

## BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF PIPE SPRINGS, ARIZONA

by Arthur Woodward

The History of Pipe Springs or Winsor Castle in northern Arizona is not merely the story of a single isolated spot in a barren wilderness. Rather it is a concrete reminder epitomizing the development of a great state by a courageous people. In a measure, the history of Pipe Springs is the tale of the ideals, the sufferings, the ambitions and the perseverance of a determined band of men and women who sought religious and economic freedom in an inhospitable land and who won out against great odds. Pipe Springs may well interpret the story of Utah and the fighting spirit of the Mormon pioneers. To that end, it seems to me, the development of the theme of the story to be told in the stone buildings at Pipe Springs National Monument might be directed.

### THE COMING OF THE MORMONS

In this brief item it is not my purpose to review the entire history of Mormonism, nor the struggles of the people prior to their entry into the valley of the Great Salt Lake on Thursday, July 22, 1847, when the vanguard of the pioneers

pitched their camp on Canyon Creek. The following day the advance guard moved forward three miles and Apostle Orson Pratt dedicated the ground to the service of the Lord and the Mormon people. A camp was organized on the spot which subsequently became the 8th Ward of Salt Lake City. Ploughing was begun; a city was in the process of being founded.<sup>1</sup>

On the 24th day of July, a date celebrated in Utah as one of the most memorable days in the history of Mormonism, President Brigham Young, who had been forced to delay his trip because of illness, entered the valley with the main body of pioneers.<sup>2</sup>

Under his capable leadership a thriving community was born in what had been a desert waste. By March 6, 1848, the Great Salt Lake City Fort contained 423 houses and had a population of 1,671 souls. In that season there were 875 acres of winter wheat planted.<sup>3</sup> Emigrants from all over Europe and the United States, and Canada were turning their faces westward to Zion.

#### EXPLORATION

No sooner had the walls of Salt Lake City begun to rise from the plain at the foot of the mountains, than it was deemed necessary to begin explorations to find favorable

sites for new settlements to care for the companies of Saints who were on the march to this new Promised Land.

Accordingly on Friday, November 23, 1849, a party of fifty men was organized at Captain John Brown's house on Big Cottonwood under the leadership of Apostle Parley D. Pratt for the purpose of exploring what is now southern Utah. By January, 1850, the party had made a reconnaissance of the country as far south as the mouth of the Santa Clara River beyond the Rim of the Basin.<sup>4</sup>

On Monday, September 9, 1850, the Congress of the United States formally approved the organization of the new Territory of Utah.<sup>5</sup>

With the influx of new settlers, the exploration of all the nooks and crannies of the area continued. Certain portions of the land were inhabited by bands of Indians, some decidedly hostile, others not so aggressive. Whereas the customary policy of the frontier in that day and age was to convert all Indians with the rifle, Brigham Young was determined to try kindness first, and rely upon the rifle only as a last resort.

Accordingly on October 28, 1858, Jacob Hamblin, an ardent member of the Church, was sent south toward the Hopi country to contact the Indians of that area, to spread

the gospel of Mormonism, and to explore the country. According to Eschom,<sup>6</sup> the Hamblin party, which consisted of twelve men, was the beginning of intercourse with the Indians on that side of the Colorado (south), and of the exploration of the country which opened the way for the colonization by the Saints.

#### PIPE SPRING

As a matter of fact, with the advent of Hamblin on the scene we actually open the drama of Pipe Spring. It is our first recorded visit of a party of white men to this spot.

Jacob Hamblin left the little settlement of Santa Clara on October 28, traveling a little south of east. The party consisted of Jacob Hamblin, his two brothers, Frederick and William, Samuel Knight, Benjamin Knoll, Ira Hatch, Andrew Gibbons, Dudley and Thomas Leavitt, Ammon M. Tenny (Spanish interpreter), James Davis (a Welsh interpreter), and Naraguts, an Indian guide.<sup>7</sup> On the evening of October 30, the explorers pitched their camp beside the springs, and according to tradition, although Hamblin himself says nothing of the event, were responsible for the incident which later caused the place to be called Pipe Springs.

According to one version, William Hamblin, being twitted by his inability to drive a rifle ball through a silk hanker-

chief which had been suspended by two corners, the bullet whisking the silk aside without penetrating it, bet that he could break the bottom out of Dudley Leavitt's pipe without smashing the sides of the bowl or the stem.

Accordingly the pipe was set up at a distance of 25 yards and Hamblin vindicated his marksmanship by performing this feat. Thenceforth, the place was known as Pipe Spring.

Prior to this time the spring had been known to the Paiute Indians as Yellow Rock Spring, taking the name from the cliffs nearby. (Powell)<sup>9</sup>

It will be noted that the year of 1856 has by some writers been given as the one in which Hamblin first visited this spot.<sup>10</sup> However, Hamblin and Eschom both speak of 1858 as the year in which the first mission was sent south to the Hopi Country. Hence, I am inclined to believe this date rather than that given in reminiscences, taken many years later.

Jacob Hamblin had a long and interesting career in the service of the Mormon Church. He was forever on the frontier working among the Indians. He was born in Salem, Ashtabula County, Ohio the 6th of April, 1819. He died at Pleasanton, Williams Valley, New Mexico of malarial fever, August 31, 1886. This was a Mormon settlement founded in October, 1882.

His remains were removed to Alpine, Arizona in 1889 and on the monument erected over his grave was this inscription

"Peacemaker in the Camp of the Lamanitos." (Ho-Clintock)

Following on Hamblin's heels other parties were sent into southern Utah to open up the country for settlement. On November 29, 1861, a group headed by Apostles George A. Smith, Erastus Snow and others, left Salt Lake City for the purpose of colonizing the valleys of the Rio Virgen and the Santa Clara. Cotton was the crop most needed.<sup>12</sup> Over a year later, December 4, 1862, the settlers of southern Utah held a meeting and acting upon the motion of Apostle Snow decided to build a city and call it St. George. This town was situated about 96 miles from Pipe Spring.<sup>13</sup> Later the town of Kanab was 20 miles from the Spring was established.

