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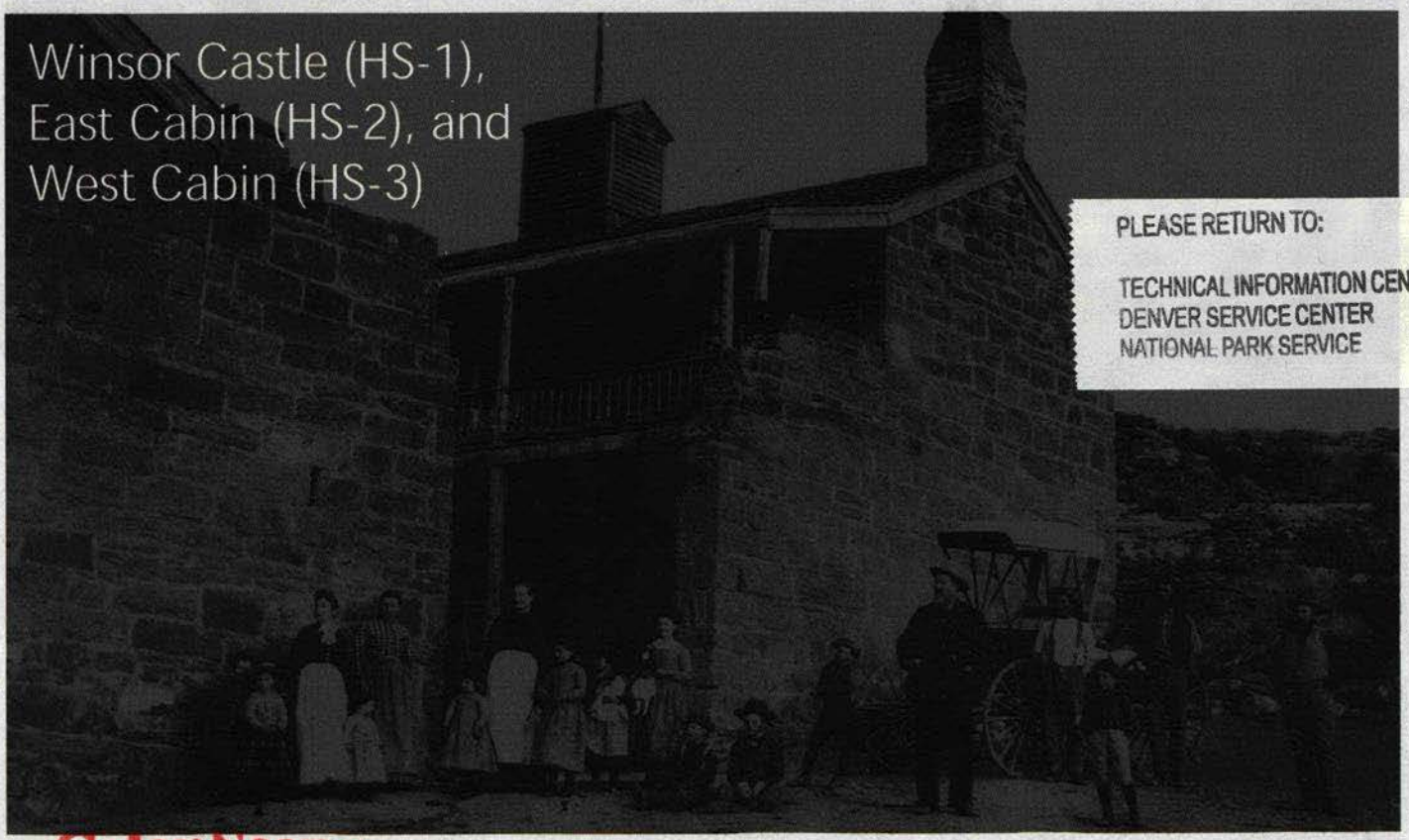
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Harpers Ferry Center

Historic Furnishings Report

Pipe Spring National Monument
Fredonia, Arizona

Winsor Castle (HS-1), East Cabin (HS-2), and West Cabin (HS-3)



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October 4, 2000

Historic Furnishings Report

Winsor Castle (HS-1), East Cabin (HS-2), and West Cabin (HS-3)

Pipe Spring National Monument
Fredonia, Arizona

By Jerome A. Greene
Staff Curator

Media Development Group
Harpers Ferry Center
National Park Service, 2004

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Administrative Information

Pipe Spring National Monument is located in Mohave County, Arizona, near the Arizona-Utah border. It commemorates the diverse cultural occupation of the American Southwest, as seen in the native societies that utilized the region, from the ancestral Puebloan people to the Paiutes, and the later arrival of Euro-Americans, notably Mormon settlers, who entered the region during the mid-19th century to develop a major ranch operation at the spring. On May 31, 1923, President Warren G. Harding proclaimed the site a national monument memorializing western pioneer life. Pipe Spring National Monument encompasses 40 acres and includes three historic structures: a stone fort (HS-1), named Winsor Castle after its first occupants, Anson P. Winsor and his family, and two adjacent buildings known respectively as the East Cabin (HS-2) and the West Cabin (HS-3). The National Park Service wishes to interpret Winsor Castle to the period of 1872–75, when the Winsors resided there, and the latter two structures, each at least partially reconstructed, to the period of the early 1870s, when the East Cabin was occupied temporarily by the Winsor family and the West Cabin quartered construction workers building the fort and cowboys tending the herd.

Interpretive Objectives

The anticipated new visitor center at Pipe Spring National Monument will help orient visitors and address the diverse themes represented by the park as described in the Long-Range Interpretive Plan (2000). The purpose of this furnishings plan is to interpret for park visitors the frontier experience at Pipe Spring during the tenure there of Mormon Bishop Anson P. Winsor and his family in the early 1870s, a period corresponding with the first years of church operation of the tithing cattle herd there. The herd consisted of livestock donated (tithed) by church members. Although information on original furnishings for Winsor Castle and the East and West cabins is limited, it is believed that the relatively few items specified for the Winsor period (1870–75) can be profitably augmented with those known to have been present during the succeeding Woolley period (1886–91), as well as with comparable information from other period sources, to afford a reasonably accurate portrayal of daily Mormon life and experience at Pipe Spring during the 1870s. This objective is consistent with the purpose of the national monument "to serve as a memorial of western pioneer life," as stated in the 1923 proclamation.[1] Based on the sum of available documentation, this furnishing plan will interpretively reflect the occupation of (1) Winsor Castle during its use as the Winsor residence between 1871 and 1875; (2) the East Cabin as the temporary home of the Winsors between the fall of 1870 and the summer of 1871, and of some of the Winsor children until 1872; and (3) the West

1 See Proclamation (No. 1663), 31 May 1923, in Thomas Alan Sullivan (comp.), *Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service Up to January 1, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1945), 285–86.

Cabin as the dwelling of workers on the fort and cowboys following the departure of John R. Young and his wives in 1872.[2]

Although the evidence of original furnishings during the Winsor and Woolley periods together with comparative information gleaned from other period sources is sufficient to guide the furnishings objective, there remain several basic questions that require speculative consideration. Whereas individual room use has been largely determined for Winsor Castle, this is not the case for the East and West cabins. Each of these structures contained two rooms, and their clear and unequivocal uses as of 1870 have not yet been documented. With knowledge that Winsor, his wife Emmeline, and seven of their eight children occupied the East Cabin, it is proposed that in the reconstructed building the smaller south room represent the typically cramped sleeping quarters of the family (i.e., Winsor, Emmeline, Lucy, Mary Jane, Andrew, Franklin, Phoebe, Emmeline Z., and Alonzo), and that the larger north room be used to represent the kitchen, dining room, and living room, where all other activities took place. The West Cabin, which has been restored and partially reconstructed, housed John R. Young and his two wives, Albinia and Tamar, and their children, presumably in the larger west room, and at least three workers—and probably more—in the other smaller room. After the Youngs left in 1872, their room was presumably turned over to ranch workers. It is proposed that the two West Cabin rooms be furnished to represent their habitation both by laborers working on the fort and by cowboys during the period 1872–75.

2 A note on Mormon furniture in the 1870s: it was eclectic in that it was stylistically unadorned and basically reflected areas of the Mormon experience in the Northeast and Midwest. Beyond the furniture that came with the people during the transit west, there was no recognizable type of "Mormon" furniture design beyond the Mormon couch, and regional craftsman continued to produce items largely of the Empire or Sheraton Fancy pattern through the balance of the 19th century. One major producer of furniture in southern Utah Territory during the early period of Pipe Spring's habitation by Mormons was the Parowan United Manufacturing Institution (PUMI) of Parowan, which produced a wide range of furniture from native lumber. The PUMI production included beds, various types of chairs and rockers, chests, single and double lounges (Mormon couches), tables, stands, cupboards, and desks—virtually every furniture item that would have existed in a pioneer home in southern Utah in the late 1860s and throughout the 1870s. Luella Adams Dalton, *History of the Iron County Mission and Parowan the Mother Town* (Privately printed, c. 1962), 364–65. For details of design and manufacture from such shops, see Connie Morningstar, *Early Utah Furniture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), *passim*.

Operating Plan

Following basic orientation to the site presented in the visitor center, the interpretation of Winsor Castle will consist primarily of on-site tours of the facility conducted by staff interpreters. There is no access to the structure when appropriate staff are not available, and most guided talks are given according to a schedule, although special groups can be accommodated on an appointment basis. Visitors normally enter the castle through the large east door and are escorted through the furnished rooms by a guide, sometimes in period clothing, who explains their historical occupancy and use. Generally, Rooms 1 and 2 are visited first as interpreters explain the fort buildings' chronological occupation and the later cheese and butter production that occurred in the South Building. The other rooms in the North and South buildings are presented so that visitors can understand something of the realities and complexities of homemaking and daily living on the Utah frontier in the 1870s and 1880s. Beyond the natural lighting afforded the exhibits, oil lamps in the various rooms will be electrified as appropriate. It is suggested that step-in Plexiglas barriers be placed in the doorways of certain rooms (e.g., Rooms No. 5 and 7) to help curtail foot traffic.

According to the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, the East and West cabins will be interpreted in a self-guiding manner, although it is

likely that they will also be the subject of on-site talks by staff interpreters. When the cabins are furnished, waist-high step-in Plexiglas barriers will be placed in the doorways to keep visitors from entering the exhibits while permitting them to view and comprehend the rooms and their contents. Because of the possibility of insect and rodent infestation, exhibit items in the cabins, particularly reproduction articles of textile, leather, and paper, should be minimally used, appropriately treated to retard such deterioration, and otherwise monitored regularly for damage. Moreover, with knowledge of the cleanliness and tidiness consistent with Mormon homes of the period, and to ensure that the exhibits, once installed, do not languish from inattention, but rather form part of the park maintenance program, it is recommended that all of the furnished rooms be cleaned and dusted frequently and that a schedule be devised for ensuring that this duty is performed regularly. All display items should be inspected on a regular basis; leather, cloth, and metal items should be monitored for deterioration and treated and reconditioned accordingly to ensure their continued interpretive use.

Overview History of Pipe Spring

Because of its ever-flowing water supply, Pipe Spring, located in the barren and remote area north of the Grand Canyon known as the Arizona Strip, has been a haven for diverse peoples throughout time. Among the earliest known peoples to traverse the region and use the spring were the Anasazi, probable forerunners of modern Puebloan societies. A period of drought around 1150, along with other surmised factors, brought an end to the occupation by the Anasazi and seemingly promoted a dispersion of that population. Within two centuries, the Southern Paiute people occupied the land of the Strip. Primarily hunters and gatherers, they also farmed in the area, taking advantage of area resources for their survival, and became noted craftsmen for their basketry. The introduction of disease following the appearance of Euro-Americans, coupled with environmental changes, reduced the Kaibab Paiute population from in excess of 5,500 people to around 1,200 by the middle of the 19th century. Nonetheless, their historical use of Pipe Spring is manifested in oral traditions of the Kaibab Paiute people presently living in its vicinity.

The first known Europeans to enter the region were the Catholic fathers Dominguez and Escalante, who passed south of Pipe Spring in 1776 following the abandonment of their journey to California and return to New Mexico. During the early decades of the 19th century, some American fur trappers might have entered the country around Pipe Spring, although the primary travel routes lay to the north. In the 1860s, following their migration from Salt Lake into present southwestern Utah, Mormon pioneers reached the Arizona Strip from Cedar City and St. George. In their colonizing efforts over the following decade, the Mormons took control of all major water sources and conflicted with the Kaibab Paiutes; the Indians' population declined to approximately 200 people.

After arriving at Pipe Spring in 1863, Mormon settler James M. Whitmore constructed a dugout, a small excavated room of logs and stones roofed with cedar boughs and soil,[3] in which he lived while ranching cattle and sheep in the vicinity. Over the next two years, the raiding of Mormon livestock by Navajo, Ute, and Paiute Indians increased. In 1866 Whitmore and his helper, Robert McIntyre, were both killed while attempting to find their stock following an Indian raid at Pipe Spring. Their deaths triggered retaliation by members of the Mormon militia,

3 Dilworth Woolley, Herbert Woolley, and Florence Snow Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections" (rough draft manuscript) Edwin D. Woolley-Erastus Snow Collection, MSS 1403. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 21.

which in turn brought continued conflict in the area over the next few years.

During the subsequent operations of the militia that followed, Pipe Spring factored as an outpost for Mormon militia in their prosecution of area tribes, and in 1870 Brigham Young visited the spring and pronounced it a viable production zone where ranching might flourish. Young called upon Anson P. Winsor, a bishop in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to go to Pipe Spring and oversee the development of a planned cattle ranching operation there. Winsor and his family moved into quarters in the south half of a stone building, represented by the presently reconstructed East Cabin (HS-2). An associate, Joseph W. Young, nephew of Brigham, possibly moved with his family into the north half of the structure. Joseph was to direct construction of a fort at the site for the protection of the cattle business. Workmen who built the fort resided in another stone building erected to its west, the partly reconstructed present West Cabin (HS-3). Telegraph lines connected Pipe Spring with the outside world in December 1871, and the fort, dubbed "Winsor Castle," was finished in 1872, when the Winsors moved in to supervise the ranching operation. By then, the threat of Indian attack was largely past. Besides ranching, the Winsors engaged in growing an orchard of plums and apples, and planted alfalfa and garden produce as well. They also practiced dairying, producing whole milk byproducts for workers in St. George, Utah.

The Pipe Spring ranch served two different functions for the Mormon Church. It served as the Southern Utah Tithing Ranch, where livestock donated (tithed) by Church members from Fillmore, Utah, in the north, to the Colorado River, in the south, were gathered. The dairy operation at Pipe Spring was also connected to the tithing operation. Pipe Spring also served as a corporate ranch, a for-profit corporation that bought and sold everything from livestock to agricultural goods. Church members were encouraged to invest by buying shares with in-kind goods. During profitable years, the corporation paid dividends to the share-holders. Eventually, the outfit was named the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company, but in 1873 the ranching operation incorporated separately as the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company. After Winsor departed two years later, overgrazing and diminished rainfall combined to cause a decline in the operation. In 1879, the New Canaan Stock Company assumed control and more than two thousand head of cattle roamed the Pipe Spring range.

In 1884, five years after the New Canaan Stock Company assumed control, Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., took over management. An open polygamist, as previous ranch managers had been, Woolley soon found himself caught up in the church-government controversy regarding the practice of holding plural wives. Woolley's second wife, along with other polygamy-practicing families, left Utah to avoid contact with federal agents operating there and made Pipe Spring their home. Woolley remained in Utah but regularly visited the Pipe Spring property. By 1884, the Mormon church, under pressure from anti-polygamy laws, was forced to release some of its material properties, and in 1896 Pipe Spring was sold to a non-Mormon.

In 1916, following a succession of ownerships, the Federal government set aside the water at Pipe Spring as a Public Water Reserve, availing it to all users. The resource's proximity to Zion and Grand Canyon national parks ensured continued federal interest. In 1922, a chance visit there by Stephen Mather, first director of the National Park Service, left him enthralled about its Mormon antecedents. He also saw Pipe Spring as a good rest stop for visitors traveling between Zion and Grand Canyon's north rim. His enthusiasm translated into its ultimate designation as a national monument the following year. Since then, Pipe Spring National Monument has conveyed to visitors a part of the

cultural past of the American Southwest as manifested in its association with native peoples and Euro-Americans, principally the Mormon pioneers, and the importance of water in the desert southwest.

Prior Planning Documents

Documents affecting the furnishing, use, and management of Winsor Castle, the East Cabin, and the West Cabin at Pipe Spring National Monument consist of the following:

Archeological Study of Historic Structures HS-2 and HS-3, Pipe Spring N.M., Arizona. William J. Hunt, Jr. National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1991.

Collection Preservation Guide, Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona. Doris D. Fanelli. National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, 1981.

Cultures at the Crossroads: An Administrative History of Pipe Spring National Monument. Kathleen L. McKoy. Cultural Resources Selections, No. 15. National Park Service Intermountain Region, Denver, Colo., 2000.

Details for Furnishing House Museum at Pipe Spring National Monument. Arthur Woodward. National Park Service, Pipe Spring National Monument, January 1959.

Furnishing Plan for Pipe Spring Fort. National Park Service, Zion National Park, 1959.

General Condition Assessment of the Pipe Spring Fort, Bunkhouse and Blacksmith Shop, Pipe Spring National Monument. National Park Service, Colorado Plateau Systems Support Office, 1996.

Historic Structure Report, History Data Section, Pipe Spring National Monument. A. Berle Clemensen. National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Branch, 1980.

Inventory of Museum Items on Exhibit, [Winsor Castle,] Pipe Spring National Monument. National Park Service, Pipe Spring National Monument, October–December 1999.

Long-Range Interpretive Plan, Pipe Spring National Monument. National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, Interpretive Planning, 2000.

Master Plan, Pipe Spring National Monument. National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, 1978.

Statement for Management, Pipe Spring National Monument. National Park Service, Intermountain Field Area, 1995.

Historical Information

A Note on Sources

Furnishings information for this report has been derived from materials that variously relate directly to the contemporary occupation of Winsor Castle and its cognate structures, as well as sources detailing the contents of other contemporary historic buildings in Utah during the focus period. Of particular importance in the former group have been several reminiscent manuscripts (some in draft) in the Edwin D. Woolley-Erastus Snow Collection at Brigham Young University, Provo. A. Berle Clemensen's historic structure report for Pipe Spring National Monument, completed in 1980, also contained valuable furnishings information. In addition, important comparative information, upon which decisions affecting the presence of certain furnishings were based, was derived from descriptions contained in period accounts of other Mormon homes, in inventories for goods and materials used in other Mormon forts, and in a wide range of technical manuals and catalogs describing the appropriate procedures and apparatus for cheese making in the era.

The knowledge drawn from referenced materials directly associated with the properties, combined with that gleaned from other period sources, together permits sound conclusions regarding the historic furnishings of Winsor Castle and the East and West cabins. Full citations for this documentation appear in the initial footnote references, as well as in the Bibliography.

Analysis of Historical Occupancy

Early Years

The first constructed shelter to be raised at Pipe Spring by a Euro-American was a dugout, erected in about 1863–64 by James M. Whitmore, who had garnered a land certificate for 160 acres at the site. The dugout served as the intermittent shelter for Whitmore and his employee, Robert McIntyre, during their cattle and sheep business until January 1866, when Navajo Indians killed them both.[4] Despite this incident, the area continued to attract Mormon stockmen, who camped at the spring during roundup seasons over the next few years. Eventually, Indian raiding along the Arizona-Utah border prompted the Mormon militia to select Pipe Spring as a stopover point for militia troops, and in about 1867 a one-room stone building (presently represented by reconstructed HS-2, the East Cabin) was erected there to intermittently serve militia needs. In November 1868, 36 men under Colonel John Pearce camped at Pipe Spring. It is not known whether or how these men occupied the stone building, but in 1869 repairs to the structure were authorized and completed. In September of that year, Bishop Robert Gardner of Pine Valley entered the following notation in his diary: "Pipe Springs [*sic*] . . . hot as usual: repairing the house and making it suitable for guard quarters, during the coming winter."[5] Eventually, however, an outpost raised nearer the Colorado River at Kanab likely resulted in the relocation there of the militia men from Pipe Spring.[6]

The Winsors and the Fort

Permanent occupation of Pipe Spring began in 1870 at the behest of Brigham Young, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Young visited Pipe Spring, observed its water and abundant pasturage, and approved it as a site for the church's tithing cattle herd, wherein members donated time and labor to the church while producing revenue for church

4 For details, see Elizabeth Woolley, "The Story of the Killing of J.M. Whitmore and Robert McIntire [*sic*] by the Indians at Pipe Springs [*sic*] as told to me by father in 1910." Edwin D. Woolley-Erastus Snow Collection. L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

5 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 28; Kathleen L. McKoy, *Cultures at the Crossroads: An Administrative History of Pipe Spring National Monument.* Cultural Resources Selections No. 15 (draft document, Denver, Colo.: National Park Service Intermountain Region, 2000), 29.

6 A. Berle Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report, History Data Section, Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona" (unpublished document, Denver, Colo.: National Park Service, 1980), 1–2, citing the following several items: "Journal History," 28 May 1865. History Department of the Church, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," bound typescript in the History Department of the Church, 303; Charles Lowell Walker, Diary, History Department of the Church, entry for September 6, 1869; Jacob Hamblin and John R. Young to George A. Smith, September 12, 1869, "Journal History," September 12, 1869.

coffers from meat and dairy products. Young arranged to purchase the spring property from James Whitmore's widow, and in April 1870, to oversee administration of the herd, he selected Bishop Anson P. Winsor of Rockville, Utah Territory, who was to move to the spring. Young designated his nephew, Joseph W. Young, of St. George, to oversee the construction of a stone fort over the spring as protection against Indian attack, a mission that Joseph Young undertook in October 1870.[7]

By that time, Winsor, his wife, Emmeline, and their family had arrived at Pipe Spring and taken up residence in the old dugout erected by James Whitmore, as well as in the stone building (East Cabin).[8] Joseph W. Young brought with him workers John R. Young, Francis Squires, Elisha Averett, and Graham McDonald, among others, to help in the construction of the fort. These volunteer workers were from the southern Utah Territory settlements, and for their quarters, sometime during late 1870, a second stone building was erected to the west of the East Cabin and the fort site. This building (currently represented by the restored/reconstructed building designated HS-3, the West Cabin) also housed John R. Young and his wives, Albinia and Tamar, and their three children apparently until 1872, when they moved to Kanab.

There is no known documentation about where Joseph W. Young and his family lived during construction of the fort. Although it has been surmised that they also resided in the original stone building (East Cabin), there is evidence that Joseph W. Young's other activities, including that of serving as mayor of St. George, kept him away from Pipe Spring most of the time and that actual oversight of the construction of the fort fell to Anson P. Winsor.[9] (If Joseph W. Young indeed spent time at Pipe Spring, it is not known which of the structure's two rooms was occupied by Winsor and his family following Young's arrival; however, Young's evident intermittent status there suggests that Winsor's family likely occupied both rooms of the East Cabin building.[10])

7 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 4–5. Joseph Young wrote: "I am appointed to superintend the building of a fort which the Church is building at Pipe Springs [*sic*], the place where Dr. Whitmore was killed. It is to be a big affair, on the plan of the Cove Creek Fort. It will be 152 feet long and 66 feet wide [this was later scaled back]. This work will keep me out most of the winter, but it is very necessary work and I am willing to do my part in it. This Pipe Springs [*sic*] and Kanab country is right between us and the Navajoes and it is the best country for stock raising that I ever saw. . . . I start out to-morrow with a small company to commence work . . . ." Young to Horace S. Eldridge, 16 October 1870, quoted in Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 28–29. Details of the church's acquisition of the Whitmore tract are in McKoy, *Cultures at the Crossroads*, 29–31.

8 The Woolley descendants described Whitmore's dwelling as "a small dugout room of logs and rocks" roofed "with juniper boughs and earth." Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 21. Winsor's grandson, Walter F. Winsor, wrote: "I cannot tell you whether the cellars to the north [i.e., rooms in the east cabins?] were built before that time [Joseph W. Young's arrival] or not, but the Winsor family lived there while the fort was being built. The building around the hill to the west [i.e., west cabin] was also built before the fort for the men." "Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L. M. Winsor, Dec. 16, 1960," Woolley-Snow Collection, MSS1403. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 2. However, Winsor also referred to the lower rooms in the east part of the castle as "cellars."

9 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 37; "Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L. M. Winsor, Dec. 16, 1960," 3.

10 This was more or less confirmed by L. M. Winsor, who stated that "until the post was completed the [Winsor] family lived in the rock rooms at the north and east of the main buildings." Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 37. Although the East Cabin seemingly consisted of two "rock rooms" separated by a breezeway, by specifying "north and east" instead of "northeast," the wording of this statement leaves interpretation open to the possibility that other cabins existed in the area.

Anson and Emmeline Winsor had 11 children. Two of these were grown and did not reside with their parents, and another died at age three before the family moved to Utah. However, eight of the Winsor children ranging in age from one to 16 years lived with their parents at Pipe Spring.[11] This means that probably during the Winsors' occupation of the East Cabin the two parents and seven of the children lived there. It is known that Anson Winsor's son, 16-year-old Anson P. Winsor, Jr., and another boy of the same age stayed in Whitmore's old dugout. It is not known, however, what the room-sharing arrangement became after Joseph Young arrived with his family.[12] Perhaps some of the people occupied tents and/or wagon boxes in the vicinity, at least while the weather permitted. Presumably, some relief in the living arrangements occurred as soon as work was done on the bottom story of the South Building of the fort; at that time, the Winsors moved from their temporary quarters into the eastern-most of the two rooms (Room No. 1) and used the Spring Room (Room No. 2) as a cellar.[13] It is likely, however, that at least some of the older children remained quartered in the East Cabin until the North Building was finished.

