



The Ol' Pioneer

The Magazine of the Grand Canyon Historical Society

Volume 24 : Number 2

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Spring 2013



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29096—A Sublime Spectacle—Across the Canyon from
El Tovar on South Rim, Grand Canyon Nat. Park.

President's Letter

Spring has come to Grand Canyon and the southwest! The renewal of life in the form of wildflowers, sun drenched skies, and explorations in the canyon are upon us. Northern Arizona experienced a relatively dry winter this year but during this time the Board of your Society met on a warm sunny day in Sedona to discuss Strategic Planning. It was a powerful gathering of the "old" and the "new" at GCHS. We heard from past officers Al Richmond and George Billingsley about the early history of our organization and how it centered its energy on activities pertaining to the resident population of Grand Canyon Village. With this background fresh in our minds, the Board and officers were able to better visualize what goals we should pursue in the near future.

Of particular interest to Society members is the recognition that the years 2016 and 2019 are seminal mileposts in the history of the Grand Canyon. In 1916 the Organic Act created the National Park Service to oversee the growing abundance of national park lands in our country and three years later, in February of 1919, Grand Canyon became our nation's 15th national park. As such, the Board of the Historical Society considered the idea of moving our next two history symposiums up a few years to commemorate these centennial markers. It would be a huge endeavor, as the three previous symposiums have shown, these events essentially "take over" the Society and its functions for about 18 months or more. However, this organization is now known primarily for the desirability and quality of these events, and the Board decided to tentatively endorse the idea. The Board will meet before the Annual Picnic on July 20th to perhaps fully endorse the idea.

Another important discussion centered on the publication of the Proceedings of the Third Gathering of Historians in 2012. We are pleased to report that the Grand Canyon Association (GCA) will print a limited number of these books for our Society. Other ideas discussed at the Sedona Strategic Planning session include more frequent updates on our web site (www.grandcanyonhistory.org); fresher and more varied stories in the *Ol' Pioneer* and/or *Bulletin*; the possible initiation of an Oral History Project; developing closer ties to our sister organizations such as the NPS, GCA, NAU, and the Museum of Northern Arizona; and a rebirth of the outings program. We would love to hear from all of our members about these proposals and your take on the priorities we have identified. (I have almost gotten around to taking over the official President's e-mail address at GCHS.org but until that time just send your comments and ideas to my personal address at wayneranney@earthlink.net). All of us here sure do like serving the organization and welcome your input.

We hope to see many of you at our annual gathering at Shoshone Point. It is a festive event on the rim of the canyon and this year we have a scholarship recipient to award. We will also be making our annual Pioneer Award to an individual who has helped in promoting the history of this world-renowned landscape, along with the Hall of Fame Awards. Please make you plans now to attend. And thanks for being a member of the Grand Canyon Historical Society!

Wayne Ranney
GCHS President

The Ol' Pioneer submission deadlines are going to be roughly the first of January, April, July, and October.

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The Historical Society was established in July 1984 as a non-profit corporation to develop and promote appreciation, understanding and education of the earlier history of the inhabitants and important events of the Grand Canyon.

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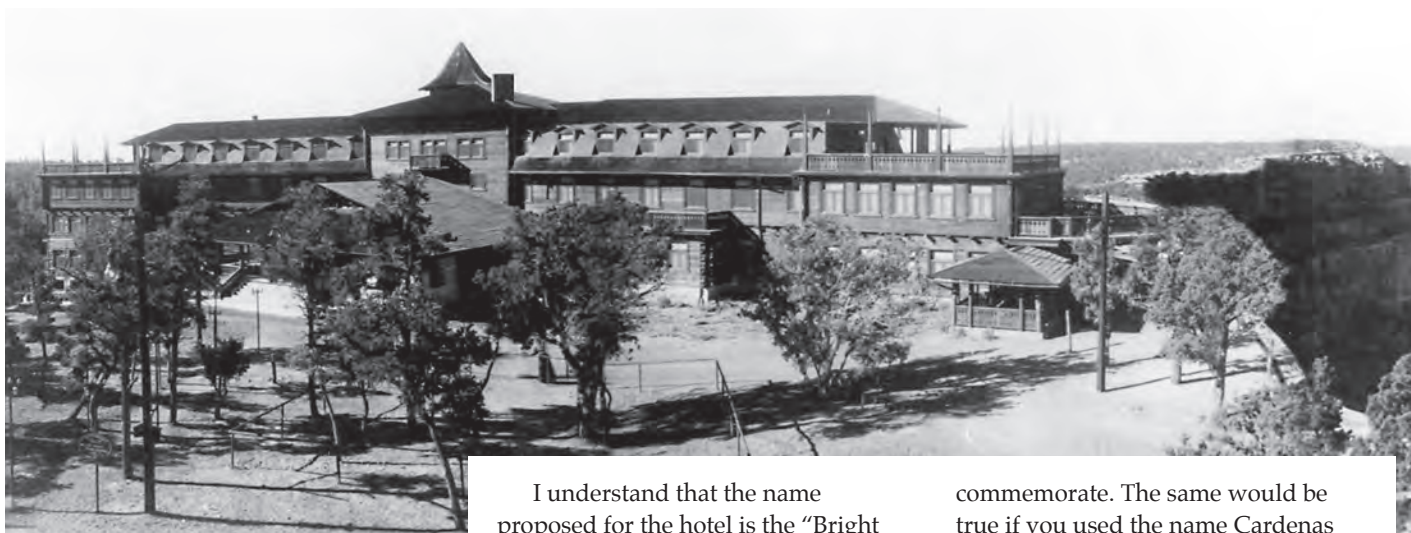
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Bright Angel Tavern? El Cardenas?



Letter submitted by Carol Naille

In a letter regarding the naming of the new hotel designed by architect Charles Whittlesley for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, Michael James Riordan puts his two cents in.

Originally to be called Bright Angel Tavern, the name "El Tovar" was later selected for the grand hotel in the Santa Fe tradition of naming hotels of the region after Spanish explorers.

The new hotel was named for Don Pedro de Tovar, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's second-in-command, who learned of the canyon and river from the Hopis in 1540. Upon receiving this information, Coronado dispatched Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with companions to go see this river. They made it to the canyon but found no route to the river.

Editor

COVER: Looking from the second floor balcony of the El Tovar Hotel down past the flagpole and north into the canyon. Circa 1925. Photo by Keystone Stereograph.
Grand Canyon National Park #04976

I understand that the name proposed for the hotel is the "Bright Angel Tavern." This is a taking title but it doesn't mean anything.


To a person in Chicago, or New York, or Boston or in any other remote place, the "Bright Angel Tavern" might be in New Hampshire or Oregon or California or Wisconsin, but even in any of these places, if you speak of the Coronado, or the Alavardo, or the Castenada, you will immediately associate them with the Santa Fe and with the localities in which they are built and with the historical events which they

commemorate. The same would be true if you used the name Cardenas for the new canyon hotel. Visitors would say "What does it mean? Who was he? What did he do? Why did the Santa Fe give the hotel such a name?" Immediately, the history would appear and become in a few years common property. It is an object lesson that certainly I for one would regret to see the Santa Fe neglect to give.

M.J. Riordan
Flagstaff, September 18, 1903

Panoramic photograph of El Tovar Hotel front entrance. Circa 1907.
Photo-Grand Canyon National Park #12083



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Once Again, “Who Named the Grand Canyon?” —And Other Obscure Grand Canyon “Firsts”

by Earle E. Spamer¹

Major John Wesley Powell receives all the credit for giving the Grand Canyon its name—at least according to many writers and in oral traditions over nearly a century and a half, perpetuated now by repetition across the web. The canyon had earlier names that didn’t stick, like Puerto de Bucareli² and Big Canyon.³ Yet even though *Grand Canyon* is well known around the world, for more than a century the name has drawn some historians into a recurring hunt for who first used it. The hunt has not ended; and here it widens to explore this and other questions, the answers to which might be surprising. For example, who first illustrated the Grand Canyon; or, who first unimaginatively reused the name for another canyon; even, astonishingly, which canyons had the same name *before* the Colorado River’s canyon did? And the original question—“Who Named the Grand Canyon?”—has an all new answer.

Of course, Powell will forever be the trailblazer of the Colorado. His 1875 chronicle⁴ of the pioneering 1869 expedition down the Green and Colorado Rivers was the first to document the grandeur, mystique and dangers of the rivers and their great canyons. Although this book effectively glosses over Powell’s second expedition of 1871–1872, and ignores its crew, his tale of adventure weaves geography, geology, American Indians, personal reflections, mishaps and death. Troublesome as it is to historians because Powell troweled on some fanciful elaboration years after the fact, his prose brightens up nicely what otherwise could have been a dreary, clinical government report of methods and findings. By 1875 he

already had published excerpts of the less-technical parts of his travelogue in popular publications for everyday readers, boosting his leap to public renown.⁵ Even having just stepped off the Colorado River, Powell was calling it the Grand Canyon, but *did* Major Powell name it?

The Disease of “Firstitis”

In 1968, Otis “Dock” Marston, the 20th century’s grand champion of Colorado River historians, addressed the question, “Who Named the Grand Canyon?”⁶ He pursued Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, the youthful member of Powell’s second Colorado River expedition who had for the rest of his life defended everything river, canyon and Powell, who gave all the credit to the major. Dellenbaugh claimed that the name was fixed after Powell’s first expedition, that it was he (Dellenbaugh) who first put the name “Grand Canyon” on a map after the second expedition, and he spent years perfecting that record.