#### A CATTLE RANCH IS ESTABLISHED

In 1857, Dr. James Montgomery Whitmore, a native of Tennessee born in 1822, arrived in Utah in the emigrant train known as the Homer Duncan Company. He was accompanied by his wife Elizabeth and their children, George O. Whitmore who was born January 26, 1853, and James Montgomery, born June 5, 1855. Later there were other children, Joseph, born in 1857, died the same year; Brigham, born in 1859, Samuel M.

born in 1864; and Tasy, born December, 1865.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Whitmore entered into the pioneer life of Utah with great spirit. He went on several exploring expeditions. In 1864, he was living at St. George and was engaged by Amnon Call to accompany him to the Colorado River, where the company erected a large warehouse for the purpose of receiving goods destined to go by the river, and the ocean to San Francisco. Callville was the name of this riverport, which, unfortunately, ceased to exist in 1869. (McClintock)

Again in 1865 Whitmore went with Jacob Hamblin to visit the Mohave Indians at Cottonwood Island in the Colorado River, a short distance from Fort Mohave.<sup>15</sup>

It is said that sometime in 1863 Dr. Whitmore went to Pipe Spring to establish a cattle ranch. According to Heaton,<sup>16</sup> Whitmore built a dugout of cedar logs and earth about 50 to 75 feet east of the southeast corner of the later stone building known as the fort.

Apparently Whitmore only went out to the Spring occasionally to look after his cattle, his home being in St. George.

Dr. Whitmore had occupied Pipe Spring for a period of about three years when the Paiute and Navajo Indians in southern Utah went on a rampage.

The trouble was known as the Black Hawk War<sup>17</sup> and began near Manti, Sanpate County, April 9, 1865, when a drunken settler, John Lowry pulled Arro Pean, a Paiute chief off his horse. This insult to the old man brought on nearly four years of guerrilla warfare which ultimately cost the people \$1,121,037.38. In 1866 there were as high as 2500 men under arms in Utah. Some 20 white men were slain in that year, 40-50 Indians killed and 2,000 head of stock captured by the tribesmen. In 1867, Black Hawk, the instigator of the trouble, retired from the fight but the warfare continued and peace was not fully restored until the summer of 1869. Black Hawk died, probably of tuberculosis, at his camp 5 miles south of Payson, Utah at a place called Spring Lake Villa, the night of September 26, 1870. He was buried with his favorite horse in a small ravine within sight of the door of the B. F. Johnson residence.

According to David Chidester of Venise,<sup>19</sup> Utah, the Navajo Indians who lived south of the Colorado River aided and abetted by some of the Shivitz Paiute or Shevate as Chidester called them, made a raid upon the Pipe Spring cattle ranch, January 6, 1866.

,Dr. Whitmore and his herder, Robert McIntyre put on their heavy overcoats and started away from the dugout, leaving behind

Whitmore's eleven year old son, James (the records do not name the lad, saying only that Whitmore's eight year old son remained in the dugout...however, the only boy of this approximate age was James, who was eleven, not eight years of age).

The two men had proceeded about four miles from the Spring, trailing the Indians and their stolen stock, when suddenly they were ambushed and both were slain. Their clothing was stripped from them. In the pocket of his coat Whitmore carried two \$20 gold pieces.

That night the Indians came down upon the ranch, but didn't discover the boy hiding in the dugout. The next morning the lad slipped out and started for St. George, feeling certain that his father and McIntyre had been killed. Enroute he met some men who sent in word of the affair.

About January 20, 1868, a party of armed men from St. George, in a detachment of local militia under the command of Captain James Andrus, went in search of the bodies of the murdered men. They found two young indians who said they had seen the men slain but had had no part in it. The ground was then covered with about 18 inches of snow. The riders rode back and forth four abreast over the area

indicated by the Indians. A horse brushed the snow from the uplifted hand of the unfortunate doctor. When the Indians were told one body had been found, they inquired if it was that of the man with whiskers, upon receiving an affirmative answer, they then pointed to the place where McIntyre's body was located.

The militiamen rode to an Indian camp nearby and found some Paiutes wearing the clothes of the murdered men. Although the Indians protested their innocence, the white men disbelieved them and killed seven. The gold pieces owned by Whitmore were still in the pockets of his garmet when it was taken in the Indian camp. Later the soldiers learned that the Paiutes were telling the truth. They had received the clothing from the Navajo murderers who had gone south with the stolen herd.

Although this was the only recorded act of violence at the Spring, Ammon Tenney,<sup>21</sup> well known as an Indian scout, and one of the original Hamblin party who camped at the spring in '58, told of a fight with the Navajos at a point 18 miles west of Pipe Spring and 6 miles south west of Cannan, Utah, in 1865. Ammon Tenney, his father, and a man by the name of Enock Dodge, all from Toquerville, were surprised by a band of 16 Indians just before dusk. The three men managed to get under cover and stood the

Navajos off until darkness fell. Dodge was shot in the knee cap, the elder Tenney fell and broke his shoulder blade, leaving only Tenney uninjured to do the active fighting. The latter helped his injured father and friend into a small cave in the rocks and under cover of darkness they gave the Indians the slip and made their way to Duncan's retreat on the Virgen River, some 15 miles a way.

#### CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISES

From the outset, it had been Brigham Young's purpose to make the Mormon state self-sustaining. The constant increase in population, many of whom had very little in the way of funds, and the high prices of imported foodstuffs, clothing, machinery, furniture, household goods, etc., made it imperative for the Mormon leaders to find a solution to the problems of poverty and unemployment. Community ploughing, housebuilding, harvesting, etc., were carried on right from the first.

In the Desert Weekly News, March 16, 1870 which was the semi-official organ of the Church, the editor commented thus:

"Co-operation in the importation of dry goods, groceries, hardware and some few other things has been tried and its advantages demonstrated in this Territory; we want to see it extend into all branches of trade and manufactures.

