tough, then salted to taste and put to press in hoops. I omit details of this.<sup>26</sup>

It took several weeks to make cheese. The cakes were placed in the storage house on shelves made of slats which allowed the air to circulate around them and prevent mildew. The cheeses were not always uniform in either flavor or texture. Sweet cheese would bulge "from the inside pressure that caused large air spaces." Sometimes the curds would not adhere.

Heywood also described the procedure for getting rennet. He wrote,

It is interesting to know how the rennet, or rennin, used to curdle the milk, was obtained. A calf was kept from its mother until it was real hungry, when it was let to the cow. This caused the maximum, digestive secretions that were poured into the stomach, and among them the rennin. The calf was killed, the stomach removed, the ends tied and it was hung up some place to dry. When the rennet was needed a piece of the dried contents of the stomach was cut off, put into solution, and stirred into the milk. I am under the impression the solution that was used was water acidified with vinegar, but I am not sure of this.<sup>27</sup>

Additional items listed in Ledger B on February 23, 1873 and found in the spring room which were required for cheese making included two cheese presses and hoops for pressing the cheese into cakes, two cheese knives, a thermometer used to indicate the temperature to which the milk was heated, salt, and cheese cloth for wrapping. Although not mentioned, annatto might have been used for coloring. The Winsors bought large amounts of cheese cloth. As an example, in Ledger B for June 30, 1874, an entry indicated the purchase of seventy-two yards of cheese cloth for \$11.50.

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26. Heywood, "Reminiscences," p. 25.

27. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

The spring room would also have contained free standing slatted shelves similar to those described by Heywood on which to store cheese while it aged. Pegs would have been found in the walls on which to hang pork, beef, deer, and antelope. Some garden products such as potatoes, squash, and pumpkins would also have been stored in the room during the Fall and Winter.

Charles Pulsipher superseded Anson Winsor as superintendent of Pipe Spring in January 1877. He was age forty-seven. Little is known of Pulsipher. He evidently came to southern Utah in 1865 and settled in St. George, for that was the first year he was listed on the Washington County tax rolls. About 1870 he shifted his residence to nearby Hebron, but retained some land in St. George. Although his net worth increased somewhat between 1865 and 1877, on the eve of moving to Pipe Spring he owned far less property than Anson Winsor did before moving there. In 1876 he possessed real property valued at \$650 (\$300 in St. George and \$350 in Hebron). His taxed personal property totaled \$795 and included about twelve cattle, seven horses, one wagon, and one clock.<sup>28</sup> When he moved to Pipe Spring, he sold his real estate in Hebron and St. George. As a result, he had a more austere existence at Pipe Spring.

When Pulsipher moved to Pipe Spring in 1877, his family consisted of his wife, Sariah, age thirty-eight and four children:

Charles, Jr.	-	age 18
Francis	-	age 16
Sariah	-	age 14
Ida May	-	age 10

On December 13, 1877 he took a second wife, Ann, age 48. In the following year, on December 8, his last offspring, Florence, was born. She was the

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28. Washington County Tax Assessment Rolls 1865-1871, 1872-1875, 1876-1877, Washington County Courthouse, St. George, Utah.

first child born at Pipe Spring.<sup>29</sup>

The type of furniture provided for Pipe Spring by the Canaan Cattle Company in March 1879 as well as who the occupants were, beyond cowboys, remains unknown.

After almost two years vacancy, from January 1881 to late 1882, the Joseph Gurnsey Brown family moved to Pipe Spring from Kanab. Brown's financial status remains unknown. The only mention of the Brown's furnishings was made in the Woolley-Snow Family collection where it was recorded that Mrs. Brown had both an oil cloth and table cloth for their table. In 1882 the Brown family consisted of Joseph, age fifty-eight, his wife Harriet, age forty-eight, and six children:

Joseph, Jr.	-	age 25
Lorenzo Y.	-	age 19
Ebenezer	-	age 17
Feramorz L.	-	age 10
Jennie	-	age 6
Willmia	-	age 4

A married daughter, Angeline B. McAllister, age twenty-one, did not reside at home.<sup>30</sup>

In the Spring of 1886 Florence Woolley, age thirty, and her three children, Dilworth, age six, Herbert (Bert), age three and one-half, and Elizabeth (Bessie), age one, moved to Pipe Spring. They lived in the upper house. Their kitchen was in the ground floor east room. Florence did not use the fireplace there for cooking. Instead, she had it bricked up and a flue hole cut in the chimney so that she could use the cook stove which she

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29. Nineth Census of the United States, 1870, Hebron, Washington County, Utah Territory; "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 43.

30. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 45; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Kanab precinct, Kane County, Utah Territory.

brought with her from Kanab. The stove was probably a Charter Oak. Florence wrote that her mother had such a stove in St. George in the 1860s. Alice Isom also recalled that, while living in Virgin, Utah in 1868, she purchased a Charter Oak cook stove.<sup>31</sup> The cupboards on each side of the fireplace were used for dishes, utensils, and supplies. When she married Dilworth Woolley in 1877, Florence received a large brass bucket filled with cups, saucers, sauce dishes, sugar bowl, and cream pitcher as a wedding present. She used the bucket for both water and milk and cleaned it with salt and vinegar. The kitchen also had a large table and as many chairs as the room could hold, a washstand and "washdish," towel racks, and hat racks on the walls. The enclosed area under the stairway was used as a closet for coats, hats, and storage. One other item was found in the kitchen and that was a stick with shredded newspaper attached to it. The device was used by the Woolley children to shoo flies from food which had been placed on the table.<sup>32</sup>

The food available at Pipe Spring during the time Florence Woolley was there seemed to be varied and plentiful. They milked several cows, kept pigs and chickens, and killed a steer for beef whenever needed. Occasionally, the meat was augmented with venison brought from the mountains. Bread and milk were the standard evening fare. Her offspring would often eat it while seated in the deep window sills. Some milk was left to sour and made into bonny clabber (cottage cheese). Florence would put sugar and ground cinnamon on it for the children. It was also often served as dessert with cream and sugar

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31. Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," p. 3; Isom, "Memories of Alice Parker Isom and George Isom, 1838-1923," p. 15.

32. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 52-54; Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," p. 33.

on it. A six quart milk pan was used to make the Sunday dinner of baked beans. Rice pudding and plain custard were also baked in those pans. The garden produced an abundance of peas, beans, squash, onions, radishes, lettuce, cabbage, tomatoes, and pumpkins. The orchard yielded apples and plums. In addition dried apples and peaches were obtained from Long Valley for winter use. Currants, which ripened in June, were a welcome relief from the dried fruit they ate in the winter and spring. Currants were stewed, made into pies, eaten with cream and sugar or bread and butter. Sugar came in 100 pound bags from Salina or Elsinore, Utah. Fresh honey was obtained from nearby Moccasin. Florence got some pine nuts and pine gum from the Paiute Indians. Raisins and grapes were obtained from St. George.<sup>33</sup>

The west room on the ground floor contained the living room. The cupboards on both sides of the fireplace were filled with books, magazines, and newspapers. A clock, vases, and "artifacts of the Victorian era" were on the fireplace mantel. Several rocking chairs with feather cushions three to four inches deep were in the room. They also contained crocheted tidies and anti-macassars for the head. White lace curtains covered the windows while the windows were screened with cheese cloth. The floors were covered with woven rag carpets and braided rugs which were padded with corn husks or wild hay. Presumably, those rugs were not limited to the living room floor.<sup>34</sup>

The three upstairs rooms in the upper house were used as bedrooms. Florence and her daughter Bessie used the east room. She had a trundle bed there. The

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33. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 55-60; Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," pp. 58, 61.

34. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 54-55.

boys room was in the center while the west room was used for guests. "All rooms were provided with the necessary furniture and conveniences. The guest room had the luxury of a washstand, washbowl, & pitcher."<sup>35</sup> Florence probably kept her sewing machine in her bedroom. She made all of the family's clothing. Dilworth remembered that Bert almost always wore white knee britches. Florence gave birth to two children during the period she lived at Pipe Spring. She went to St. George to have LeGrand on April 3, 1887, but Arthur was born at the fort on May 12, 1889. As a result she would have had diapers and baby clothing in her room since those two babies undoubtedly slept there. A cradle would also have been located there after April 1887. When he became old enough, LeGrand wore kilts. The children also had rag and paper dolls which would have been in their rooms.<sup>36</sup>

Two of the three upper floor rooms in the lower building were used by cowboys until Pipe Spring became a refuge for polygamist wives about mid-1887. These women provided their own furniture which was limited to the bare necessities. Two of Thomas Chamberlain's six wives, Ann and Ellen, used those rooms as quarters. Ellen brought four children with her. One of them, a son, had an accordian and Jew's harp. While at Pipe Spring Ellen gave birth to a son, Edwin, on February 12, 1890 and Ann had a son, Joseph, on April 27, 1891.<sup>37</sup> Mrs. Linda Marringer inhabited the third (telegraph) room and acted as the operator until the telephone was installed in 1888. She, too,

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35. *Ibid.*, p. 55; Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," p. 61.

36. Dilworth Woolley to H. E. (Bert) Woolley, August 21, 1943, National Monuments, Pipe Spring General, Central Classified File, 1933-1949; "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," p. 3.

37. "Pipe Spring Becomes a Sanctuary," p. 9. Woolley-Snow Family Collection.



had a child, Aurora, born there.

Cowboys used the ground floor east room of the lower house to store their equipment. It also served as a place for them to make rope on rainy days as previously described. For perhaps a year beginning in July 1888, Min Adams and her husband John occupied the room. She did part of her cooking over the fireplace.

The spring room was used as a cellar. Milk was kept there in six quart pans on the racks and on the water trough. Cream skimmed from the milk was used to make butter. It was made in an upright churn twice a week. Butter for immediate use was formed in wooden molds with a round sheaf of wheat for decoration. The remaining butter was stored in stone crocks. The spring room also served as a storage area for quarters of beef, hams, and pork shoulders which had been brine cured in barrels before being hung from wall pegs. Potatoes, squash, and pumpkins were piled on the floor. In addition barrels of raisins and grapes from St. George were kept there.<sup>38</sup>

Adult entertainment at Pipe Spring was no doubt very limited. Because of their isolation the families who lived there would have been unable to partake in dances so prevalent in Mormon communities during the period. If anyone played a musical instrument, there would have been family singing occasionally. Florence Woolley noted that songs popular about 1870 included, Seeing Nellie Home, Maggie, Aunt Jemina's Quilting Party, and Civil War songs. Sometimes the hired hands may have had a horse race. Adults probably took part in the candy pulling of which molasses was the only ingredient,

