



The Ol' Pioneer

The Magazine of the Grand Canyon Historical Society

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President's Letter

The extremely fast pace of modern life continues to astound me. Today I am flying on a 181-passenger jet across our great North American continent. Yesterday, I was in the depths of Grand Canyon's rocky wilderness, hiking out the Bright Angel Trail after a 5-day rim to rim backpack. I'm sure that our Grand Canyon forbearers, the likes of whom are the Kolb brothers, Burro Jim, or Teddy Roosevelt, would be just as amazed as I, that a person can transform their being at such a fast pace. It seems that history is in the making at an even faster pace than ever before.

And more history will be made in just about a year's time when the Grand Canyon Historical Society hosts its fourth-ever History Symposium in honor of the National Park Service's 100 year anniversary. The GCHS board has been at work formulating initial plans for this seminal event. First of all, I invite you to "**save the date**" on your calendar as we anticipate that tickets for the event are sure to sell out as in past symposiums (the Shrine of Ages can only accommodate about 250 people). Activities and presentations will span a three day period from **Friday November 4 to Sunday November 6, 2016**. Please be aware that this is the weekend before the much ballyhooed 2016 Presidential election to be held on November 8.

Detailed planning has now commenced under the leadership of two dedicated **Co-chairs, Dave Mortensen and Helen Ranney**. They will lead the various committees as they begin to craft an event that is sure to live up to the standards of past symposiums. What we envision initially is a mixer event on Friday night where attendees and GCHS members can mingle along with the presenters, perhaps at the Community Building. Saturday will likely be a full day for presentations, perhaps grouped under past themes such as Grand Canyon Village life, Inner Canyon (river and trails), or National Park Service Centennial. Sunday we will likely offer numerous tours and field trips within the Park.

If the NPS Centennial Symposium sounds like something you want to be part of, please consider becoming a **volunteer** during the pre-planning phase or during the event next November. Committees that may possibly be looking for volunteers would be Registration, Program, Field Trip, or Presentation committees. We especially want to hear from you if you have an idea for a field trip or tour of some area of the South Rim. Please write to me at wayneranney@earthlink.net, or our Secretary Tom Martin at secretary@grandcanyonhistory.org. Either one of us can point you in the right direction as all committees have chair-persons in place at this time.

The 2016 Symposium will lead up to the "grand-daddy" of all symposiums when Grand Canyon National Park celebrates its centennial in February 2019. Although our mission is to preserve history at Grand Canyon, we are always thinking towards the future, knowing that today is tomorrow's past!

Wayne Ranney
GCHS President

Cover: Renovated Mather Point.

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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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Submissions to *The Bulletin* should be sent to Karen Greig, kgreig@yahoo.com

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Eighty Pounds of Bronze — Grand Canyon's Memorial Mather Plaques



Mather Plaque, author's photo. Plaque's inscription was taken from the House of Representatives speech given by the Hon. Louis C. Cramton on the retirement of Stephen T. Mather, January 15, 1929.

by G. Arthur Janssen

For years the bronze plaque hung on its boulder along a bleak dusty path trampled lifeless by streams of gawking tourists on the South Rim. Somehow Stephen Mather is important to the Park Service and the Grand Canyon, but here it isn't apparent how or why. Putting together plans and funding, the Park Service pulled off an elaborate renovation of Mather Point starting in 2010. Amid accessible concrete walks,

stone trim, car-size chunks of Kaibab limestone, a cozy rustic amphitheater, and all native vegetation, the Mather Plaque on its boulder is now perched at rim's edge atop a stairway. It is a stunning presentation.

Stephen Mather's part in the Park Service's founding is a great story that was meant to be. Successes and failures. A remarkable Secretary of Interior in Franklin Lane. Mather's able assistant (and successor), Horace Albright. Congress. Politics. Money. Through it all, Mather managed to

cobble together 57 Park units and create a new, respected Federal agency between 1915 and 1929. Now with more than 400 Park units around the world today and a broad range of interpretive programs, research projects, and educational services, the legacy of Stephen Mather in the 21st century is simply astounding.