“There is no doubt whatever that the Grand Canyon was named by Major Powell not long after he came out of it on his 1869 trip,” Dellenbaugh asserted in a short 1933 article titled, “Naming the Grand Canyon.”⁷ There, he said that John (Jack) Sumner, a member of the first expedition, wrote that he (Sumner) had wanted to name the canyon Coronado Canyon. Powell thought otherwise, that it should be named *for Sumner*; that is, if they survived the trip. “Well, he got through all right,” Dellenbaugh reflected, “and forgot his vows and named it Grand Canyon.”⁸

In Dellenbaugh’s version of things, the deciding event that literally put the Grand Canyon’s name on the map was at the end of

1872 in Kanab, Utah. While he was working under Powell’s direction, he affixed that name to the map that was then being drawn up. Sixty-two years later, he summed up in a letter to a local New York State newspaper, the *Ellenville Journal*, published October 4, 1934, “So while I did not originate the name I have the honor of having written it on the first map the first time it was ever put on any map”⁹ Less than four months later, the diligent defender died, confident in the truth.

Marston the demurrer paged through books and maps from 1869 in search of “Grand Canyon” and its variant spellings—William J. Palmer’s *Report of Surveys Across the Continent, in 1867-’68*,¹⁰ William A. Bell’s *New Tracks in North America*,¹¹ and Samuel Bowles’ *Our New West*.¹² He found ample evidence for the name then already in use.

Palmer’s book holds special notice for its section, “Grand Canon of the Colorado,” which reprinted an 1868 communication from Charles Christopher Parry (“Grand Canyon” may have been Palmer’s editorial addition, since Parry did not use the term). Parry was a physician and naturalist who by that time had already accompanied a number of surveys in the Midwest and the U.S.–Mexican Boundary Survey. Here, though, he wrote specifically about prospector James White, whom he had interviewed about a fantastic story, one which he was sure was truth. In 1867, White had been rescued from the Colorado River at Callville, Nevada, near death from exposure and starvation—that much is fact. The conjecture comes with the allegation that he had passed all the way through the Grand Canyon on a crude driftwood log raft.¹³ White’s is a separate, intriguing, and controversial story to this day.¹⁴ In

the original telling, White used no particular name for the canyon, but ten years afterward in a letter to his brother he called it “the Big Canon.”¹⁵

Still Marston found more, from Major Powell’s own pen. He turned up letters from Powell published in the *Chicago Tribune* for May 21 and 24, 1869, both of which refer to “Grand Canon” before the expedition began. He also repeated a headline from the *Chicago Times* for July 5, “The Grand Canyon of the Colorado,” which was one of the sensational false reports of disaster that had befallen the Powell expedition.

Even while the Powell expedition was still traveling down the Green River, on July 7, 1869, *The New York Times* excerpted Parry’s report from Palmer’s book under the title, “The Grand Canon of the Colorado.”¹⁶ And after the expedition, Powell lectured in Salt Lake City while on his way back home. The talk was summarized in the *Deseret News* on September 22, where the canyon was called “Grand Cañon.” This also was picked up by the *Times*.¹⁷

General articles at the time also more regularly began to use the “Grand” canyon name. John Clerke, for example, in the popular *Lippincott’s Magazine* for December 1868, wrote that he had just learned in a newspaper picked up in Santa Fe, New Mexico, “that a scientific gentleman—Professor Powell by name, if my memory serves me aright—was about setting out with an expedition to explore the Grand Cañon of the Rio Colorado of the West.”¹⁸ While Clerke may have reiterated Powell’s use of the term, more likely he may have just seen a copy of Palmer’s *Report of Surveys*, because in *Lippincott’s* he used the name “Grand Cañon” in telling his own, much embellished, rendition of the James White saga. He mentioned as well that he had met a young man in New Mexico who

...asserted that he had once descended the side of the cañon to the river and returned by the same path; but upon questioning him, I discovered

that he confounded the Black Cañon, between Fort Mojave and Callville, with the Grand Cañon, which he had never seen; and this is a frequent error with persons who have passed through the former...

As we will see, the young man was not the only one to figuratively string the canyons together, so ambiguously known was this region to most people.

As for Dellenbaugh’s claim for first inscribing “Grand Canyon” on a map, Marston showed that it didn’t pan out. While W. A. Bell’s 1870 second edition of *New Tracks in North America* included an 1869 report by Powell that referred to “Grand Cañon,” the book’s fold-out map, itself carrying the publisher’s date of 1870, labeled the chasm as “Big Cañon.”¹⁹ But Marston’s *coup de grâce* was in observing that the map in Palmer’s *Report of Surveys*, completed by 1868, “captions the section of the Colorado River between the Rio Virgin and the San Juan as ‘Grand Canon of the Colorado River,’ a map in use at least four years prior to Dellenbaugh.” This fact actually was first reported in print by Francis P. Farquhar in 1953, who acknowledged “river rat and historian of the rapids” Marston for the information.²⁰

In his 1968 article, Marston gloatingly diagnosed Dellenbaugh with “the *Firstiitis* disease [that] seems to be endemic with Colorado River travelers,” concluding, “Contamination is widespread and the common symptom is blindness to the record.” And though an epidemic of *Firstiitis* rages still, the following findings fortunately break us out of the whirlpool of 1868 and 1869 publications and correspondences, inside of which it was rather impossible to glimpse just which among them may have swirled past “first.” Before we can chase the person “who named the Grand Canyon,” though, we should address the fact that the Colorado River’s Grand Canyon was itself

not the “first,” neither in name nor illustration, which neatly fogs the view.

Now, Picture a Grand Canyon

The earliest known use of the term “Grand Canyon” for a geographical feature appeared in James William Abert’s “Journal . . . from Bent’s fort to St. Louis, in 1845.” He wrote, “At noon we reached the Grand Cañon, which is referred to by Gregg in his ‘Commerce of the Prairies,’ as a source of great annoyance to early travellers.”²¹ This is Mills Canyon, some 700 feet deep along the Canadian River in northeastern New Mexico. Josiah Gregg himself had not used the name “Grand Cañon” in his 1844 book, but, for the first time in English-language literature apparently, he did use the Spanish word *cañon* when writing of deep ravines in the western prairies.²²

“Grand Canon” also appeared in Andrew B. Gray’s 1855 record of a survey for the Texas Western Railroad (Southern Pacific Railroad) across the south of New Mexico Territory.²³ This name was used for a defile in the Chiricahua Mountains in the southeastern part of today’s Arizona, although whether the name was newly applied or one locally used was not indicated. A lithograph illustrating this canyon was added to an 1856 reprinting of the survey²⁴; it is the first-ever labeled illustration of a place called Grand Canyon (Figure 1). So Arizona’s first Grand Canyon wasn’t even the one on the Colorado River! One might argue that Gray’s “Grand Canon” was only the generic description of “a grand canyon,” but his text refers to it as a specific geographic feature, with initial capital letters, even once calling it (with definite article and italics) “the *Grand Canon*.”

Few others than American Indians had seen the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River before the late 1850s. No one bothered, or had the wherewithal, to corroborate oral traditions that told of the fantastic chasm, certainly not in print. Yet



Figure 1

GRAND CANON
MOUNTAINS OF CHIRICAHUI,
 opposite Head Springs Valle de Sauz Cienega.

despite having not been visited by a formal expedition of exploration, in 1853 an artist's sketch was published that portrayed a peek at the Grand Canyon — namelessly, though — three years before the illustration of Gray's Chiricahua "Grand Canon" was published. The original drawing was made in 1851, eighteen years before Powell's first run down the Green–Colorado, and seven years before the first formal expedition did visit the canyon under U.S. Army Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives (about which more is mentioned farther

below).²⁵

Admittedly, the first known sketch of the Grand Canyon is a glimpse from a great distance—some seventy miles (Figure 2). The view is drawn clearly, but, foreshortened by the curvature of the earth, it shows just a line of high elevations of the canyon's North Rim riding on the horizon like icebergs. The scene was drawn by Richard H. Kern,²⁶ who viewed it from a high hill north of the San Francisco Peaks. He was attached to the army exploratory expedition led by Lieutenant Lorenzo Sitgreaves

expedition.²⁷ And Samuel Washington Woodhouse, the Philadelphia physician and naturalist assigned to the group, described that very scene in his diary on October 11, 1851 (Figure 3). He wondered about the canyon, "This must be an awful yet grand spectacl [sic]."²⁸ Unwittingly he may have been the first to use the adjective in describing our "Grand" Canyon.

The vantage point from which Kern made his sketch was identified by historian Andrew Wallace in 1984.²⁹ He reported that it is the unnamed hill

north of the San Francisco Peaks marked on a U.S. Geological Survey topographic map by the geodetic triangulation station designated "Chop."³⁰ Detailed control data for this station can be found online today in the National Geodetic Survey Data Sheet database.³¹ The benchmark was set in 1965 in a boulder on the top of the timbered 760-ft tall volcanic hill, the highest in the immediate area, about 19½ miles north of Flagstaff, Arizona; precisely, 35° 28' 52.37352" N, 111° 40' 16.36029" W. Obtaining a modern



Figure 2

across New Mexico Territory between Zuñi pueblo and the lower Colorado River, charged with ascertaining the suitability of the Zuñi and Little Colorado Rivers for navigation. From Kern's drawing a lithograph was made for Sitgreaves' 1853 report of the

photographic view to replicate Kern's stylized drawing may be an entertaining clear-day's venture. The NGS Data Sheet includes directions to the station from U.S. Highway 89; and modern GPS devices should assist and emend the coordinates just given.