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38. "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," pp. 56-57; Interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, June 1, 1949.

popcorn popping, and making popcorn balls.<sup>39</sup>

Many individuals recalled their childhood games. Florence Woolley played pomp-pomp-pull-away, steal the sticks, hop scotch, and jump rope. She also played with paper dolls, and crude rag dolls which were cut in the shape of a body and stuffed with cotton. The features were painted on with charcoal. When she was older, china doll heads were available for which bodies were made. Some of her first sewing assignments were to make doll clothes for the rag dolls. Florence's own children at Pipe Spring played on the hill behind the fort. They probably played ball or cowboys and Indians. Others remembered playing ball, marbles, running races, swimming, playing Jack's tramp over the hills, one old cat, three old cat, and anti-I-over. Hannah Crosby played paint the plow, blind mans bluff, and button, button with her little brother.<sup>40</sup>

Florence Woolley used the east cabin as a combination stable and chicken house. The west cabin was undoubtedly used by the cowboys as living quarters, especially after their rooms in the fort were taken over by polygamists wives. As a result that structure undoubtedly contained some bunks, crude chairs, and a table in each of its two rooms. Wall pegs probably served as convenient places to hang their clothing and some equipment. They would have used the fireplaces to do some of their cooking. Only two or three cowboys worked at

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39. Mary Ann Bentley, "Autobiography," p. 13; Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," p. 23.

40. Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," p. 7; Christina L. D. Kennedy, "Autobiography," p. 23; Ada Buck Earl, "Autobiography," p. 4, typescript in the Utah Historical Society; Heywood, "Reminiscences," p. 13; Hannah Adelia Bunker Crosby, "Autobiography," pp. 2-3, typescript in the Utah Historical Society.

the ranch most of the time during the period Florence Woolley lived there. Florence described the cowboys' food, and cooking and eating utensils. Food included: bacon, flour, sugar, coffee, baking powder, salt, dried beans, rice, and dried fruit. Although it was not mentioned, they must also have had beef. They had four cooking utensils, a dutch bake oven, coffee pot, frying pan, and a six quart milk pan for making cow-camp bread. Each hired man had a tin plate and cup, as well as a knife, fork, and spoon.<sup>41</sup> Cowboys who worked there during the Winsor period undoubtedly ate the same food and used the same utensils.

Some farm implements would have been necessary at Pipe Spring in order to tend the garden and alfalfa. A plow, bought on June 20, 1873 for \$17.00, was listed under purchases for ranch equipment in Ledger B on September 24, 1873. Other records unrelated to Pipe Spring, but for the area, mentioned two brand names for plows. The 1875 probate of the William R. Slade estate in St. George listed one Molene plow while the Little Colorado River Stake used Oliver chilled ploughs in 1876. On March 5, 1876 Ledger B listed a mowing machine valued at \$155. Hoes, shovels, picks, and axes were also periodically mentioned in Ledger B. Other sources indicated that hay and pitch forks, and scythes were used in the area.<sup>42</sup>

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41. "The Cattle Business," p. 6.

42. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," pp. 38, 63, 221-222; Probate of the William R. Slade estate, May 29, 1875, Probate Records, Book C, 1873-1880, Washington County, Utah Territory, Washington County Courthouse, St. George, Utah; James T. Woods to Robert Mawson, August 31, 1876, Little Colorado River Stake, Miscellaneous Letters, News Stories, 1876-1879, University of Arizona Library Special Collections; John Parker, will, January 15, 1879, Washington County Records of Wills, Book G-G-1, 1875-1942, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah; Joseph Hill Richards, Diary, May 4, 1876, University of Arizona Library Special Collections.

Wagons would have been necessary for personal transportation and to haul butter and cheese. Ledger B under miscellaneous property for July 1, 1876 listed a light half spring wagon valued at \$85 and a 3½ wagon worth \$90. The 3½ wagon was probably a Bain wagon. John Tate, who lived in the Little Colorado area, mentioned a 3½ Bain wagon in his diary for 1881.<sup>43</sup>

Tools listed in Ledger B for 1873 included a spirit level, a tape line, a steel square, two hand hammers, a sledge, and a drill.<sup>44</sup> Although horseshoes and nails were occasionally mentioned, no farrier equipment was ever listed. Instead, Ledger B indicated that blacksmiths periodically came to Pipe Spring to care for the horses.

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43. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," p. 221; John W. Tate, Diary, February 1, 1881. The number 3½ used in connection with a wagon indicated the wheel width of freight wagons. Based upon a study of Hubbell Trading Post in Arizona, the author found that Bain wagons were the most popular brand of wagon in that area.

44. "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," p. 221.

### CONCLUSIONS

Pipe Spring should be furnished to reflect the period 1872-76 when Anson P. Winsor and his family resided there. It was during that period that Pipe Spring served as more than a cattle ranch for the Church herd. It also reflected the height of the dairy operation when cheese and butter were produced to feed the temple workers in St. George, Utah and other area settlers.

If the small structure visible in figure 8 just above the east cabin should prove to be an outdoor toilet, then an archeological investigation might uncover artifacts which could shed more light on the lifestyle at Pipe Spring. In addition the two lime kilns, located below the hill on which the west cabin stands, were used for a time by the Woolleys, after they came to Pipe Spring in 1886, as garbage pits. About 1890 Florence Woolley's son, Edwin, filled one kiln with rocks. These kiln might yield useful artifacts if archeologically explored.