"Its introduction is more of a necessity now than ever. The completion of the overland railroad has so facilitated the importation of goods of outside manufacture that all kinds can now be brought here at much cheaper rates than formerly---"

This resulted, so the editor continued, in the reduction of wages of the working men of the Territory, and even unemployment of those who were engaged in home industries, who could not compete with outside prices. Hence, it was argued that labor and capital in Utah would have to combine forces and provide an outlet for home manufactures. It was the old story that those who toiled should have an equal share of the profits and the products of their labor. Toward the end, it was proposed to extend co-operative measures into every activity carried on throughout the Territory.

To safeguard investors in such enterprises, the legislature presented "An act providing for incorporating associations, for mining, manufacturing, commercial, and other industrial pursuits," which was passed and approved February 18, 1870.<sup>22</sup>

This act gave the Mormon settlements the legal machinery whereby groups could organize community co-operative enterprises, issue stocks, and declare dividends. Such bodies could be dissolved by a two-thirds vote of the stock holders.

Subsequent to this act, co-operative associations sprang up in nearly every community in Utah. Woolen mills, cotton mills, machine shops, shoe shops, furniture making establishments, lumber mills, apieries, dairys, in short practically every line of manufacturing and agricultural endeavor was included in the co-operative industries.

The editor of the Desert News, March 16, 1870, commenting on the new law said:

"Now that the 'Act providing for incorporating associations for mining, manufacturing, commercial, and other industrial pursuits,' has become a law there is nothing to prevent the formation of co-operative societies to carry on every branch of business that may be needed. The law is a good one, and its provisions should be adopted by those who wish to form associations of any kind for the better and more perfect carrying on of business. There are many pursuits that can be followed to greater advantage by a company of persons than by a single individual. This is especially the case with the cheese factories..."

He concluded his article on cheese making with this challenge,

"We hope to hear of cheese factories being established in many of our settlements this season. Who will take the initiative?"

Stock raising and dairying, including the manufacture of butter as well as cheese was pressed upon the communities where

there was sufficient range for such industries.

In March the News spoke of the necessity for the manufacture of butter and cheese:

"The exportation of butter and cheese should become a marked feature of an agricultural country like Utah, after the home market is amply provided. That we should have to import butter and cheese is a disgrace to the territory. It is taking away money for the very articles we should be abundantly able to export to bring in money. And the quality should be such as would command the highest figure in the market." (The Desert News, March 2, 1870)

Later in the fall, November 9, 1870, another article appeared:

"The Territory has abundant facilities for grazing purposes and good beef cattle, whether raised for home consumption or exportation, always find a ready market; but with the present shiftless method of turning animals on the range, to be the owner of several head is of very slight advantage, but under the cooperative system, the losses with proper care and attention need be very few, and general instead of individual as now; and the scheme could not be other than profitable and satisfactory to the highest degree.

There is no speculation about this. Let reliable men, who understand the nature and requirements of the business be

selected for herdsmen and the results are sure. The expense to each owner of stock in the herd would be slight and however severe the weather might prove he would have the pleasure of knowing that his property was safe. The plan has been started in some of the counties down south and we hope to hear of it being commenced here speedily."

Following this article other items appeared telling of the organization of co-operative herds in various places. The Millard County Herd with 1800 head of stock was started. (News Dec. 7, 1870) A new cheese factory was reported at Kansas Prairie, Summit County, Utah in October.

Thus the co-operative movement got under way, and in due time its influence was to be felt at Pipe Spring. Following Dr. Whitmore's death, Brigham Young is said to have purchased the Pipe Spring ranch from the Whitmore heirs for the establishment of a Church herd. It has also been stated by Leonard Heaton<sup>23</sup> that Bishop A . P. Winsor went to Pipe Spring to build the stone house and fort in the Spring of 1869, J. N. Powell,<sup>24</sup> engaged in exploring the country in the vicinity of Pipe Spring camped at the Spring with this comment:

"...at high camp at a great spring known as Yellow Rock Spring, but to the Mormons as Pipe Spring; and nearby there is a cabin in which some Mormon herders find shelter, Pipe Spring is a point just across the Utah line in Arizona and we suppose it to

be about sixty miles from the river. Here the Mormons design to build a fort another year as an outpost for protection against the Indians."

Thus, it would appear the actual construction on the stone buildings had not started and if Bishop Winsor then had charge of the Church co-operative herd he was still making his home in St. George.

Bishop Anson Perry Winsor<sup>25</sup> was born August 19, 1818 at Elliotville, New York, and he arrived in Utah Sept. 20 in the James McCaugh Company. He settled at Provo, Utah in 1852 with his wife Emeline. His children were; Walter J. b Nov. 30, 1844; Ida R. b May 9, 1847; Margaret E. b May 9, 1852; Anson P. b Oct. 9, 1854; Samsul A. b Jan. 20, 1857; Emeline Z. b Jan. 7, 1859; Phoebe D. b Nov. 11, 1861; Lucy T. b Sept. 7, 1868.

In 1855 he married Mary Nelson and children born of that union were Joseph, b Feb. 18, 1864; Andrew N. b Feb. 15, 1866; Mary J. b June 5, 1868; Lorenzo (bith date unknown).

He was a wagon master of Young's Express Company in 1857. He was in charge of the company on the March to Fort Leavenworth Kansas May 1, 1837, and it was he who sent the first word of General Albert Sidney Johnston's army to President Brigham Young. Later Winsor was placed in charge of 300 men to guard against the invaders. He moved south into Utah's "Dixie" in 1861. He was

ordained Bishop of Crafton War in 1863. He 1864 he was in the militia under General Ereastus Snow as Colonel of the 3rd regiment. He took an active part in the Indian wars, then was assigned charge of the herd at Pipe Spring.

#### THE BUILDING OF WINSOR CASTLE

It had been the custom of the Mormons to erect stone forts in their settlements as protection against the Indians. In most instances these seem to have been large residences with narrow rifle ports in the walls. Hence, it is not surprising that Pipe Spring, have been the scene of one Indian depredation and now being the site of a cooperative ranch, should be selected as the place for a residence-fortification.