Sitgreaves' party had planned to follow the Little Colorado River valley to the great Colorado, then follow it downstream. However, upon reaching the Grand Falls of the Little Colorado and the

from here was to be seen
the course of the great
Colorado and the tops of
the mountain and rocky
bluffs which form the
great ^{cañon} this must really
be an awful yet grand
spectacle I should suppose
that the nearest point
was about 70 miles nothing
like water was to be seen

Figure 3

entrenched river there northeast of the San Francisco Peaks, men and pack animals were flagging. Sitgreaves was “informed by my guide [Antoine Leroux] and other experienced trappers that this cañon extends down the river to its junction with the Colorado, and the great cañon through which the latter flows, [so] I regarded the attempt to follow the river to its mouth as too hazardous...”³² They left their route and headed around the north side of the Peaks, past “Chop” hill. It was up to Kern and Woodhouse to look longingly northward and record their impressions of the canyon they would not be visiting. Theirs were the first outsiders’ views of the canyon to be set down in 75 years (when Padre Francisco Tomás Garcés traveled by more closely in 1776) and 311 years after the first and only other non-natives were known to have seen the canyon (when Spanish incursionists under García López de Cárdenas spent several days on the eastern stretch of the South Rim in 1540, failing in an attempt to reach the Colorado River a mile below).

In his report Sitgreaves referred to the canyon only as “the great cañon.” The map that accompanies the report, drawn by Kern in 1852, labels it “Big Cañon.” Only a tiny portion of the canyon is shown, though; it appears inconspicuously in the

northwest corner of the map where the Colorado River exits from the canyon, misplaced as also being at the confluence of the “Rio Virgen.” The rest of the canyon was off the map.

After passing the Peaks, Sitgreaves’ party followed a route westward, never again seeing Grand Canyon. They finally reached the Colorado River in the desert below Black Canyon. The greater part of the route was roughly the path that another expedition

under Lieutenant Amiel Whipple followed in 1853 to locate a 35th-parallel railroad route,³³ retraced first in 1857 by the Beale Wagon Road (the historic expedition that experimented using camels)³⁴ then by the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad in 1882–1883 (subsequently acquired by the Santa Fe Railway), and in the 20th century shadowed by legendary Route 66 and its stern replacement, Interstate 40.

Sitgreaves’ 1853 government report and Kern’s illustrations in it were not so obscure that they escaped notice. Geologist and theologian Edward Hitchcock, comfortably ensconced in Massachusetts as the recent president of Amherst College, referred to them in his *Illustrations of Surface Geology* submitted to the Smithsonian Institution in 1855 (published in 1857).³⁵ Regarding the Little Colorado’s Grand Falls, another sight Kern had illustrated, Hitchcock repeated Sitgreaves’ note that the falls drop 120 feet. Surmising that the depth of the Little Colorado’s gorge there is “less probably than that of the Big cañon,” Hitchcock accentuated just how little was known about the Grand Canyon to most of the world. In fact, Grand Falls drop some 185 feet, farther even than Niagara Falls, yet still only about a thirtieth of the depth of the Grand Canyon. Hitchcock’s bare notice of Big Canyon, generally

overlooked, happens to be the first record of the Grand Canyon written in a scientific context.

Was There a Grand Canyon Before Powell?

Frederick Dellenbaugh idolized John Wesley Powell, standing his ground that Powell named the Grand Canyon and that he (Dellenbaugh) was the first to put the name on a map. Dock Marston countered with evidence for Powell and others using “Grand” in the canyon’s name even before Powell’s first river trip, also finding the name on a map that was finished by 1868. And others not noted by Marston were using the name around this time as well. Yet the name “Grand Canyon” precedes Powell by a full decade and more! Looking backward, we first run into the name shortly after the Colorado River Exploring Expedition of 1858.

Under the command of Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, the Colorado River Exploring Expedition comprised a small contingent of army men and a number of civilians including two Germans and a few Indian guides, who set off up the Colorado River from Fort Yuma. (The Germans were topographer and artist Friedrich W. von Egloffstein, and artist and naturalist’s field assistant Balduin Möllhausen, both veteran western travelers about whom more will be said later. The naturalist was also the expedition’s physician, John Strong Newberry.) They all squeezed aboard the *Explorer*, a diminutive, open-decked, iron-hulled, wood-fired, stern-wheel steamboat ordered by Ives in mid-1857 from Reaney, Neafie and Company, a Philadelphia boat and boiler manufacturer.³⁶ It had been built in sections for shipment by sea from New York and on the recently built railway over the Isthmus of Panama, by sea again to California, and yet again back around the Baja peninsula to the mouth of the Río Colorado. After a difficult reassembly on the desolate, muddy, tide-swept shore of the Colorado delta in Mexico during the

closing days of the year, the crew fought the river's fickle currents, sandbars and snags to Fort Yuma where more of Ives' expedition members met them.

Just after New Years 1858, the *Explorer* began paddling fitfully up the Colorado, eventually entering the the mouth of Black Canyon (nearly at the site of today's Hoover Dam). There it violently struck a rock (mapped as "Explorer Rock," now beneath the headwaters Lake Mohave behind Davis Dam), effectively locating the objective of the river expedition, which was to ascertain the limit of navigation. Ives and two men struggled more miles upcanyon in a skiff with an added sail made from a blanket, reaching Las Vegas Wash, today in Lake Mead. Ives thought that he had reached the Virgin River, which actually is miles farther upstream.

Returning to open land back downstream, the patched-up *Explorer* finally met up with a column of men and mules that had labored up from Yuma with supplies for the land expedition. The lieutenant divided his command, sending the boat back to Yuma,³⁷ then set out northeastward with 40–45 men, half of them soldiers, and about 150 mules. Among the explorers who remained with Ives were the two Germans and physician–naturalist Newberry. In April 1858 they arrived at the Grand Canyon (they knew it as "Big Cañon") at the head of Peach Springs Canyon. Descending to and camping near the confluence of Diamond Creek Canyon, a small party including Ives, Newberry and Möllhausen, traveled farther to reach the Colorado River at the mouth of Diamond Creek, the first non-natives known to have reached the bottom of the Grand Canyon.

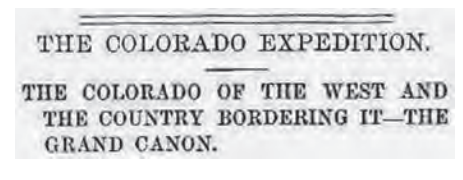
Exiting and traveling eastward again, the group re-encountered Grand Canyon at a tributary to Cataract Creek, descending there along paths that were harrowing to them, finally becoming impassable for animals. Lacking water, Ives sent the mules and most of the men back

thirty miles to the last water; then he set out down into the canyon on foot with a small group. The adventuresome baron, Egloffstein, after trying out and wrecking a rotted Havasupai ladder, temporarily stranded himself below a cliff and so wandered off alone to the village of Supai, the first non-native to visit there since Padre Garcés had gone that way 82 years earlier. That was the limit of their descent into the Havasupai homeland, and the last they would experience Grand Canyon.

The main party rejoined the canyon expeditioners and broke off the march to head more directly overland following the known springs. The Ives expedition did not see the "grandest" part of the canyon in the vicinity of today's Grand Canyon Village. They mistook the canyon of Kanab Creek, spied on the distant north side, for the Colorado River coming south from Utah, and the eastern part of Grand Canyon they thought was the Little Colorado River coming in to meet Cataract Canyon. But now the region from the San Francisco Peaks and eastward was familiar territory to Ives and Möllhausen, who had accompanied Lt. Whipple on his westbound venture through this territory in 1853. Ives and Egloffstein went off with a party to the Hopi mesas, while Möllhausen traveled with the main column toward Fort Defiance, where eventually they all concluded the expedition.

In December 1858 the U.S. Senate published "Colorado Exploring Expedition," Lt. Ives' brief preliminary report of his explorations that was embedded deeply in General A. A. Humphreys' comprehensive annual *Report on Explorations and Surveys*.³⁸ Shortly afterward, the February 1859 issue of the *Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society* in New York printed a slightly abridged version of Ives' report, omitting only some remarks about the American Indians.³⁹ The title for the *Journal's* version was shortened to "The Colorado Expedition" and a subtitle

Figure 4



was contrived to summarize the article's coverage: "The Colorado of the West and the Country Bordering It — The Grand Canon" (Figure 4). The titles and an introductory paragraph were probably written by the editor of the journal, or by whomever it was submitted the copy for printing. Yet who this was is not indicated anywhere.

The name "Grand Canon," used here a full decade before Powell's first river trip, seems to have been applied to the entire system of the Colorado River's canyons in the region explored by Ives' party, in what now are Nevada and Arizona (as like John Clerke's young New Mexican would do a decade later). The 1859 *Journal's* "Grand Canon" nonetheless embraced Big Canyon, the name by which Ives knew the Grand Canyon. Although to Ives in the field it was clear that upper Black Canyon passed into open terrain around Las Vegas Wash and the mouth of the Grand Canyon is much farther upstream, the discontinuity of the lower Colorado River canyons was not generally appreciated by others at that time. Even "Big Canyon" was misplaced. The *Deseret News* for June 9, 1858, reprinted a letter dated March 14 from the *San Francisco Bulletin*, which had been sent from an unnamed member of the Ives expedition shortly before the party divided up—and before the main portion of the Grand Canyon was finally sighted by the eastward-marching land party. The writer said:

Our explorations have demonstrated the fact of the navigability of the Colorado to the mouth of the Virgin, a point far above that ever reached by any other exploring party, and the much talked of and dreaded

Big Canyon has been passed through in safety.⁴⁰

The “safe” passage (the *Explorer’s* grounding at Explorer Rock notwithstanding) actually had been through Black Canyon, in a skiff finally, not with the steamboat.