## APPENDIX B

## APPENDIX B

Lists of Contemporary Furnishings extracted from Diaries as well as Washington County, Utah Estate and Divorce Probates.

Joseph Hill Richards, with his family, moved to Obed, Arizona in the Little Colorado River Stake in mid-1876. Richards, a carpenter and blacksmith, listed numerous items in his diary entries for several dates in May 1876. He, however, gave no indication as to whether the items were purchases which he intended to take with him to Obed or if they were household objects and tools which he set aside to take with him. The items included:

May 1, 1876	1 hatchet
35 lbs sugar	2 axes and handles
20 lbs bacon	
100 lbs flour	May 6, 1876
60 lbs potatoes	23 lbs corn meal
10 lbs corn	2 ten gallon kegs
100 lbs wheat	46 lbs of chain
16 lbs molasses	
2 seamless sacks	May 8 and 10, 1876
1 cotton sack	160 lbs of flour
6 tin plates	1 grindstone
6 cups	24 lbs nails
6 knives	25 lbs salt
1 lb, 6 oz tea	1 brace and 10 bits
4 boxes of lye	4 chisels
2 packets of soda	1 spirit level
5 boxes of matches	1 try square
16 bars of soap	3 planes
1 large brass kettle	1 drawing knife
1 small brass kettle	1 oil stone
2 wooden buckets	1 carpenter's square
1 wash tub and board	2 handsaws
1 two quart cup	1 keyhole saw
1 churn	1 two inch auger
	15 bolts
May 4, 1876	3 balls candle wick
1 stilliards	5 lbs of dried apples
17 1/2 lbs oats	4 lbs dried currants
1 cook stove	1/2 lb pepper
300 lbs flour	1 set of candle molds
3 seamless sacks	
1 scythe and snath	
1 pitchfork	
1 garden rake	
1 spade	
1 shovel	

William Henry Solomon and his family were called to an Arizona mission in 1873. While enroute there on July 11, 1873, he recorded in his diary that he left the following items with Mrs. John D. Lee to lighten his load.

1/2 lb pepper  
3 lb can of Kentucky rifle powder  
19 lbs of soap  
2 1/2 lbs of bacon  
dried apples  
15 lbs sugar  
19 lbs candles  
1 hoe  
1 fork  
1 spade  
1 ax  
1 tea kettle  
1 can of soda  
2 cans of yeast powder  
25 lbs shot  
2 sacks of buckshot  
Springfield rifle cartridges  
100 matches  
2 boxes  
1 lantern



Probate of the Anna E. Seegmiller estate heard before the Washington County Probate Court on December 17, 1878. The following items were sold from the estate and the money divided among six heirs.

1 cooking stove  
1 harmonium  
1 knitting machine  
6 chairs  
1 table  
1 stand  
1 clock  
2 lamps  
1 bed  
1 bedstead

Probate of the Miles Quillan estate heard before the Washington County Probate Court on June 26, 1880. The estate contained the following items.

1 card table  
6 chairs  
1 mirror  
1 bar and shelving  
2 chandeliers (4 lights each)  
4 side lamps  
6 pictures  
2 decanters  
2 shakers  
9 spoons  
1 spoonholder  
3 strainers  
1 dozen glasses  
1 stove  
1 bedstead  
4 chairs  
4 flut bottles

Divorce action heard before the Washington County Probate Court of Eudora Dunford and Moreland Dunford on September 14, 1876. Eudora received the following items.

2 sewing chairs	2 wardrobes
1 boys towel rack	1 cradle
1 bedstead	1 lamp
1 spring mattress	1 picture of the temple
1 moss mattress	1 picture of Midnight Race on the Mississippi
1 pair of white blankets	1 bed comforter
1 pillow and cases	1 child's stove
1 washstand	2 band boxes
1 towel rack	Hats and trimmings
Pictures of Lotta, Morley, Jr., Dora, the Lake, the Mountains, Evangeline, Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire, Innocence, and two of Brigham Young	1 portfolio of letters
1 gilt frame mirror	1 comb and brush
1 black frame mirror	Book shelves
1 baby carriage	1 box of toy dishes
The following books:	1 box of toy glasses
Montgomery's Poems,	1 portfolio of music
Nurse and Spy in the	2 sea shells
Union Army, A Parting Gift,	1 pasteboard box of nicknacks
Dr. Gurm, Sexual Science,	1 box of patterns
Innocents Abroad, Roughing It,	1 Bible
Dr. Naples, and music books	1 harp of lion
1 toilet set	1 hymn book
2 baby chairs	1 copy of E. R. Snow's poems
Window blind and fixtures	Volume 14 of the Millennial Star
A box of medicines	1 History of the United States
1 pair of large statues	1 spiritual harp
1 pair of small statues	1 box of clothing
1 cottage bank	1 Patriarchal Blessing
1 bedroom stove	1 sewing machine
1 baby bedspread	1 pair of large vases
1 ingrain carpet	1 pair of small vases
1 rag carpet	
1 light round stand	
1 washstand	
2 bureaus	

**APPENDIX C**

## APPENDIX C

**A Summary of the Construction of the Pipe Spring Fort and the Structural Changes made before Its Acquisition by the National Park Service**

Construction began in late October 1870 and ended in April 1872 except for the double, wooden courtyard gates and interior plaster.