During construction of the fort, the initially planned dimensions of the structure were scaled back to measure 40 by 60 feet. With help from various workers, construction proceeded for 18 months using sandstone blocks quarried locally and wood for framing, flooring, and shingles brought in from sawmills throughout the region. Most of the work on the structure, soon dubbed "Winsor Castle,"[14] was completed by April 1872, when the fort consisted of two two-story red sandstone buildings joined by walls at either end of a courtyard. Massive double wooden gates were added in 1874. The rear of the North Building, butting against a rising hill, stood higher than that at the south of the complex, and together the buildings became known as the upper and lower houses, respectively (but they are referred to in this document as the North and South buildings). Pipe Spring was channeled to run beneath the fort to an open trough in the South Building's west room (the Spring Room), from which it exited the fort into ponds that were used for irrigation and watering cattle.

Loopholes for guns in the exterior-facing stone walls were meant to provide protection in case of Indian attack. Such finishing details as interior carpentry work and plastering took place over the course of the next several years.[15] Apparently, the North Building was completed during the summer of 1871, and presumably at that time the Winsors ended their brief occupancy of the South Building and moved into their new quarters. In August 1871 Anson Winsor journeyed to Salt Lake City to acquire a cheese vat, an acquisition that went into the Spring Room in the South Building, signaling the start of the butter- and cheese-making operation at Pipe Spring at about that time.[16]

Thus, the Winsor family, consisting of Anson and Emmeline Winsor (another wife, Mary, had but recently died) and seven of the family's children, constituted the first occupants of

11 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 65.

12 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 29; "Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L.M. Winsor, Dec. 16, 1960," 2.

13 This latter arrangement is described in Robert W. Olsen, Jr., "Winsor Castle: Mormon Frontier Fort at Pipe Spring," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Summer 1966): 223–24.

14 The name, "Winsor Castle," was used in reference to the fort under construction as early as September 13, 1870, by naturalist John Wesley Powell, who stayed at Pipe Spring during part of his regional explorations. In a letter of December 1871, Brigham Young referred to Pipe Spring as "Winsor Castle Spring" and the cattle operation as "Winsor Castle Ranch." Cited in Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 20.

15 Details of the construction are in Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 6–11; McKoy, *Cultures at the Crossroads*, 33.

16 Olsen, "Winsor Castle," 224.

the rooms composing the Pipe Spring fort. Anson Perry Winsor was a native of Ellicottville, New York, where he was born in 1819. Emmeline Zenetta Brown, from Stone Arabia, New York, was born in 1824. Married in 1842, they journeyed to Utah 10 years later and took up residence in Provo, where they lived until they moved to southern Utah—termed "Dixie"—in 1861. They lived at Grafton before moving to Rockville, where Anson served as bishop in the church, and by 1870 they had become one of the community's wealthiest families.

After Brigham Young selected him to oversee the cattle herd at Pipe Spring, Winsor and other ranchers in the area joined with the church in forming the corporate Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company. Winsor became a major shareholder. In 1873 he became overseer of the cooperative and assumed the duty of caring for both the church and the corporate herds; the number of cattle in his charge rose from approximately 400 in 1873 to nearly 2,000 within four years. There is evidence that the company's prime responsibility was to provide foodstuffs for workers building a temple in St. George, some 60 miles away. Starting in 1873, butter and cheese from the dairy operation, along with 30 head of cattle per month, were taken to St. George. Other beneficiaries of the operation included miners in Leeds and Silver Reef, several St. George businesses, and numerous individuals. Throughout his tenure, Winsor was assisted in his work by a number of cowhands, some of whom conducted cattle to and from the Pipe Spring operation, and some of whom were permanent laborers there. During roundups, larger numbers of men were employed.[17]

Changes in the Late 1870s and Early 1880s

In 1876, nearly five years after his arrival at Pipe Spring, Anson Winsor moved with his family to St. George. Anson's son Walter Winsor took over on-site administration of the ranch. Anson P. Winsor's permanent successor as ranch superintendent was Charles Pulsipher, who had overseen another church herd near the Dixie community of Hebron, Utah. Appointed to the position by Brigham Young in 1876, Pulsipher arrived at Pipe Spring in the following year (he had most recently been working on the temple in St. George) and during his tenure oversaw a herd that gradually continued to increase in numbers. In December 1877 Pulsipher married Julia Johnson, who was daughter of Bishop William D. Johnson, Jr., and Jane Brown. Together with his other wives, Sariah and Ann, she helped operate the cheese- and butter-making facility at Winsor Castle; however, the number of milk cows declined after the completion of the St. George temple decreased the demand for such products by its workers. The Pulsipher-Johnson union eventually produced 12 children; the first of them, Florence, was born in the castle on December 8, 1878.[18]

During the late 1870s and early 1880s a number of business decisions by the church, coupled with some problems concerning water and overgrazing, combined to affect the operation of the Pipe Spring ranch. A paramount change, made with the church's acquiescence, was the decision of the Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company to lease the property to the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company. By early 1880 Charles Pulsipher had departed the

17 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 12–13, 64–65; Olsen, "Winsor Castle," 225–26; "Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L.M. Winsor, Dec. 16, 1960," 1. In the Historical Department of the Church, there is a typescript history of the Winsors (MS3993), entitled "A history of these people," prepared c. 1970 by the daughter of Anson Perry Winsor, Jr.

18 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 40, 42–43; Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 14–15. L. M. Winsor reported that when Pulsipher took over, "the cows were old and all the young had been used for beef so that all that was left on the range was either old or very young. As a consequence there were no cows [immediately] to milk." "Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L.M. Winsor, Dec. 16, 1960," 3.

scene, and the new Canaan investors agreed to provide "the Winsor Castle house with the necessary furniture and fittings for the convenience of the family or families living there and for keeping travelers."[19] Under the new management, the appointed superintendent lived at Canaan's ranch headquarters near Short Creek, 20 miles west of Pipe Spring; it is likely that cowhands and their cook occupied the fort building. Yet overgrazing of the company land, together with a drought in 1879, brought corresponding reductions in the number of cattle ranging the property, conditions that continued in 1880. Early in 1881 the Canaan people refused to renew their lease.

Church President John Taylor, who had succeeded Brigham Young, finally leased the Pipe Spring property to John Gurnsey Brown, of Kanab, who agreed to look after the church herd. Brown brought with him to Pipe Spring his wife, Harriet Brown, of Kanab, and several children, including several teenage daughters, along with normal household appurtenances. At Pipe Spring, Harriet Brown, "a small, frail-appearing woman" became noted for her ingenuity in performing arduous tasks such as laundry and for making stewed currants for the stockmen and visitors. Because of her hostess duties and homemaking talents, she later became beloved throughout Kane County, Utah, as "Aunt" Harriet. John Gurnsey Brown's tenure lasted four years, and in 1885 he moved his large family to Kanab. Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., took over the operation at the behest of his father-in-law, Mormon Bishop of Southern Utah Erastus Snow.[20]

The Woolley Eminence

Dairy ranch owner Woolley, of Upper Kanab (present Alton), Utah, had run cattle with the church herd at Pipe Spring since 1883. He did not reside at Winsor Castle, but sent a foreman, George Hicks, to supervise activities there. Several other foremen served at the ranch in later years, including Lorin Little and Squire Hepworth. During the spring of 1886, during the federal crackdown on polygamy, Woolley's second wife, Florence ("Flora") Snow Woolley, and their three children (Erastus Dilworth, age 6; Herbert Elliot, 3½; and Elizabeth, 1) moved below the Utah-Arizona boundary to Pipe Spring and into Winsor Castle to avoid federal authorities.[21] In the months that followed, other wives of polygamists moved south and for differing periods occupied parts of the fort.

Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., (1846–1920) was born in Nauvoo, Illinois, and moved with his Mormon parents to the Salt Lake Valley in Utah in 1848. As a youth and young man, Woolley helped the Mormons moving to Utah from Missouri, served in several of the Mormon campaigns against the Indians, including the Black Hawk War, helped colonize the community of St. George in southwestern Utah, and became prominent in its municipal growth. He married Emma Bentley in 1867 and served variously in civic capacities of alderman, constable, and police-

19 Quoted in Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 16, citing "Canaan Cooperative Stock Company Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Stockholders from July 24, 1875," Stockholders' meetings of 30 January 1879 and 14 March 1879, 88, 93. The date of Pulsipher's leaving is in Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 44.

20 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 44–45; Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 18–22.

21 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 51. Many decades later, the Woolley children recalled: "The experiences of the five years we spent under a way of life that has never been lived before nor since in any other land, became embedded in the mental and emotional nature of us children as no other experience of our several lives has done. . . . Out of this early and deep attachment to our place of refuge grows a loving interest in the old red sandstone buildings, the barren desert with all the wild living creatures on it, the steadfast and serene Vermillion Cliffs that seem to be the guardians of the hunted ones, as well as . . . the surrounding terrain (landscape)."

man in St. George. In 1877, following his marriage to his second wife, Florence Snow, Woolley departed for Great Britain to fulfill a church mission but returned to Utah six months later because of business troubles. In 1882 he assumed management of the church's cattle herd at Upper Kanab and later became president of the Kanab Stake. Possessing strong business instincts, Woolley helped found a bank, store, and coal company, and, years later, promoted regional tourism.[22]

But it was Edwin's wife Florence, or "Flora" (1856–1946), who came to master the scene at Pipe Spring during the mid- to late-1880s and early 1890s. She had been born and educated in Salt Lake City and was the daughter of Erastus and Elizabeth Ashby Snow.[23] Following her arrival at Pipe Spring, she had the large wooden gates on either end of Winsor Castle removed. She also oversaw the placement of outside windows and one door in the structure to help further reduce its "prisonlike atmosphere." Throughout her habitation of Pipe Spring, Flora hosted the visits of many people, both friends and relatives. Brigham Young, Jr., was among her visitors, and friends from St. George and Kanab made regular stops at the castle.

Nine other plural wives stayed at Pipe Spring at various times between 1886 and 1891, including Flora's sisters, Georgia Thatcher and Josephine Tanner. Most such women came from Toquerville and Orderville, Utah Territory. In the span of those five years, eight children were born in Winsor Castle, some of whom were aided in their delivery by a midwife named Mary Jane Meeks. (At least one of the newborns, a boy named Marion, son of Josephine Tanner, arrived in Room No. 7, the upper west room [also known as the Telegraph Room] of the South Building. Georgia Thatcher also gave birth to a daughter in Winsor Castle.)

Lynda Farnsworth Marriger was another polygamist wife who stayed at Pipe Spring; she served as telegraph operator during her stay. Luella Stewart, of Kanab, was the first telegraph operator at Winsor Castle; Room No. 7 also served as her bedroom. Subsequent operators included Alydia Terry, Rachel Hamblin, Rosellia Haight, and Marriger.[24] Occasionally, young people from below the Colorado River who were en route to be married at the St. George temple stayed in available rooms.[25] Other people staying at Pipe Spring during this period, likely in rooms in the East and West cabins, were hired men, whose numbers fluctuated. Generally, two or three worked on the ranch year-round, but during the fall roundups the number increased.[26]

22 This biographical sketch is drawn from information in Craig C. Garrick and Richard Bennett (comps.), "Register of the Edwin Woolley, Jr. and Erastus Snow Family Collection, MSS 1403." Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. (Provo, Utah: Division of Archives and Manuscripts, 1979), 1–3, citing Preston W. Parkinson, *The Utah Woolley Family* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1967).

23 Florence Woolley, notebook entitled, "Memoirs of Flora Snow Woolley." MSS 1403, Woolley-Snow Collection, Box 1, Folder 15. Another autobiographical piece by Flora is entitled "In Two Worlds: The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley." Ibid.

24 "Telegraph and Telephone," manuscript in the Woolley-Snow Collection, 1. Another telegraph operator was Mariam Leah Groves, the 18-year-old daughter of John D. Lee, who was there in March 1874, when her father passed through. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds. *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876.* Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1983), Vol. II, 335–36. The names of the polygamist wives at Pipe Spring during the Woolley presence there are as follows: Flora Snow Woolley, Josephine Snow Tanner, Georgia Snow Thatcher, Lynda F. Marriger, Ellen C. Chamberlain, Ann B. Chamberlain, Caroline Woolley, Emma C. Seegmiller, and Mrs. Bringhurst and Mrs. Sangford, both of Toquerville. "Polagymist [*sic*] wives living at Pipe Spring from 1886 to 1891." Woolley-Snow Collection, MSS 1403, Box 3, Folder 9.

25 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 61.

26 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 26; Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 52, 61. Miscellaneous page 2 with word "re-write" in left margin. Woolley-Snow Collection.

In a retrospective about his early life at Pipe Spring, Flora's son, Herbert E. Woolley, more than 50 years later wrote the following about his mother and the polygamy wives:

My earliest recollections are of Pipe Springs [sic]—the underground station over which she presided in martyr-majesty for so many years. She was the Queen of the Underground. Pipe Springs [sic] to me is the symbol of devoted Mormon women. Aunt Georgia, Aunt Josephine and others who came and went, escaping persecution, yet persecuted withal, by the isolation of their desert retreat. . . . Where is the monument to the Underground Women? Men are quick to errect [sic] stony memorials to their feats. Why slight the women? The place, certainly, for such memorial to the women is on the point of the Mountain at Pipe Springs [sic]. Perhaps if the descendants of the many women who found refuge there were circularized sufficient support could be generated to underwrite the idea, with Church help. Let the sculptor chisel from pink marble to match the red sandstone, a composite figure of two vigelent [sic] women with hand-shaded eyes scanning the horizon east and west. Let the women be shown back to back for mutual support and combined fortitude, surrounded by a plentious [sic] group of the rising generation. A bronze plaque should tell the story. I propose Mother and Linda Marenger [sic] as models for the figures.[27]

Later Residents

The years following 1891 were a litigious period for the church and its holdings, including those at Pipe Spring. Although the U.S. government filed escheatment proceedings against the church, hoping to divest it of its properties, the Pipe Spring tract initially survived under auspices of the Kanab Land and Cattle Company, formed in New York State as a holding company for the church. Edwin Woolley continued his lease and occupation there until 1895, when the church disposed of Pipe Spring and its collateral real estate to local rancher Benjamin F. Saunders. Saunders sold the property to David D. Bullock and Lehi Jones, who founded the Pipe Spring Cattle Company in 1897. Little more than five years later, they sold the property to A. D. Finley, who created the Pipe Spring Land and Livestock Company. Throughout these transactions, cowboys and caretakers variously inhabited the land and buildings. Finally, the Pipe Spring property was sold to Jonathan Heaton and his sons, who in time rented the land. The buildings were sporadically occupied and generally fell into disrepair between 1909 and 1923, when the site came into the National Park Service.[28]

27 Herbert E. Woolley, "My Reflections." Manuscript account dated 1943. Woolley-Snow Collection, Box 1, Folder 19.

28 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 26–30. See Clemensen for details of the legal entanglements affecting church property, as well as the details of the various private acquisitions of Pipe Spring and its buildings.

Evidence of Room Use and Original Furnishings

The Winsor Occupancy

Room use in Winsor Castle evidently did not change materially during the period 1874–86, the premier years during which the structure and its occupants supported the church's cattle ranching operation. When the Winsors moved into the North Building in 1871, they used the east room on the first story (Room No. 4)[29] as a kitchen/dining room. Original built-in cupboards on either side of the fireplace along the east wall suggest this use.[30] It is known that the Winsors owned a Dutch oven for baking bread, a large brass or iron kettle that hung from a fireplace rod while cooking food, some frying pans, a bean pot, an iron tea kettle, and a coffee pot—all of which had been used in the East Cabin quarters in 1870–71—and which likely later reposed in the kitchen/dining room area of the North Building. A brief inventory taken by the Pulsiphers, who succeeded the Winsors at Pipe Spring, indicates that a kitchen stove stood in the kitchen, along with assorted (though unidentified) cooking utensils. It is also known that Charles Pulsipher purchased a quantity of oilcloth similar to that commonly used for covering dining room tables.[31] (That oilcloth was used for this purpose at Pipe Spring is confirmed by the Woolleys, who recollected that Harriet Brown, while preparing to serve stewed currants to the cowboys and boarders at the Castle, told her daughters, "Girls, let's not put on the table cloth today—it's easier to wipe off the oilcloth."[32]) The first-story west room of the North Building (Room No. 3), adjoining the kitchen/dining room, served as the living room. It also had built-in cupboards on either side of the fireplace. Records indicate that the Winsors subscribed to at least three publications, *Deseret News*, *Youth's Companion*, and *Juvenile Instructor*, which could have been present in the living room.[33] Brooms and dust pans were used in these rooms.[34]

The three rooms on the second story of the North Building (Rooms No. 8, 9, and 10) evidently were bedrooms during the Winsor occupancy.[35] Similarly, it is assumed that the east

29 The room numbers specified herein are those designated on the plat, "Pipe Spring Fort, Pipe Spring National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona." Historic American Buildings Survey, Survey No. 18, Public Works Administration Program, Federal Project 498A, September 30, 1940. 14 sheets. Copy in the library files of Pipe Spring National Monument. These numbers are retained in this report for administrative reference. In the narrative that follows, however, the rooms are discussed mainly according to their interrelated utilitarian functions as organized within the North Building and the South Building.

30 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 67.

31 Ibid., 66, 68; Raymond B. Heaps to unknown recipient, undated fragment of letter in the collections of Pipe Spring National Monument.

32 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 45.

33 Ibid., unnumbered page.

34 Ibid., unnumbered page.

35 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 70–71.

and center rooms (Rooms No. 5 and 6) on the second story of the South Building were bedrooms. The use of the South Building second-story west room (Room No. 7) is confirmed in documentation as the telegraph operator's quarters.[36]

A number of furnishings identified for the North and South buildings during the Winsor tenure, but with exact place of use unspecified, are four flat irons, a spinning wheel, and a weaving loom. It has likewise been verified that the east room on the first story of the South Building (Room No. 1) served as the hired hands' room during at least part of the early period, although earlier, the room probably played an integral role in the butter- and cheese-making operation *(see below)*. Perhaps the strongest documentation exists for the use of the South Building first-story west room (the "Spring Room," or Room No. 2) as a creamery, i.e., the place where cheese and butter were made, as well as the place where perishable foods were stored.[37] As indicated previously, while work on the St. George temple progressed, there existed a corresponding demand for products from the dairy operation at Pipe Spring. At one point in 1872, Winsor had 100 milk cows on the ranch and was producing nearly 60 pounds of cheese daily.[38] A number of furnishings for Room No. 2 relating to this specific operation have been identified, including racks for holding six-quart milk pans to cool milk, a Blanchard churn for making butter, a milk strainer, two milk skimmers, 63 milk pans, one Ralph's Oneida cheese vat, two cheese presses and hoops, two cheese knives, one thermometer, an unspecified number of stoneware Eardley jars (named after their St. George maker, John Eardley), and cheesecloth for wrapping.[39] Some of these items might have been used in adjoining Room No. 1 during the height of the butter- and cheese-making operation, about 1871–77. For example, the cheese vat required the use of a small heater, which would have offset the cooling qualities of the Spring Room; it is logical to assume that this contrivance—and perhaps others related to the operation, as well—were maintained in the adjoining Room No. 1, which would have been accessed through the doorway linking the two rooms.

In addition to the rooms, the area within Winsor Castle lying between the North and South buildings comprised a courtyard, and here various articles normally stood beneath the overhanging porches on either side. Some of these items associated with the Winsors' tenure at Pipe Spring included wagons, harnesses, saddles, bridles, a number of hammers, and assorted stone-working implements. An inventory of property on hand completed after Charles Pulsipher arrived disclosed 102 steel bars and drills, plus a bellows and various unspecified equipment for a blacksmith shop.[40] Produce grown in gardens and orchards in the vicinity of the fort included tomatoes, corn, peas, potatoes, green beans, pumpkins, squash, apples, "and two varieties of plums, greengage and Potowatomi." Many of these fruits and vegetables were dried and were likely found—either in storage or ripe and ready for consumption—in various rooms of Winsor Castle and the East and West cabins. It is known that black and yellow currants were imported from Rockville, Utah, for stewing. Stewed black currants were served in the kitchen/dining room during the Pulsipher period as well.[41]

36 Ibid., 75–76, citing Eliza Luella Stewart Udall to Leonard Heaton, 21 October 1933.

37 See Appendix A for a discussion of the dairy operation.

38 Clemensen's research indicated that the Winsors, at least at one point in their tenure, milked 80 cows daily, and were capable of producing as much as 100 pounds of cheese daily. Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 78, citing "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," 40.

39 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 39; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B," 221, 427; *Deseret News*, December 20, 1871.

40 Information compiled by Ray Heaps, c. 1987, and enclosed in a copy of an incomplete document relating to Charles Pulsipher in the files of Pipe Spring NM.

41 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 38, 45.

The Woolley Occupancy

During her tenure at Pipe Spring beginning in 1886, Flora Woolley and her children occupied the North Building. She, too, used the first floor east room (Room No. 4) as her kitchen and dining area, but bricked up the fireplace there and installed a flue for her cooking stove, which she imported from Kanab. She did this because the chimney did not draw well and tended to produce smoky conditions, but also because flying red ants colonized the chimney and on at least one occasion swarmed forth into the kitchen and had to be fought off with brooms. (Flora had the chimney replaced with a smaller version to obviate this problem.)[42] Other furnishings for the kitchen, as recollected by the Woolleys, consisted of "dishes, utensils, and supplies" kept in the built-in cupboards. Six-quart milk pans from the creamery (Room No. 2) often found their way into the kitchen where they were used for baking beans, rice pudding, and custard for Sunday dinners. A box or can of baking soda was used, on at least one occasion, for treating red ant bites. Dough pans and swab rags were also present.[43] In the dining area on the west side of Room 4 were "a large dining table and as many chairs as the room could accomodate [*sic*], a washstand and washdish, towel racks, [and] hat racks on the walls."[44] Dilworth Woolley remembered an occasion when many people sat around the table "talking and joking while several of us children stood around them shooing flies from the food with shredded newspaper on a stick."[45] In the closet beneath the stairway leading to the second floor, the Woolleys kept hats and coats; the closet was also used for other storage.[46]

The lower west room (Room No. 3) became Flora Woolley's living room, as it had served the Winsors. It had a fireplace adjoined on either side by cupboards and open shelves. On the mantle stood "the clock, vases and artifacts of the Victorian era," and the shelves "were filled to capacity with books, magazines and newspapers." "We were a reading family," noted the Woolleys.[47] Other furnishings described for the living room were rocking chairs "with crocheted tidies and anti-macassers [*sic*] for the head and thick feather cushions three to four inches deep." Son Dilworth remembered his father sitting in an armchair before the fire and reclining with his feet on a stool as he ate popcorn. Window curtains of white lace adorned "every window in the house" during the Woolleys' stay. The windows throughout the houses had screens made of cheesecloth until wire screening became available in the area. The wide-boarded floors in all the rooms (save probably Rooms 1 and 2—the cellar/dairy operations room and Spring Room) were covered with "woven rag carpets and braided rag rugs, the eternal symbols of pioneer times, and padded with corn husks or wild hay."[48]

On the second story of the North Building, Flora designated the east room (Room No. 10) as a bedroom for herself and her daughter. In the north wall of this room, a doorway led outside to the adjoining hill to facilitate access to a privy. Two sons slept in the center room (Room No. 9), and the spare west room (Room No. 8) was given over to guests at Pipe Spring. These rooms "were provided with the necessary furniture and conveniences," presumably meaning beds, bedding, chairs, and related amenities. In addition, the guest room (Room No. 8)

42 Ibid., 40–41.
43 Ibid., 44½, 49.
44 Ibid., 54.
45 Ibid., 52.
46 Ibid., 54.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid., 54–55; Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., "The Talking Woolleys" (unpublished manuscript) in Edwin D. Woolley, Jr., Miscellaneous Experiences, Woolley-Snow Collection, MSS 1403, Box 1, Folder 13.

contained a washstand with washbowl and pitcher.[49] Wrote the Woolleys in reminiscence: "While the furnishings were limited to necessities and simple in design, they were adequate for comfortable and graceful living. The latter quality, to be sure, is a product of the spirit and personality of the family life and does not depend upon the habitat."[50]

According to Mrs. Woolley, the east room of the first story of the South Building (Room No. 1) functioned as a room where the hired hands stored their camp equipment and worked on projects such as rope-making and equipment repair during inclement weather. Dilworth Woolley recalled that some of the men separated horse- and cow-tail hair into bundles that were subsequently braided into hackamore ropes and tie ropes, as well as smaller strands used to make or repair cinches. The men utilized a special spinning instrument to braid the ropes. The men also cut rawhide strips for making lassos, quirts, and hackamore nose pieces, for repairing saddles and harnesses, for building fences, and for making shoelaces.[51] Some items housed in the room included saddles, hobbles, bridles, lassos, branding irons, saddle blankets, and spurs. "Winchesters decorated the walls."[52] The workers also cooked in the fireplace, although most of the time that activity occurred outdoors. Cooking equipment present in Room No. 1 consisted of a Dutch oven, a coffee pot, assorted frying pans, an iron tea kettle, a bean pot, and a kettle for cooking "cowboy pudding," which consisted of dried apples and peaches, along with rice and raisins.[53] Mrs. Woolley indicated that this had been the designated use of the room at least immediately before she arrived at Pipe Spring. This use ended after July 1888, however, when John Adams and his wife Min, hired by Edwin Woolley, moved into this room with their baby and used it as their quarters. Min Adams used the fireplace there for cooking; evidently Room No. 1 later also served polygamy wives and their children in hiding from federal authorities.[54]

The Spring Room (Room No. 2), the site of the butter- and cheese-making operation during the Winsor period, continued to some degree in that capacity, although the activity was scaled back to meet the immediate needs of the household. It was also used as a cellar. Apparently, the racks for holding milk pans, left over from the Winsor years, remained, as did most if not all of the six-quart pans themselves. Butter was mixed in a "wooden upright churn," and the surplus was stored in crock-like Eardley stone jars. Butter designated for immediate use was placed "in a wooden mold with a round sheaf of wheat imprint for decoration."[55]

Cool Room No. 1 again served for the Woolleys as a storage area for perishable items. Beef quarters and hams and shoulders previously cured in barrels of brine hung from pegs. There were also 20-pound cheeses brought from Upper Kanab, along with honey brought in from nearby Moccasin. The Woolley children recalled still other items that were present and possi-

49 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 51, 53–54; Florence Snow Woolley, "The Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley, A Pioneer Daughter of Utah's Dixie," 62. Typescript in the Woolley-Snow Family Collection.