The homogenization of the lower Colorado’s canyons did not end here. A quick overview of the resources of Arizona Territory by A. G. Brackett in 1869, confined chiefly to the southern part of the territory, commented on the northern portion only that

...the Colorado which, finding its way from Utah, Wyoming and Colorado Territories, pours its great flood of waters down through the Black *canon* and seeks its way to the Pacific. The stories told of the extent of this *canon* and of the height [*sic*] of its walls or river banks are such as to stagger credulity.⁴¹

Lieutenant Ives’ lengthy official report was published as a congressional document in 1861.⁴² In it he used the contemporary name, “Big Cañon,” the name by which Egloffstein also mapped it, although Newberry called it the “Great Cañon of the Colorado.” The final report was essentially five books in one, supported by exquisite shaded-relief maps drawn by Egloffstein and by illustrations made by Möllhausen and Egloffstein.⁴³ The volume appeared in the nick of time, too, for not long afterward Ives joined the Confederate cause at the outbreak of the Civil War, first as a captain of engineers, shortly later serving as a colonel, an *aide de camp* to President Jefferson Davis. It is not clear how his defection might have impacted the release of the report,

had it still been in preparation. The coming of war also suffused the resources of the lithographers and the Government Printing Office alike, instigating probably the most peculiar mystery of Grand Canyon art—why do some of Egloffstein’s drawings seem so weird, not really looking like the canyon? This has been newly investigated elsewhere.⁴⁴

Ives’ “General Report” (Part I of the complete volume) described the expedition in detail, while other parts of the report were contributed by scholars proficient in scientific and technical matters—hydrography, geology, botany, and zoology. Of these, only the hydrographer, Mr. C. Bielawski,⁴⁵ topographer Egloffstein, and the geologist Newberry had accompanied the expedition. Newberry’s “Geological Report” (Part III) made significant contributions, staking the Grand Canyon’s place in the worldview of geologists and physical geographers. It was he who first understood that the canyon lands were sculpted chiefly by running, albeit ephemeral, water; they are not the result of great cataclysm. Yet it is Ives who people more widely, and giddily, remember today. He declared the Grand Canyon region “valueless” and “profitless,” that the explorers were the last party of outsiders likely ever to go there.⁴⁶ (In his defense, Ives did appreciate and remark on the grandeur of the landscape. And yet the dismissive impression of the landscape remained hard to shake.



Figure 5

Years later even the adventure-driven William A. Bell decried “the weird, worthless regions north of the 36th parallel.”⁴⁷

And still, there is an earlier yet use of the term “Grand Canyon,” one which may or may not have appealed to John Wesley Powell.

How Did Powell Find the Grand Canyon?

In 1857, a thick volume by Lorin Blodget on *Climatology of the United States* was published in Philadelphia⁴⁸—where by chance at that very time Lt. Ives’ little *Explorer* was built and tested on the Delaware River, and the Ives expedition was still just a plan. More than a treatise on weather, Blodget discussed at length, among other things, the physical geography of the country, including the Southwest, a region previously overlooked in U.S. geographies for its having been a part of Mexico until 1848.

Blodget (Figure 5) wrote, without elaborating, that “the Colorado River [forms] the Grand Cañon, in regard to which little is positively known beyond this general fact.”⁴⁹ And he described the Colorado River’s drainage basin and canyon system in just two sentences:

The Colorado River of California and its great branches, the Grand and Green Rivers, traverse these gorges through their whole course to within three hundred miles of the sea. A portion of this distance below the junction of Grand and Green Rivers is so nearly impassable because of these gorges, that the explorers who have traversed almost every other district, have been repelled hitherto, leaving much of it unknown.⁵⁰

Sitgreaves (*Report of Exploration of Zuni and Colorado Rivers, 1851*) describes the gorges and cañons of the Colorado as very formidable at the 35th parallel, and in several cases below this point, and gives figures of some of them. The *Grand Cañon of the Colorado* as known to trappers and hunters, though not yet visited by scientific engineers, is placed by Sitgreaves in lat. 36°.

Figure 6

More telling and conclusive for our historical quest is a footnote (the italics are Blodget's): "The *Grand Cañon of the Colorado* as known to trappers and hunters, though not yet visited by scientific engineers, is placed by Sitgreaves in lat. 36°."⁵¹ (The complete passage is shown in Figure 6.) From the language of these brief notes it does not seem that Blodget "named the Grand Canyon," but rather knew the name from another source, though he does not say so.

Blodget's notice of latitude 36° for the Grand Canyon cannot be confused with any other stretch of the Colorado River, for the Grand Canyon from end to end shadows this parallel. The footnote serves double duty by providing a printed source for what otherwise is an often-repeated but undocumented summary statement—that before Powell the Colorado River country was an unexplored area known supposedly only to itinerant "trappers" (most famously James Ohio Pattie, who in an edited 1831 book referred to "these horrid mountains,"⁵² a passage that historians have interpreted as Pattie's description of the rim of the Grand Canyon) or "prospectors" (although no early mine prospects are recorded until later in the 1800s⁵³) or "clerics" (apparently a reference solely to Padre Garcés who saw the canyon in 1776⁵⁴).

It is tempting to suppose that Powell had examined Blodget's *Climatology* and there could have grasped the name "Grand Cañon," but we do not know that he had. The book would have been useful in his research for his proposed explorations in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado in 1867 and 1868, as well as for his plans soon afterward to run the canyon rivers. The climatological maps of the country distributed throughout the book have a geographic resolution that is, understandably, not at all precise in the canyon lands, and none of the canyons are labeled. The "Great Colorado River" is shown running

from the confluence of sketchy Grand and Green Rivers, passing imprecisely through the canyon regions then largely unknown. But the promise of data surely would have caught Powell's attention.

William Culp Darrah's biography of Powell⁵⁵ cites Blodget's monograph, but this work does not appear in Darrah's footnotes, nor does Blodget's name appear in the index. *Climatology* likely was listed among hundreds of books and articles that served Darrah only as general reference works, most of them not separately cited in the text. Donald Worster's magisterial, more modern biography of Powell makes no mention of Blodget or his book.⁵⁶ Still *Climatology of the United States* was an important and timely sole source on the subject,⁵⁷ one hard to miss and which seemingly would have been of immediate interest to Powell. That his biographers seem not to have encountered Blodget in Powell's papers and correspondence does not discount Powell possibly having visited the work. His interest in the book could have been only casual and not otherwise recorded, perhaps somehow even not helpful. But however generalized its data may have been for large regions of the West, and regardless of its actual practicality for use in the field, Powell would have been all the more responsible had he checked into what the book had to offer.

Why would we imagine in the first place that Powell could have met the term "Grand Canyon" in Blodget's book? First of all, *Climatology* contained essays on the country's physical geography. Anything on this matter would have been of interest to Powell, inasmuch as he was thorough enough to even have inquired of Mormon pioneers and American Indians about the lay of the land and the courses and conditions of the rivers. In reading pertinent parts of *Climatology*, Powell would also have run across the reference to "The *Grand Cañon of the Colorado River*."

Second, Blodget had prepared

charts of seasonal precipitation across the continent—another thing that was of potential interest to Powell because it could tell him of temperature and precipitation trends in the Rockies and Southwest and fairly meter the times of mainstream and tributary flooding (beyond the arbitrary understanding that high stream flows follow spring thaws in the mountains). Each seasonal precipitation map displays gray overprints that show averaged and postulated rainfall totals. This would have supplied valuable, scientifically determined information to Powell even though it was extrapolated over the "unknown" areas.

Interestingly—perhaps a reason for our not finding a record of Powell mentioning Blodget's *Climatology*—Lorin Blodget lost his job in the Smithsonian Institution over this and other exhaustively detailed work. Joseph Henry, the Smithsonian's Secretary, fired him in 1854 for aggrandizing his nationwide weather work (Blodget had not given credit in his publications even though working on the Smithsonian's "dollar") and for insubordination (he had refused to turn over a list of nearly a thousand "observers and correspondents," threatening to burn it).⁵⁸ Nonetheless, the headstrong 31-year-old Blodget soon published his master work, *Climatology of the United States*, and returned permanently to Philadelphia. There in 1872 he would be elected a member of the American Philosophical Society—which institution today holds that bound volume of "observers and correspondents."⁵⁹

If indeed Powell had referred to Blodget's *Climatology*, why might Powell's papers not mention it? Perhaps the politically savvy Major distanced himself from Blodget's products, at least openly. The congressionally-financed Smithsonian, and the venerable Henry himself, stung by Blodget's self-serving activities, were after all Powell's primary backers for his western expeditions, and

would fund the publication of his celebrated 1875 report. Avoiding any association with Blodget and his work may have been prudent politics; and from Powell's perspective credit to Blodget could just as easily not been necessary as not having been logistically or financially instrumental to his western expeditions. Perhaps more of this story, if it is so, will yet be found.

A Grand Struggle With Greatness

J. C. Ives, and in particular J. S. Newberry, came oh so close to using the adjective "grand" for our Grand Canyon. Ives did use words like "grand" and "grandeur," but failed to take the neological step to create "Grand Canyon." Newberry likewise infused his writing with notes about grandeur. In discussing the "Cañon of Diamond River" (Diamond Creek) he even wrote (italics are added here), "This seemed to be our only avenue of approach to the Colorado, and we followed it for fifteen miles, to its junction with the *still grander cañon* of that stream."⁶⁰

Many 1860s references to "Grand Canyon" before Powell have been located, but which in every case have been works in French. They all drew upon the published 1861 Colorado River reports by Lt. Ives and geologist Newberry, whose "Big Cañon" and "Great Cañon" both translate into French as *Grand Cañon*. Accordingly we might take our imaginations a step farther, that *Grand Cañon* is a now-forgotten French-Canadian trappers' name, equally as descriptive as was the name they gave to the Grand Tetons in Wyoming. The canyon's utterly impractical accessibility would not preclude them giving the place a name, even if it only meant "big."