The courtyard gates were probably installed later in 1872.

A partition wall on the second floor of the upper house was probably constructed about 1874, making three rooms there.

By mid-1876 the interior wall plastering was completed.

In mid-1886 the double, wooden courtyard gates were removed. A window was installed in the south wall of the ground floor east room of the lower house. Windows were also placed in the south wall of the east and west rooms on the second floor, while a door was cut through that wall in the center room. The fireplace in the east, ground floor room of the upper house was bricked up and a flue hole cut in its chimney to accommodate a cooking stove. The chimneys on that structure received brick extensions.

In the period 1895-1905 the two partition walls on the second floor of the lower house were removed to make one large room.

About 1910 the floors and windows were repaired and some plaster replaced.

In 1914 the "crow's nest" was removed from the roof of the upper house.

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Some very illuminating material on Pipe Spring was uncovered in several sources. About 1940 Dilworth and Herbert Woolley decided that they should combine their efforts with their mother Florence, before she passed away, to write a reminiscence of the family. Since Pipe Spring, which by that date had become a national monument, figured prominently in their lives, they gave special attention to it. In addition they sought information on Pipe Spring from their predecessors. As a result Anson Winsor's son, Walter, provided some recollections for the Woolleys. The product of their work, combined under several topical titles, was recently deposited in the Brigham Young University Library as the Woolley-Snow Family Collection.

The other useful material is on microfilm at Pipe Spring National Monument. It consists of three items, the "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," "Canaan Cooperative Stock Company Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Stockholders from July 24, 1875," and "Minutes of Board Meetings and of Stockholders of Canaan Coop." The latter Canaan document is a continuation of the former. Karl Larson, presently retired from a history position at Dixie College in St. George, Utah, uncovered all three of those documents some years ago. Although there is a reference to a Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger A in that company's Ledger B, it never came into Larson's possession. No one has been able to verify if a Ledger A still exists. If it were to surface at some future date, it could yield additional information on the Anson Winsor period at Pipe Spring. Anson Winsor's personal papers are said to have been destroyed by a flood of the Virgin River some years ago in St. George while still in his possession.

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IN REPLY REFER TO:  
H30

## United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
Pipe Spring National Monument  
Hocasin, Arizona 86022

March 31, 1981

### Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region

From: Superintendent, Pipe Spring National Monument

Subject: Pipe Spring National Monument, Package 128, Park General,  
Historic Structures Report, Historical Data Section, Project  
Type 32.

The Historical Data Section of the Historic Structures Report, by A. Berle Clemenson, brings together into a single package, much material that was scattered hither and yon. A goodly number of the comments from our staff are for minor changes or corrections in fact. A few later comments do merit further consideration though.

### Comments:

1. Pg. 4 line 4, "Ansor" should be "Anson".
2. Pg. 6 line 15, "Cedar" should be "juniper". This error is made throughout the report.
3. Pg. 6 line 20, Some lumber was also brought from John D. Lee's mill in Scutempah.
4. Pg. 8 line 10, Some feel that the outside door in the second floor east room was made at a later date as the lintel is juniper, where as all other lintels are of stone.
5. Pg. 9 line 2, There are no fireplaces in the upper building second floor.
6. Pg. 10 line 2, There is no fireplace in the east room lower building upper floor.
7. Pg. 11 line 6, The ponds were built during the time the Wooleys were here (1885).
8. Pg. 49 line 20, Both floors were removed at the same time.
9. Pg. 59 line 10, "Touch" should be "touch".
10. Pg. 65 line 22, "Eliza Stewart Okall" change to "Luella Stewart".
11. Pg. 71 line 11, Since this was a cattle ranch, rawhide rather than rope would probably have been used.
12. Pg. 72 line 4, "howel" should be "bowl".
13. Pg. 75 line 21, (see #6)
14. Pg. 78 line 13, Three gallons is probably too high, maybe it should be more like 1-1½ gallons/cow.

Continued Next Sheet

15. Pg. 79 line 4, There is a chimney flue in this room.
16. Pg. 84 line 13, The cupboard on the left has shelves, the one on the right does not. It is doubtful that both were full of "books, magazines, and newspapers."
17. Pg. 98 Appendix C. Should state when the door in the east room was installed.

As mentioned above, the report covers the history pretty thoroughly, but a couple of items raise some questions. For instance, there was little information on James Whitmore's role as the fore-runner cattleman. There was no information about Joseph Hopkins, the blacksmith.

As to the artifacts on display, we question the comparison between Pipe Spring and the Jacob Hamblin Home in St. George, with the latter being an example for the former to copy. There are several items in the Jacob Hamblin Home which are not authentic to his period of time. For instance, the beds in the upper childrens room were not there, as the children slept on floormats. Also, the Navajo rug upstairs was made in 1910, well after Hamblin's time.

As far as we can tell at this time, the microfilm (Ledger B) that was borrowed, has not been returned, nor has the promised transcript copy.

*W. H. Hoyr*

William H. Hoyr

July 28, 1981

William Herr  
Pipe Spring National Monument  
Moccasin, Arizona 86002

Dear Mr. Herr:

I did some searching for information on James Whitmore. I contacted Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, Utah State Historical Society, the Church History Office, and Dixie College in St. George. None had any information beyond the several narrations of Whitmore's death about which you already know. The Utah State Historical Society did Xerox a small bit of information from the Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah book and sent it to me. I shall enclose it for you.