50 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 55.

51 Ibid., 56. See Appendix B for a description of the hair-braiding instrument and how it was used, as well as the manner in which rawhide was cut.

52 Ibid., 57.

53 Ibid., 35, 57.

54 Ibid.; Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 23, citing "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," 55–58; interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, 1 June 1949. Pipe Spring NM files.

55 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 56. Bread and milk was a standard supper in the household. Some milk was expressly allowed to sour to make a dessert called "bonny clabber." "Mother would take off the heavy cream of a pan of milk, leaving a covering over the thick white . . . soft golden cream, over which she would sprinkle sugar and grated natural cinnamon. . . . No ice cream could ever taste half so good." Ibid.

bly stored in this cellar—"grain for the horses, flour for bread, [and] sugar in hundred pound bags (gunny sacks)."[56] Produce items such as squash, pumpkins, and potatoes, known to have been raised in the garden and later dried, were kept here, stacked on the floor alongside dried raisins on the stem imported from Dixie. Grapes stood in barrels, pickling.[57] Later, the Adamses similarly used the room for storing food.[58]

On the second story of the South Building, the east and center rooms (Rooms Nos. 5 and 6) were first used by cowboys as sleeping rooms; later, plural wives fleeing Utah Territory used the rooms. The sole constant was the west room (Room No. 7), which continued in use as a telegraph facility until about 1888, when a telephone was installed.[59] So far as furnishings for the women's rooms were concerned, the Woolleys reported that each occupant brought her own baggage and equipment—usually just bare essentials. Occasionally in Room No. 7, the telegraph operator's quarters, the polygamist wife simultaneously served as the operator, as did Linda Farnsworth Marriger, who gave birth to a daughter while living there.[60]

During the Woolleys' tenure, laundry work, a dawn-to-dusk task, was probably performed outdoors in the courtyard. The Woolleys described water from the watering trough in the spring room (Room No. 2) being heated in a brass kettle in the fireplace and emptied into wooden washtubs, where the clothes were scrubbed with lye soap using a washboard.[61] The Woolleys also mentioned produce growing in the area that doubtless found its way into the kitchen and dining areas of the castle. By the time of their occupation, a row of yellow and black currants lined the irrigation ditch near the garden. This fruit was picked and stuffed into two-quart bottles prior to cooking in the fireplace, likely in Room No. 4. Other fruits available were imported dried apples and peaches for use through the winter, as well as fresh apples, apricots, plums, and grapes—all grown in a small orchard.[62]

Flora Woolley directed several structural changes to Winsor Castle in 1886. She disliked the large wooden gates, which she believed were too enclosing, and had them removed. Concurrently, the sandstone blocks above the gates were dismantled. At the same time, Mrs. Woolley effected the placement of a window in the south wall of the South Building first-story east room (Room No. 1). Similarly, a door was installed in the south wall of the second-story center room (Room No. 6), although a projected corresponding exterior stairway at that point was never constructed. Flora further directed the installation of windows in the south wall of the second-story east and west rooms (Rooms Nos. 5 and 7). After the National Park Service acquired Winsor Castle in 1923, efforts were directed toward restoring the structure. Perhaps the most symbolic restoration was that of replacing the wooden gates and the stonework above them.[63] The gates were reconstructed first in 1928, and again in 1949, projects that importantly defined the primary interpretive period of Pipe Spring—the years of the 1870s and 1880s before Flora Snow Woolley had the gates pulled down. These years corresponded with the height of the church's founding and nurturing of the ranching and food production operation at Pipe Spring.

56 Ibid., 44½.
57 Ibid., 38.
58 Ibid., 5; Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 23, citing "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," 55–58; and interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, 1 June 1949.
59 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 23, citing "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," 55–58; interview of Mrs. Min Adams by Leonard Heaton, 1 June 1949.
60 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 55.
61 Ibid., 39, 45.
62 Ibid., 59, 60.
63 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 23–24, 52–53.

Summary of Documented Furnishings, HS-1

(Sources as contained in preceding narrative, and with room numbers correlated to the plat, "Pipe Spring Fort, Pipe Spring National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona." Historic American Buildings Survey, Survey No. 18, Public Works Administration Program, Federal Project 498A, September 30, 1940. 14 sheets.)

The Winsor Occupancy

Room No. 1. South Building. Used as living quarters for the Winsors, summer, 1871; probably used as adjunct facility to the butter- and cheese-making operation in Room No. 2 from 1871 to about 1877, when this need diminished; hired workers' room, about 1877–85.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 2. South Building. The "Spring Room," used as a cellar and storehouse from about 1870 to 1871; used as cooling room for the butter- and cheese-making operation, 1873–77; used for small-scale dairy operation and for storage, 1877–85.
Documented furnishings: Racks (number unspecified) for holding six-quart milk pans, two milk skimmers, three Blanchard churns, two milk strainers, 63 six-quart milk pans, two 40-lb. brass bucket sets, one Ralph's Oneida cheese vat, two cheese presses, two cheese hoops, two cheese knives, one thermometer, Eardley jars (number unspecified), and cheesecloth.

Room No. 3. North Building. Used as a living room, 1871–77.
Documented furnishings: Built-in wall cupboards on either side of fireplace, three publications that would have been found in the room—*Deseret News*, *Youth's Companion*, and *Juvenile Instructor*—and brooms and dust pans.

Room No. 4. North Building. Used as a kitchen and dining room, 1871–77.
Documented furnishings: Built-in wall cupboards on either side of fireplace, Dutch oven, one large brass or iron kettle, various frying pans (number and size unspecified), a bean pot, an iron tea kettle, a coffee pot, a kitchen stove, assorted cooking utensils (type and number unspecified), and oilcloth. (There is reference to a dining table in this room during the Pulsipher occupation.)

Room No. 5. South Building. Used as a bedroom, 1871–77.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 6. South Building. Used as a bedroom, 1871–77.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 7. South Building. Used as telegraph room and operator's quarters, 1871–77.
Documented furnishings: Small unpainted pine table for instruments on north side of room; telegraph key, sounder, and box relay "in natural light wood" on table; two chairs, "cot or couch" (on which operator slept); one trunk; and unspecified personal belongings.

Room No. 8. North Building. Used as a bedroom, 1871–77.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 9. North Building. Created in about 1874 by adding partitions. Likely used as a bedroom, 1874–77.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 10. North Building. Used as a bedroom, 1871–77.
Documented furnishings: None

The Woolley Occupancy

Room No. 1. South Building. Hired hands' room and storage room, 1886 (and earlier).
Documented furnishings: Horse-tail and cow-tail hair in bundles and an unspecified number of hair ropes and hackamores, hair cinchas, rawhide (whole and in strips), lassos, quirts, hackamore nose pieces (some in unfinished condition), saddles, harnesses, hobbles, bridles, branding irons, saddle blankets, spurs, Winchester rifles (or carbines) on the walls, a Dutch oven, a coffee pot, various frying pans, an iron tea kettle, a bean pot, and a kettle for cooking "cowboy pudding." (All of this is representative of the hired hands' use of the room.)

Room No. 2. South Building. Used for scaled-back butter- and cheese-making operation and also for food storage, 1886.
Documented furnishings: Evidently still contained racks for holding six-quart milk pans, as well as the pans themselves. A "wooden upright churn" (dash churn) was used for making butter, which was stored here in stoneware crock-style Eardley jars. A wooden butter mold was present that had a decorative imprint of a round sheaf of wheat. Food items present included stacked pumpkins, squash, potatoes, and raisins on the stem. Grapes were in barrels for pickling. Beef quarters, hams, and brine-cured shoulders hung from pegs. Twenty-pound cheeses were present, along with honey held in unspecified containers. Other items included flour, sugar, and grain for horses in one-hundred-pound gunny sacks. Dried vegetables, such as pumpkins and squash, were possibly stored here, too.

Room No. 3. North Building. Continued use as a living room, 1886.
Documented furnishings: Built-in wall cupboards, open shelves, and fireplace mantle, on which stood a "clock, vases and artifacts of the Victorian era." The shelves contained books, magazines, and newspapers. The room contained an armchair, a footstool, and at least two (and probably more) rocking chairs with crocheted tidies, antimacassars, and feather cushions that were three or four inches deep. White lace curtains hung in every window; each window had a cheesecloth screen. The floor was covered with carpets of woven or braided rags that were padded with cornhusks or wild hay.

Room No. 4. North Building. Continued use as a kitchen and dining area, 1886.
Documented furnishings: Built-in cupboards on either side of the fireplace containing "dishes, utensils, and supplies." The fireplace was bricked up and another cooking stove installed. Other items found in the kitchen were six-quart milk pans (from Room No. 2) used for baking, a box or can of baking soda, dough pans, swab rags, and two-quart bottles in which currants were cooked. The dining area contained a large dining table and numerous chairs (both table and chairs of unspecified design), along with a washstand, a wash dish, and towel racks (no number indicated) and hat racks on the walls. This room also had rag carpets,

cheesecloth window screens, and white lace curtains at the windows. Sticks with shredded paper attached were used to shoo flies. Hats, coats, and other unspecified items were kept in the closet beneath the stairway.

Room No. 5. South Building. Used as a sleeping room for cowboys, 1886.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 6. South Building. Used as a sleeping room for cowboys, 1886.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 7. South Building. Continued as telegraph room and operator's quarters, 1886.
Documented furnishings: Small unpainted pine table for instruments on north side of room; telegraph key, sounder, and relay on table; two chairs, "cot or couch" (on which operator slept); and one trunk.

Room No. 8. North Building. Used as a bedroom.
Documented furnishings: Washstand with wash bowl and pitcher. The statement that the room contained "necessary furniture and conveniences" suggests that besides the washstand and its appurtenances there existed, minimally, a bed, chair, table, and mirror.

Room No. 9. North Building. Used as a bedroom.
Documented furnishings: None

Room No. 10. North Building. Used as a bedroom.
Documented furnishings: None

Summary of Documented Furnishings, HS-2

When Anson P. Winsor and his family arrived at Pipe Spring in 1870, they took up residence in the East Cabin. Their use of the two rooms is entirely speculative; however, it is likely that the two parents and seven of their children occupied one room, with the other room serving as kitchen, dining room, and living room. The only known furnishings brought by the Winsors that might have been used in the rooms include a Dutch oven for baking bread, a large brass or iron kettle that hung from a fireplace rod while food was cooked in it, a bean pot, an iron tea kettle, a coffee pot, and some assorted frying pans.[64] These items were later used in the kitchen (Room No. 4) of the North Building. There is evidence to suggest that most cooking was done over campfires rather than in the fireplace during the Winsors' occupation of the East Cabin.[65]

The long-term use of the East Cabin following the move of the Winsor family into the fort has not been determined, although it seems to have housed some of the children after the move into the South Building. It likely served to house workers and assumed various storage/maintenance functions in later years. The building has been reconstructed.

Summary of Documented Furnishings, HS-3: Recollections of Dilworth Woolley

The West Cabin was evidently built late in 1870 to house workers brought in to help raise the fort. At least four volunteer workers occupied the structure at that time, including John R.

64 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 35; Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 66.

65 "Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L. M. Winsor, Dec. 16, 1960," 3.

Young and his two wives and children, who together probably occupied one of the two rooms until they moved away in 1872. During ensuing years through 1886 the building was apparently occupied variously by hired men working on the ranch, whose numbers were subject to change seasonally, as well as by occasional visitors and wayfarers. No specific furnishings documentation has been found. The West Cabin has been partially restored and partially reconstructed.

In 1967, Dilworth Woolley, who spent time at Pipe Spring as a child, recalled certain elements of cowboy clothing and equipment used by workers at the ranch. They are as follows:[66]

Pants. The cowboys always wore two pairs of pants. "We'd buy them out of stores. Generally, the under pair was lighter than the outer pair."

Hats. "The hats that everybody wore, if you were a real cowboy, [were] the hats like mounties in Canada used to be shown in . . . flat-rimmed Stetson hats with a crease in them, sometimes a peak and sometimes a crease. The brim was flat." "On his hat he had a throat latch. It was a thong or graded little strap made out of leather or rawhide or anything, buckskin usually. It went around the rim of his hat and down through here and in front of his ears right here. Then he had a slipper on that, you know, to hold it up. That had a purpose: when a man was working and running, his hat blew off his shoulders; he wouldn't have to stop and pick it up again."

Neckerchief. "On his neck, he usually had a red handkerchief. That handkerchief often had a hung [slide?] made of good leather or a horn that . . . he'd fix to slip up and down. That was to keep his neck from getting too sunburnt."

Shirt. "He wore a shirt with pockets in it."

Gauntlets. "Upon his wrist he had a leather gauntlet, always. They had a real utilitarian purpose. . . . Much of his work involved the use of his pocket knife in handling calves in marking and branding, castrating, and it was rough work there. So many operations he had to use . . . his pocket knife, or lots of them carried their boil [Bowie?] knives on their sides, but that was more for cowhands. . . . These cuffs prevented danger." "His gloves were made by the Indians of buckskin. They had long . . . gauntlets on them, you know, fringe down here."

Boots. "They had tops that came up to here. They were high-heeled, real high-heeled. You don't see any like them now. They weren't spikes like the women wear. The high heel had a purpose. It was to prevent his foot from slipping from the stirrups and then he wore spurs on his boots."

General dress. "In one shirt pocket he'd have a sack of Bull Durham. . . . They made them [cigarettes] with paper and he'd have something in the other pocket, I don't know what. One thing or another. If he didn't wear his vest out when he was working, he'd put those things in his shirt pockets. Now, if he carried a six-shooter, it was always on his left hip with a cartridge gun, .45 or .44 frame."

Horse equipment. "There are two types of saddles; there are single seats and double seats. Some preferred one over the other. . . . [The meaning of this statement regarding single and double saddles is unclear.] Some had something [a bridle?] to prevent the horse from throw-

66 Interview, Dilworth Erastus Woolley, 6 June 1967, transcribed copy, 13–15. Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City.

ing his head back too far." "You had a **hackamore**, you didn't have halters. There was a homemade affair made out of cowhide, homemade **headstalls** for it, a homemade **hair rope**. There is a title for it. You had a **bridle**. There were different kinds of bits. There were **snaffle bits**, some few **Spanish bits**. They were hated; they were too hard on the horse, those Spanish bits." "**Saddle blankets** consisted of at least two blankets. There was a sweat blanket that went next to the horse, and a blanket over that and sometimes closer to [a] wool blanket. Old blankets are the favorite kind for this, but they sometimes used blankets that they got out of a store. He had a **lasso**. In the early days, it was made out of rawhide, four-strand. Some few were made out of six-strand, about 30 to 40 feet long. . . . The lasso was always carried on the right side of the horse and the hackamore was tied on the other side."

Cooking equipment. "We had our own cooking equipment. We generally had a **tin plate**, a **knife**, a **fork**, a **spoon**, and a **coffee cup**. . . . The cooking outfit, of course, had to be rather scant, but at least we had a **bake oven** or maybe two or three bake ovens of different sizes, a **frying pan, coffee pot, camp kettle**—a great big kettle, made of metal. . . . You had a **sack of flour**, a **can of baking powder**, sides of **seasoning**, some **rice**, some **raisins**, some **tea** and **coffee**. If you were lucky you would have some **dried apples, dried peaches, dried plums**, and . . . **salt**."

Comparative Furnishings Information

Cove Fort

Cove Fort, a walled structure similar in conceived defensive purpose to Winsor Castle, was built by the church in 1867. It stands approximately 125 miles north of Pipe Spring, near the present junction of U.S. Interstate Highways 70 and 15. The following list of household items purchased for that facility in October, November, and December 1877 offers comparative information about the type of furnishings likely to have existed in the buildings at Pipe Spring, as well, during the same approximate period. This information is excerpted from Larry C. Porter, "A Historical Analysis of Cove Fort, Utah," citing Arza E. Hinckley, Cove Creek Record Book, pp. 101–3.

Potatoes
100 lbs. flour
16 lbs. beef
6 lbs. pork
17 lbs. molasses
1 pair shoes
Cook stove
Dining table
Sink
23 chairs
1 lounge
1 box stove
Round stand
Wash stand
Mirror
Bedstead
125 lbs. flour
84 lbs. beef
20 lbs. beef
25 yards carpet @ .75 per yard
1 wash bowl and pitcher
1 chamber (pot?)
100 lbs. salt
12 lbs. pork
17 lbs. molasses
20 lbs. beef
200 lbs. flour
1 pair boots
152 lbs. beef
8 bars soap
3 barrels
18 lbs. pork
Coffee mill
Hay and grain

1 pig
35 lbs. sugar
17 lbs. coffee
28 lbs. dried apples
50 chickens
1 wheel barrow
2 plow and harrow
Pick and shovel
Wagon
Hogs
105 lbs. flour
3719 lbs. grain hauled
183 lbs. beef
170 lbs. beef
Can carcien (kerosene)
2 lamps
Brass kettle
1 caster
3 table cloths
6 glass tumblers
6 cups and saucers
Saus (?) plates
8 knives and forks
6 teaspoons
5 boxes lye
243 lbs. flour
4 packages tea
1 broom
110 lbs. grain
1742 lbs. grain
Earthen wash bowl and pitcher
Tin
½-dozen dinner plates
2 bowls
Dishes for vegetables
Chimneys for lamps
1 bottle pepper sauce
Box yeast powders
2 pails lard
Box mustard
White sugar
5 lbs. butter
1 bread pan
Washboard
12 yards crash towelling
160 lbs. grain
860 lbs. grain

Cove Fort Observations

The following is a lengthy excerpt from Larry C. Porter, "A Historical Analysis of Cove Fort, Utah," citing Arza E. Hinckley, Cove Creek Record Book, pp. 113–21. These observations about life (and furnishings) at Cove Fort, based on the reminiscences of people who lived there, most likely reflect to a certain degree comparable life at Winsor Castle during the Winsor/Woolley years. Information particularly relevant to comparable documented furnishings at Pipe Spring has been bolded.

Courtyard. The courtyard was swept and cleaned. One who lived there remembered that "the courtyard . . . was used so much that grass never had much time to grow there. In warm weather, each day, we used to keep the yard as clean as any floor. We swept the dirt down to hard-pan then sprinkled it [with water]." (Porter citing Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, June 12, 1945.)

Rugs, carpeting, and bed ticking. "Fresh **straw matting** was periodically laid on the floors of the various rooms and then **handwoven rag rugs** placed on top of these mats. 'States' carpet (carpet made east of the Mississippi River) was purchased for use in the dining room only. Straw was used in the bed ticks, 'When we filled the bed ticks with new straw the beds were too high for us as children to crawl onto, so we pulled chairs up by the bed, climbed onto them and leaped into the middle of our beds.'" (Citing Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, June 12, 1945.)

Rooms. "The walls of the individual rooms were white washed [*sic*] and, at the windows, crisp, **white, starched curtains** with their fine hand-knitted lace edgings hung. Each room had its own fireplace. People often exclaimed about the comfort of these big fireplaces. Sometimes overnight travelers would set their bread to rise at night, and bake it on the hearth the next morning before they started on their days's [*sic*] journey. The spare rooms, of which there were two, were always full of such travelers. In each guest room were **two large double beds** with knitted covers. Sometimes makeshift beds had to be set up for extra guests, and the children were required to sleep on their crackly straw ticks on the floor, which pleased them very much." (Citing Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, June 12, 1945.)

Dining room. "In the dining room was a large **dining table** covered with a **spread made from 'Dixie' cotton.** A silver self-waiter or whirling caster having eight condiment containers was placed at the center of the table. At the northeast corner of the room was the table at which the telegrapher sat to operate his key. In the opposite corner stood a spool table with a red and black Turkish cover and the family Bible. An organ, purchase [*sic*] by Arza E. Hinckley for $50.00, was also in the room." (Citing Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, June 12, 1945.)

Kitchen. "A big **double stove with tea kettle** was in the kitchen and a number of large **utensils for cooking.** A huge **brass kettle,** filled with water, was placed over a built-up rock fireplace. The water was used for the tenants as well as inhabitants. The kettle was likewise employed in the making of soap and butchering of animals. (The Fort had a meat room where several animals often hung at one time.) There were also wooden bowls, large stone crocks with lids to keep the milk cool, a butter ladle, churn, wooden sink and a wooden dish drainer devised by a hired girl of German extraction. In one corner stood a 40-gallon water tank where it was readily available for household use, and also for use in the wash room prepared for travelers. It was the children's daily task to fill the tank from the well. . . . In the spring of 1878 meals were served daily to 18 members of Arza Hinckley's own household plus a telegraph operator, stage drivers, stable boys, one or more hired girls, and certain of the sulphur miners. Travelers, of which there were many, added to the large number who dined each day." (Citing Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, June 12, 1945.)

Foodstuffs. "Much of the produce that was consumed was grown in the gardens on the west of the Fort, meat came from the range as well as from the pigs and ducks, which were raised. Chickens provided a continuous supply of eggs. Ira Hinckley maintained a herd of 30 cows which made milk plentiful. Butter, vinegar, sausage, yeast and cheese were all homemade. Apples were provided from the orchard on the east and rhubarb grew in abundance along Cove Creek. The rhubarb was preserved so delectably, sugar-packed and sun-dried, that it was stolen like candy from the large crocks in which it was stored. Ella Hinckley recalls this process:

> Mother . . . made crocks of preserves. She used wooden buckets too, in which molasses came. When the season was right the molasses vendors came from Dixie. Then we had a treat of molasses on our mush, and could make us some molasses candy. Sometimes we hoarded a piece of candy and later had it on our mush and let it soften in the milk. . . .

Preparations for winter demanded a good deal of planning and foresight. Anticipating the food requirements, **the root cellar was stocked with potatoes, squash, carrots, cabbages, beets and onions.** The flour and grain bins were stocked and bags of beans and corn hung from the ceiling. The men were prepared to keep the meat room in good supply. **Dried apples** were an important supplement. The apples were gathered in season, peeled, quartered and spread out on muslin covers which had been laid out on the runways beneath the port holes [loopholes] on the east and west sides of the Fort. A muslin cover was also placed over the top of the fruit. In this manner many pounds of fruit were dried in the sun, put in bags and preserved for the winter. A large quantity of wood was also hauled in and piled in readiness to meet the demands of the 12 fireplaces called into use under the rigors of winter weather." (Citing Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, June 12, 1945; Jean Hinckley Holbrook, interview, 1941; Parnel Hinckley, "Ira Nathaniel Hinckley, Some Events of His Life," p. 19; and Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, 1937.)

Home Manufacture. "Home manufacture was a necessity with the Fort's occupants. **Not only did they make their own butter (10 to 12 pounds daily in a 'handdasher' churn), cheese and other foodstuffs,** but also their own soap and candles. Adell Hinckley remembered her experiences in soap making:

> I made the soap that summer. We slaughtered a good many pigs and cattle and saved all the fat in two large barrels. I weighed out the fat and knew just how much lye to add and how to cook it in our huge brass kettle.

Ella Hinckley recalled the process of candle making:

> Venison and other greases when melted down made excellent candles. A handful of pine needles dropped into the melting fat improved the odor. Our mold made eight candles at one time. Strings were threaded through the tubes from top to bottom and crossed over small sticks to hold them in place. After they had been poured and cooled you had to be careful in freeing them from the mold.
>
> Candles were seldom used during the long summer evenings or early mornings, but when dark, wintery days came they were used a good deal. The outer walls of the fort served as walls for the rooms and had no windows. When the light in the courtyard grew dim the rooms were often gloomy even at mid-day. The candle light and open fireplaces helped this situation.

Dyes were made from rabbit-brush, indigo, copras, logwood, and barks of trees. Shoes and boots were blackened with stove black or bear's grease. Bats were carded for quilts and rolls to spin into yarn. Stockings were knit for the whole family:

> We didn't know any other hose than black wool and white cotton. How we hated the cold weather to come, for we knew we would be tortured with itchy, long black wool stockings. But they were warm and saved many feet from frost-bite.