Most often the canyon was mentioned in print only with a descriptive phrase, like "the great cañon" as Sitgreaves had referred to it. The capitalized "Great Cañon" never caught on, Newberry's

consistent early use of the term being a notable standout. C. C. Parry's brief narrative on the James White affair a decade later used the term, too, but probably it found relatively few readers; and in any case, the single, added "Grand Cañon" in the title for its reprinting in Palmer's *Report of Surveys Across the Continent* caught the fancy of those who then widely repeated the White story. And interestingly, in 1866 Major General Rufus Ingalls used the Great Canyon turn of the phrase in an obscure military report that, before Powell, also encouraged exploring the chasm:

Callville is near the entrance of the river to the "Great Cañon of the Colorado," and it is said the main obstructions are the Roaring Rapids, of about 600 feet in length, which could be easily cleared by the government. In fact, the government should have the "Great Cañon" explored. It is due to the age in which we live; everything is mythical about it now.⁶¹

A "Grand" and a "Great" canyon were already in print for a decade before Powell set out down the Green and Colorado Rivers, but during the period between at least 1852 through much of the 1860s "Big Canyon" was the prevailing name for the Colorado's great chasm. Then in 1868 and early 1869 there seems to have been a sudden shift to a more universally used "Grand," just before—and not coincident with—Powell's first river expedition. The shift can be followed through 1869 and 1870, when the various terms, "Big," "Great," and "Grand" were in use concurrently, sometimes confusingly together in the same document. For example, T. Ellwood Zell's 1869 *Popular Encyclopedia* took note in the entry for the Colorado River that

At a short distance from Gracton [Nevada], higher up [from Callville], the C. becomes lost in a sequence of cañons, or, more properly speaking, a single

one in reality, the Grand Cañon. An expedition of the command of Col. Powell left Chicago in the spring of 1868, to explore the upper waters of the C., and more particularly the great cañon system attaching to it. He reports that he descended the Great Cañon for a distance of 400 m., where the river flowed on either side through a vast gorge overhung by precipitous walls of rock from 2,500 to 4,000 feet above the bed of the stream⁶²

And in another example, Lieutenant D. W. Lockwood submitted a report dated January 21, 1870, on the "General Itinerary" of an army reconnaissance in southern Nevada, wherein he used "Grand Cañon" and "Big Cañon" on the same page.⁶³

Come 1869, Powell's widening public exposure was surely responsible for entrenching the name "Grand Canyon," to great administrative and popular effect. Both "Big" and "Great" were largely abandoned, a change that (at this time anyway) does not look like it was orchestrated by anyone in particular. Powell was just one of several players; writers, map-makers and editors alike.⁶⁴ His choice for a name was thus limited to Big, Great, and Grand, unless he were to come up with a wholly new one, which he did not. Perhaps it is predictable, given Powell's literary propensity for inspiration and drama as well as a well-heelled sense of self-promotion among administrators and legislators, that a "Grand" canyon would suit nicely. "Grand" sounds mightier than "Great," "Big" really not so much.

And so the originator of the term "Grand Canyon" for Arizona's great chasm may in the end be anonymous. Someone used it in printing a copy of Lt. Ives' preliminary report in 1859; whether it was an original thought is unknown. Two years earlier, Lorin Blodget, now the earliest known person to use this name in print, seems to have

adopted it from elsewhere. In 1854, as we know, he already had a sizeable network of correspondents (among whom, incidentally, was John Strong Newberry), so he could have acquired the term anywhere or at any time. A source earlier than 1857, in print or manuscript, is not yet known.

Literary inertia, mostly in the repetitive and unchecked realm of popular works and web pages, will likely continue to celebrate John Wesley Powell for “naming” the Grand Canyon just because others have said so for so long. Such overwhelming power began with his lectures and in newspaper reports in 1869 and afterward, boosted by his 1875 travelogue published by the Smithsonian Institution, which he revised 20 years later as the more amply illustrated *Canyons of the Colorado*, hoping for some retirement profit.⁶⁵ That later edition is widely available in reprints and in foreign translations to this day. Powell could have contrived the name independently, or he could have learned it from casual usage in some mix of correspondence, printed sources, and personal discussions. He just as easily may have purposely chose it as the most appealing among several terms known to him. We may never know how Powell “discovered” the Grand Canyon, but he was unquestionably the first to brand and exploit the Grand Canyon name.

“Grand Canyon”—Too Much of a Good Thing Already

Despite Frederick Dellenbaugh’s statements for a late-1872 “official” labeling of the Grand Canyon, a very prominent example of *reuse* of the name had already taken place in 1870, which further retires Dellenbaugh’s claim. During early explorations and enthusiastic naming of natural features in the Yellowstone region of Wyoming, travelers spawned a “Grand Canyon” there that was only the first of many places to borrow the name for their own.

The first of the “tag-along” Grand Canyons, Yellowstone’s, is attributed to the 1870 expedition led by Henry D. Washburn and Gustavus C. Doane,⁶⁶ during which they originated many of the modern names of the Yellowstone landscape. They called the canyon of the Yellowstone River simply “the Grand Cañon,” offering neither a suffix nor comparison to Arizona’s great chasm. It appeared singly as “the Grand Cañon” in Nathaniel Pitt Langford’s diary on August 26⁶⁷ and in Doane’s diary on August 29, 1870.⁶⁸ It appeared in the *Helena* (Montana) *Herald* newspaper around that time as well.⁶⁹ No Yellowstone gazetteer offers a geographical etymology for the Yellowstone’s Grand Canyon, as though unwilling to admit its association with its famous Arizona peer. The Yellowstone River canyon’s name remains today, officially, just “Grand Canyon,” although most times for clarification it appears as “Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.” It seems inconceivable that this “Grand Canyon” was independently named from inspiration and original thought, considering the fresh fame of the Colorado River’s Grand Canyon in 1870; rather it was conceived as a name “equal” to Arizona’s chasm, so impressive is the Yellowstone gorge.

The great American artist Thomas Moran visited the Yellowstone during the 1871 geological field season with survey leader Ferdinand V. Hayden. During that time, Moran made studies for his monumental, 12-by-7-foot canvas in oil, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, painted in 1872 (incidentally before Dellenbaugh wrote the name “Grand Canyon” on a map late that year). The painting’s title may be the original source of the “Yellowstone” suffix,⁷⁰ seemingly never having been used before then. It demonstrates that the Yellowstone’s “Grand Canyon” was a name that had stuck immediately, without heed to any possible confusion it might cause.

The next year Moran visited the Grand Canyon of Arizona as part

of John Wesley Powell’s ongoing surveys on the Colorado Plateau, and he provided the artwork for a number of publications related to these surveys. He also set to work on the equally huge canvas, *The Chasm of the Colorado* (1873–1874), portraying his vision of Arizona’s canyon from the North Rim. His monumental paintings were purchased by the U.S. government, each for the substantial sum of \$10,000. They hung first in the U.S. Capitol; today, owned by the Department of the Interior, they are in the Smithsonian’s National Gallery of Art. It is interesting that Moran used the name Grand Canyon for his Yellowstone creation, a nod to the Washburn–Doane coinage. It would have been confusing, not to mention unimaginative, to also use the name for his Colorado River canvas. Besides, “chasm” resounds more grandly, and we may infer that viewers would already have known where “The Chasm of the Colorado” is, Powell’s exploits and ongoing publications fresh in the minds of a wide American and European reading public, as well as in the bills of Congressmen.

It is fair to suppose that the Yellowstone Grand Canyon was the first case of honorific, Grand Canyon pride or envy. And it was just a matter of time before contemporaries had something to say about the taking of Grand Canyon’s name. U.S. Army Captain Clarence E. Dutton worked with Powell on the geological survey of the Colorado Plateau a decade after the major’s Colorado River exploits. He produced under Powell’s direction one of the finest of all Grand Canyon publications, the geological monograph titled *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District* (“Tertiary” being the name for one of the long periods of geologic history). Its text and an accompanying double-folio atlas include many fine lithographs from Moran’s artwork. Here Dutton wrote in 1882:

This name has been repeatedly infringed for purposes of advertisement. The cañon of the Yellowstone has been called

'The Grand Cañon.' A more flagrant piracy is the naming of the gorge of the Arkansas River in Colorado 'The Grand Cañon of Colorado,' and many persons who have visited it have been persuaded that they have seen the great chasm. These river valleys are certainly very pleasing and picturesque, but there is no more comparison between them and the mighty chasm of the Colorado River than there is between the Alleghenies or Trosachs and the Himalayas.⁷¹

And so it continued. By the end of the 19th century the names stirred confusion even among those who had traveled to these places. Edith Sessions Tupper noted in 1896:

The trouble is that so small a number of people know about [the Grand Canyon of Arizona]. Those who have heard and read of it are prone to confuse it with other grand cañons. 'Oh, yes, I have been to the Grand Cañon,' the writer has repeatedly heard tourists say, but on pressing the subject, has discovered that some one of the minor cañons of Colorado was meant.⁷²

Ah, What's a Name Anyway?

When the term "Grand Cañon of the Colorado" appeared in Lorin Blodget's *Climatology of the United States* in 1857, Powell was still a frontier teacher. It was the year he rowed down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to St. Louis, before the civil war that took his right arm, before his visions of canyon exploration, and when Frederick S. Dellenbaugh was but four years old. Lt. Ives' *Explorer* was either an item on a U.S. Army purchase order or in crates en route to California by way of Panama. The term rested there, fairly anonymously, awaiting rediscovery.