Through the telephone's long distance information service, I tried to find if there were any descendants named Whitmore still living in Utah. Surprisingly, there is only one Whitmore in Utah -- a "Bud" Whitmore who lives in Roosevelt. I talked to him and he proved to be a descendant of James Whitmore who was his great great grandfather. He, however, had not kept track of the family. All he knew was that James Whitmore had been a Texas cattle rancher. He had converted to Mormonism about 1856 and had moved to St. George area from where, because of his cattle ranching background, Brigham Young asked him to take charge of a herd at Pipe Spring. As a guess, Bud Whitmore thought that there might be some descendants still living in Price, Utah, but, through marriage, they no longer carried the Whitmore name. He also said that the movie actor James Whitmore might be a relative since he was so similar in looks to his grandfather.

Fred asked about James Whitmore being referred to as Doctor. Since he was not a medical doctor, I think that the title was only honorary. Several other prominent St. George area residents were also referred to in that manner. He would not have obtained such a degree from an American institution of higher learning because American colleges and Universities did not begin to grant Ph.D. degrees until about 1890. He also would not have studied animal husbandry at any college. No colleges in the U.S. offered agricultural courses until the 1870s. This came about through the Morrill Act which the U.S. Congress passed in 1862. That Act endowed each loyal state with land, the money from the sale of which was to be used to start agricultural schools. Prior to that time any work in animal husbandry was done

by private, wealthy individuals who had the leisure time to devote to such a pursuit.

I am sorry that I was unable to find more information about James Whitmore. He still remains somewhat of a mystery.

Sincerely,

*Berle Clemensen*

Berle Clemensen

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Bill Herr; Superintendent Pipe Spring

FROM : Fred Banks; Park Technician Historian

SUBJECT: Report Review

DATE: 1/24/81

This document is classified as an Historic Structure Report but after studying it, a more appropriate title might be: A GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF PIPE SPRING.

It is rich in historical information but has very little to say about the actual hard core construction of the facilities (some construction information is used in guided talks). It does recount quite well how the facilities were changed and used through the years but there is no detailed account as to how the buildings, rooms, grounds, etc. are today. I found only a little information on James Whitmore's role as the fore-runner cattleman and no information about Joseph Hopknis, the blacksmith, to which we have an extensive display.

Although the Majority of the artifacts are not original, they are authentic to the time period. And, I feel overall, Pipe Spring is more authentic to its time period than any other site in this area. The report makes reference to several sites which have been used as comparisons, one of which is the Jacob Hamblin Home. I have visited there three times and many of the items on display are not within the theme of the household during Jacob Hamblin's time. For example, the Navajo rug upstairs was not in the household as it was not made till 1910, long after Jacob Hamblin's time. The beds in the upper children's room were not there as guides have told me the children slept on floor mats. I would really question such site examples to use as standards for comparison.

This report makes reference to some things that may be incorrectly displayed:

1. There is no reference to the use of an organ for musical entertainment. (p86 pp3)
2. Information that could alter somewhat the displays of the kitchen. (p67 pp2)
3. The mention of other kinds of sewing machines. (p74 pp2)
4. Since this was a cattle ranch, rawhide rather than rope would more than likely have been used to hold beds together. (p/1)

CONTINUE NEXT SHEET



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5. Report refers to footwear being brought in from St. George. Then the shoe lasts should be taken out. (p73 pr2)
6. Report refers to Florence (Fulsirher) being the first child born at the fort on December 13, 1877. This is not likely as the ranch had been in operation for seven years prior with lots of polygamist families moving to and from.

And, as far as I know, the microfilm (Ledger B) that was borrowed from Pipe Spring to write this report has not been returned along with the promised transcript copy.

*Aud Banks*

Evelyn C. Crandall  
852 LeGrande St.  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84108

June 1, 1987

RECEIVED PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT	
JUL 2 1987	
Sag	
X	John
X	Elizabeth
X	James
X	John
X	Elizabeth
X	James
X	John
X	Elizabeth
X	James

Maurine Cundick  
Pipe Springs National Monument  
Mocasin, Arizona  
c/o Fredonia, Arizona 86022

*return*

Dear Maurine:

I apologize for the delay in getting back to you on the matter of James Montgomery Whitmore who was killed by Indians at Pipe Springs.

All I can do is pass on some family stories for whatever they are worth. James was born in Athens, McMinn, Tennessee to John Whitmore and Elizabeth Burke. His father, John, was a teacher from Tennessee and desired his sons to receive a proper education so James worked with a pharmacist. The family feels that is where the term "Dr." originated. I do not know the date that the John Whitmore family moved to Texas, but we do have the marriage date of Elizabeth Carter Flaherty and James Montgomery Whitmore as February 23, 1853 in Waxahachie, Ellis, Texas.

We had a delightful time at the Pipe Springs Monument and greatly appreciated your charming and knowledgeable presentation.

Sincerely,

*Evelyn Crandall*

m. Crolla Louise Egbert; David P., m. Harriet Lawson; Martha Jane; Elizabeth Ann, m. Robert E. T. Taylor; Benjamin, Mary Ann, James Thomas, latter three died; Joseph Farley, m. Isabell Barrett; Mira Matilda, m. William Dalton Neal; Thomas Charles, m. Edith May Margetts; Ada Maria, m. Reed T. Cannon.