Occasionally the Fort's occupants would purchase materials for clothing from a traveling salesman. The salesman would spread his wares out on the dining room table for all to see. Such selections as black alpaca, a blue-gray brocade called 'Moonlight on the Lake,' a piece of broadcloth called 'Doe,' a maroon wool shot with silver-gray thread, or brown broadcloth for a man's suit were available." (Citing Parnell Hinckley, "Ira Nathaniel Hinckley, Some Events of His Life," p. 19; Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, n.d.; and Ella Hinckley Hoopes, interview, 1937.)

Furnishings Information for Mormon Homes

Excerpted from Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona.* As before, references with specific application to comparable documented furnishings at Pipe Spring have been bolded.

General. House's "exquisite neatness and the well-planned convenience of its arrangements." (p. 10)
"No speck dimmed her mirrors." (p. 10)
"not a stray thread littered her carpets." (p. 10)
"unusual cleanliness." (p. 56)
Mention of Navajo blankets, which "are said to be waterproof, and many of them are of beautifully-varied colors; red, white, blue and black in the same blanket." (pp. 121–22)

Kitchen. Mention of "the never-failing stream of running water that was conducted through kitchen and dairy." (p. 10)

"**shining blackness of the stoves** (each with its tea-kettle of boiling water)." (p. 10)

Kitchen in Cedar City: "One end [of the kitchen] was carpeted with oil-cloth, and in front of a windowfull of scarlet geraniums stood a table with a brightly polished telegraph apparatus; and she turned from her stove and its pots and pans to her battery and clicking needle-point without flurry or embarrassment." (p. 110)

Bedrooms. "plump feather beds." (p. 10)

Living room (parlor). "Like all Mormon living-rooms, it was virtuously clean and well-aired." (p. 17)
"Trailing plants climbed round the windows." (p. 17)

Cabin. "one-roomed log cabin." "canvas ceiling" "substantial bed in one corner, and curtains of old-fashioned chintz were tacked from the ceiling around it as if it had been a four-poster, and a neat patchwork counterpane covered the soft feather-bed. **A good rag-carpet was on the floor; clean white curtains hung at the windows;** and clean white covers, edged with knitted lace, covered the various bracket-shelves that supported the housewife's Bible, Book of Mormon, work-basket, looking-glass." "Two or three pretty good colored prints hung on the walls. Then there was a mahogany bureau, **a washstand, a rocking-chair, and half a dozen wooden ones, with a large chest on which the owner's name was painted.** . . . The small, round table was already spread for our supper with cakes, preserves, and pies; and the fair Lydia was busily engaged in bringing in hot rolls, meat, tea, and other good things." Mention of "plates." "I have given this minute

description of the furniture of the mansion . . . because it was a fair specimen of many of the humbler homes I visited in Utah." (pp. 55–56)

Another cabin, this one unkempt. Mention of a "dirt-begrimed window," and "the smoke-blackened logs of wall and ceiling were in keeping with the unmade bed and its tattered hangings." Mention of a "cradle" present. Mention of "large sheet-iron stove" in parlor. (pp. 63–64)

Cove Creek Fort. "Our room was nicely furnished, and looked very cozy as we drew our chairs around the centre-table, which had a number of well-chosen books upon it. The children were pleased to recognize another of the pretty pink-fringed, linen table-covers of which so many had already greeted us on our journey." (p. 75)

Mention of "a guard-room, where stacks of arms were piled." (p. 75)

Mention of "the telegraph office, where the ticking of the instrument" was heard constantly.

"The shining cleanliness of the table-linen and glass was worthy of a Quakeress." (p. 76)

Mention of the "U.S. flag waving us farewell." (p. 180)

Books. A "Bible, the Book of Mormon, a photograph album, and Worcester's Dictionary . . . [and] story- and lesson-books."

The following excerpts are from Elizabeth Wood Kane, *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872–73.*

General. Mention of trunks not yet arriving. (p. 1)
Mention of "Young's oil of wintergreen." (p. 38)

Books: "The Mormon books on the table in our parlour are . . . Parley Pratt's Voice of Warning, the Harp of Zion, and three or four handsomely bound copies of the Book of Mormon in as many languages; all presented to our host by the translators." (p. 1)

"On her table lie no novels, but there are several books of travels and essays, as well as Mormon theological works, all well read apparently. There are good sterioscope [*sic*] views too." (p. 38)

Walls: "On the wall hangs a map drawn in pen and ink, and coloured by hand, of the neighborhood of Macao [TK: the work of a missionary relative.]" (p. 38)

Rooms: "The room in which we sat contained **a cooking stove and dining table** as well as rocking-chair and cradle. Everything was spotless. . . . **The rag-carpet had large holes in it.**" (p. 65)

A social hall in St. George? "The raised platform behind held a table set out with sterioscopic [*sic*] views, a sofa and some chairs." (p. 79)

Children's bedroom: "Our lamp had been carried over to the [social] Hall. . . . The children's door stood open, and Sister Ellen and her kind old husband paused outside lantern in hand. . . . They came in, and placed their candle on the table." (p. 125)

Things that might be in homes: "We . . . climbed the low sandy hills at the foot of the bluffs, the children picking up quantities of bright bits of selenite, moss agates, porphyry and other unfamiliar stones, and broken pieces of pottery with which the tops of the hills are profusely strewn." (p. 126)

Description of a two-room adobe house: "One of them [rooms] must be the first wife's apartment. . . . The other room seemed to be the second wife's parlour, kitchen and bedroom. It was in the neatest order. There was a clean damask table cover on the old dressing table, a clean valance to the shelf above, and clean white covers on the various boxes that served as furniture. . . . Close to the chimney stood the tiniest cooking stove I ever saw: with room for two pots only. The batterie de cuisine [equipment for cooking] was stored away in one starch box; another, set on end served as the china closet; and another held the little supply of groceries. The walls were whitewashed and adorned with coloured prints. The doors were of the brightest green, and the bedspread was of patchwork, green and yellow." (p. 163)

Diaries and Probate Records

The following information has been extracted from diaries and area estate and divorce probates, as specified below. They appeared as appendices in A. Berle Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report, History Data Section, Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona" and are excerpted as presented in that document.

1. 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.

May 1, 1876
35 lbs sugar
20 lbs bacon
100 lbs flour
60 lbs potatoes
10 lbs corn
100 lbs wheat
16 lbs molasses
2 seamless sacks
1 cotton sack
6 tin plates
6 cups
6 knives
1 lb, 6 oz tea
4 boxes of lye
2 packets of soda
5 boxes of matches
16 bars of soap
1 large brass kettle
1 small brass kettle
2 wooden buckets
1 wash tub and board
1 two quart cup
1 churn

May 4, 1876
1 stilliards
17½ lbs oats
1 cook stove
300 lbs flour
3 seamless sacks
1 scythe and snath
1 pitchfork
1 garden rake
1 spade
1 shovel
1 hatchet
2 axes and handles

May 6, 1876
23 lbs corn meal
2 10-gallon kegs
46 lbs of chain

May 8 and 10, 1876
160 lbs of flour
1 grindstone
24 lbs nails

25 lbs salt
1 brace and 10 bits
4 chisels
1 spirit level
1 try square
3 planes
1 drawing knife
1 oil stone
1 carpenter's square
2 handsaws
1 keyhole saw
1 two inch auger
15 bolts
3 balls candle wick
5 lbs of dried apples
4 lbs dried currants
½ lb pepper
1 set of candle molds

2. William Henry Solomon and his family were called to an Arizona mission in 1873. While en route 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.

½ lb pepper
3 lb can of Kentucky rifle powder
19 lbs of soap
2 ½ 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

3. 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

4. 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)
2 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

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

2 sewing chairs
1 boys towel rack
1 bedstead
1 spring mattress
1 moss mattress
1 pair of white blankets
1 pillow and cases
1 washstand
1 towel rack
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 gilt frame mirror
1 black frame mirror
1 baby carriage

The following books: Montgomery's Poems, Nurse and Spy in the Union Army, A Parting Gift, Dr. Gurm, Sexual Science, Innocents Abroad, Roughing It, Dr. Naples, and music books
1 toilet set
2 baby chairs
Window blind and fixtures
A box of medicines
1 pair of large statues
1 pair of small statues
1 cottage bank
1 bedroom stove
1 baby bedspread
1 ingrain carpet
1 rag carpet
1 light round stand
1 washstand
2 bureaus
2 wardrobes
1 cradle
1 lamp
1 picture of the temple
1 picture of Midnight Race on the Mississippi
1 bed comforter
1 child's stove
2 band boxes
Hats and trimmings
1 portfolio of letters
1 comb and brush
Book shelves
1 box of toy dishes
1 box of toy glasses
1 portfolio of music
2 sea shells
1 pasteboard box of nicknacks [*sic*]
1 box of patterns
1 Bible
1 harp of iron
1 hymn book
1 copy of E.R. Snow's poems
Volume 14 of the Millenial [*sic*] Star
1 History of the United States
1 spiritual harp
1 box of clothing
1 Patriarchal Blessing
1 sewing machine
1 pair of large vases
1 pair of small vases

Furnishings Plan

List of Recommended Furnishings

The Fort (Winsor Castle, HS-1)

Winsor Castle was furnished during the 1950s and 1960s using an assemblage of donated materials that reflect more or less the general period of Mormon control and occupation between the 1870s and 1890s. The following plan projects what furnishings items would likely have been present in the building during the Winsors' occupation from 1871 to 1875, based upon specific documentation as well as upon cited comparative authorities (and including some materials referenced for the later Woolley period, as previously explained). Under this plan, many articles already exhibited in the rooms will remain, but others will be removed, replaced with reproductions, or otherwise upgraded, as appropriate, to protect the resources and to most accurately approximate the historical record. In line with interpretation specifying the Winsors' habitation in the castle following their earlier occupation of the East Cabin, it is possible that some items in both structures' living areas will be identical.

South Building, Room No. 1, Cheese-making Room (21' x 14'10")

Following its construction, probably in early 1871, this room functioned as quarters to Anson and Emmeline Winsor and their family after they moved from the East Cabin and until they moved into the North Building quarters in the summer of 1871. Thereafter, until the Winsors left Pipe Spring, Room No. 1 served, along with adjoining Room No. 2, as the area where creamery activities—i.e., butter- and cheese-making operations—took place. From 1877 to 1885, this room functioned as a room for workers and hired hands. The period of creamery use, 1871–77, is reflected in the plan. As such, the room should be uncluttered and reflect the neatness and cleanliness associated with its purpose. Because this room was generally less humid than the Spring Room, it is likely that certain perishable food items would have been stored in this room.

In the tables below, the phrase "conjectured presence based on comparative evidence" appears frequently. This indicates that no primary site-specific evidence was located to prove that the particular object was definitely used in a given room at Pipe Spring. However, such objects were used in other locations similar in function and time period to the buildings at Pipe Spring. This "comparative evidence" is listed, and in the absence of site-specific evidence, is used to justify the historical presence of certain objects.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Cheese Vat, Ralph's Oneida No. 5 (190-gallon capacity) or No. 6 (210-gallon capacity), covered, with wood heater, arranged two feet in from north wall and northeast corner, with heater at west end of unit and jointed stovepipe at east end flued into east wall fireplace chimney	*Deseret News,* December 20, 1871; Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; "Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company, Ledger B"; Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Table, 3' x 5', lengthwise against south wall in southwest corner	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 965 (currently located in room).
Cheese presses, two, single screw-type, with cheeses in place, on above table	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 769, 2331, and 1225 in room; reproduce cheeses.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Shelf, on north wall behind vat, with nails driven into front edge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Work table, 3' x 4', along north wall in northwest corner	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (copy style and finish of PISP 965).
Wood box, in southeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (4' x 2').
Cheese hoops, iron, two, on press table	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use items currently in room with presses, plus PISP 386.
Jars, stoneware (Eardley jars), two, medium size (for storing rennet), on northwest corner of work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Buckets, brass, six, in stacks, under northwest corner of work table	Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 2501 (currently in room) and PISP 335 (currently in storage).
Curd knife, perpendicular style, hanging on nail along shelf edge above vat	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Curd knife, horizontal style, hanging on nail along shelf edge above vat	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Shovel, wooden, for stirring curd and for moving cheeses, upright, leaning against west wall on northwest corner table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Scales, counter, on northwest corner table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Scale, platform, on floor against south wall west of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Stencil plates, ink, and brush, on northwest corner table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Curd scoop, tin, on shelf above vat	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Apron, on hook at south side of passageway to Room No. 2	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Account ledger, on northwest corner table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Press cheesecloth, 48" roll, on press table	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Milking pails, two, tinned iron, on floor at south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Strainer cloth, linen, 36" roll, on shelf above vat	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Thermometers, dairy, two, hanging from edge of shelf above vat	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bandage cloth, unbleached cotton, for wrapping cheese, on press table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Barrel of salt, 280 lbs., so marked; lidded, between northwest corner work table and vat	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Scoop, tinned, on barrel lid	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Measuring cup, tinned, on shelf above vat	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Scissors, large pair, atop stoneware jar on northwest corner work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Knife, on northwest corner work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Andirons, in fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. (Pair in Room No. 1 should go in bedroom.)
Kettle, iron, on hook in fireplace, for heating water	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 627. (currently located in room). (Add bar and hook in fireplace.)
Dipper, tinned, hanging from shelf edge above vat	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Milk cans, two, between press table and platform scale along south wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Stools, tall, two, one near east end of vat; one against west wall beside press table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Scrub brushes, two, on shelf above vat	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Oil lamp with chimney, on work table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire (and electrify).
Mop, leaning against south wall near doorway to Room No. 2	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bucket, galvanized, on floor next to mop near south wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Followers, (wooden discs used with the cheese press), on press table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1431, 1432, 2202 (currently located in room).
Tub, wood, shallow, beneath whey drain at north end of vat press table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pen, on northwest corner table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Ink bottle, earthenware, partly filled, on northwest corner table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Squashes, six, piled beneath northwest corner work table	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pumpkins, seven, piled beneath southwest corner table	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

South Building, Room No. 2, Spring Room (16' 10" x 14' 10")

Following its initial construction, this room functioned as a storage cellar where certain perishable foods were kept. After the Winsor family relocated to the North Building in mid-1871, the room, with its cooling facility provided by the troughed spring, served primarily a creamery capacity in conjunction with Room No. 1, and the butter-making operation likely principally occurred there.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Milk pan racks, two, freestanding; one along east wall near trough, one adjoining, toward center of room	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; interview of Mrs. Min Adams; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce to match existing reproduction in room.
Curing shelves, slatted, for cheeses, two, freestanding; one on either side of east wall doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Cheeses, 20, cloth-wrapped, pressed, and arranged on curing shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Work table, 6', along north wall west of doorway	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (copy style and finish of PISP 965 in Room No. 1).
Shelves, freestanding, against south wall between milk pan rack and slatted curing shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Blanchard churns, two, iron-crank, wooden, No. 4 (four-gallon capacity), and No. 5 (eight-gallon capacity); one adjacent to rack near spring trough and one in front of east wall shelves	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Dasher churn, in northeast corner in front of curing shelves	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 908 (currently located in room).
Milk strainers, two, on work table	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP xxo1-98 (currently located in Room No. 1); acquire one.
Milk skimmers, two, on work table	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce or acquire.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Milk pans, tin, six-quart capacity, 50, variously situated on cooling racks and stacked on east wall shelves	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; Heaps to unknown recipient; Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Jars, stoneware (Eardley jars), eight, lidded, arranged on east wall shelves	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Spoons, wooden, two, on work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Nails, arranged near ceiling along west wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hams, cured, three, wrapped, hanging from iron hooks in rafters	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Beef, butchered, two cured quarters, wrapped and hanging from pegs	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Butter molds, two (one with wheat sheaf decoration), on work table	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Barrel, lidded, purportedly containing pickled grapes, adjoining work table on north wall next to doorway	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1411 (currently located in room).
Potatoes, 36, in large open box, on floor in front of east wall curing rack, north of doorway to Room No. 1	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP xx5 (currently located in Room No. 1) plus 25 additional.
Stool, tall, wood, at work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Stool, short, two, wood, near Blanchard churns	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Oil lamp with chimney, on work table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire (and electrify).
Scrub brushes, two, on east wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Milk cans, two, near Blanchard churn near east wall, in front of cheese curing shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Salt, 140-lb. half barrel, so marked, next to barrel at east end of work table	"Winsor Castle Stock Growing Company Ledger B"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Annatto, bottle, on east wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Potash, two boxes, on east wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Sal Soda, two cans, on east wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Ladle, hanging from spike on east wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Apron, folded across stool in front of work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bowls, wooden, six, large sizes, stacked on south wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

South Building, Room No. 5, Bedroom (12′ 4″ x 15′)

During the Winsors' occupation, this room possibly served as a bedroom, perhaps for the two older girls, Emmeline and Phoebe. (Later uses after the Winsors left included as a sleeping room for cowboys and as a bedroom for polygamy wives.)

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Double bed, arranged lengthwise against south wall, toward southeast corner	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 291 (currently located in room).
Ticking, straw-filled, on bed	Cove Fort thesis; Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce tick; use futon for filling.
Quilt, on bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 2269 (currently located in room).
Pillows, two, in pillow cases, on bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use objects currently in room (no numbers).
Trunks, two, at foot of bed	Kane, *A Gentile Account;* conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 93 (currently located in room) and PISP 961 (currently located in Room No. 1).
Rug, large, braided rag, on floor	Cove Fort thesis; Dunford divorce action, 1876; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Curtains, white, one set, with rods, at window	"The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently in room.
Wardrobe, against north wall near northeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (example to be located).
Washstand, against west wall, south of doorway to Room No. 6	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Dunford divorce action, 1876 conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using example in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar).
Washbowl and pitcher set, ironstone, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire washbowl; use PISP 1150 (pitcher) (currently located in room).

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Mirror, framed, on wall above washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Quillen probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Heating stove, wood, with pipe, along east wall	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire bedroom wood stove; correct stove pipe; box with sand.
Wood box, against east wall, near north side of stove	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Poker, leaning against stove	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Ash shovel, leaning against stove	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Table, pedestal, in northwest corner of room	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using example in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar).
Chairs, wood- or rawhide-seated, two, one near washstand and one near front of fireplace	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 11264 (currently located in room); acquire or reproduce one similar to PISP 11264.
Lithograph, framed, George Washington, on south wall, above bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (HFC will provide).
Candle holder and candle, on table	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce, hogscraper iron style.
Book, *History of the United States*, on table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Shoes, ladies, pair, atop trunk	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Chamber pot, ironstone, at side of bed	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Broom, against wall in southwest corner	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Moss agate, two, on bureau	Kane, *A Gentile Account;* conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Indian basket, small, on bureau	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Towel rack, on wall north and adjacent to washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Towels, two, on towel rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Picture, framed, *Evangeline*, on west wall, above table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Comb and brush, on washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Soap dish, ironstone, with soap, on washstand	Richards diary, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Sponge, on washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Washcloths, two, on towel rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Floorcloth, green, 3' by 4', on floor in front of washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bucket, brass, on floor, north side of washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Wood strip, with nails, on south wall, west side of room	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
House dress, on nail of wood strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Petticoat, on nail of wood strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

South Building, Room No. 6, Bedroom (14' x 14' 10")

This room perhaps served as a bedroom, possibly for two of the Winsors' older boys, and is interpreted as such. (In later times it was successively a sleeping room for cowboys and a bedroom for polygamy wives.)

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Double lounge (Mormon couch), in extended mode, arranged against south wall, in southeast corner	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1704 (currently located in room).
Ticking, double-size, straw-filled, on lounge	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce tick; use futon for filling.
Sheets, on ticking	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Quilts, two; one covering lounge and one folded and placed at foot of lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 2269 (currently in room); acquire.
Pillows, in cases, two, at head of lounge	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Trunks, two, arranged along south wall toward southwest corner	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 962 (currently located in Room No. 2) and PISP 94 (currently located in Room No. 8).
Bureaus, two, upright, against west wall on either side of doorway	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using examples in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar), p. 75.
Chairs, two, wood-rawhide or rawhide seated; one in southwest corner, one along north wall between doorway and lounge	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (copy PISP 1264 currently located in Room No. 5).
Curtains, white, one set, with rods, at window and masking south wall door	"The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently in room.
Shirt, boy's, folded over back of chair near lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Picture, framed, fishing scene, on north wall, east of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Table, 3' x 5', in northeast corner	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Trousers, boy's, with suspenders, lying on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Stockings, boy's, black wool, on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Picture, framed, lithograph of dogs	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Books, *Roughing It* and *Innocents Abroad* by Mark Twain, on table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Seashells, two, on table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Shoes, boy's, two pairs, on floor near trunk at foot of lounge bed	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Chamber pot, ironstone, under lounge	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Carpet, large, braided rag, in center of floor	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Candle holder, iron, with candle, on table	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce hogscraper.
Indian pottery, several shards, on table	Kane, *A Gentile Account*, conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object in park collection.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Apple, half eaten, on chair in northwest corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Harmonica, on table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce or acquire.
Shirts, two, on nails	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Trousers, with suspenders, hanging on nails	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dipper, tin, hanging on spike on north wall, east side of entrance door	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.

South Building, Room No. 7, Telegraph Room (13' 5" x 15' 10")

Besides Rooms No. 1 and 2, Room No. 7, which served during the Winsor period as the telegraph room and operator's quarters, is the only one having a documented use to include several specified furnishings. (Many of these furnishings are already exhibited in Room No. 7.)

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Single lounge (Mormon couch), along south wall and southwest corner	Udall to Heaton; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using example in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar), p. 44, top.
Heating stove, wood, and pipe, along south wall, in sand box	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Trunk, against east wall, south of doorway	Udall to Heaton; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Table, pine, rectangular, small (approximately 2' x 3'), unpainted, along north wall	Udall to Heaton; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using example in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar), p. 75, top right.
Chairs, two, wood or rawhide-seated; one in southeast corner, one near above table	Udall to Heaton; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 189 (currently located in room; needs relacing); reproduce PISP 11264 (currently located in Room No. 5).
Telegraph key, sounder, relay units, and battery, arranged on table, with wire connected to outside terminal	Udall to Heaton; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Wood box, along west wall near stove	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 964 in room.
Carpets, braided rag, two, appropriately arranged on floor	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 729 and oval rug (no number) (both currently located in room).
Washstand, along west wall near northwest corner	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Washbowl and pitcher, ironstone, atop washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 918 (currently located in room); acquire pitcher.
Soap and soap dish, ironstone, on washstand	Richards diary, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Brush and comb set, on washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Mirror, framed, hanging from strip above window on north wall near washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 605 (currently located in room).
Pillow in pillow case, lying on end of lounge	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Sheet, on lounge made up as bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Quilt, on lounge made up as bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently located in room (no number).
Picture, framed, print of European pastoral scene, on south wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Bellows, small, lying on wood box	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Poker, leaning against wood box	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Ash shovel, leaning against base of stove	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Chamber pot, ironstone, under washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 994 (currently located in room).
Washcloth, on towel rack affixed to washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Towel, on towel rack affixed to washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Blanket, folded and placed on trunk	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Shoes, lady's, pair, on floor near trunk	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Broom, against wall in northeast corner	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dust pan, on floor leaning against east wall in northeast corner	"The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Picture, framed, of Abraham Lincoln, on east wall north of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Wastebasket, wicker, on floor near north wall, east of table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Paper sheets, three or four (two with writing) on table; several others crumpled in wastebasket	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pen, on telegraph table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Ink bottle, opened and partly filled, on telegraph table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire; reproduce ink.
Telegrapher's handbook, on chair near table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce cover.
Pencil, on table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Morse code chart, small, tacked to wall above telegraph table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Deseret News, copy, on lounge	"The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bonnet, woman's, black, on peg of pegboard strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Curtains, white, two sets, with rods, at windows	"The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use objects currently located in room.
Wardrobe, against east wall in southeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Clock, on north wall above telegraph table	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Shawl, woman's, on nail of board strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Oil lamp with chimney, on telegraph table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire and electrify.
Candle holder with candle, on chair along south wall	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1952 (currently located in room).
Matches, box, on telegraph table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Ticking, straw-filled, for lounge	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce ticking; use futon for filling.