The accounts vary as to the year in which this stone fort was begun. As already noted Alonso Winsor stated that the fort was started in the spring of 1869, but Powell, who was there in the fall of 1869 stated that the only building on the ground was a small cabin for the herders, and that the Mormons contemplated building a stone fort another year.

John R. Young in his "Reminiscences" (Utah Historical Quarterly Vol. 3-No. 3, July, 1930) p. 86, said:

"In the meantime the Church had obtained possession of Dr. Whitmore's claims and had established a cattle ranch in care of ex-Bishop A. P. Winsor. At that

time my brother, Joseph W., was president of the St. George Stake and Uncle Brigham directed him to make some improvements on the ranch. Joseph planned the fort with Aunt Tamer. I went and boarded the men. My nephew Joseph C. Young hauled the rock with my team. They were quarried at Moccasin Spring a mile and a half north. Klisha Everett was foreman in charge of the building. I was a time keeper and general director of the work. I am a poor hand to remember dates. I may be wrong but I think the fort was erected in 1871..."

Young published his "Memoirs of John R. Young...Utah Pioneer 1847, as a separate item in Salt Lake City, 1920. (See frontispiece of that volume for photograph of Young).

His version of the building of Pipe Spring Fort adds but little more to his later statement published by a nephew in 1930.

"In the meantime my brother, Joseph W., had been appointed president of the St. George Stake. I was sincerely attached to him, and his counsel had great weight with me. By his request I took my families, Albina and Tamarr, to the Pipe Spring Ranch, near Kanab, and boarded the workmen who were building Winsor Fort. When that building was erected, Joseph W. desired me to make a home at Kanab."

The exact date for the departure of the working party for Pipe Spring to begin construction on the stone fort has been

established for us in a communication of Joseph W. Young to President Horace S. Eldredge in England. On October 16, 1870, Young wrote from St. George to the Latter Day Saints Millennial Star, the Mormon Church publication in England, in which periodical it was published, November 15, 1870.

"Dear Brother:

I have just returned from a visit to the city. We are all well thanks to our heavenly father.

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 two story dwellings inside and the wall on the lower side 20 feet high, with milk rooms, etc., 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 it is the best country for stock raising that I ever saw, if it can be made safe against the raids of these marauding Indians. I start out tomorrow with a small company to commence the work.

Brother Levi Steward is at Kanab a small stream twenty miles northeast of Pipe Spring. He and his company will build their

houses in a hollow square for the present, though they have laid out a very pretty town site, and will build on their lots as soon as they are sufficiently strong enough..."

By this letter it would appear the Young and his party left St. George for Pipe Spring on October 17, 1870, and presumably the preliminary work of laying out the fort was undertaken at once.

In connection with this it is interesting to note that Richard Young speaks of his wife Tamar J. Black Young, as having aided Joseph in drawing plans for the new stone building. She was a woman of quiet, cheerful disposition, 5'8" in height and weighing 145 pounds. Her portrait is in Young's "Memoirs", p.149. Albina Terry Young, the second wife who went to Pipe Spring is depicted in a photograph opp.p.242, in the "Memoirs".

Young mentioned his brother Joseph W. again in connection with Pipe Spring, saying that in 1873, Joseph W., "was prostrated by overwork taking stock and branding cattle at the church Pipe Spring Ranch." (p.149) Thus indicating that Joseph W. Young continued in the employ of the ranch after Winsor assumed control.

#### "Reminiscences"

Young (op. cit) p.86, spoke of Pipe Spring in a general way a second time

"Sometime in the early sixties Mr. J. M. Whitmore, a man of

wealth and a recent convert to the Mormon faith moved to southern Utah--I believe in '61 or '62---and established a herd of cattle and sheep at the now called, Pipe Spring. At that time it was a wild uninhabited desert, and when he located there it was the southwestern frontier post of Utah."

Will C. Barnes, in his 'Arizona Place Names, University of Arizona Bulletin, V. L, No. I, January 1, 1935, Tucson Arizona,' locates Pipe Spring as being T. 40 N., R. 4 W. Kaibab Indian Reservation, 3 miles south of Moccasin Spring in Mohave County, Arizona, and states that 'First settlement here, 1863, made by Dr. James M. Whitmore, killed by Indians in 1866.' Bought from the heirs by Brigham Young who in 1870 established here the 'Church Herd' of cattle. Place called 'Winsor Castle' because A. P. Winsor, 1870, built a large stone house here; later owned and used as ranch headquarters. Cattle company was known as the 'Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company.' Brigham Young was a director and owned a controlling interest in the corporation."

Judging by scraps of contemporary evidence, active work on the construction of the stone buildings at Pipe Spring must have begun in the fall of 1870 and continued all through the year of 1871, the work not being completed until the early part of 1872.

J. A. Little, writing from Kanab, April 17, 1871, concern in Pipe Spring, said:

"This is a very pleasant location occupied by a large co-operative herd under the supervision of brother A. P. Winsor. Considerable Improvements are being made with the view of carrying on the dairy business extensively.

It is called 20 miles from here to Kanab---a very good road. Since I was here last, about two months since, a great amount of labor has been done in preparing land for cultivation, fencing, making water sects, etc., and it will soon be another beautiful monument to the wonderful energy and perseverance of the Saints." (The Deseret News, May 10, 1871)

His previous visit was made January 27, 1871, when in company with Joseph W. Young and Joseph A. Young, Little left Virgin City and drove 42 miles to Pipe Spring "and were much pleased with the country which is unsurpassed for stock range." (The Deseret News, Feb. 8, 1871)

As we have noted, Pipe Spring was definitely a co-operative enterprize and, under Bishop Winsor, machinery for making cheese was brought in from Salt Lake City in September, 1871. Hence, it would appear that at least one of the structures was partially finished by that time.