Member 2d quorum seventies; patriarch. Wholesale dealer meats. Died Dec. 11, 1906. Salt Lake City.

**WHITE, J. PARLEY** (son of William White and Ann Thomas). Born Jan. 21, 1871, Neyland, Wales. Came to Utah 1876.

Married Isabell Barrett Dec. 21, 1893, Salt Lake City (daughter of Clarence and Hannah Barrett of same place, pioneers 1868). She was born Dec. 6, 1876. Their children: Vivian Farley b. Sept. 12, 1896; Leslie Barrett b. July 7, 1898. Family home, Salt Lake City.

Elder, Chief deputy sheriff ten years. Director Farmers & Stockgrowers Bank. Cattle and sheep raiser.

**WHITE, JOHN H.** (son of William White and Anne Thomas). Born Aug. 24, 1856, Haken, Wales. Came to Utah 1876.

Married Clara Feveryear Jan. 18, 1883, Salt Lake City (daughter of Robert Feveryear and Mary Ann Welton of Norwich, Eng., who came to Utah April, 1883). She was born June 11, 1861, came to Utah November, 1882. Their children: William Henry b. Nov. 2, 1883, m. Gertrude Kelly; Thomas Charles b. June 12, 1885; Ada Irene b. Feb. 12, 1887; John Harrison b. March 4, 1889, died; Chancy L. b. April 8, 1891; Hazel Ann b. March 19, 1893; Cornelius George b. April 16, 1895; Mira b. Oct. 27, 1896; Byron L. b. May 6, 1899; Mabel Clara b. May 13, 1902; Gertrude b. Jan. 11, 1905. Family home, Salt Lake City.

Member 3d quorum seventies; missionary to England 1879-82. Vice-president State Fair Association. Wholesale meat dealer; breeder of cattle and buffaloes; one of the owners of Antelope Island. Died July 12, 1910.

**WHITEHEAD, WILLIAM** (son of Robert and Alice Whitehead of England). Born July 3, 1816, Lancastershire, Eng. Came to Utah 1852, Captain Howell company.

Married Jane Hardman, Nauvoo, Ill., who was born Sept. 1, 1816, and died 1848, at Nauvoo. Only child: Joseph Samuel b. April 1, 1846, m. Della P. Curtis. Family home Payson, Utah.

Married Anne Spencer, Council Bluffs, Iowa. Their children: Mary Alice, m. William Depew; Martha Jane, m. Delbert Simons; William Henry, m. Ruth Oyer; Elizabeth Anne, m. John Sturgis; Hannah Mariah, m. Gus Royer; Reuben Hyrum; Matilda Anne, m. Niel Daley. Family home Payson, Utah.

High priest; bishop of Payson ward 20 years. One of early settlers of Payson. Veteran Black Hawk war. Payson city marshal. Mason and farmer. Died Nov. 5, 1885.

**WHITEHEAD, JOSEPH SAMUEL** (son of William Whitehead and Jane Hardman). Born April 1, 1846, Nauvoo, Ill. Came to Utah 1852, Thomas Howell company.

Married Della Presendia Curtis July 24, 1869, Payson, Utah (daughter of Joseph Curtis and Sarah Reed of same place, pioneers Oct. 12, 1848), who was born Dec. 9, 1849. Their children: Presendia Adelmia b. April 23, 1870, m. J. Allan Taylor; Joseph William b. March 14, 1872, m. Ailina Stewart; James Franklin b. March 3, 1874, d. May 11, 1876; John Alma b. Feb. 4, 1876, d. Feb. 9, 1878; Sarah Jane b. March 2, 1878, m. James M. Rigby; George Eli b. March 21, 1881, m. Bertha Anderson; Alice Zobia b. June 15, 1883, m. R. H. Barney; Emma Sophia b. Oct. 26, 1886, m. David S. Sanderson; Frederick Adolphus b. Aug. 17, 1889; Mary Ethel b. Sept. 27, 1892; Orle T. Fillison b. June 3, 1895. Family home Burrville and Annabella, Utah.

High priest; bishop of Burrville ward four years; counselor to Bishop Cloward of Burrville ward ten years. Veteran Black Hawk war. Assisted in bringing immigrants to Utah 1864. Settled in Grass Valley 1876. Farmer and stockraiser.

**WHITESIDES, LEWIS** (son of James Whitesides). Born March 26, 1828, Chester county, Pa. Came to Utah 1852, John Walker company.

Married Susannah Perkins, who was born April 5, 1830, and came to Utah with husband. Their children: Elizabeth A.; Ann Deseret; Joshua Harris; James Lewis; Marlon Mark; Mary Susan; Edward Morris; Nancy, m. Joseph S. Freer; John Absalom; William Willford. Family home Kayaville, Davis Co., Utah.

**WHITING, EDWIN.** Born Sept. 9, 1809, in Lee county, Mass. Came to Utah 1849, Captain Morley company.

Married Elizabeth Titlston. Only child: Louisa M. b. May 17, 1850, m. Aaron Johnson, Jr. Oct. 8, 1871. Family home Springville, Utah.

Settled at Mantl 1849. Missionary to Ohio two years. Member Utah legislature from Mantl 1859-60; mayor of Mantl. Moved to Springville 1862. Nurseryman. Died Dec. 1, 1890.