North Building, Room No. 4, Kitchen (approximately 10′ 4″ x 14′ 10″) and Dining Area (approximately 10′ 9 1/2″ x 11′ 10″ [closet/stairway intrudes])

Room No. 4 functioned as the kitchen and dining area throughout the occupation of the Fort, a use apparent not only in the space, but in the physical presence of the fireplace, cooking stove flue, and built-in cupboard-style shelving on either side of the fireplace, as well as in inferences from the various accounts of Woolley family members. In the interpretation, it is assumed that several clothing items, along with articles related to bathing, laundry, and cleaning work, have been stored in the walk-in closet composing part of the north side of the room. Furthermore, the plan assumes that the east wall cupboard doors will be randomly opened and closed so that contents will be at least partly visible.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Kitchen stove, in front of fireplace, with **correct elbow pipe** flued into fireplace	Pulsipher inventory; Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence.	Use PISP 721 (currently located in room; top part is later addition and should be removed).
Dining room table, approximately five feet long, arranged lengthwise to room, in southwest corner	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1132 (currently located in room).
Chairs, eight, various patterns, placed around dining room table with backs to table	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 983, 983, 1021, 1022, 1146, 1147, 1148 (all currently located in room); also use PISP 1145 (currently located in Room No. 10).
Chairs, three, various patterns; backs against west wall in southwest corner	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce PISP 11264 (currently located Room No. 5).
Baby high chair, near dining table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Washstand, against north (closet) wall	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use reproduced object in room. (Replace hardware with wooden knobs and paint a documented color.)
Washbowls, two, tin on washstand	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bucket, iron, with ladle, on floor beside washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 628 (in park collection); acquire ladle.
Towel roller rack, on door beneath stairs	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently in room.
Towel, on roller	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Washcloths, three, on rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Soap dish, ironstone, with soap, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Mirror, small, framed, on wall above washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1800 (currently located in room).
Wood box, against north wall near northeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce (wood crate with stenciling).
Oilcloth, covering dining room table	Pulsipher inventory; Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Work table, large, along south wall east of doorway	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 906 (currently located in room).
Oilcloth, covering work table top	Pulsipher inventory; Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dutch oven, on work table	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 85 and 615 (bottom and top; currently in park collection).
Kettle, large iron, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	"Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L.M. Winsor"; Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Frying pans, three, of assorted sizes, one on stove; two on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bean pot, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 57 (currently located in room; redware jar).
Tea kettle, iron, on kitchen stove	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 907 (currently located in room).
Coffee pot, on kitchen stove	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1260 (in park collection).
Oil lamp with chimney, on dining room table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Oil lamp with chimney, on work table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire and electrify.
Coffee mill, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Plates, china, six, stacked on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 760, 761, 762, 1273, 11118, xx059 in room.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Glass tumblers, three, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Saucers, china, 10, stacked on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. Mixed from two sets.
China accessories, e.g., platters, teapots, gravy boats, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. Mixed from two sets.
Cups, china, six, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. Mixed from two sets.
Plates, china, eight, arranged face up on dining table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. Mixed from two sets.
Flatware, eight sets of wooden-handled knives and forks, and eight coin-silver or Britannia spoons, arranged on dining table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Clock, on fireplace mantle	Seegmiller probate auction, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Stone crocks, with lids, three, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 246 (currently located in room); acquire two.
Candle molds, tin, 12-candle size, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bible, small, on dining room table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Picture, country scene, framed, hanging from picture rail on west wall above chairs	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bowl, wooden, large, on work table	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bowls, wooden, six, stacked, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Colander, hanging from hook on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Lye, two boxes, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (HFC will provide).
Pepper sauce, two bottles, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire bottles; reproduce labels.
Shredded newspaper wands, for shooing flies, two, lying on chairs	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Baking soda, two cans, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rag carpets, small, two, one on floor near stove and one near doorway leading into Room No. 3 (parlor)	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use objects currently located in room (no numbers).
Window screens, cheesecloth, two, framed and placed at windows	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Curtains, plain linen, two sets, with rods, at windows	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use objects currently located in room.
Hat, man's felt, hanging on board strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Jacket, man's, hanging on board strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dough pans, four, tin, stacked on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Swab rags, three; one on work table, two hanging on board strip	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Stewed currants, six earthen jars, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using PISP 57 as a model (currently located in room).
Lard, two wooden pails, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Mustard, two jars, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877 conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Yeast powder, two cans, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Solomon diary, 1873; Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Carving knife, on work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Serving platter, ironstone, large, on work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP xx in room.
Serving bowls, ironstone, two; one on work table, one on dining room table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Candle holders, two, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce (hogscraper style).
Clothes irons, three; two on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace, one on shelf above fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1122, 1275, and 1279 (currently located in room).
Milk pans, six-quart size, three, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Bread, two loaves, on work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Box of various utensils, (various knives, meat forks, mixing spoons, ladles, whisks, and spatulas), on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire (utensils); reproduce (box).
Meat fork, on work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Flour sifter, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Potato masher, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Canisters, tin, lidded, set stenciled for sugar, flour, coffee, and tea, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce set.
Roasting pans, tin, four, stacked on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Pie plates, tin or earthenware, five, stacked on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Keg, small, marked "Molasses," on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Cove Fort thesis; Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Measuring cups, three, tin or copper, various sizes, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Match safe, tin or cast iron, with matches, on wall above work table	Solomon diary, 1873; Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bucket, wooden, on floor near entrance door	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Water pitcher, glass, on dining room table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Butter dish, china, on dining room table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Wooden cutlery tray, containing **flatware**, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Rolling pin, on work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1821 (currently located in room).
Funnel, tin, on built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Calendar, tin, on south wall, west of entrance door	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce that on p. 50 ¼, Dover Stamping Co., 1869 (copy at Denver Service Center).
Plates, tin, 10, stacked on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Turkey, roasted, partly cut for serving, on platter on work table	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Tumblers, glass, eight, upright on dining room table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Butter dishes, individual, small, eight, on dining room table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Saucers, four, on dining room table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire (Match sets described above in furnishings list for dining room/kitchen).
Cups, china, four, upright on saucers on dining room table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire (Match sets described above in furnishings list for dining room/kitchen).
Drinking water barrel, wooden, with lid, at end of work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bread pans, five, on built-in shelves on north side of fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Vase, glass or china, medium size, on dining room table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Flowers, assorted wild varieties, in vase	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Mousetrap, on floor in northeast corner, near wood box	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Candlesticks, two, brass or iron, on fireplace mantle	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Candles, two, partly burned, in candlesticks	Solomon diary, 1873; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Napkins, linen, eight, on dining room table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Carving fork, on work table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.

North Building, Room No. 3, Living Room (17′ 7 1/2″ x 14′ 10″)

Room No. 3 served as a living room, or parlor—a common social gathering place for the Fort's families and occupants—throughout its Mormon habitation and after. Documentary references affirm this use, notably those describing family activities in the various Woolley manuscript materials. The room has a mantled fireplace in its west wall, along with cupboard-style built-in shelving on either side of the fireplace similar to that in the kitchen.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Armchair, large, angled in front of fireplace	Woolley, "The Talking Woolleys"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire in style of example in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar), p. 65, and reupholster in black horsehair.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Footstool, in front of armchair	Woolley, "The Talking Woolleys"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Rocking chairs, two, with arms and headrests, angled to face fireplace	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 264 and 597 currently located in room (add detachable pillowed pads to headrests).
Cushions, two, 3-inch deep, for rocking chairs	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use objects currently in room (no numbers).
Tidies (antimacassars), six, crocheted, as appropriate for rocking chair and upholstered chair headrests	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Window screens, cheesecloth, two, framed and placed at windows	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Curtains, white lace, two sets, with rods, at windows	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use objects currently in room.
Clock, on fireplace mantle	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1243 (currently located in room).
Vases, china, matched pair, on mantle	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Indian basket, on mantle	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Indian pot, on mantle	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Picture, framed, large portrait of Brigham Young, on east wall north of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Carpet, braided rag, large, on floor	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently located in room (no number).
Desk, with writing surface opened, against east wall, south side of doorway into Room No. 4	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 196 (currently located in room).
Ink stand, iron and glass, on desk writing surface	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Pens, three; one lying on desk writing surface, two on desk shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Letter, partly written, on desk writing surface	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Papers, miscellaneous, 15, in desk slotted spaces	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Youth's Companion, two copies, folded and protruding from desk slotted spaces	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Chair, in front of desk	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce as in PISP 11264 (currently located in Room No. 5; total 3 chairs).
Lounge (Mormon couch), single, with cushions, along north wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 289 (currently located in room).
Table, pedestal, in center of room, behind chairs	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 916 (currently located in room).
Chair, child's, facing pedestal table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1262 (currently located in room).
Table, small, in northeast corner	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Doilies, crocheted, two; one on pedestal table, one on table in northeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Oil lamps with chimneys, three; on pedestal table, northeast corner table, and (small) on desk writing surface	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. Electrify that on desk.
Books, about 50, various novels, science books, and histories, arranged on three upper built-in shelves (left door open) on south side of fireplace. Bottom cabinet to remain closed. Both top and bottom cabinets on north side of fireplace to remain closed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. (Possible donation from Mormon Church?)
Books, about 10, church-related, including history of Mormonism, arranged on bottom built-in shelf on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bible, large, on table in northeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Deseret News, one copy, lying on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Photograph album, small, carte-visite size, on pedestal table	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Dolls, two, on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dancing man toy, on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently located in Room No. 10.
Harper's Magazine, eight copies, on upper built-in shelves on south side of fireplace	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Shawl, black, hanging from peg on pegboard strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Picture, framed, of St. George Temple, on north wall	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce. (Possible donation from Mormon Church?)

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Picture, framed, Mississippi River boating scene, on north wall	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Photo, tintype, large, framed, Anson and Emmeline Winsor, on west wall above mantle	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bonnet, girl's, black, hanging from nail on board strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Chair, back against east wall north of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use one from park collection.
Poetry book (e.g., poems of E. R. Snow), lying on seat of chair at east wall north of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Checkers game, with board and checkers, on floor in southwest quadrant of room	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Globe, on floor in southwest quadrant of room	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Stereopticon viewer, with stand, and 20 cards, on table in northeast corner	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Candlesticks, brass or glass, with candles, 2, on shelves on south side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Rifle, Winchester, lever action, leaning in southeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Rifle, Henry, leaning in southeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pistol, M1860 Army Colt conversion, in holster by door	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Belt and holster, hanging from nail by door	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Boxes of cartridges, three, on fireplace mantle	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

North Building, Room No. 10, Bedroom (26′ 9″ x 15′ 1″-inclusive space for Rooms Nos. 10 and 9 as shown on plat)

Room No. 10 presumably served as a bedroom for the Winsor parents. Because the partition creating Room No. 9, a westwardly adjoining bedroom, was not installed until approximately 1874, Room No. 10 is interpreted herewith as including that space, too. The single large bedroom existing prior to that time was likely occupied by the two younger Winsor girls, Mary Jane and Lucy Thankful, as well as by the parents. The stairway access intrudes into the north side of the room.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Double bed with ticking, for parents, head against east wall, southeast corner of room	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 190 (currently located in Room No. 7).

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Quilt, on parents' bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use either object currently located in Room No. 10 (no number).
Pillows, two, on parents' bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Heating stove, small, wood-burning, at center of room, with pipe flued into chimney	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire. Replace stove pipe with correct style and suspend with wire from ceiling. Add sand box.
Wood box, against north wall near northeast corner of room	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Double bed with ticking, for daughters, in southwest corner of room, head against west wall	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 770 (currently located in Room No. 8).
Blanket, on daughters' bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pillows, two, on daughters' bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Table, small, rectangular, toward northeast corner	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Doily, on table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Oil lamp with chimney, on table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire and electrify.
Chairs, two, one at table and one at parents' bed	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 891, 206 (currently located in PISP storage).
Poker and shovel, leaning against stove	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Dustpan and whisk broom, leaning against wall behind stove	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Rug, braided rag, small, on floor beside parents' bed	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 727 (currently located in Room No. 5).
Rugs, braided rag, two, small to medium size, on floor leading toward doorway to Room No. 8	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Bible, small, opened, on table by parents' bed	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Wardrobe, against north wall, east of door	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Chamber pot, ironstone, beneath parents' bed	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Child's desk and chair, in front of window near foot of daughters' bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 254 and 1145 (currently located in room).
Doll cradle, with doll, at foot of daughters' bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1266 and doll (no number) currently located in room.
Window screens, cheesecloth, three, framed and placed at windows	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Curtains, white lace, three sets, with strings, at windows	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use objects currently located in room.
Night stand, by parents' bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1710 (currently located in Room No. 7).
Chamber pot, ironstone, beneath daughters' bed	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Washstand, against south wall, west side of entrance door	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using example in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar).
Washbowl and pitcher, ironstone, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Soap dish, ironstone, with soap, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire soap dish; reproduce soap.
Bucket, wooden, at side of washstand	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Towels, two, on towel rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Washcloths, two, on towel rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bracketed shelf, with towel rack, above washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Mirror, stand-alone, on shelf	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Book, spelling/reading, on desk	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Slate, on desk	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Chalk, white, on desk	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Hairbrushes, two, on bracketed shelf	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Hairbrush, men's, on bracketed shelf	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Combs, two, on bracketed shelf	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dress, girl's, folded, on daughters' bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Shoes, girl's, two pairs, on floor next to daughters' bed	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Trunk, at north side of room against stairway	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1929 in park collection (needs top).
Chest, large wooden, with name, "Winsor," painted thereon, against stairway railing	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Suspenders, man's, hanging from nail on board strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Robe, woman's, hanging from nail on board strip	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Stockings, girl's, pair, black wool, lying on folded dress	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Portrait, framed, Jesus Christ, on east wall near northeast corner	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Picture, framed, lithograph, country scene of horses, on west wall, above daughters' bed headboard	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Portrait, framed, Joseph Smith, on west wall at head of stairs	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce (Possible donation by Mormon Church?).
Indian rug, tacked to north wall above stairs	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce (Hubbell?).
Pocket watch and chain on watch stand, on table by parents' bed	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Ladder for lookout, lying on floor against stairway railing, behind trunk and wooden chest	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Shaving utensils (razor, soap, brush, and cup), on washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Gun rack, wood, vertical, north wall near parents' bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

Rifle, 1868 breechloader, on gun rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Shotgun, on gun rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.

North Building, Room No. 8, Bedroom (12′ 7″ x 21′ 1″)

Room No. 8 evidently served as a spare bedroom for guests during the Winsor period and likely functioned in a storage capacity, and possibly as a sewing room, when visitors were not present.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Double lounge (Mormon couch), in contracted mode, along north wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Ticking, double-size, straw-filled, folded, on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce ticking; use futon for filling.
Sheets, folded, on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Quilt, folded, atop sheets on lounge	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently located in room (no number.
Pillows, without cases, two, on lounge	Dunford divorce action, 1876, conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rocking chair, in southeast corner	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 2339 (currently located in room).
Curtains, white lace, one set, on string, at window	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rugs, braided rag, two, small, on floor	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently in room (no number); acquire or reproduce.
Window screen, **cheesecloth**, framed and placed at window	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Washstand, centered against west wall	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; Woolley, "Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using example in Mormon furniture book.
Washbowl and pitcher, ironstone, on washstand	Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; Woolley, "Recollections of Florence Snow Woolley"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 772 and 773 (currently located in room).
Soap dish, ironstone, with soap, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire soap dish; reproduce soap.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Mirror, on wall above washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Sewing machine, along south wall in front of window	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Sewing basket, on floor beside machine	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Spooled thread, scissors, needles, thimbles, and sewing appurtenances, in sewing basket	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Petticoat, girl's, on sewing machine	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Towels, two	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Chamber pot, ironstone, on floor under edge of west end of lounge	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Picture, large, framed, pastoral scene with animals, on north wall	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Linen mat, ornamental, on washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Bucket, wooden, on floor at north edge of washstand	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.

Courtyard between North and South Buildings (40′ x 31′ 3″)

The courtyard, particularly the areas beneath the overhanging porches, seems to have served a storage purpose for various large items used for outdoor labors, although it is possible that parts of it also functioned as a children's play or recreation area. Probably such work as blacksmithing was performed outside the gates, possibly in the open or in structures raised for specific purposes in the vicinity of the fort. It is proposed to represent the courtyard principally as a storage area.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Wagon, partly beneath North Building porch overhang	Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object presently outside Winsor Castle (needs paint and maintenance).
Work table, 2′ x 8′, against North Building, beneath porch overhang	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use PISP 1224 (currently located in Room No. 2).
Barrel, wooden, lidded, for water, adjoining doorway to kitchen (Room No. 4, North Building)	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently in courtyard (no number).
Trash container, **barrel**, wooden, adjoining doorway to kitchen (Room No. 4, North Building	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Use object currently in courtyard (no number).
Wagon harness, hanging on peg on porch support post, North Building	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Hammer, mason's, for working stone, on work table	Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Chisels, for working stone, on work table	Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Drills, 10, miscellaneous sizes, on work table	Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Benches (for visitors), four, beneath porch overhangs, against North and South building walls, respectively	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using style in Mormon furniture book (Morningstar).
Fire buckets, leather, 10 hanging from nails above water barrels	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce using style in Mormon furniture book.
Tarpaulin, folded, on ground beneath porch overhang, South Building	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Saddles, three, hanging from ropes looped over nails on columns	Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire or reproduce.
Bridles, two, hanging together on peg on porch support post, South Building	Heaps to unknown recipient; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Brooms, two, leaning against North Building near doorway to Room No. 4	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Scythe and snath, leaning against west fort wall, northwest corner	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Grindstone, on frame, along north side of courtyard	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Acquire.
Wheel barrow, along south side of courtyard	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

East Cabin (HS-2)

If furnished, the reconstructed two-room East Cabin represents its 1870–71 temporary occupation by Anson Winsor, his wife Emmeline, and seven of their eight children (Anson, Jr., lived in the old Whitmore dugout). Because most items in the East Cabin would have been moved into Winsor Castle when it was completed, the items listed below should largely duplicate those in Winsor Castle and orders for certain reproduction items should thus be doubled; certain original items exhibited in Winsor Castle will be reproduced. Because of the lack of climate control, limited security, and inability to completely seal this building, no original artifacts should be used to furnish the East Cabin. Items from Winsor Castle to be duplicated are referenced under "Recommendation." Installation of barriers of tempered glass with aluminum frames will be required.

East Cabin, South Room (22′ 4″ x 11′ 10″)

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Double bed with tick for parents, in northwest corner with head against north wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Curtains, privacy, chintz, tacked at ceiling to surround open sides of parents' bed, but pulled back to show bed	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Double bed with tick, in north side of room, with head against west wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Double lounge (Mormon couch) with tick, in extended mode, in south side of room, lengthwise with one side next to west wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 8.
Single lounge (Mormon couch) with tick, in south side of room, lengthwise with one side next to east wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 3.
Trundle bed with tick, partly visible beneath parents' double bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Spikes, iron, along west wall above Mormon couch	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Spikes, iron, along west wall above double bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Tarpaulins, canvas, 2 or 3, stretched and tacked to form a ceiling	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Shelves, freestanding, adjoining north wall east of parents' bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 2.
Bureau, upright, against north wall between shelving unit and parents' bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 6.
Table, small, rectangular, on south side of room in space before fireplace	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Chairs, 2, arranged near table in south side of room	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Baby high chair, near table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Washstand, against east wall north of doorway (During warm periods of the year, the washstand and its appurtenances were probably placed outside the door.)	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 5.
Washbowl, ironstone, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 5.
Pitcher, ironstone, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 5.
Frame mirror, on wall above washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 5.
Chest, large wooden, with name, "Winsor," painted thereon, against east wall at northeast corner	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Trunk, against west wall between double beds	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 7.
Trunk, at foot of centermost double bed	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 6.
Trunk, at south end of Mormon couch adjoining west wall	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 6.
Trunk, at south end of Mormon couch adjoining east wall	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 5.
Water barrel, outside by door	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Spikes for towels, iron, on south wall next to washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bar of soap, on washstand	Richards diary, 1876; Cove Fork purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Andirons, pair, for fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in South Building, Room No. 1.
Poker, leaning against fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 5.
Oil lamp, with chimney, on table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 7.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Candle holder with candle, on table	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 7.
Candle holder with candle, on bureau	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Knitted cover, on parents' double bed	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Blanket, folded on parents' double bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Quilt, on other double bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Blanket, folded on double bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 7.
Quilt, on trundle bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 7.
Quilt, on Mormon couch against west wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 6.
Quilt, on Mormon couch against east wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 6.
Blankets, three, folded and stacked on north wall shelves	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Sheets, linen, six, folded and stacked on north wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pillows, two, on parents' double bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pillows, three, on double bed	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pillows, two, on Mormon couch against west wall	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pillow, on Mormon couch against east wall	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Book of Mormon, on table	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Wood box, against wall on west side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Curtains, white, at windows	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Water dipper, tin, hanging from nail on east wall near washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Portrait, Jesus Christ, painting or lithograph, on west wall, between double beds	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Stockings, pair, black wool knit, lying on Mormon couch against west wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hooks, on north wall, above parents' double bed, to hold rifle	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rifle, lever action, on hooks on north wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 3.
Rifle ammunition, three looses boxes, on north wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rifle ammunition, wooden crate, on north wall bottom shelf	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Clock, on north wall shelves	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 3.
Combs, two, on washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hairbrushes, two, on washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hats, two, felt, on north wall shelves	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Boots, leather, pair, on floor at north end of Mormon couch against east wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Boots, leather, pair, on floor on south side of parents' double bed, near foot	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Chamber pot, ironstone, on floor beneath parents' double bed, near foot	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Candles, wood box, on north wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Work shirt, man's, hanging from peg strip on west wall above Mormon couch	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hat, man's, hanging from peg strip on west wall above Mormon couch	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Coats, girls', two, hanging from peg strip on west wall above double bed	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rocking chair, near table, facing fireplace	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 8.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Rug, woven/braided, in west end of room, with **straw matting** beneath	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Towels, two, on spike hangers adjoining washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

East Cabin, North Room (24′ 10″ x 14′ 2″)

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Dining table, approximately five feet long, arranged lengthwise in center of room	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Pulsipher inventory; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Shelving, freestanding, with curtains, against wall to right of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Shelving, freestanding, with curtains, against wall to left of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Wooden chairs, nine, arranged around table, of two or three patterns	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Spikes, iron, six, on wall near ceiling on interior right side of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Spikes, iron, 10, on south wall near ceiling, near southeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Kitchen work table, on east wall, southeast corner, near window	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Washstand, against south wall, near southeast corner	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Water barrel, outside near door	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Trunk, against west wall center	Kane, *A Gentile Account;* conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 5.
Packing crate, turned upside down, near west wall, toward southwest corner of room	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Crates, small wooden (two), arranged as chairs near packing crate	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rocking chair, between west wall and north end of dining table	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 3.
Packing box, arranged on end with shelving, along west wall toward north end	Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Curtains, white, at windows	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Oilcloth, covering dining table	Pulsipher inventory; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dutch oven, on kitchen work table	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Kettle, large iron, hanging on hook in fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; "Material on Pipe Springs [*sic*] furnished by Mr. L.M. Winsor"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Frying pans, three, of assorted sizes, on shelves adjoining fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Bean pot, on shelves adjoining fireplace, left side	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Tea kettle, iron, on kitchen work table	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Coffee pot, on shelves adjoining fireplace, left side	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Broom, leaning against west wall, north end	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Oil lamp with chimney, on dining room table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Oil lamp (no chimney), on packing crate table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Candle holders, with candles, two, on packing crate table	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Coffee mill, on shelves adjoining fireplace, left side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Tumblers, glass, 15, arranged on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Cups, china, 10, arranged in packing box china closet	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Saucers, china, 10, stacked in packing box china closet	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Plates, china, 15, stacked on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Wooden box for knives, forks, and spoons, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877 (silverware); conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Coffee, bag, on floor against west wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Flour, bag, on floor against west wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dried apples, box, on floor against west wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Vegetable dish, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Lye, box, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Bowls, wooden, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Crocks, stone, on shelves adjoining fireplace, left side	Cove Fort thesis; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Plates, tin 10, on shelves adjoining fireplace, left side	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 4.
Pepper sauce, bottle, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Lard, two wooden pails, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Mustard, jar, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Washboard, on shelves adjoining fireplace, right side	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Towels, two, on spikes above washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Rack for rifles, on south wall, about center and five feet from floor	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Percussion cap rifles or shotguns, two, on rack	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Rooms 3 and 10.
Newspaper, period, opened on dining table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Globe, on dining table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Candle holder with candle (lighted), on dining table	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dolls, two, on rocking chair	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Buckets, wooden, two, stacked near west wall, south end	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Clock, hanging on west wall between trunk and packing box china closet	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Mirror, framed, on south wall above washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Quillen probate action, 1880; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Bar soap, on washstand	Richards diary, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Washbowl and pitcher, ironstone, on washstand	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in South Building, Room No. 7.
Comb, on washstand	Dunford probate action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 10.
Hairbrush, on washstand	Dunford probate action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Yeast powder, can, on shelving adjoining fireplace, right side	Solomon diary, 1873; Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Corn meal, bag, on floor against west wall	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Candle mold, tin, on shelves adjoining fireplace, left side	Richards diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Pen, on dining table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 7.
Ink bottle, opened, on dining table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in South Building, Room No. 7.
Bible, on dining table	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 4.
Portrait, Brigham Young, lithograph, on west wall, south half	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate item in North Building, Room No. 3.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Tub, wooden, large, for multipurpose use (bathing, laundry, etc.), on floor in area of west wall, north corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rugs, woven/braided, four, arranged on floor throughout room, with **straw matting** beneath	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate two items in North Building, Room No. 8. Reproduce two others.
Oilcloth, strip 12 feet by 4 feet, arranged as carpet across north (kitchen) end of room	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hats, two, men's, on spikes on east wall, right of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Coats/jackets, three, girls', on spikes on east wall, right of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Coats, heavy, two, men's, on spikes on south wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hats, two, men's, on spikes on east wall, right of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Slate with chalk, on small wooden crate	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Duplicate items in North Building, Room No. 10.
Shawl, on rocking chair	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Sewing kit with pin cushion, on dining table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Lanterns, two, candle type, on ceiling hook and on spike on south wall east of door	Solomon diary, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

Breezeway between East Cabin Rooms (9'1" x approximately 13' 4")

The breezeway was built with the North Room, although its precise use is not known. It is likely that materials were stored there, and it could also have served as a play area for the children. For interpretive purposes, it is proposed to represent the breezeway as a storage area.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Trunks, five, assorted sizes	Kane, *A Gentile Account;* conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Packing crates, six, assorted sizes, some stenciled to identify contents, e.g., "Laundry Soap," etc.	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Tarpaulin, partly covering trunks and crates, yet arranged so that these objects can be observed	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

West Cabin (HS-3)

If furnished, the restored/reconstructed two-room West Cabin will reflect its occupation by workers, including Francis Squires, Elisha Averett, and Graham McDonald, and an estimated two additional unidentified workers/cowboys during the period 1872–73 after John R. Young and his wives and children had departed in about mid-1872. The building apparently consisted of a bunkhouse (west room) and a kitchen/dining room (east room). Because of the lack of climate control, limited security, and inability to completely seal this building, no original artifacts should be used to furnish the West Cabin. Installation of barriers of tempered glass with aluminum frames will be required. The accompanying historical photos (Illustrations No. 14, 15, and 16) give an idea as to how this building, properly furnished, should appear.