By the early 1860s the Colorado River and its "Big Canyon" were known to the world chiefly through

the reports of geologist John Strong Newberry and Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, accompanied by the illustrations by Balduin Möllhausen and Friedrich von Egloffstein. Hundreds, if not thousands, of copies of the 1861 Colorado River report were disgorged from the Government Printing Office for members of Congress and for gratuitous distribution by them and the authors to constituents, colleagues and libraries. Some interest was generated in American and European circles of geologists and geographers, but the work did not as easily reach a far-flung general readership. For the most part, the public in the 1860s met the Grand Canyon just through the occasional geography primer and other general or casual works, which tendered cheap copies of Möllhausen's and Egloffstein's illustrations, asserting publishers' fancy for sensational, overwrought defiles driven through a gloomy world inside the whole of the Colorado's canyons.

An exception was in Germany, thanks to the burly expedition artist and chronicler Möllhausen, who had also accompanied earlier exploratory ventures across the American West. After the Ives expedition Möllhausen returned to Germany for good. He had, though, even before joining the expedition begun to publish (in Germany) memoirs about his other American escapades; and now he quickly finished a two-volume set on his travels with the Colorado River Exploring Expedition. He beat Ives' 1861 opus to the press by a matter of months, and while lacking the technical aspects of Ives' report he included much more of human interest and daily affairs than did Ives.⁷³ In fact, in 1858 Möllhausen had been the first to publish any account of the Colorado River expedition, right after the expedition concluded.⁷⁴ Alas, Möllhausen's accounts all were published in German, and none of his Colorado River writings have been translated in whole for publication in English.

In his two-volume Colorado River

memoir (known briefly in English as his *Travels*) Möllhausen used a few colored lithographs based on his own handsome watercolor and gouache paintings of the Colorado River country. Even though he had sent numerous paintings back to Ives in America, which were used to prepare some illustrations for Ives' official report, he used relatively few in his own volumes. The wonderful originals sent to America were eventually lost track of, some being rediscovered in New York late in the 20th century, which subsequently were exhibited and published.⁷⁵ Möllhausen also is recognized here for having been the first, in his *Travels*, to illustrate the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon as well as a Grand Canyon rapid—Diamond Creek Rapid.⁷⁶ Beginning in 1860, short notices and lengthy, small-type critical reviews and summaries of Möllhausen's works appeared for years afterward in German journals, continuing to limit the audience chiefly to Europe. There his work as a chronicler ended. After returning to Germany Möllhausen lectured and became a well-known novelist—the German James Fenimore Cooper, so-called⁷⁷—basing adventuresome and romantic stories in the American West and Southwest, and along the Colorado River. For his wide and successful advertising of his American exploits, Möllhausen was the Prussian Powell, though his canyons were never Grand, but *Grosse*.⁷⁸

Come 1869, running with sensations of adventure and derring-do, an American press and eager readers fed on news of Major Powell's gamble with the Green and Colorado Rivers. They also lapped up false reports that the expedition had perished, fraudulent accounts that were immediately exposed. The encore expedition of 1871–1872, reaching out from the river gorges into some of the last areas of the American West to be mapped, rallied both popular and scientific interest. If we must focus solely on maps—as Frederick Dellenbaugh had, but

which wholly overlooks the breadth of other printed works—Dock Marston of course is the one who first recognized that the map in Palmer’s *Report of Surveys*, completed by 1868, used the name Grand Canyon years before Dellenbaugh. But we must wonder in turn, how did Palmer’s map makers come up with the name? The question seems not to have been asked!

The Grand Canyon has become a world-renowned image, actually and figuratively. “Grand Canyon” is a name recognized in dozens of languages, often even without translation. But what if, given the Grand Canyon’s first known non-indigenous name, we would today be drawn instead to Puerto de Bucareli National Park? There would be no nomenclatural controversy, no literary hunts. We would know who named it and when—Padre Francisco Tomás Garcés, in 1776—and for whom it was named—a Spaniard, Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, *Virrey de Nueva España* (Figure 7). Indeed, would such a name be inspirational enough to rally individuals and organizations around the world as when *The Grand Canyon* is threatened by dams, development and desecration? Frankly, with apology to the viceroy, *Puerto de Bucareli* might lack Grand Canyon-sized acclaim.

We have no idea now who “named the Grand Canyon.” Why historians and bibliographers of the Southwest had not recognized the uses of the term “Grand Canyon” from years long before Powell is unknown; I cannot speak for them. Their omission offers a constructive lesson that discoveries can be made even on ground well trod, a tantalizing hope that we may yet find earlier uses of the name and maybe even that one person who was the first to make the canyon “Grand.”

Powell summed it up well when he contemplated what might lay ahead for him and his companions in the Grand Canyon, beyond the

Figure 7



looming, brooding entrance to the Colorado River’s Upper Granite Gorge. “Ah, well! we may conjecture many things.”⁷⁹

(Endnotes)

1 Notes

- Thanks to Michael Anderson, Richard Quartaroli and Don Lago for comments on drafts of this article, to Dan Cassidy for information on original sales of Powell’s 1895 *Canyons of the Colorado*, and to L. Greer Price for pinpointing Mills Canyon as James Abert’s “Grand Cañon” on New Mexico’s Canadian River. Earle Spamer can be reached at espamer@amphilisoc.org. Through the many endnotes of this article I purposely peg down an astonishing amount of information that circulates through modern Grand Canyon–Colorado River lore often without precise sources or with quotations that are edited without being so indicated. I hope that these reintroductions can serve future readers by supplying precise pages from long volumes and with unaltered quotations. Those who wish to follow the paper trail from here can do so quickly, and future researchers can follow and challenge my sources and opinions precisely. For historical and literary precision, too, I conserve all original spellings and capitalizations as printed in my sources: **Grand Canyon**, **Grand Cañon**, and **Grand Canon**. Each is one and the same, though—the Grand Canyon—and all are pronounced as such. From my sources I also repeat capitalization (or the lack of it) exactly. Other endnotes here add more useful and background information that would otherwise be too distracting in the main text.
- 2 Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa was the Viceroy of New Spain during 1771–1779, when Padre Francisco Tomás Garcés honored his political patron by naming Puerto de Bucareli (Bucareli Pass). Garcés’ diary was translated and edited by Eliot Coues, which incidentally he had dedicated to John Wesley Powell (*On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés*, New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900). Coues indicated that he had worked from three copies of Garcés’ *Diario y Derrotero* (described at length in Vol. 1, pp. xiv–xx), the original, penned in 1777, having been lost. Coues’ translation of Garcés’ encounter with the canyon (Vol. 2, pp. 347–351, with extensive notes interleaved by Coues, but omitted here) reads (parenthetical inserts are Coues’; square brackets are inserted here): “June 26 [1776]. I traveled four leagues southeast, and south, and turning to the east; and halted at the sight of the most profound caxones [canyons] which ever onward continue . . . ; and within these flows the Rio Colorado. There is seen . . . a very great sierra, which in the distance (looks) blue; and there runs from southeast to northwest a pass open to the very base, as if the sierra were cut artificially to give entrance to the Rio Colorado into these lands. I named this singular (pass) Puerto de Bucareli and though to all appearances would not seem to be very great the difficulty of reaching thereunto, I considered this to be impossible in consequence of the difficult caxones which intervened. From this position said

pass bore eastnortheast. Also were there seen on the north some smokes, which my companions said were those of the Indians whom they name Payuches [Paiute], who live on the other side of the river. I am astonished at the roughness of this country, and at the barrier which nature has fixed therein.”

- 3 The origin of the name Big Canyon is not known. Thus far the earliest records of the name I have found in print are in a speech made in 1852: “The Pacific Railroad. Great Speech of Gen. J. A. McDougall, Delivered at the Verandah, in San Francisco, on the 24th August, 1852.” *Western Journal and Civilian*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (November 1852), pp. 89–101 (with editorial introduction, pp. 88–89; the Colorado River and Big Cañon are mentioned on pp. 90, 92, 94); and on the map drawn by Richard Kern in 1852, published in the L. Sitgreaves expedition report of 1853 (about which see later in this article).
- 4 Powell, J. W., *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries. Explored in 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875).
- 5 See Powell, J. W. “The Colorado Cañons” in *Tribune Popular Science* (Boston: Henry L. Shepard and Co., Part 3, 1874), pp. 9–10; and more widely read, “The Cañons of the Colorado,” *Scribner’s Monthly*, Vol. 9 (January 1875), pp. 293–310, (February), pp. 394–409, (March), pp. 523–537; and also “An Overland Trip to the Grand Canyon,” *Scribner’s Monthly*, Vol. 10 (October 1875), pp. 659–678.
- 6 Marston, O. D. “Who Named the Grand Canyon?” *Pacific Historian*, Vol. 12 (Summer 1968), pp. 4–8.
- 7 Dellenbaugh, F. S. “Naming the Grand Canyon.” *Science*, new series, Vol. 77 (April 7, 1933), pp. 349–350.
- 8 Sumner had sent that anecdote to engineer Robert Brewster Stanton, who included it in his *Colorado River Controversies* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1932, p. 194). Dellenbaugh of course had just read the recently published book but did not mention Stanton as his source in the 1933 article. Sumner does have a butte in Grand Canyon named for him, overlooking the Colorado River and Bright Angel Creek. Other natural landmarks were named for various members of the two Powell expeditions, and for Powell, which all were formalized in the 20th century through the U.S. Board on Geographic Names.
- 9 Found and quoted by Marston, “Who Named the Grand Canyon?”
- 10 Palmer, W. J. *Report of Surveys Across the Continent, in 1867–’68, on the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-second Parallels, For a Route Extending the Kansas Pacific Railway to the Pacific Ocean at San Francisco and San Diego*. By Gen. Wm. J. Palmer. December 1st, 1868 (Philadelphia: W. B. Selheimer, Printer, 1869).
- 11 Bell, W. A., *New Tracks in North America* (London: Chapman and Hall, and New York: Scribner, Welford and Co., 1869). Second edition, 1870.
- 12 Bowles, S. *Our New West* (Hartford, Connecticut: Hartford Publishing Co.; New York: J. D. Dennison; and Chicago: J. A. Stoddard, 1869).
- 13 Parry’s report was published first in April 1868 but there only the names “Great Cañon” and “Big Cañon” were used: see Parry, C. C. “Account of the Passage Through the Great Cañon of the Colorado of the West, From Above the Mouth of Green River to the Head of Steamboat Navigation at Callville, in the Months of August and September, 1867, by James White, Now Living at Callville,” *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis*, Vol. 2 (April 1868), pp. 499–503. Sometime during the remainder of 1868 this article was compiled into Gen. Palmer’s *Report of Surveys Across the Continent*, when the term “Grand” was added to “Great” and “Big,” but only in the title: see Parry, C. C. “Grand Canon of the Colorado. Account of the Passage of the Grand Canon of the Colorado, from Above the Mouth of Green River to the Head of Steamboat Navigation at Callville, in the Months of August and September, 1867, by James White, Now Living at Callville,” in Palmer, W. J., *Report of Surveys Across the Continent* (1869), pp. 232–236.
- 14 Search for “James White” in the “Keywords” field in the online “Bibliography of the Grand Canyon and Lower Colorado River” (<http://www.grandcanyonbiblio.org/search>).
- 15 This letter has been reproduced variously in facsimile, transcription, and edited versions in numerous sources, including most recently a book by James White’s