The Deseret News, September 6, 1871, reported that A. P. Winsor had arrived in Salt Lake City on September 5, from Kanab, via the Sevier route. He reported that the poles for the new telegraph extension line to the southern part of Utah

were being erected between Toquerville and Kanab and furthermore:

"Brother Winsor will take with him machinery for a cheese factory. He has had considerable experience in manufacturing the article and expects to turn it out equal to any in Utah, either Home-made or imported. Mrs. Winsor several years ago took the premium for cheesemaking at two different fairs in this city."

This would appear to fairly well establish the date when Winsor entered into the cheese making industry, and also to indicate that the new stone building had been nearly completed.

Apparently the machinery taken in by Winsor was a different type than usual if we are to judge by the reference made to it in the first telegram that was sent out from Winsor Castle, December 15, at 12:31 P. M., by A. Milton Musser, Superintendent of the Deseret Telegraph lines:

Winsor Castle Utah

Dec. 15, 12:31 P. M.

Editor News: We have opened a telegraph office here this morning. Miss Luella Steward operator. Winsor Castle is progressing rapidly towards completion; it will be a very creditable structure and will afford security to its occupants should friend "LO" attempt to contest the rights of possession to this dry country's flocks and herds. Bishop Winsor who with

his estimable lady, now absent at St. George, tells me that in the use of Ralph's Oneida Cheese Vat, three quarters of the labor employed in the old fashioned way is served. Others also recommend it very highly to cheese makers.

A. M. Muser (The Deseret News, Dec. 20, 1871)

Here we have a definite statement that the house was not completed by the middle of December of 1871, hence, it must have been the latter part of that month or possible the fore part of 1872, before the fort was actually finished.

#### THE DESERET TELEGRAPH LINE

Reference has been made to the establishment of a telegraph office at Pipe Spring. Actually, this was the first telegraph office in the state of Arizona, although it was a part of the system inauguated by Brigham Young to service the territory of Utah.

With the arrival of the Overland Telegraph Line, then known as the Pacific Telegraph Company, in Salt Lake City, October 24, 1861, Brigham Young conceived the idea of establishing a privately operated telegraph system which would cover Utah with a network of lines.

Accordingly, on November 9, 1865, the Deseret News carried a circular from Brigham Young addressed to the Bishops and Presiding Elders in the various Wards and settlements of Utah

Territory, from St. Charles, Richmond County, in the north, to St. George, Washington County in the south.

In this circular he said: "The proper time has arrived for us to take the necessary steps to build the telegraph line to run North and south through the Territory, according to the plan which has been proposed..."

Each ward and settlement was to finance its own lines. The lines would be run, poles cut and placed, and all made ready for the wire and instruments, which would be ordered in the East and brought out by wagon trains.

The poles to be used would be 22 feet long, 8 inches in diameter at the butt, 5 inches at the top. Only stripped logs would be accepted. These were to be set in the ground to a depth of 4 feet and the poles spaced 70 feet apart. The work of cutting the poles would be done in the winter and the hauling in the spring.

A school of telegraphy for operators would be established at Salt Lake City and every settlement that wished to have a telegraph office should send two of its most suitable young men to the school to learn the trade.

On October 15, 1866,<sup>26</sup> a train of 65 freight wagons arrived in Salt Lake City bearing the requisite supplies to begin the work of stringing the wire. The poles were already placed in some instances, and on December 1, 1866, the first

message of the Desert Telegraph line, addressed to President Lorin Farr and Bishop West, was sent from Salt Lake City to Ogden by President Brigham Young. On December 8, communication with Logan, Cache County was opened, and on the 28th of the month, a line was completed to Manti, Sanapete County. Two weeks later the lines reached St. George. By the middle of January, 1867, 500 miles of wire had been laid at a cost of \$150 per mile. It took 350 pounds of wire to a mile at a cost of thirty-five cents a pound. The first circuit of the Desert Telegraph Line extended from Cache Valley in the north, to "Dixie" in the south, with a branch line running through Sanapete Valley.

The instructor of the school of telegraphy in Salt Lake was John C. Clowes, an expert operator who had arrived in the city in the spring of 1862, and was one of the original operators. He joined the church, but later left Utah and died in the East.

Among the pioneer operators were: <sup>27</sup>

Joseph Goddard.....	Logan
Peter F. Madsen.....	Brigham
David E. Davis.....	Ogden
Morris Wilkinson.....	Salt Lake City
Joseph A. West.....	Prove
John D. Stark.....	Payson
William C. A. Bryan.....	Nephi
Zenos Pratt.....	Scipio
Richard S. Horne.....	Fillmore
Clarence Merrill.....	Covey Creek

S. A. Kenner.....Beaver  
George A. Peart.....Kanarra  
George H. Tribe.....Toquerville  
A. R. Whithead.....Washington  
Robert C. Lund.....St. George  
Knud Torgerson.....Moroni  
Anton M. Lund.....Mt. Pleasant  
John H. Hougaard.....Manti

The Deseret Telegraph Company<sup>28</sup> was incorporated under the laws of Utah, January 18, 1867. The incorporators were Brigham Young, Edward Hunter, A. Milton Musser, Edwin D. Woolley, Alonzo H. Raleigh, John Sharp, William Miller, John W. Hess, Andrew J. Moffitt, and Robert Gardner. Later on March 21, 1867, the company was formally organized thus:

President.....Brigham Young  
Vice-President...Daniel H. Wells  
Secretary.....William Clayton  
Treasurer.....George Q. Cannon  
Superintendent and General Manager.....A. M. Musser

A. Milton Musser,<sup>29</sup> the driving force in the new company, was born in Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pa., on the 20th day of May, 1830. He arrived in Utah in 1851, but was absent on a mission to India, 1852-1857.

Under his supervision the line was built from St. George, Utah to Pioche, Nevada; Toquerville to Kanab, and from Moroni to other settlements of Sanpete County, including Cunnison, thence, up the Sevier River to Monroe; from Payson to the Tintic Mines; from Beaver to the Star Mining District; from Salt Lake

City to Alta and Brigham; from Brigham City to Corrine and to Logan, via Mendon; from Logan to Franklin and thence to Paris, Idaho.