West Cabin, West Room (21′ 4″ x 15′)

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Bunk bed, single-tiered, rough-hewn wood, rope strung, in southwest corner, head against west wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bunk bed, single-tiered, rough-hewn wood, rope strung, head against west wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bunk bed, single-tiered rough-hewn wood, rope strung, head against west wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bunk bed, double-tiered, rough-hewn wood, in northwest corner, rope strung, head against west wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bunk bed, single-tiered, rough-hewn wood, rope strung, arranged lengthwise against north wall in east side of room	Conjectured presence based on omparative evidence	Reproduce.
Table, medium size, in middle of east side of room	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Chairs, 3, various, rawhide or wood seats, 1 each against north wall, at table, and near fireplace	Seegmiller probate action, 1878; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Stools, 2, near table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Trunks, 5, various sizes, 3 arranged at foot of bunks, 1 against south wall near southwest corner, 1 against north wall near northeast corner	Kane, *A Gentile Account;* conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Candleholders with candles, 3, 2 on trunks, 1 on table	Cove Fort thesis; Kane, *A Gentile Account*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Mattresses, 6, various patterns, for bunks. That for single bunk against north wall to be doubled on bunk, as for inactive use	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Blankets, 5, wool, various colors and patterns, arranged on bunks	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Pillows, 6, arranged on bunks	Dunford divorce action, 1876; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Lanterns, candle type, 2, with 1 on table and 1 hanging from spike near door	Solomon diary, 1873; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Boots, 2 pairs, on floor near bunks and trunks	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Spikes, 8, driven into support posts	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Toolbox, on floor, east of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Jackets, men's, 2, hanging on spikes	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Cowboy hats, 2, 1 on bunk and 1 hanging from spike	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Saddle blanket, bunched beneath saddle on floor at foot of support post	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Saddles, 2, 1 on saddle blanket (above), leaning against support post, 1 set on chair near table	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Hair ropes, 2, hanging from spike on support post	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Bridle, hanging from spike on support post	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Wood box, adjoining north side of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dipper, metal, hanging from spike on support post	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Rifled musket, percussion cap, 1860s vintage, leaning against east wall near doorway to east room	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Tarpaulins, canvas 2 or 3, stretched and tacked to form a ceiling	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

West Cabin, East Room (18'4" x 14' 9")

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Kitchen work table, along north wall in northwest corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Work table, center of room facing fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Dining table, approximately five feet long, centered in east side of room lengthwise with east wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Shelves, freestanding, adjoining work table along north wall	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Chairs, wooden, six, various common patterns, arranged around dining table	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Wood box, at south end of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Tub, wooden, for laundry and bathing, against north wall toward northeast corner	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Shelves, freestanding, along east wall north of window	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Washstand, against south wall east of doorway	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Water bowl, large pottery, on washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pitcher, pottery, on washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Soap dish, bar type, on washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Soap, bar, in soap dish	Richards diary, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Spikes, four, in wall above washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Towels, three, hanging on spikes	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Washcloths, three, hanging on spikes with towels	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Spikes, three, arranged around upper part of southernmost support post	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Slicker, yellow, hanging on support post	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Andirons, pair, for fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Water barrel, east of doorway adjoining washstand	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Oilcloth, covering dining table	Pulsipher inventory; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dutch oven, on work table before fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Frying pans, three, on north wall shelves	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Coffee pots, two, on dining table	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Broom, leaning against southeast corner wall	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Kettle, large, hanging in fireplace	Woolley, "Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story"; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Oil lamp with chimney, 2, one on dining room table, one on work table before fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Coffee mill, on north wall shelves	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Cups, seven, pint-size, on north wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Plates, 10, tin, on north wall shelves	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Box for knives, forks, and spoons, on north wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Pans, iron, three of various sizes, on north wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Baking powder, two cans, on east wall shelves	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Mirror, framed, on south wall above washstand	Dunford divorce action, 1876; Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Coffee, in two sacks, on east wall shelves	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Gauntlets, pair, on dining table	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Jars, stoneware, three, on east wall shelves	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Dried apples, box, on floor near east wall shelves	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Lasso, coiled, hanging on support post, over slicker	Dilworth Woolley interview, 1967; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

OBJECT AND LOCATION	EVIDENCE	RECOMMENDATION
Molasses, can, on east wall shelves	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Tongs, leaning against fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Broom, small, leaning against fireplace	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Scraper, near front of fireplace	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Sugar, in cloth bag, on east wall shelves	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Washboard, against north wall near wooden tub	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Concertina (small accordion), on dining table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Fiddle, on dining table	Conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Flour, bag, on floor at foot of east wall shelves	Cove Fort purchases, 1877; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Black powder, small can, on east wall shelves	Solomon diary, 1873; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.
Tarpaulins, canvas, 2 or 3, stretched and tacked to form a ceiling	Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*; conjectured presence based on comparative evidence	Reproduce.

Illustrations

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Figure 14 Interior of a wolfer's cabin.

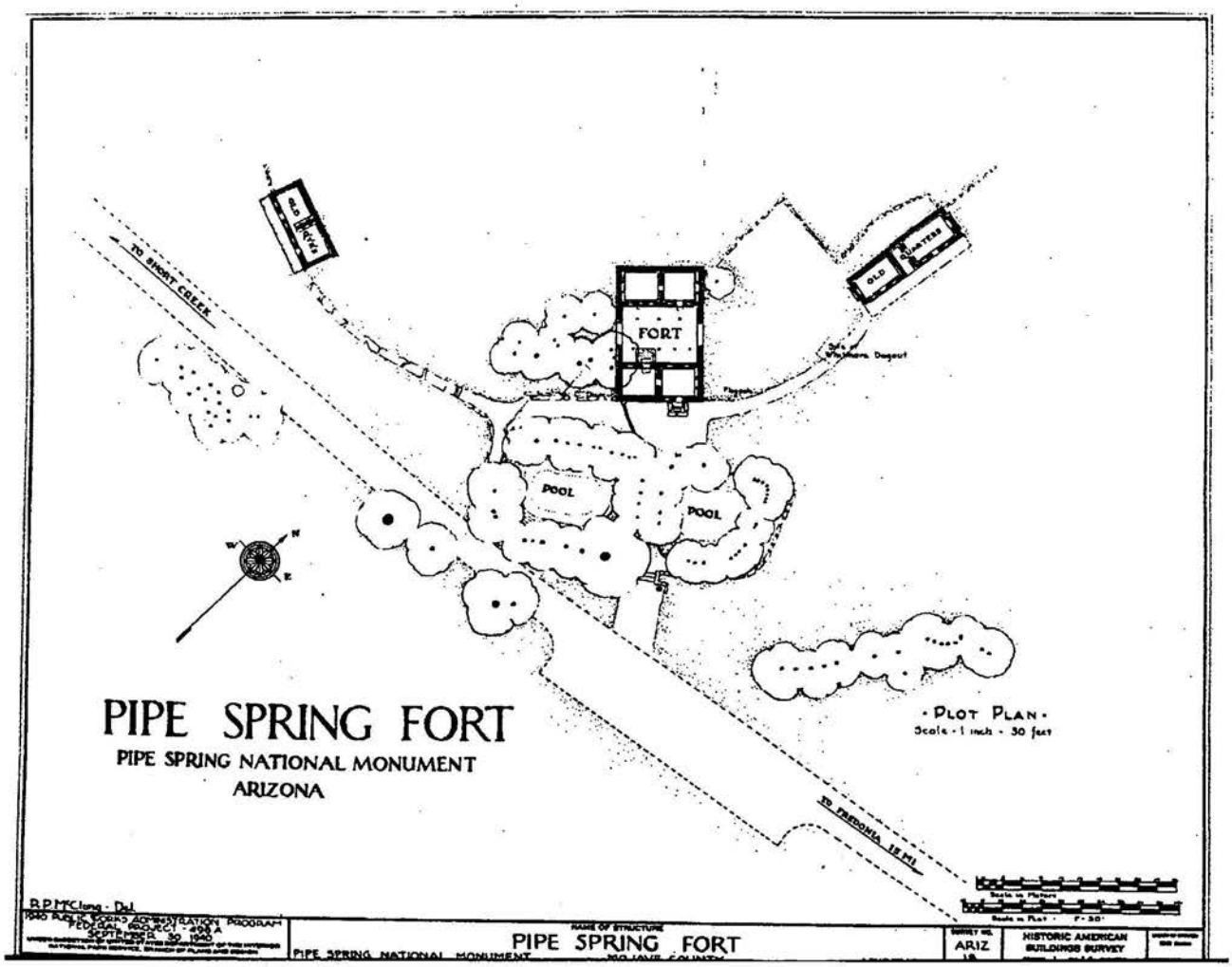
Figure 15 Interior of a line camp.

Figure 16 Interior of a ranch.

Figure 17 A cowboy's bunk.

Illustrations with Captions

84 **Figure 1** Diagram layout of resources, Pipe Spring National Monument, as specified on sheet 1, "Pipe Spring Fort, Pipe Spring National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona."
Historic American Buildings Survey, Survey No. 18, Public Works Administration Program, Federal Project 498A, September 30, 1940. 14 sheets.


TO SHUNT CREEK
OLD BARNS
FORT
OLD QUARTERS
POOL
POOL
TO FREDONIA 18 MI.
PIPE SPRING FORT
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
ARIZONA
PLOT PLAN
Scale - 1 inch - 30 feet
PIPE SPRING FORT
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
ARIZ
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

86 **Figure 2** Anson Perry Winsor and his wife, Emmeline, circa 1870.
Courtesy of Pipe Spring National Monument.

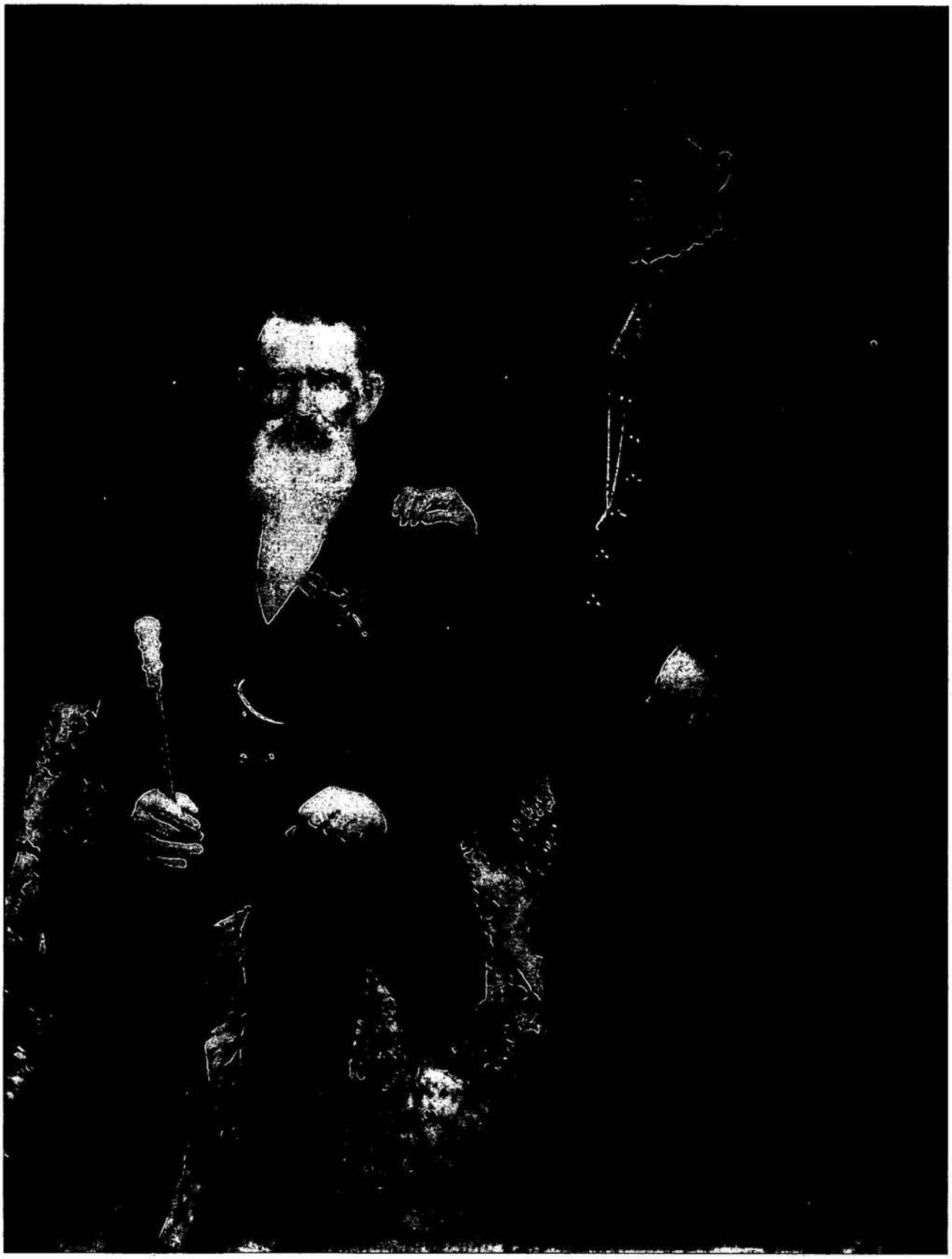


Figure 3 Florence ("Flora") Woolley.
Courtesy of L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.



Figure 4 Edwin D. Woolley.
Courtesy of L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

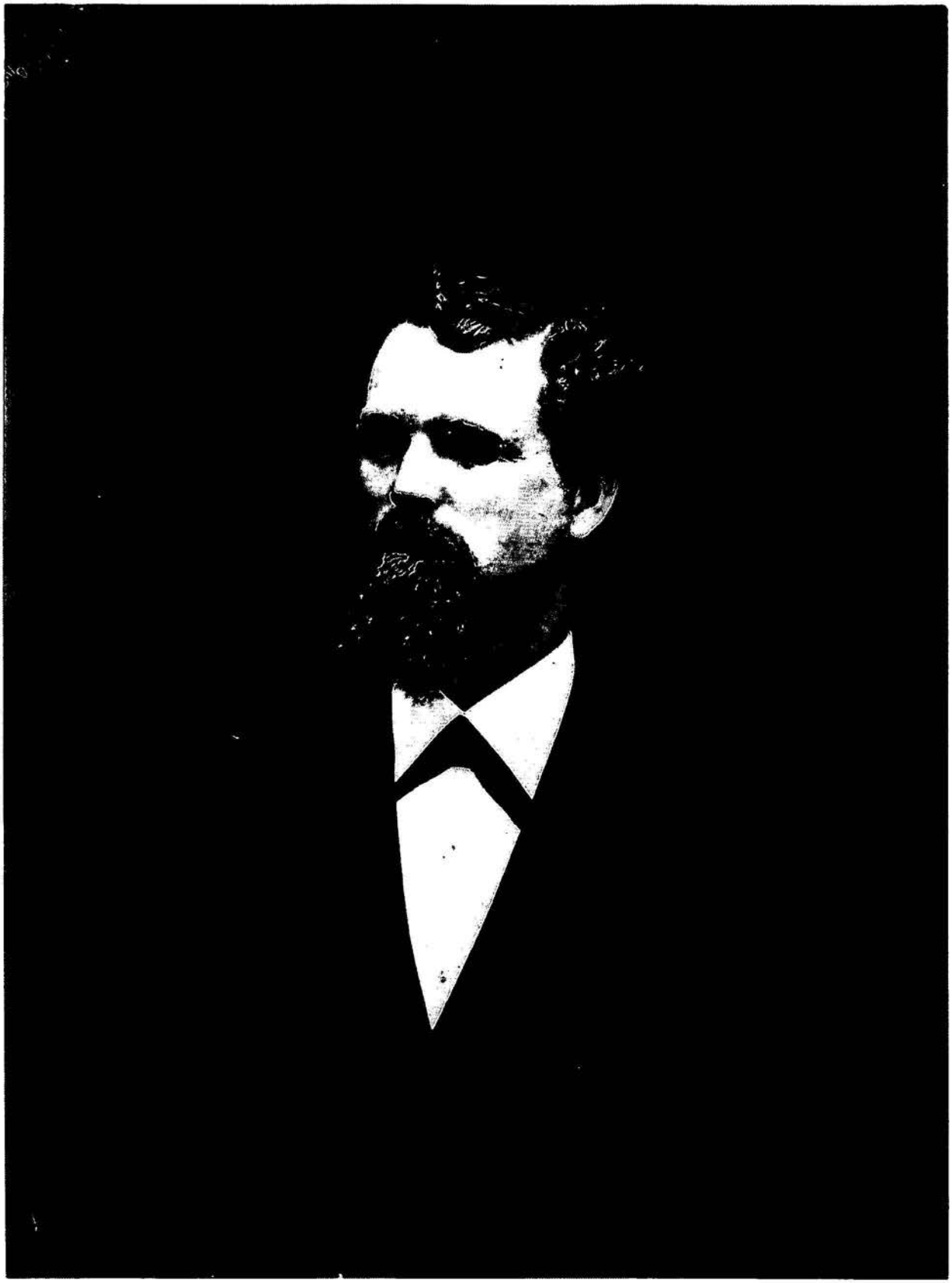


Figure 5 Winsor Castle as it appeared in 1891, with gates removed. Flora Woolley is third from the left, wearing white apron. Edwin Woolley stands in front, with carriage in background.
Courtesy of L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

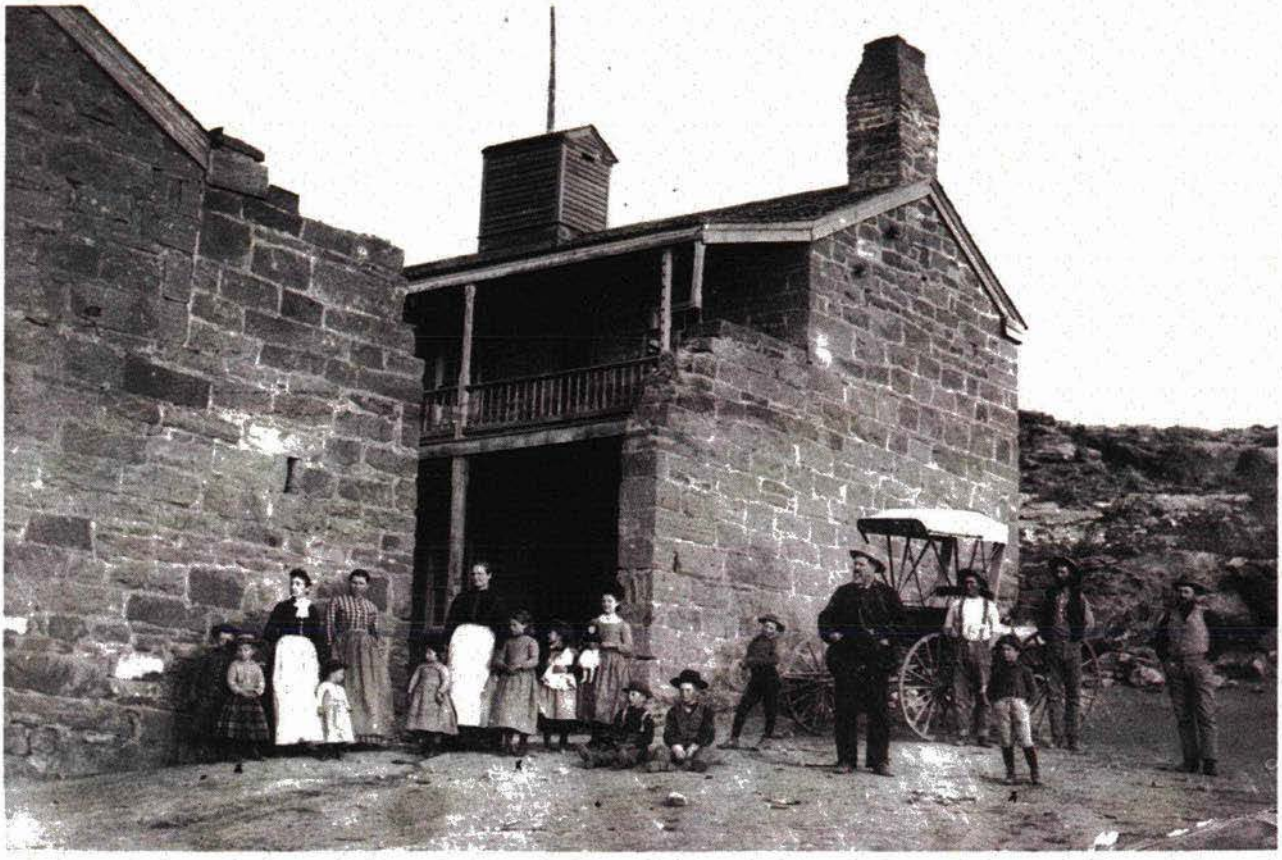
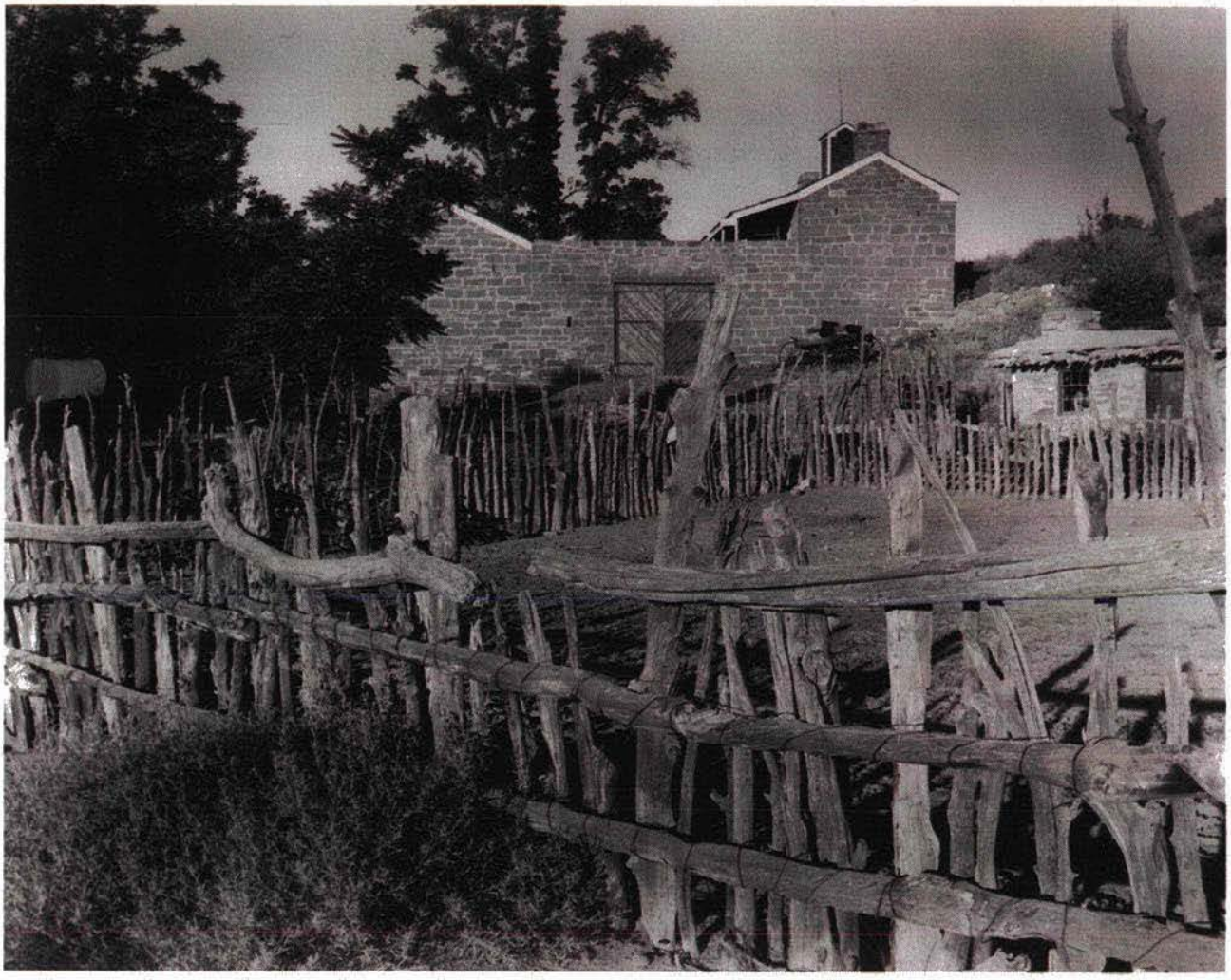
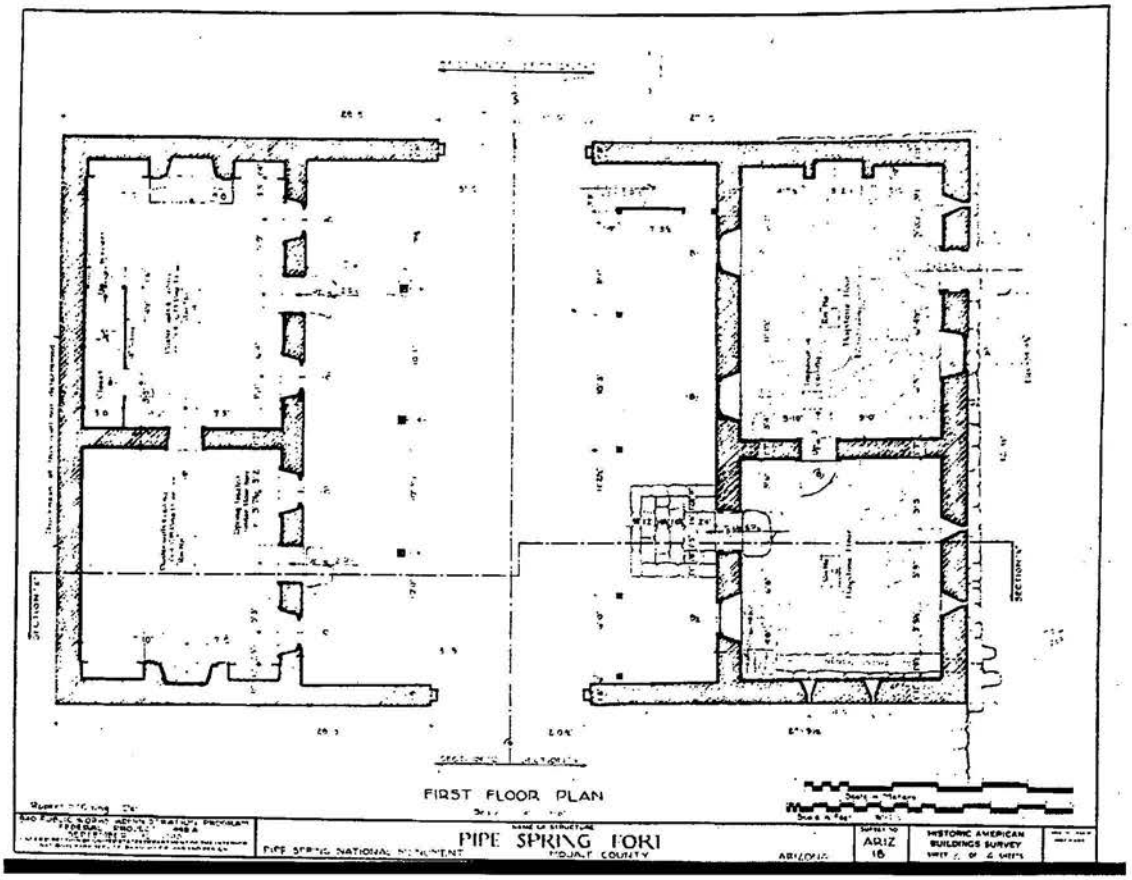


Figure 6 A modern view of Winsor Castle. Part of the reconstructed/restored East Cabin can be seen at the right.
Courtesy of Pipe Spring National Monument.