- granddaughter: Adams, E. *Hell or High Water: James White's Disputed Passage Through Grand Canyon, 1867* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001).
- 16 "The Grand Canon of the Colorado." *The New York Times* (July 7, 1869), p. 8.
 - 17 "Major Powell's Lecture", *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, September 22, 1869), p. 8; reprinted in *The New York Times* (September 26), p. 4: "Major Powell. Results of his Exploration of the Remarkable Colorado River."
 - 18 Clerke, J. "A Terrible Voyage," *Lippincott's Magazine*, Vol. 2 (December 1868), p. 588. The article is unsigned, but the author's name is given in the table of contents to the volume (p. 4).
 - 19 "Map of the South-Western Portion of the United States, and of Sonora and Chihuahua. Illustrating Travels by Dr. W. A. Bell. Compiled by E. G. Ravenstein," in Bell, *New Tracks in North America* (1869, 1870). The portrayal of the Colorado River and its tributaries suggests that this portion of the map was derived from the Ives report of 1861, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West Explored in 1857 and 1858* (about which see more later in this article).
 - 20 Farquhar, F. P. *The Books of the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon: A Selective Bibliography* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1953), item 24. Farquhar was professionally an accountant, but avocationally an accomplished mountain climber, environmentalist, and bibliographer. He was as well a president and director of the Sierra Club.
 - 21 Abert, J. W. "Journal of Lieutenant J. W. Abert, from Bent's fort to St. Louis, in 1845" in *Message from the President of the United States, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, Communicating a Report of an Expedition Led by Lieutenant Abert, on the Upper Arkansas and Through the Country of the Comanche Indians, in the Fall of the Year 1845* (U.S. 29th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive Document 438, 1846), p. 21.
 - 22 Gregg, J. *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York: Henry G. Langly, 1844). The *Oxford English Dictionary*, which offers sources of the earliest-known use of words or their use in common language, indicates that the word "canyon" was in general use as early as 1861; and the spelling, "cañon," is said to have been first used in the American geographical context in 1850. But as we see here it was already in print by 1844. (According to the *OED* the word "grand" had come into use in the English language around 1600.)
 - 23 Gray, A. B. *Texas Western Railroad. Survey of Route, its Cost and Probable Revenue, in Connection with the Pacific Railway; Nature of the Country, Climate, Mineral and Agricultural Resources, &c.* (Cincinnati: Porter, Thrall and Chapman, 1855); "Grand Canon," see pp. 47, 48. Reprinted and slightly revised, with illustrations added, Gray, A. B. *Southern Pacific Railroad. Survey of a Route for the Southern Pacific R. R., on the 32nd Parallel, by A. B. Gray, for the Texas Western R. R. Company* (Cincinnati: Wrightson and Co.'s ('Railroad Record,') Print., 1856); "Grand Canon," see pp. 48, 49, illustration facing p. 48.
 - 24 Gray, A. B. *Southern Pacific Railroad. Survey of a Route for the Southern Pacific R. R., on the 32nd Parallel, by A. B. Gray, for the Texas Western R. R. Company* (Cincinnati: Wrightson and Co.'s ('Railroad Record,') Print., 1856); "Grand Canon," see pp. 48, 49, illustration facing p. 48. This is a reprinting of the 1855 ed., slightly revised, with illustrations added.
 - 25 This connection was noted earlier: Spamer, E. "First Depiction of Grand Canyon," *The Bulletin* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 7, no. 2 (February 2003), p. 3.
 - 26 Weber, D. J. *Richard H. Kern: Expeditionary Artist in the Far Southwest, 1848-1853* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press for Amon Carter Museum, 1985).
 - 27 Sitgreaves, L. *Report on an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, U.S. 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 59 (1853), Plate 13.
 - 28 "Diary of an expedition down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers under Captain L. Sitgreaves, 1851-1852," Vol. 3. (Manuscript, Archives of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Drexel University, Philadelphia, Collection 387B.) Woodhouse's diary was not published in its entirety until 2007: Wallace, A., and R. H. Hevly (eds.). *From Texas to San Diego in 1851: The Overland Journal of Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, Surgeon-Naturalist of the Sitgreaves Expedition* (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2007). The Woodhouse diaries had been transcribed for Wallace in the 1980s by the Academy's Manuscripts Librarian, Carol Spawn.
 - 29 Wallace, Andrew B. "Across Arizona to the Big Colorado; the Sitgreaves Expedition of 1851," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. 26 (1984), pp. 325-364.
 - 30 This is the 1966 (photinspected 1974) USGS White Horse Hills, Ariz. 1:24,000 quadrangle, which depicts the Chop triangulation station at 7859 ft in the NE¼ of quadrangle, overlooking Indian Flat in the Coconino National Forest. The nearest named landmark is McKinney Tank, to the east at the foot of the hill. The hill is accessible by forest roads but to reach the benchmark requires a hike to the top.
 - 31 http://www.ngs.noaa.gov/cgi-bin/ds_desig.prl
 - 32 Sitgreaves, *Report*, p. 8.
 - 33 Whipple, A. W., with J. C. Ives. "Report of Explorations For a Railway Route, Near the Thirty-fifth Parallel of North Latitude, from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean" in *Report of Explorations and Surveys, To Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853-4. Volume III* (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, Printer, U.S. 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, House Executive Document 91, 1856).
 - 34 During 1857-1860, naval Lt. Edward F. Beale was sent westward across New Mexico Territory to establish and (later) to improve a wagon road to the Colorado River. His expeditions traced part of the Sitgreaves and Whipple routes. For some sources on the Beale Wagon Road, search the online Grand Canyon bibliography for "Beale" typed into the "Keywords" field (<http://www.grandcanyonbiblio.org/search/>).
 - 35 Hitchcock, E. "Illustrations of Surface Geology," *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. 9, 155 pp. [separately paginated paper within the volume]. (Regarding "Big Cañon," see pp. 116, 125.)
 - 36 See for example, Spamer, E. "Lt. Ives, Messrs. Reaney and Neafie, and the Explorer: The Philadelphia Story," *The Ol' Pioneer*, Vol. 11, no. 4 (October/December 2000), pp. 13-15.
 - 37 The *Explorer* saw government service for just one voyage. After the expedition was concluded at Fort Defiance, New Mexico Territory, Lt. Ives returned to California by way of Yuma, where he sold the *Explorer* to one of the Colorado River steamboat operations. It never again sailed far upriver and was later lost, adrift, downstream. Its cannibalized iron skeleton was last seen in the early 20th century, landlocked and buried in an abandoned channel of the shifting Colorado (see Sykes, G. "The Colorado Delta," *Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication* 460, 1937, 193 pp.).
 - 38 Ives, J. C. "Colorado Exploring Expedition," in A. A. Humphreys, *Report on Explorations and Surveys* (U.S. 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 1, 1858), pp. 608-619.
 - 39 [Ives, J. C.] "The Colorado Expedition. The Colorado of the West and the Country Bordering It—the Grand Canon," *Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (February 1859), pp. 41-45.
 - 40 "Lieut. Ives' Expedition," *Deseret News* (June 9, 1858), p. 3.
 - 41 Brackett, A. G. "Arizona Territory," *The Western Monthly*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (March 1869), p. 171.
 - 42 Ives, J. C. *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West Explored in 1857 and 1858*. U.S. 30th Congress, 1st Session, House Document 90 (1861). (In five separately paginated sections and appendices; includes two loose maps. Also published as an unnumbered *Senate Executive Document*, with two additional maps with geological overprinting by John Strong Newberry.)
 - 43 See: Huseman, B. W. *Wild River, Timeless Canyons; Balduin Möllhausen's Watercolors of the Colorado*. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1995). Rowan, S. *The Baron in the Grand Canyon; Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein in the West*. (Columbia (Missouri) and London: University of Missouri Press, 2012). Regarding the shaded relief maps, see Demhardt, I. J., "'An approximation to a bird's eye view, and is intelligible to every eye [...]:' Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein, the Exploration of the American West, and its First Relief Shaded Maps." In E. Liebenberg and I. J. Demhardt (eds.), *History of Cartography; International Symposium of the ICA Commission*, 2010 (Heidelberg: Springer, 2012), pp. 57-74.
 - 44 Many of Egloffstein's portrayals of the Grand Canyon have been long taken to task for their remarkable insensitivity to reality, showing moody and improbably sharp defiles and mnemonic, jittery-looking panoramas. This is in striking contrast to the aesthetically exquisite and technically superior shaded-relief maps that Egloffstein drew with techniques that he newly devised. (For reports about these new maps, search the online Grand Canyon bibliography for "Egloffstein" typed into the "Keywords" field (<http://www.grandcanyonbiblio.org/search/>.) Recent research suggests that the offending illustrations in the Ives report, despite their captions, may be partly mixed with those that Egloffstein had drawn during an earlier expedition in the Black Canyon of the Gunnison River, in the state of Colorado. See: Miller, J. and L. Herzog, "The Long Draw: On the Trail of an Artistic Mystery in the American West," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 324 (January 2012), pp. 50-59; and Miller, D., "Baron von Egloffstein and the First Published Images of Grand Canyon," in R. D. Quartaroli, (comp., ed.), *A Rendezvous of Grand Canyon Historians: Ideas, Arguments, and First-Person Accounts. Proceedings of the Third Grand Canyon History Symposium, January 2012* (Flagstaff: Grand Canyon Historical Society, 2013), pp. 171-177. (Egloffstein and Möllhausen both may be credited as the first actual illustrators of the Grand Canyon, though, as already mentioned, the first sketched glimpse of the canyon was made by Richard Kern seven years earlier.)
 - 45 C. Bielawski of San Francisco was in charge of navigational studies of the Colorado River. Part II of Ives' report, the "Hydrographic Report," however, credits no author.
 - 46 "The region last explored is, of course, altogether valueless. It can be approached only from the south, and after entering it there is nothing to do but to leave. Ours has been the first, and will doubtless be the last, party of whites to visit this profitless locality. It seems intended by nature that the Colorado river, along the greater portion of its lonely and majestic way, shall be forever unvisited and undisturbed." (Ives, J. C. *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West Explored in 1857 and 1858*. U.S. 30th Congress, 1st Session, House Document 90, 1861, Part I, General Report, p. 110.) Ives is often misquoted in paraphrase as having called the region "worthless." Balduin Möllhausen agreed that they would probably be the last outsiders to see the region, but his own writings, published in Germany, were likely not much read in America nor have they ever been completely translated into English. (See more about Möllhausen's publications later in this article.)
 - 47 Bell, W. A. *New Tracks in North America*, p. lvi.
 - 48 Blodget, L. *Climatology of the United States, and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., and London: Trübner and Co., 1857). See Chapter 2, "Climatological Features of Surface and Configuration: Physical Geography," p. 83 ff.
 - 49 Blodget, L. *Climatology*, p. 90.
 - 50 Blodget, L. *Climatology*, p. 97.
 - 51 Blodget, L. *Climatology*, p. 97, footnote.
 - 52 Pattie, J. O. *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky, During an Expedition From St. Louis, Through the Vast Regions Between That Place and the Pacific Ocean . . .* Timothy Flint, ed. (Cincinnati: John H. Wood, 1831). See p. 97 for the passage that has been interpreted by western historians to be the Grand Canyon, which Pattie traversed along its rim: "April 10th [1826], we arrived where the river emerges from these horrid mountains, which so cage it up, as to deprive all human beings of the ability to descend to its banks, and make use of its waters. No mortal has the power of describing the pleasure I felt, when I could once more reach the banks of the river." The book has been reprinted several times in the 20th century.
 - 53 Billingsley, G. H., E. E. Spamer, and D. Menkes, *Quest for the Pillar of Gold: The Mines and Miners of the Grand Canyon* (Grand Canyon Natural History Association, 1997).
 - 54 Coues, E. (ed., transl.) *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900).
 - 55 Darrah, W. C. *Powell of the Colorado* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951).
 - 56 Worster, D. *A River Running West: the Life of John Wesley Powell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
 - 57 Ward, R. D. "Lorin Blodget's 'Climatology of the United States': An Appreciation," *Monthly Weather Review*, Vol. 42 (1914), pp. 23-27. Dumber, G. S., "Lorin Blodget, 1823-1901," in T. W. Freeman (ed.), *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies*, Vol. 5 (London: Mansell, 1981), pp. 9-12.
 - 58 "Joseph Henry Dismisses Lorin Blodget, Assistant in Charge of Meteorology," *Smithsonian Institution Archives*, October 11, 1854, <http://siarchives.si.edu/>