The line was not a commercial venture, but the extension from St. George to Pioche paid handsome dividends for two years until a rival line was laid into Pioche from the west. As one author puts it, "The line was for social convenience among a social people."

In the late fall of 1871 the line was being pushed to the extreme southern portions of the Territory. On November 21, 1871, Musser wrote to the Deseret News, in which paper the item appeared November 20:

"Our Kanab line is now up some thirty miles from Tokerville. We have a good electrician at the end of the line with whom we are in daily communication. I go south in a few days to assist in completing the work."

And, as already related the office in Winsor Castle at Pipe Spring was opened December 15, 1871.

The first telegraph operator at Winsor Castle was Miss Luella Stewart; the operator at Kanab, Utah, was also a woman, Miss Rosalia J. Haight. The Kanab office opened on the afternoon of December 14, the day previous to the Pipe Spring opening.

In later years Miss Stewart became the wife of D. K.

Udal of St. Johns, Arizona, and on May 31, 1931, she wrote to Will C. Barnes (vide Place Names, p. 337-338)

- "In March, 1870, my father, Levi Stewart, was called as a missionary to colonize Kanab, Utah. President Brigham Young asked him to have one of his daughters learn telegraphy as they intended to extend the line of the Deseret Telegraph Company to Kanab and Pipe Springs. In May, 1870, Father on his way to Kanab, left me at Toquerville, Utah to study telegraphy. I practiced on a wooden key for over a year. The line was finished in December, 1871. Miss Rosalia Haight was selected as operator at Kanab and I was sent to Pipe Spring. A. M. Musser was superintendent of the line. I worked as operator from that time until we left for St. Johns in 1880."

Vandiver (p. 114) states that Miss Stewart was transferred to Kanab a few months later where she "handled much of the business for Major Powell's party who were conducting exploration work in the surrounding country." This may be true although Miss Stewart herself makes no mention of this fact.

On March 10, 1872, the Powell expedition left Kanab and went to Winsor Castle where they remained in camp for ten days taking observations for latitude and longitude. There were twelve members in the party at that time traveling with a pack train. Leaving Pipe Spring, they headed for Mt. Trumbull fifty miles southwest. On May 10, they were back at Winsor Castle,

resting from their trip and going over their mail. (Deseret News, May 29, 1872)

In McClintock, P. 100, is a photo of the two rock houses at Pipe Spring showing the location of the sign at one end of the building on the upper verandah which is said to be the one advertising the telegraph line.

#### DAIRYING AT WINSOR CASTLE

As previously noted, Winsor went into the cheese making business in the fall of 1871. Mr. Heaton reports that butter and cheese were supplied by Winsor to the workmen who were building the temple at St. Georg. The latter edifice was founded in that year and the basement and lower floor were dedicated with impressive ceremonies, January 1, 1877. This was by far the most pretentious building erected at that time in southern Utah. (see the Latter Day Saints Millennial Star for July 12, 1874; March 30, 1875; May 22, 1876; January 29, 1877)

According to Heaton, the Winsors milked on the average of one hundred cows. Aside from his sons, Bishop Winsor had four extra men to help with the work. About every two years small bunches of steers would be driven to St. George for beef, while in the spring and fall, larger herds were sent to Salt Lake.

In October, 1874, (according to the Millennial Star of Oct.

20, 1874) the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company declared a dividend of 37 percent for the past 18 months on \$14,000 active capital, 49 percent being the actual gains. The company had a herd of 1400 head of stock on the ranch. Considerable cheese was being made, and the results of the enterprise was considered "excellent" in spite of the heavy overhead.

Butter making was also one of the important industries of the dairy. At that time most of the butter and cheese was being imported into Utah, but with the advent of the co-operative ranches, the local dairies began making and shipping their own products.

There were no refrigerated cars in those days and one of the methods of packing butter, which according to D. W. Jones of Salt Lake City, was a Mexican Practice, was to pack the butter in small kegs, barrels, or other containers in flour. A two inch layer of flour was tamped in the bottom of the keg. A 4" or 5" layer of butter was then packed on the flour, leaving a two inch space all around the perimeter of the butter pat. Flour was packed in this space and another two inch layer of flour placed on top of the butter. Another layer of butter was added and then more flour, until the container was full. In this manner butter could be shipped safely, and it would stay sweet and clean.

A second method was to make butter in rolls, wrap them in small salt sacks, and pack the rolls in flour. (Deseret News, May 24, 1871)

Butter was also packed in small wooden tubs made of white oak or Vermont spruce. These tubs contained from 30 to 100 pounds of butter.

(Deseret News, June 26, 1875)

Cheese making at Winsor Castle was done on an improved plan by the use of Ralph's Oneida Cheese Vat, according to Musser (op. cit). No doubt such materials as salt, rennets, muslin for wrapping the cakes of cheese, and annatto, "the latter article is used to color the cheese, many people thinking that cheese to be rich must be yellow," were imported from Salt Lake City. (Deseret News, March 16, 1870)

At this time 8 or 11 pounds of milk were required to make one pound of cheese. The finished product sold in the Utah markets for 21 cents per pound wholesale and 30 cents per pound retail. Expert cheese makers in the East received wages of \$25 to \$100 per month, but the editor of the Deseret News, March 16, 1870, pointed out that the former wage would be considered too low in Utah.

In 1875, Bishop Winsor left the spring and moved to St. George. By this time cattle raising was fast becoming one of

the important industries of Arizona. Range was excellent in the "Dixie Strip," as it was known, and large herds were turned loose on the land. In 1879, the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, of whom Alexander F. McDonald, later a president of the Maricopa Stake in Arizona, was a director, consolidated with the Canaan Co-operative Stock Company with headquarters in St. George. (McClintock) The latter company had established a dairy herd in Upper Kanab in the summer of 1871. (Deseret News, July 5, 1871)

Subsequent to this period, Winsor Castle ceased to be of definite interest and assumes its place in the history of Arizona as another large cattle ranch.