**WHITLOCK, ANDREW.** Came to Utah in September, 1853, Captain Tidwell company.

Married Hannah Alired (daughter of James and Betsy Alired, Tennessees, pioneers Oct. 5, 1851, Captain Keisey company). Their children: Sallie Ray b. Oct. 9, 1858, m.

Henry H. Oviatt Feb. 1, 1853; Charles, m. Matilda King; Mary Jane, m. John Franklin Oviatt; Harlin, m. Margaret Vorse; Elizabeth It., m. Henry B. Stevens 1854; Maria, m. William Beal; Andrew H., m. Andrea Overlund; Thursa, m. Louis Larson. Family home Ephraim, Utah. Elder. Hatter; farmer. Died in 1865.

**WHITMORE, JAMES MONTGOMERY** (son of George Whitmore of Tennessee). Born September, 1822, in Tennessee. Came to Utah in 1857, Homer Duncan company.

Married Mary Elizabeth Carter in 1852 (daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Carter of Texas), who was born in 1826.

Their children: George C. b. Jan. 26, 1853, m. Mary Elizabeth Hague; James Montgomery b. June 5, 1855, m. Hannah Nixon; Joseph b. 1857, died; Brigham b. 1859, m. Eva Perkins; Samuel M. b. 1864, m. Elizabeth Grant; Tasy b. Dec. 1865, m. William Grace. Family home St. George, Utah.

Seventy. Killed by Indians Jan. 6, 1866, Pipe Springs, Utah. ✕ z

**WHITMORE, JAMES MONTGOMERY, JR.** (son of James Montgomery Whitmore and Mary Elizabeth Carter). Born June 5, 1855, Waxahachie, Texas. Came to Utah with parents.

Married Hannah Maria Nixon Dec. 25, 1883, St. George, Utah (daughter of James W. Nixon and Hannah Nixon, of Wisconsin, pioneers 1860). She was born Nov. 16, 1865. Their children: Ida May b. Sept. 20, 1884, m. B. R. McDonald; James Montgomery, Jr. b. April 19, 1886, died; Julius Len b. May 13, 1888; Arthur Lawrence b. March 19, 1890, m. Ada Shinen; Virnie Ray b. March 14, 1892; Leland b. March 25, 1895; George Lacie b. July 7, 1897. Family home Price, Utah.

President First National Bank of Price; president board trustees of Price for seven years; member of city council. Stockraiser.

**WHITNEY, ORSON F.** (son of Horace K. Whitney, a pioneer of 1847 and the eldest son of Newel K. Whitney, who was Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Helen Mar Kimball, eldest daughter of Heber C. Kimball, one of the original Twelve Apostles of the Church, and at the time of his death a member of the First Presidency). He was born July 1, 1855, Salt Lake City.

Married Zina Smoot December, 1879 (daughter of President A. O. Smoot). She was the mother of nine children. She died May, 1900.

Married May Wells (daughter of Daniel Hammer Wells and Lydia Ann Alley). She is the mother of two children.

Elder 1873; seventy 1876; ordained a high priest and set apart as Bishop of the Eighteenth ward July 14, 1878; member of the quorum of the twelve apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; missionary to eastern states October, 1876-78; to Europe 1881-83. Main founder and first president of the Wasatch Literary Association. Clerk, collector and city editor of the "Deseret News" 1878. City councilman 1880—his first civic office. Helped to organize, and was president of the Home Dramatic Club. Associate editor of the "Millennial Star" at Liverpool, Eng. City treasurer 1883-1890. Chancellor of the University of Deseret, succeeding Hon. George O. Cannon. Chief clerk of the House of Representatives 1888. First elder in hold Sabbath services at the Penitentiary. The town of Whitney, Idaho, was named for him. One of the three framers of the "Declaration of Grievances and Protest," and the reader of that document at the great Tabernacle mass meeting May, 1885, and a year later he delivered the address of welcome to Governor Caleb W. West, on his arrival at Salt Lake City. At the General Conference in October, 1890, he was called to read President Woodruff's "Manifesto" to the Congregation. In May, 1890, Bishop Whitney began the History of Utah. He was the choice for this work, of the most prominent men and women in the community and was employed by the publishing company organized by Dr. John O. Williams, an experienced book man from the east, who was the main owner of the enterprise. The Bishop's duties were purely literary; at no time did he have anything to do with the business management. Served the public gratuitously in various ways. At a Unitarian conference held in the Jewish Synagogue at Salt Lake City in 1892, at which ministers of various denominations were invited to speak, he represented his church, by appointment of the First Presidency. His address was pronounced by the Rabbi the most impressive one delivered on the occasion. He was prominent at peace and charity meetings and other gatherings of a public character. In the fall of 1894, Mr. Whitney engaged in his first political campaign. Up to this time he had never made a political speech, nor had he united with either of the new organizations which had superseded the People's and the Liberal parties. His predilections were for Democracy. Never an office-seeker, and shunning rather than courting public life, at the solicitation of Democratic leaders, he became a candidate for the Constitutional Convention, and was elected by the largest majority cast in his precinct. The part played by him in the convention—notably in the great woman's suffrage debate—is well known. He served upon various important committees, and was one of the special committee that revised the constitution prior to its transmission to Washington. In January, 1896, accepted a professor's chair in the Brigham Young College at Logan, and for the next eighteen months was a resident of that town, and an in-