PIPE SPRING NM: WINSOR CASTLE, EAST CABIN, AND WEST CABIN

Figure 7 Room diagrams of Winsor Castle, as specified on sheets 2 and 3, "Pipe Spring Fort, Pipe Spring National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona." *Historic American Buildings Survey, Survey No. 18, Public Works Administration Program, Federal Project 498A, September 30, 1940. 14 sheets.*


FIRST FLOOR PLAN
PIPE SPRING FORT
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
MOHAVE COUNTY
ARIZONA
ARIZ 16
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

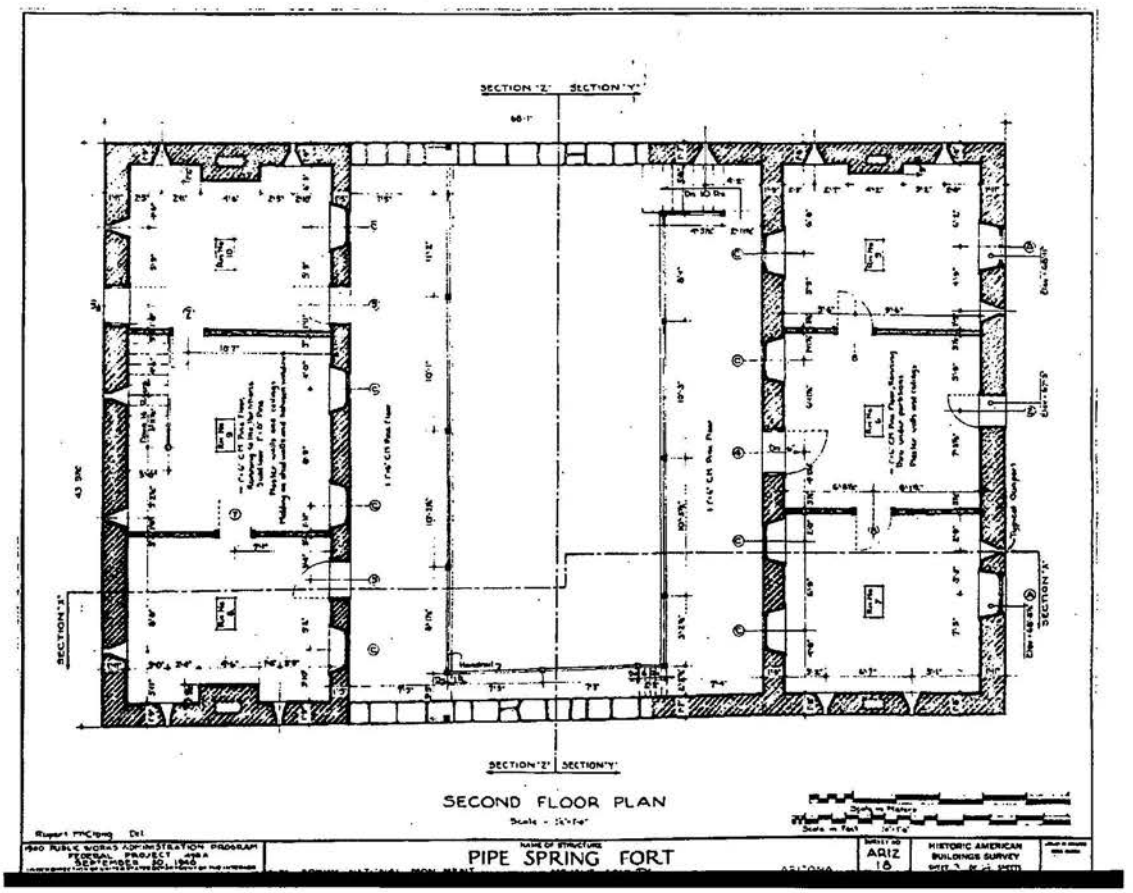

SECTION "Z"
SECTION "Y"
SECOND FLOOR PLAN
PIPE SPRING FORT
ARIZONA
ARIZ 16
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

Figure 8 The reconstructed/restored East Cabin today.

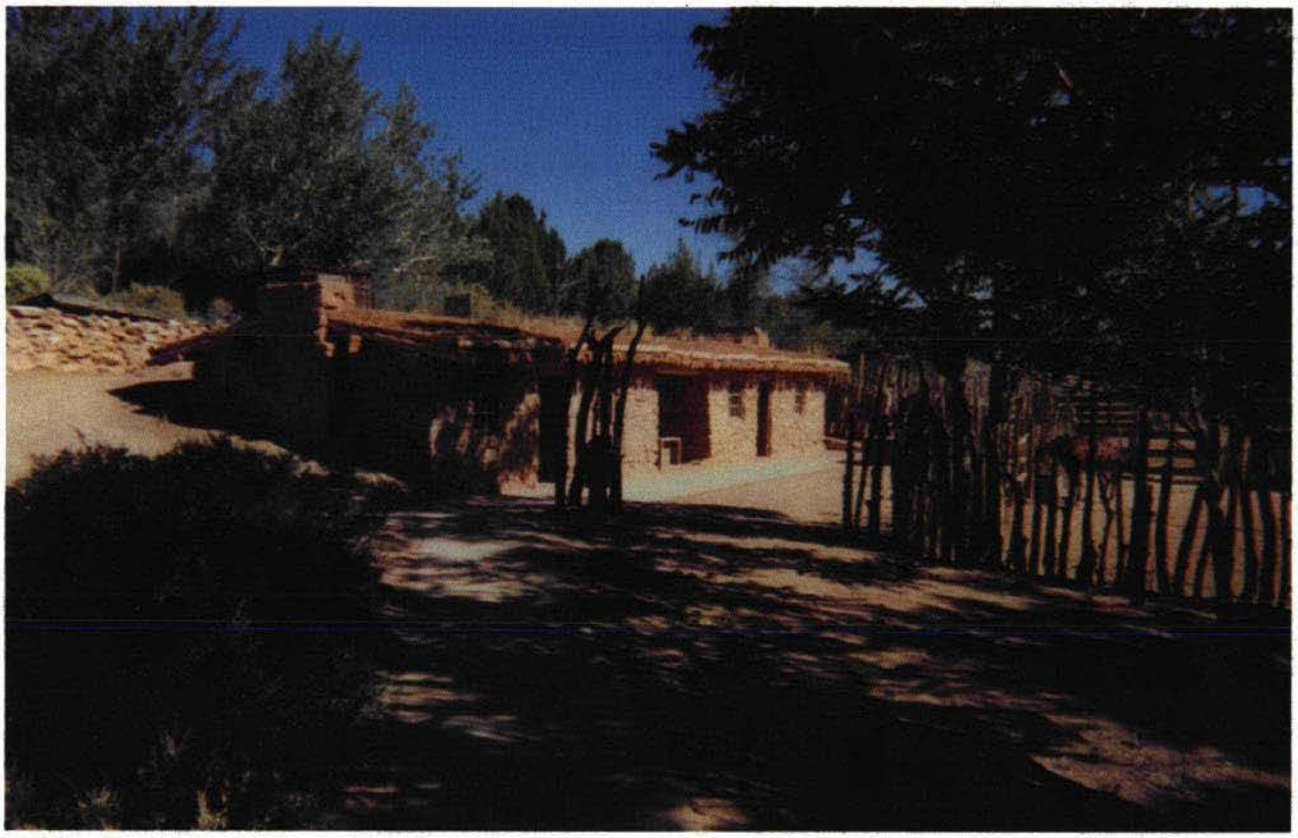


Figure 9 Room diagrams of East Cabin (HS-2), as specified on sheet 14, "Pipe Spring Fort, Pipe Spring National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona." *Historic American Buildings Survey, Survey No. 18, Public Works Administration Program, Federal Project 498A, September 30, 1940. 14 sheets.*

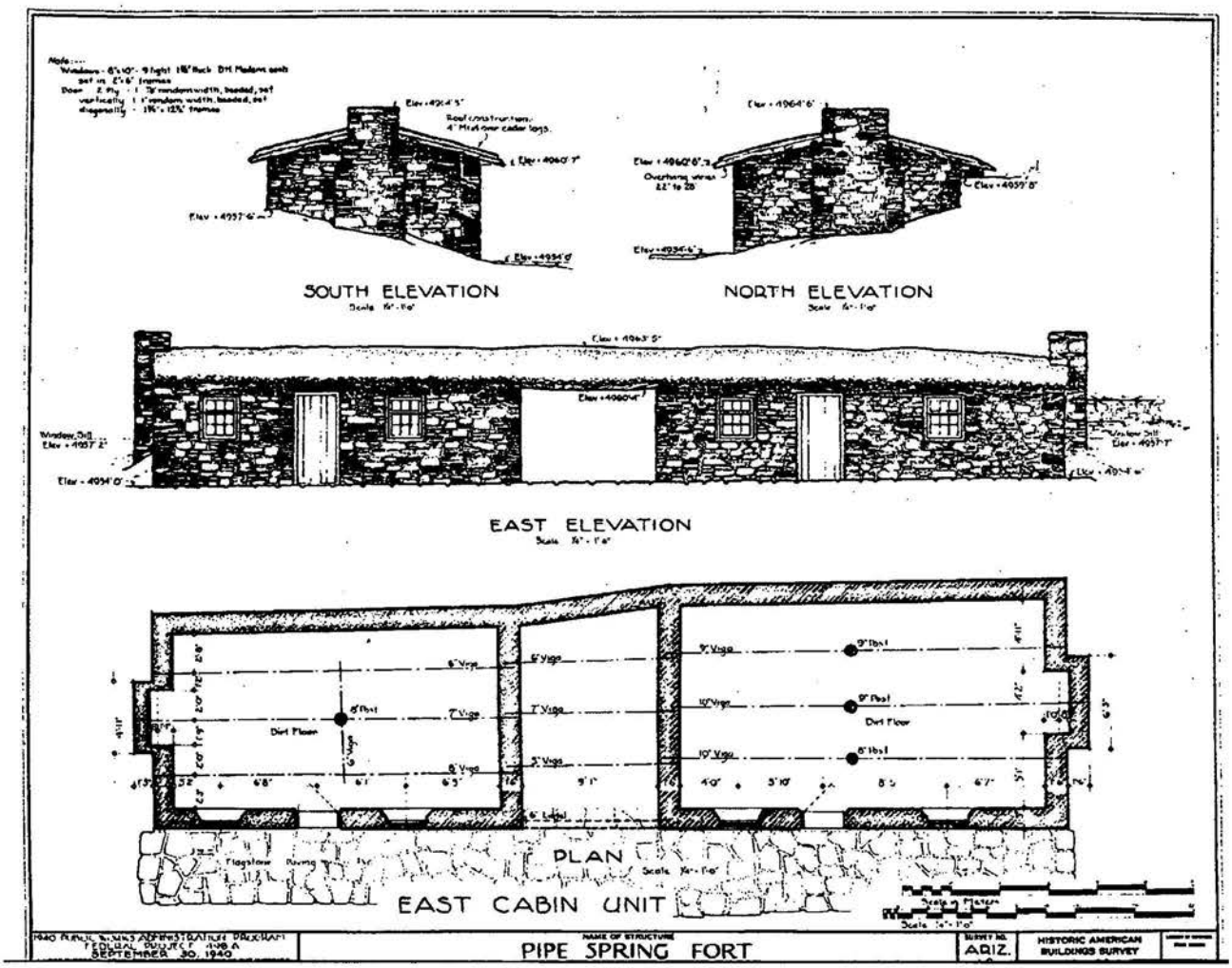

SOUTH ELEVATION
NORTH ELEVATION
EAST ELEVATION
PLAN
EAST CABIN UNIT
PIPE SPRING FORT
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

Figure 10 The reconstructed/restored West Cabin today.

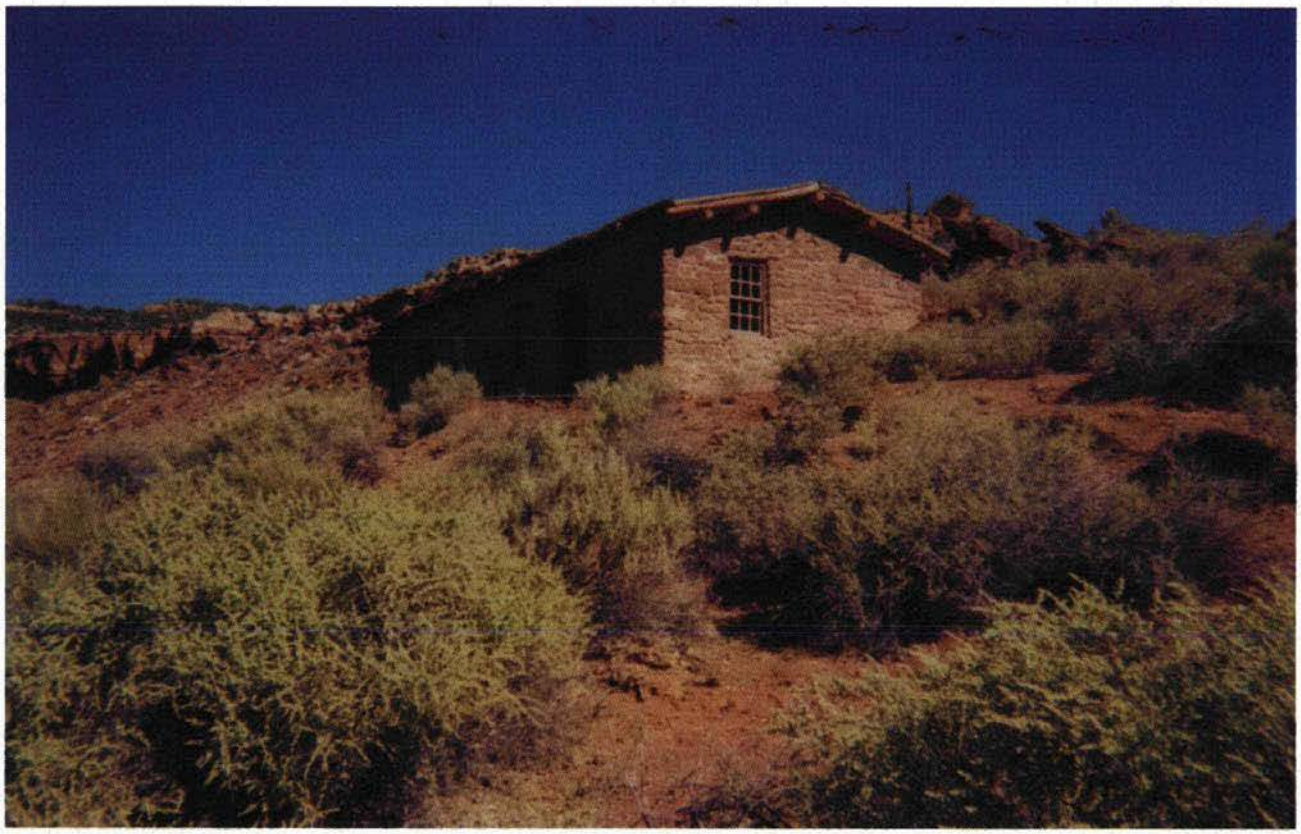


Figure 11 Room diagrams of West Cabin (HS-3), as specified on sheet 13, "Pipe Spring Fort, Pipe Spring National Monument, Mohave County, Arizona." *Historic American Buildings Survey, Survey No. 18, Public Works Administration Program, Federal Project 498A, September 30, 1940. 14 sheets.*

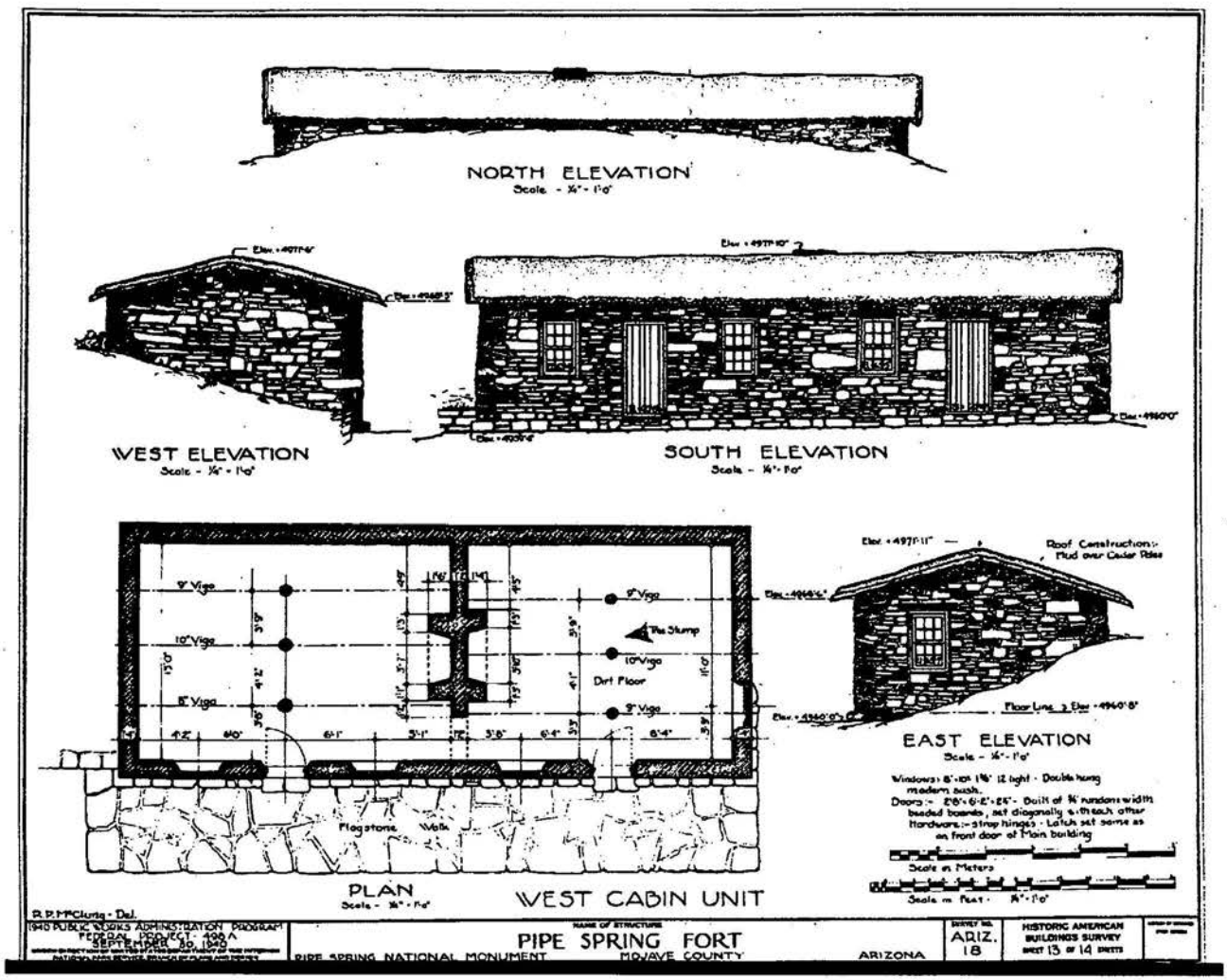

NORTH ELEVATION
Scale - ¼" = 1'0"
WEST ELEVATION
Scale - ¼" = 1'0"
SOUTH ELEVATION
Scale - ¼" = 1'0"
PLAN
Scale - ¼" = 1'0"
WEST CABIN UNIT
EAST ELEVATION
Scale - ¼" = 1'0"
Roof Construction:- Mud over Cedar Poles
Pine Stump
Dirt Floor
Flagstone Walk
Scale in Meters
Scale in Feet - ¼" = 1'0"
P. P. McClurg - Del.
1940 PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM
FEDERAL PROJECT - 499A
SEPTEMBER 30, 1940
NAME OF STRUCTURE
PIPE SPRING FORT
PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT
MOHAVE COUNTY
ARIZONA
SURVEY NO.
ARIZ. 18
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
SHEET 13 OF 14 SHEETS

Figure 12 Ralph's Oneida No. 2 cheese vat, 1863.
From McMurry, Transforming Rural Life, *1995, citing* Annual Registry of Rural Affairs, *1863.*