An echo of the Whitmore tragedy was revived in 1894-1895 when the heirs of J. M. Whitmore was awarded \$22,000 by the Court of Claims at Washington, D. C. for depredations committed by the Navajo Indians in 1866. (Millennial Star, January 24, 1895)

In 1908,<sup>30</sup> the government established the Kaibab Indian Reservation to care for the 140 Kaibab Indians then living in the vicinity of Kanab. (Kaibab according to Kroeber, in the "Handbook of the American Indian," V. I, p. 641, probably means "on the mountain"). This reservation consisted of a tract of land 18 miles in length and 12 miles in width. Headquarters

of the reservation of 1937 was located about midway between Moccasin and Pipe Spring, and at that time there were only about 60 to 70 Indians on the reserve. On May 31, 1923,<sup>31</sup> an area containing 40 acres surrounding Pipe Spring was set aside by President Warren G. Harding as a national monument, and since that date the historic site has been administered by the national park service.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT MUSEUM

As may be seen in the foregoing historical sketch, the importance of Pipe Spring as a monument is in its place as an integral unit in the development of Utah and northern Arizona. It is a focal point in the interpretation of the pioneer history of the region, and until a better site is found, may well symbolize the entire southwestern frontier. All of the elements necessary to produce such a story are present at Pipe Spring.

Normally the logical sequence of events to be told in such a place should begin with the primitive background. In this instance as we have the Paiute and Navajo Indians, an active leaven for this period, and the ethnology of these two tribal groups should be outlined, with particular stress upon the social relations and contacts between these hostile units,

as well as the differences in material culture of the two tribes. Here also may be brought in the Hopi villages since this was the jumping off place for the Mormons in their contacts with those people.

The geography and geology of the area should be treated because they have a definite bearing upon the subsequent degrees of settlement made by the Mormons. In all instances it seems to me that the various elements should be so compounded as to relate to the use of the territory by man, and the problems raised by terrain and ecology should be incorporated into the struggle of the Indians and pioneers for existence in this desert country. The necessity of water should be emphasized.

Exploration and settlement of Utah by the Mormon immigrants are the key notes for the entrance of the white men on the scene. Spanish penetration of the area as typified by Escalante 1775, might be touched upon, but it is with the entrance of the Mormons into the valley of the Great Salt Lake that our interest in Pipe Spring becomes acute. Hence, the purpose of the Mormon *hagira* should be outlined without too much detail, stressing only the necessity of the people to find a land where they might become religiously free and economically independent.

In this phase of the story, the activities of such men as Brigham Young as the guiding spirit, Jacob Hamblin, as a typical

Mormon missionary and explorer among the Indians, Dr. Whitmore as a pioneer settler, Bishop Winsor as a developer of the land, with Joseph R. Young and his wives as examples of the rank and file of the Mormon pioneers, might well find a place.

Mormon relations with the Indians should also occupy a spot in the historical sketch aside from the ethnographical section to be devoted to the tribesmen. The clash between the white men and the Indian as typified by the Black Hawk War of 1865-1869, is the old story of the frontier. The intrusion of the white man with his need for a concentrated agricultural and grazing usage of the more valuable areas around the water holes, springs and rivers, contrasts with the need of the same terrain by the ever meat-hungry, semi-nomadic Indian hunters as the hunting lands. The clash between white prospectors and the Indians, these are the highlights to be stressed, and in this respect Pipe Spring is as important as any other similarly isolated spot on the western frontier.

The extension of roads and establishment of settlements in the Dixie Strip and the part the settlements of St. George, Kanab, and Fredonia have played in the history of Utah as a territory and as a state, are symbolical of every other settlement in Utah, and for that matter, almost any small American town in Arizona, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, or southern Califor-

nia. The people, aside from their religious beliefs, come in as any other group or immigrants did, bringing with them the same equipment as any other pioneers migrating to the frontier. The outward clothing was the mode of the day as were the weapons, foodstuffs, etc. Hence in receiving specimens for the Pipe Spring Museum of actual objects carried into Utah by the Mormon's cannot be obtained, any period specimen ranging between, let us say 1830 and 1880, can be utilized and, as a matter of fact, home-made items as late as 1890's could be used. Things changed very slowly on the frontier, and such items as laced rawhide chairs, beds, tin ware, coffee pots, cooking utensils, dutch ovens, pack saddles, quilts, candle sticks, axes, etc., during the periods in which Pipe Spring was an active place of residence, could be obtained in any region where the frontier was developing. The objects might come from Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Oregon, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Indiana, Ohio, or any place that contributed settlers to the West, or any area in the West that was settled or being settled at this time.

Of course, it would be best to search for the types of objects needed in the small settlements of Utah itself. If originals cannot be obtained, then replicas of simple household furniture, such as rawhide chairs and beds, could be

made at very little cost based on actual specimens in other places. However, it is my opinion that if a call was sent out through Utah that material of this sort was needed for the restoration of Pipe Spring National Monument, as an authentic historical reproduction of a pioneer Mormon outpost, more than enough items could be found.

This material will, of course, be used to refurnish the buildings and to provide the necessary type specimens in the museum proper. Thus, while cooking utensils, bedding, beds, charis, clothing, etc., are needed for the main building, other items such as Colt's revolvers, Sharp's rifles, shot-guns, powder flasks, hunting knives, photographs of pioneers, letters, old forms of early telegrams, newspapers, etc., are needed to be used as three dimensional illustrations in the MUSEUM story to interpret the frontier story as a whole. These can be placed in the cases. By a judicial planning of the rooms and the museum cases, duplication of specimens can be avoided, or accepted as needed.

Cattle raising and dairying will of a necessity be given a place in the museum story. The story of the Mormon co-operatives can be outlined, with Pipe Spring as an example of how this system worked. If old stock certificates cannot be found, photostat copies can undoubtedly be had from the archives

branding irons, reatas, saddles, Navajo saddle blankets, jaquimas, chaparejos, etc., all of these can be acquired to tell the story of the western cattle ranch of the 1850's-1890's.