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- 59 Blodget, L., "Observers and correspondents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1854," manuscript (1 vol., 220 pp.), American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Mss. 925.B62, received and accessioned 1900. J. S. Newberry, too, was a member of the Society, elected in 1867; J. W. Powell also was a member, elected in 1889.
- 60 Newberry, J. S. "Geological Report" in Ives, J. C., *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West Explored in 1857 and 1858*. U.S. 30th Congress, 1st Session, House Document 90 (1861), Part III, p. 54.
- 61 Ingalls, R. *General Ingalls's Inspection Report*. U.S. 39th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives Executive Report 111 (March 2, 1867), p. 10. The report is dated December 14, 1866, relating to a tour of inspection of U.S. Army Quartermaster's Department "from Fort Leavenworth through Colorado, Utah, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and back by way of the Gulf of California, the Colorado river, and Denver City." Ingalls may have referred to the Colorado's exit from the Grand Canyon, or, as like others had, may have confused Black Canyon with the Grand. In any case, it is clear that he knew about the canyon only from hearsay.
- 62 Zell, T. E. *Zell's Popular Encyclopedia: A Universal Dictionary of Knowledge and Language* (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell), p. 570.
- 63 Lockwood, D. W. "General Itinerary" in G. M. Wheeler, *Preliminary Report upon a Reconnaissance through Southern and Southeastern Nevada, Made in 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 18.
- 64 For decades after the Powell expeditions, many writers turned to terms like "Great Canyon of the Colorado" or "Great Canyon of Arizona." These are not dismissals of "Grand Canyon," rather they are exercises in literary license.
- 65 Powell, J. W. *Canyons of the Colorado* (Meadville, Pennsylvania: Flood and Vincent, The Chautauqua-Century Press, 1895). According to Darrah's biography of Powell, the publisher may have advanced Powell handsomely, as Powell hoped then to acquire the Maine shorefront home where he would eventually spend his last days. But only about a hundred copies were sold at a fairly pricey \$7, and a few in a leather deluxe edition at \$12, so for the publisher it was a gamble lost.
- 66 Whittlesley, L. *Yellowstone Place Names* (Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1988), p. 119.
- 67 Langford, N. P. *Diary of the Washburn Expedition to the Yellowstone and Firehole Rivers in the Year 1870* (privately printed, 1905), p. 16.
- 68 Doane, G. C., *The Report of Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane Upon the So-Called Yellowstone Expedition of 1870*, U.S. 41st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Executive Document 51 (1871), p. 9.
- 69 *Helena Herald* item, undated, reprinted in Raymond, R. W. *Mining Statistics West of the Rocky Mountains*, U.S. 42nd Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document 10 (1871), p. 214.
- 70 Regarding the suffix, Edward Ambler Armstrong, writing about the Yellowstone Grand Canyon in 1922, said: "One, of course, is always called upon to compare this Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone with the Grand Canyon, that of the Colorado, in Arizona When Grand Canyon without the suffix is spoken of, government literature tells us that is meant. There are numerous Grand Canyons, but they all have a suffix." (Armstrong, E. A. *The Sinaites: A Chronicle of Happy Days*. Princeton, N.J.: Printed for private circulation, 1922, p. 64.)
- 71 Dutton, C. E. *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District*, U.S. Geological Survey Monograph 2 (1882), p. 2, note. The gorge of the Arkansas River is the Royal Gorge, in Colorado.
- 72 Tupper, E. S. In the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, Vol. 41, no. 6 (June 1896), p. 677.
- 73 Möllhausen, B. *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico, unternommen als Mitglied der im Auftrage der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten ausgesandten Colorado-Expedition* (Leipzig: Hermann Costenoble, 1861).
- 74 Möllhausen, B. "Der Rio Colorado des Westens," *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* (Berlin), new series, Vol. 5 (1858), pp. 438-443.
- 75 Huseman, B. W. *Wild River, Timeless Canyons; Balduin Möllhausen's Watercolors of the Colorado* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1995). The watercolors were not created in full color as one might imagine, but are more monochromatic brown watercolor wash and gouache paintings, Möllhausen's favored style at the time.
- 76 "Der Rio Colorado, nache der Mündung des Diamant-Baches" [The Rio Colorado, by the mouth of Diamond Creek], hand-tinted lithograph by A. Adelman, Leipzig, from a painting by Balduin Möllhausen (Möllhausen, B., *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico*, Vol. 2, [Plate 10]). The upper part of Diamond Creek Rapid is portrayed at the side of the view, looking upstream. Möllhausen's original watercolors (see Huseman, *Wild River, Timeless Canyons*) portray this view as well as another one viewing the whole rapid as seen downstream. The hand-colored lithograph at Diamond Creek portrays the Colorado River running green, not reddish brown as it should, showing that the colorist imagined a more familiar kind of river. Why Möllhausen did not catch this obvious oversight is not known. It is, though, a coincidental foretelling of today's dam-derived, sediment-deprived river in Grand Canyon that flows green, the result of flourishing cold-water algae.
- 77 Barba, P. A. *Balduin Möllhausen the German Cooper* ([Philadelphia]: University of Pennsylvania, 1914. New York: D. Appleton and Co., publishing agents. Americana Germanica, Vol. 17.)
- 78 Even though "Grand," "Big," and "Great" each can be translated into German as *Grosse*, it is likely that Möllhausen meant "Big" Canyon, the name as used by most of the Ives expedition. On the other hand, he was Newberry's assistant in the field, and Newberry had called the canyon the Great Canyon.
- 79 Powell, J. W., *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries* (1875), p. 80.