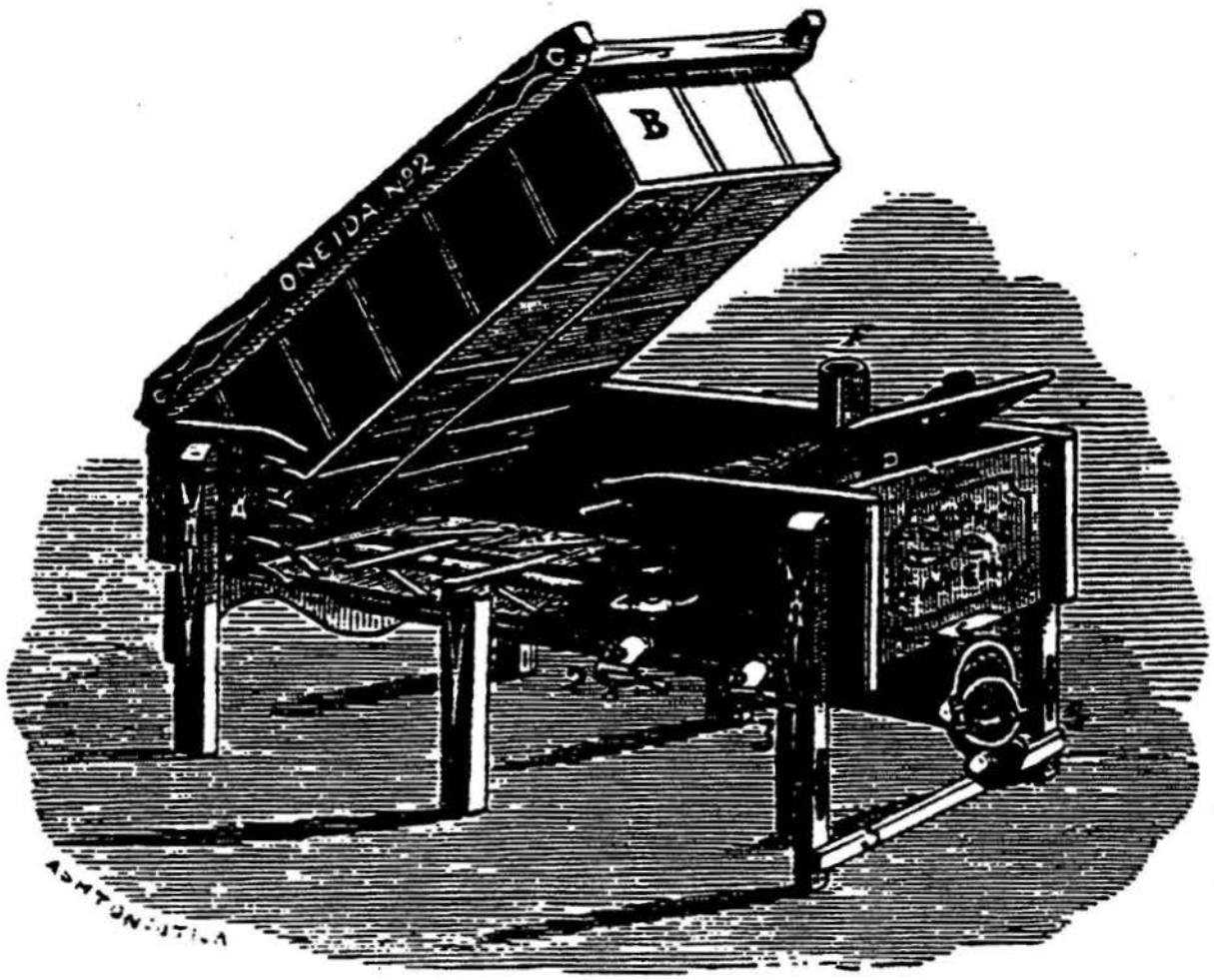

B
ONEIDA No2

Figure 13 The Blanchard churn.
From Arnold, American Dairying, *1876.*

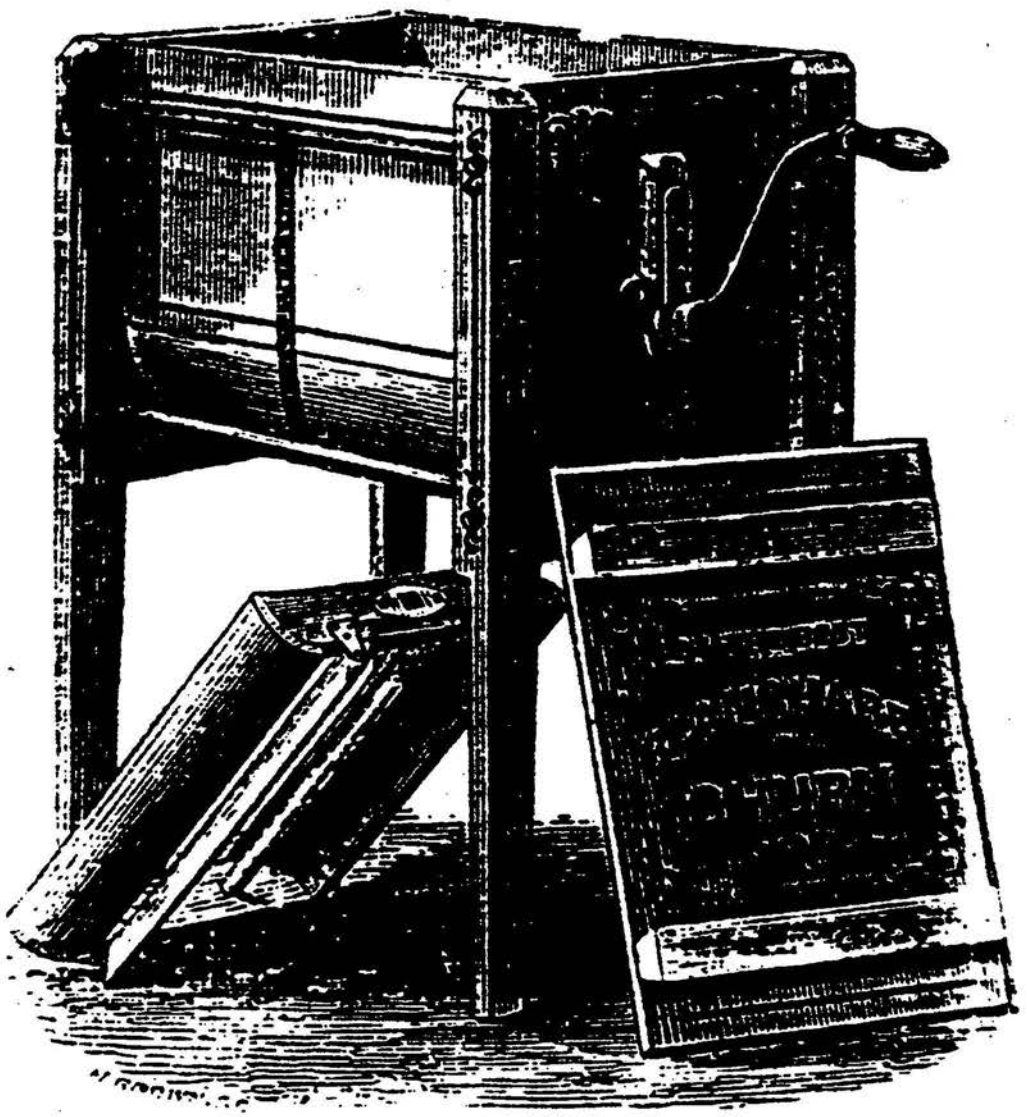


Figure 14 "Interior of a wolfer's cabin in the breaks of the Missouri," ca. 1870s, as photographed by L. A. Huffman.
Courtesy of the Montana Historical Society.

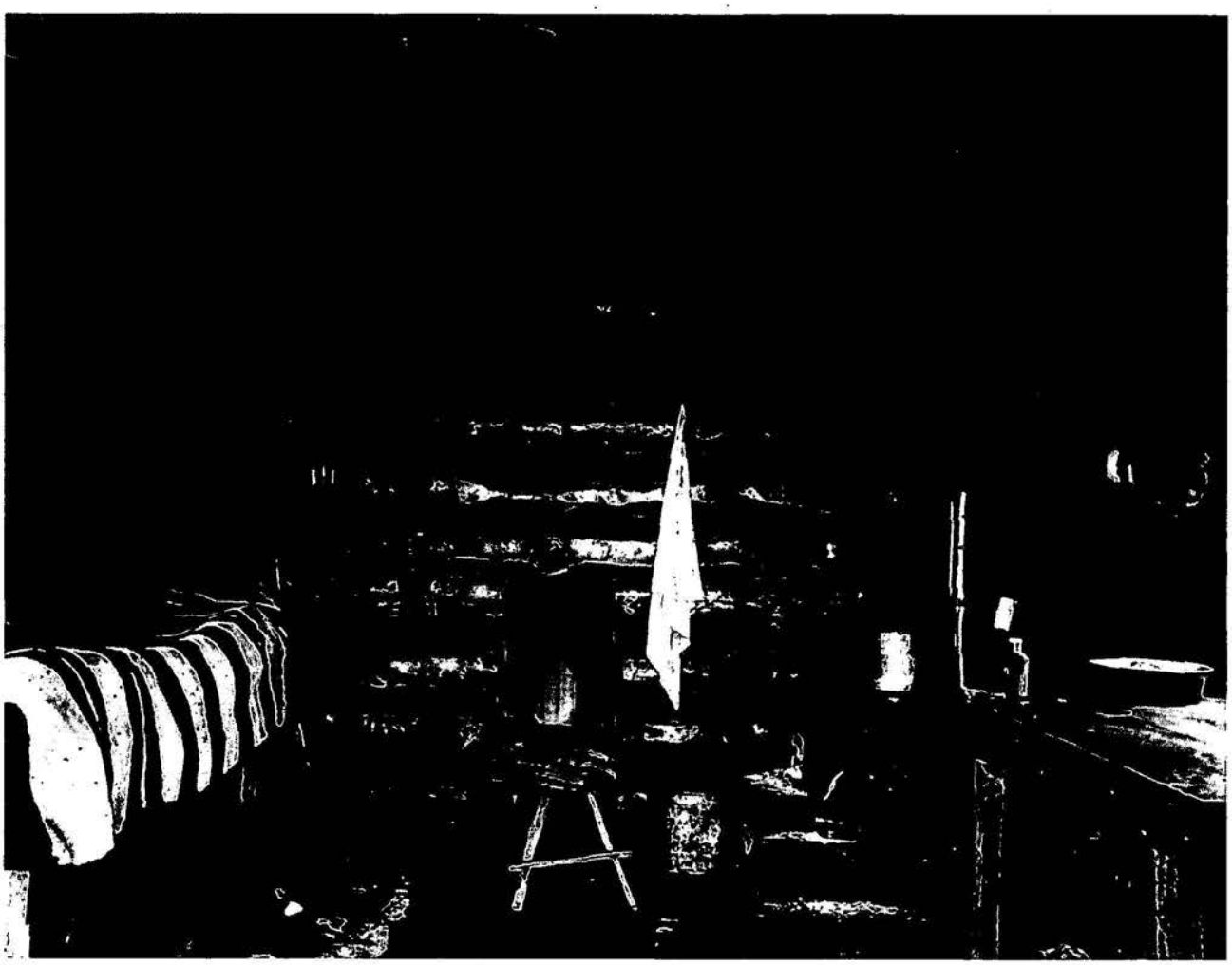


Figure 15 Interior of a line camp, as photographed by L. A. Huffman, ca. 1880s. *Courtesy of the Montana Historical Society.*



Figure 16 "Interior of an Old Time Ranch, Powder River," as photographed by L. A. Huffman, ca. 1880s.
Courtesy of the Montana Historical Society.



Figure 17 "A Cowboy's Bunk," by W. G. Walker, ca. 1880s, showing the interior of a bunkhouse complete with revolver rig, angora chaps, hat, boots, barbells, and other furnishings.
Courtesy of Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne.


M-282 A Cow Boy's Bunk.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Part 1: Notes on Dairy Operations at Pipe Spring

The dairy operation took place as follows: "Morning and evening the cows were milked; part of it was strained into six-quart tin pans and set on shelves in the cool milk-room [Room No. 2] for cream to rise. When enough cream had been accumulated by successive daily skimmings, it was made into butter for home use and for trade. The skimmed milk was used in cooking and the surplus fed to pigs and chickens. The greater part of the milk was strained directly into the large vat and made into a cheese, which was stored for curing in the milk room, the cheese weighing from 40 to 80 pounds. The butter was put into [stoneware] Eardly [*sic*] jars . . . ."[67] The Woolleys identified cottage cheese, Dutch (Edam) cheese, and Schmercase (Smearkase) cheese as kinds produced at Pipe Spring.[68] The latter was similar in consistency to cottage cheese.[69]

Clemensen's research indicated that the Winsors, at least at one point in their tenure, milked 80 cows daily, were capable of producing as much as 100 pounds of cheese daily. "Considering that each cow gave less milk than those on present dairy farms, it would not be unreasonable to assume that each cow produced three gallons of milk per day. At that rate, [Mrs. Winsor] . . . had 240 gallons of milk to handle. If 60 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."[70]

An inventory of goods taken by the Pulsiphers indicated the following items associated with the dairy operation following the Winsors' occupancy: "Three Blanchard churns, two milk strainers, sixty-three pans, two forty pound [*sic*] brass bucket sets, one cheese vat, two cheese presses, [and] two hoops. . . ."[71] Cheese vats made their appearance in the 1830s and were common by the 1850s. Special patented vats appeared in the 1860s, with most consisting of a wooden vat with tin or zinc liner, a spigot-operated whey drain valve, and a boiler mounted below.[72] The "Ralph's Oneida Cheese Vat" was an invention of William Ralph of Holland Patent, New York, who received a patent (No. 30,156) on September 25, 1860, for a vat that used a stove/heater attached to its water chamber and that could be used separately or

67 Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," 39.

68 Ibid., 56.

69 See Frank Kosikowski, *Cheese & Fermented Milk Foods* (Brookondale, N.Y.: F.V. Kosikowski and Associates, 1977), 111. For characteristics of the solid Edam cheese, see John W. Decker, *Cheesemaking, Cheddar, Swiss, Brick, Limburger, Edam, and Cottage* (Columbus, Ohio: Published by the author, 1900), 165–75.

70 Clemensen, "Historic Structure Report," 78, citing "Arizona History: Pipe Spring Monument," 40.

71 Heaps to unknown recipient, undated fragment of letter in the collections of Pipe Spring National Monument.

72 Sally McMurry, *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change, 1820–1885* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 88.

jointly with a refrigerator, as appropriate.[73] Four years later, Ralph, then of Utica, Oneida County, New York, devised an improvement (No. 45,076, November 15, 1864) consisting "in the invention of a false bottom, so that the water from the heater does not come in contact with the bottom of the inner vat until it has been in contact with the arms and sides. Hollow pipes extend from the false bottom to the heated water below; opening at the top under hollow supports, upon which the vat rests."[74] See Appendix C and illustrations for full descriptions of Ralph's patents.

The Blanchard churn, built by Porter Blanchard's Sons in Concord, New Hampshire, was a popular crank-operated device that had been conceived in the 1850s and by the 1870s came in several sizes. Generally, cream (along with some milk) for making butter constituted roughly 1/4 of the daily milk produced, meaning that some 60 gallons of cream per day (one-quarter of 240 gallons) went to manufacture butter. If the Winsors employed three Blanchard churns in their operation as reported, they were probably of medium size, say No. 6, which could accommodate twelve gallons of cream in each use. It is possible, however, that the Winsors possessed Blanchard churns of varying capacities, such as the No. 5 (eight gallons), the No. 6 (twelve gallons), and the No. 7 (18 gallons). Blanchard's promotional literature hyped their durability and simplicity. "They have no cogwheels or gearing to wear out or break."[75]

Part 2: A Primer on Cheese-making and Butter-making in Room 2 at Winsor Castle
(Excerpted from Arthur Woodward, "Details for Furnishing House Museum at Pipe Spring National Monument," 1959, pp. 10–11.)

Cheese. The milk fresh from the cow was placed in a vat or large pans and allowed to cool for a short time. To make cheese it is necessary for a chemical change to take place in the milk, which is to cause fermentation in the milk by either natural or artificial means. The latter method is used to save time. This is done by adding rennet, a substance prepared from the fourth lining of a calf's stomach. A small quantity of rennet added to the milk curdles the liquid and the curd is then pressed, made into wheels and set aside to cure. Before the rennet is added, however, the system of heating the milk to 80 degrees or 85 degrees Fahr. was practiced in the period when cheese was made at Pipe Spring. This heating of the milk was called 'scalding the curd.' Normally in rural America the milk was set [to] cool. That is, the milk taken in the evening was strained into a tin vat set in a wooden frame around which cold water was allowed to run. The milk taken in the morning was added to this evening milk and, if the temperature was not then deemed warm enough to add the rennet, the cold water was replaced by warm water until the proper temperature was reached, at which point the rennet was added. If this was done properly the curd should come in around 40 minutes. Shortly afterward the curd was broken up by a 'cheese breaker.' [The curds and whey were then cooked to 102 degrees Fahrenheit.]

The next step was separating the curd from the whey. This was done by placing the curd and whey on a cheesecloth tacked to a frame which was placed in a vat having an outlet whereby the whey ran off as a liquid. The curd was then cooled with a little cold water to

73 Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1860. Arts and Manufactures (2 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1861), I, 674.

74 Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1864. Arts and Manufactures (3 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), I, 909.

75 Advertisement in back of Lauren B. Arnold, *American Dairying: A Manual for Butter and Cheese Makers* (Rochester, NY: Rural Home Publishing Company, 1876).

prevent packing and when all the whey had drained away the curd was broken up fine and salted. It was then placed in a cheese hoop and pressed for about twenty-four hours.

Among the cheese makers of the 1850s–1870s, the separated curd was sometimes hand pressed for an hour or so to squeeze out all of the whey. This was done prior to salting. After this treatment it was then broken quite fine by hand and salted. This was followed by pressing for six or eight hours after which it was removed, a hole pierced through it with a wooden skewer to open channels for the exudation of whatever whey might remain. It was covered with a clean cloth and placed under heavy pressure overnight, then it was again removed and another clean cloth wrapped around it, and it was again placed in the press to remain until it no longer wet the cloth. Cheese were sometimes left in the press for three or four days, after which they were removed, wrapped in fresh cheesecloth and were ready for market [-aging]. Artificial coloring was added to make the normally white cheese a rich yellow, it being the belief of the purchasers that the color added to the flavor.

Butter. A butter churn either of the hand dasher type or the rolling barrel-shaped churn of the "Kendall churn" type may be used. The forms of hand churns varied according to the amount of churning to be done, from simple small stoneware jars fitted with a wooden cover through which a handle could pass and at the end (inside the churn) was a disk of wood. The latter was more of a family churn which the younger boys and girls operated by sitting on a chair and placing the churn firmly between the knees and pumping the handle up and down vigorously until the butter "came." The resultant mass was then placed on a dish or in a pan and pressed with a wooden butter paddle until the buttermilk was squeezed out after which it was either moulded in a wooden form or wrapped in a piece of clean cloth and placed in the "springhouse" or packed in flour for shipment.

Appendix B

Reminiscences of Hair Rope- and Rawhide-Making Activities Associated with Room No. 1 in Winsor Castle

(As edited, from Woolley, "The Pipe Springs [*sic*] Story, A Collection of Recollections," p. 56.)

I can still see myself sitting in that room . . . on some rainy or windy day, when the men could not work outside, watching them engaged in their indoor labors. Shredding hair from horse tails and manes and from cow tails into bundles, and then spinning hair ropes for tie-ropes and hackamore ropes, and into smaller ropes for the headstalls for hackamores, and also into small strands for cinches. Trimming strands out of cow hides for making lassoes and for making the nose piece for hackamores.

I cannot describe, so that you will get the picture, the instruments used in spinning the hair ropes. I shall have to make one for you some time. It was a stick with a wheel on the end, which could be whirrled [*sic*] with the right hand, had a peg on which a strand of hair was looped. The operator would place a bundle of hair under his arm on his left side, if he happened to be right handed, loop a strand of the hair around the peg on the spinner, enough to make the right size strand for the size of rope he intended to make, an assistant would hold the spinner, rotating it rapidly clockwise, backing away all the time while the other operator paid out the hair in the right number of hairs to the square inch to make the desired strand. Sometimes one person could do the job by passing the strand around a peg and backing away as he paid out.

The hair ropes could be made of any desired diameter. The favorite for tie and hackamore ropes were, I should say, three-fourths inch in diameter; for headstalls, about the diameter of a lead pencil. They could be of any desired number of strands. The strands could be of any desired diameter. It was usual to make some strands of white hair and others of black, and, when available, of sorrel, and then twist them into striking patterns. Some men were experts at this trade. Billy Crosby was good, although he did not work for us at Pipe Springs [*sic*].

Rawhide was used for many purposes. To make the lasso, either four strands or six strands [were used]. To make nose pieces for hackamores braided of many strands [?]. To make quirts, braiding any number of strands around a core of strips of well-seasoned rawhide, or a sack filled with small shot.

[To make rawhide strands,] place the hide on the floor or ground with the flesh side up. Start in the exact center and with a very sharp pocket knife cut your strand, any desired width, going round and round toward the outside. Next scrape the strand taking off the hair. Then trim the edges on the hair side. Then grease it well, working the greases in until the strand becomes soft and pliable. Now, you are ready to braid any kind of rope you need; or to make your hackamore or quirt.

These strands were good for use in repairing saddles, harnesses, for shoelaces, but for this [latter?] purpose not as good as buckskin. Large strands were also used in fencing. To make a fence, dig a trench, place cedar posts in it with the butt end down, and stand them as close together as possible; then take some oak stocks, or any other stout wood, about 3 inches in diameter, and bind them with the rawhide thongs, about an inch wide, with the hair on, using green hide, along the fence posts at about the height of an ordinary tall man. When the hide dries it shrinks and holds the fence posts together, and will last indefinitely.

Appendix C

Descriptions of Improvements in Cheese Vats, 1860 and 1864, Ralph's Patents

Description of Improvement in Cheese Vats. (From *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1860. Arts and Manufactures.*)

No. 30,156.—William Ralph, of Holland Patent, N.Y.—*Improvement in Cheese Vats.*—Patent dated September 25, 1860.—The claim and engravings explain the nature of this invention.

The inventor says: I *claim*, first, the employment or use of a stove or heater B, fitted within a jacket *b*, and applied to the water chamber A of a cheese vat, substantially as and for the purpose set forth.

Second. In combination with a stove or heater B, thus applied to the water chamber A, the oblique strips *d*, attached to the bottom of said water chamber, for the purpose specified.

Third. The warm water reserve chamber and refrigerator E, applied to the vat, and arranged substantially as shown, to be used jointly either within the stove or heater B, and water chamber A, as occasion may require, for the purpose specified.

Description of Improvement contained in Ralph's Cheese Vat. (From *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1864. Arts and Manufactures.*)

No. A45,076.—William Ralph, Utica, N.Y.—*Cheese Vat.*— November 15, 1864.— This invention consists in the invention of a false bottom, so that the water from the heater does not come in contact with the bottom of the inner vat until it has been in contact with the arms and sides. Hollow pipes extend from the false bottom to the heated water below; opening at the top under hollow supports, upon which the vat rests.

Claim.— The false bottom partition or diaphragm D, so constructed as to keep the water heated by the heater E from contact with the bottom of the inner vat B until it shall have been in contact with the sides, or the sides and ends, thereof, and imparted a portion of its temperature to the same.

Also, the hollow supports *g*, used in combination with the outer vat A, inner vat B, or the false bottom of partition D, substantially as and for the purposes described.

Also, the use of one or more pipes F, in combination with the valves or damper *n* and P, for the purpose described.

Appendix D

The following original items reposing in the park collection storage area might well be used in the furnishing of Winsor Castle in reference to recommendations contained herein. Some items need repair as indicated.

PISP 1503-book, *The Printer's Boy* (1867)
PISP 1505-book, *Poems* (1866)
PISP 1506-book, *Playing Santa Claus* (1867)
PISP 1507-book, *Pilgrim's Progress* (1861)
PISP 1957-book, *Book of Psalms* (1867)
PISP 2327-book, *The Modern Spelling Book* (1863)
PISP 1263-clock (needs hands)
PISP 710-Candle mold (eight-candle size)
Objects without numbers, drill bits (9), in cabinet # 12, drawer 5
Objects without numbers, pottery chards, in cabinet # 19
PISP 197, 268, 282 (child size), 892,-chairs, ladder back with rawhide lace seats (some need repair)
PISP 1265-Chair with arms (needs cushion), possibly for use with desk
PISP 283-Sharpe's rifle, .45 caliber, SN 159174 (early 1870s)
PISP 1079-English shotgun, 12 gauge
PISP 1081-Springfield rifle, .50 caliber, Model 1868
PISP 219, 536, 648, 2139, 2842, 2843-Indian baskets

Appendix E

Recommended Furnishings Treatment for East Cabin and West Cabin
Excerpted from an e-mail to Park Superintendent John Hiscock from Staff Curator Jerome A. Greene, June 5, 2003, referencing a visit in March 2003, to Pipe Spring NM by Greene and Staff Curator William L. Brown III, Harpers Ferry Center.

[The visit] gave us an opportunity to discuss some other ways of dealing with the matter of how best to interpret the East and West cabins. . . . Bill and I feel that because of existing conditions in both buildings (lack of security, inability to completely seal off either building from insect and rodent infestation, and need to electrify), alternatives to furnishing them might be more appropriate and less expensive, yet effective interpretively. In the case of the East Cabin, because most of the articles that historically would have been found inside the cabin would have later been relocated into Winsor Castle, we feel that two enlarged fiberglass photographic panels showing how each room likely appeared during the Winsors' occupation, installed on the west wall with appropriate descriptive text, would convey to the public the story intended for that building. This would require moving from Winsor Castle all items identified in the furnishings plan as having formerly been in the East Cabin. They would be professionally photographed in place in the East Cabin rooms and then returned to Winsor Castle, a process that Harpers Ferry Center staff will accomplish during a time scheduled for normal installation of furnishings in Winsor Castle. The photos would then be enlarged for use in the panels, which would be produced through HFC. Estimated cost for completing this work at the East Cabin, to include production of interpretive panels, staff salaries, travel, and professional photography: $46,300.

Likewise, in the West Cabin we recommend preparation and installation of an artistic rendition of what the interior of the building looked like during its occupation by cowboys. In addition, on the north wall of each room large fiberglass photographic panels would show historic interiors of comparative cowboy cabins and bunkhouses from approximately the same period. . . . *[see Illustrations 14, 15, 16, 17 herein.]* A narrative panel will explain the documented use of the West Cabin during the Winsor era minding the Mormon Church's cattle herd. Estimated cost for completing this work, including production of interpretive panels and artist's rendition: $14,300.

In conclusion, having examined the East and West cabins and considered the problems of their relative insecurity with regard to full-blown furnishings, we strongly urge adoption of the treatment proposed here to ensure that these sites are interpreted in a manner commensurate with their importance to the Pipe Spring story.

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