If simple cheese making apparatus can be found, and some of it should still exist in the small Mormon towns, the rooms which were originally devoted to dairying could be refurnished. Milk pails, single and three legged milk stools, strainers, cans, stone crocks, butter paddles, churns, salt barrels, wooden butter kegs or tubs, butter molds, cheese boxes, samples of coloring matter, presses, etc., could be gathered or made without much trouble.

Since the Castle was the site of the first telegraph station in Arizona, this story should be given a place in the Museum, as well as in the house.

In the Museum cases, the arrival of the Overland Telegraph in Utah, could be shown by pictures, map and documents as supplanting the Pony Express. A map showing the various circuits of the Desert Telegraph operators listed, along with examples of telegraph forms of the 1870s, photos of actual construction work, or sketches indicating methods of carrying poles by horse or ox team, setting poles, stringing wire, etc., would give the visitor the general outline of the telegraphic system of that day. Here too would be shown the photograph of the first girl operator, Miss Buella Ste-

ward, as well as the photo of Miss Rosalia Haight of Kanab.

In the room where the instruments were first set up might be assembled or reproduced a telegraphic set with necessary batteries, etc.

Outside, leading into the house, might be set a few poles of the necessary dimensions, spaced at the same distance apart as they were originally. This could be for effect. Old poles from the original line might be available, but as to this I cannot say. The local authorities will know better about this than any one else.

The construction of the house might be typified by old photos, carpenter's and stone mason's tools, photographs of the Young brothers, of Joseph R. Young's two wives, Tamar who helped design it, and Albina, photos of some of the men who worked on the structure, etc. These should be obtainable from their descendants or from the Church historian in Salt Lake.

### SUGGESTED SOURCES OF MATERIAL

For such items as firearms, household equipment, ranch paraphernalia, photographs of pioneers, letters, etc., an appeal could be made directly to the old families of Utah and Arizona.

Firearms, of the period could include, Colt's revolvers of various models: Sharp's rifles, U. S. Army Springfields of models antedating the 1870s, almost any type of a percussion lock musket, rifle or shotgun, or for earliest period U. S. flintlocks, or any flintlock rifle might be used. (Mormon pioneers carried these, particularly the Mormon Battalion, discharged members of which came back to Utah bearing their equipment). Pearshaped copper or brass or leather powder flasks, powder horns, shot pouches, percussion caps, Volcanic repeating rifles, Henry rifles, Spencer repeating rifles, bullet moulds for round or conical bullets and paper cartridges.

Permanent loans of some of these items might be requested of different state historical societies in Arizona, Utah, Colorado or California. Usually such museums have certain duplicate materials on hand of this nature which might be loaned. The Los Angeles County Museum could loan items of this sort.

Photographs of certain Mormon pioneers connected directly with Pipe Spring National Monument have been published in "PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN OF UTAH" by Frank Eschom, Salt Lake City, 1913, a copy of which is in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

WINSOR, ANSON PERRY, page 358

WHITMORE, JAMES MONTGOMERY, page 478

Other portraits, found in "Memoirs of John R. Young, Utah Pioneer of 1847, written by himself, Salt Lake City, 1920. Copy in Bancroft Library, include:

YOUNG, JOHN R. (frontispiece)

YOUNG, TAMAR J. BLACK, wife of John R. (opp. page 256)

YOUNG, ALBENA TERRY, wife of John R. (opp. page 242)

For a portrait of:

A. MILTON MUSSER, of the Desert Telegraph Line see

Whitney, Orson F., HISTORY OF UTAH, V. 11, p. 173.

(This is a steel engraving with Musser's autograph)

Copy in Bancroft Library.

For picture of WINSOR CASTLE showing position of sign for Desert Telegraph Line see:

McClintock, James H. MORMON SETTLEMENT IN ARIZONA, 1921, page 100.

For photo of TENNEY, AMMON M. Indian scout and pioneer, see

McClintock, opp. page 69 (Copy in Bancroft Library).

For photos of Mormon citizen-soldiery in slouch felt hats, shirts, trousers and leather boots carrying fire arms, just as they returned from BLACK HAWK WAR, see

IMPROVEMENT ERA (magazine) Vol. 11, pages 846 and 680.

1907-1908. (Copy in Bancroft Library.)

For photographs of Miss LUELLA STEWART, it is suggested that her family be contacted at St. John's, Arizona. She was alive in 1931, and if still alive could no doubt furnish a photo of herself as a young woman; if she is deceased, her relatives might be able to find a picture of her. Address, Mrs. D. K. Udell, St. Johns, Arizona. She might also have photo of MISS ROSALIA HAIGHT, first operator at Kanab. She or her family might also have old photos of Pipe Spring when it was telegraph station. The NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D. C., might also have photos taken by Powell's party, of PIPE SPRING.

Photo of JACOB HARBLIN\* opp. page 60- McClintock.

Photo of JOHN LOWRY- page 129- Gottfredson.

(Lowry started Black Hawk War, April 9, 1865- pulled ARROPERN off horse)

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4. Id. p. 1312
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7. Little p. 59
8. Heaton, p. 299. So. West. Mon. Monthly Rept., April, 1936, Some Early History of Pipe Spring National Mon.
9. Powell, p. 112
10. Heaton, p. 299. )Vandiver, p. 112 So. West. Mon. Monthly Rept., Feb. 1937)
11. McClintock, p. 88
12. Eshom, p. 1318
13. Id.
14. Eshom, p. 1243 and p. 338.
15. McClintock, p. 114
16. Heaton, p. 299
17. Whitney, p. 187-214
18. The Desert News, Oct. 5, 1870
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20. Id.
21. McClintock, p. 71
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23. Eaton, p. 302
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26. Whitney, p. 168-173
27. Id.
28. Id.
29. Id.
30. Vandiver, p. 114-115
31. Id. p. 111