The founding of Grand Canyon National Park is equally storied with Teddy Roosevelt, a rogue Arizona senator, John Muir, a millionaire land baron/newspaper magnate, Indian

tribes, miners, scoundrels, a legendary liar, entrepreneurs of all sorts, the Forest Service, a prima donna architect, and an avaricious railroad. Whew! Through all this, Mather's goal for America at the Grand Canyon came together pretty well, all things considered. The Grand Canyon remains among the seven wonders of the natural world and continues to be a premier international destination.

As for the Mather Plaque—well, Mather didn't like plaques. He didn't want world-class National Parks cluttered up like some courthouse square. True, he knuckled under to the Sierra Club for a plaque at the site of John Muir's "Hang Nest" cabin in Yosemite Valley. True, he played politics in the dedication of a John Wesley Powell memorial on the South Rim. In his vision, a National Park was to show *itself*. National Parks were not the time or place for trivial amusements and trite entertainment.

Mather retired after a devastating stroke in 1929. He died a year later at age 62. His broad following of friends and colleagues joined in wanting to

recognize the remarkable achievements of this charismatic man and what Parks mean to all America. In the seeming urgency of the moment, planting a tree seemed simple and appropriate enough. Several letters passed back and forth between the South Rim and Park Service headquarters to wit, a tree planted on the 4th of July (Mather's birthday) as suggested did not have a ghost of a chance to survive the summer heat. In October of 1930 a Utah juniper was planted as part of a native plant garden adjacent the Yavapai Observation Station, complete with dress uniforms, guests, and a photographer. Alas, the little tree didn't make it. Today, about 10 feet away, a shapely Utah juniper twines up a weathered corner of the old stone building. Rangers and docents refer to it as the "Mather tree." Maybe it is? Why not?

A more formal national group of friends and admirers formed "The Stephen T. Mather Appreciation," a Who's Who of 1930 America, to entertain more than twenty different suggestions for a more dignified rec-

ognition. They settled on the idea of a memorial tablet to be sent to Parks where Mather had been personally committed to their development and success. Bryant Baker, a world-renowned sculptor, was chosen as artist and paid \$1,000 for the arts and crafts design. Gorham Bronze cast 28 plaques in late 1930. Twenty were sent to National Parks, two to National Monuments, three to State Parks, one to the University of California at Berkeley, and one plaque was placed outside the Director's Office in Washington D.C. at Horace Albright's request.

As more Parks were added over time, Gorham cast a run of 14 plaques in 1959 using the plaque in Park Service Headquarters to make a master mold. Hank Schoch, Chief Ranger at Colorado National Monument,



Powell Memorial dedication. GRCA NPS photo



Mather tree planting. GRCA NPS photo

looked to obtain a Mather Plaque for his monument's 75th anniversary in 1986. With none to be had, he embarked on the project of having a plaque cast for his Monument. Over the next five years his persistent effort led to a Rededication Activity of 20 Park units in 1991, on the 75th anniversary of the Park Service. Gorham cast 20 individually numbered plaques using the 1930 plaque at Wind Cave (then in storage) as a master mold. In 2015 Jim Milestone, Superintendent at Whiskeytown National Recreation Area, independently had three plaques cast using the 1930 Berkeley plaque as a master mold. One was dedicated at Whiskeytown's 50th Anniversary, 22 August 2015. The other two are to be placed at Redwood National and State Parks and Joshua Tree National Park in 2016. Using the Milestone mold, other donors purchased plaques for Saguaro National Park and Walnut Canyon National Monument. (Current price is \$2,350 plus shipping.)

So 67 Mather Plaques total have been cast. Thanks are due Don Lago for verifying production numbers from Gorham before the company closed. Where are the plaques today? Good question! And finding them all is another story. Inasmuch as these

plaques were all a private donation and never budgeted by the Park Service, there is no official NPS record of how many they have actually received, where they went, or where they are now.

Arizona has seven of those 67 Mather Plaques. (Only California with twelve has more—but one of those is lost somewhere (?) and another one has been in storage for almost 70 years—leaving ten currently on display or awaiting dedication in that state.) The two National Monuments to receive 1930 plaques are both in Arizona. Both were administered by the curmudgeonly Frank "Boss" Pinkley, a long time Mather appointee and friend. Both of those plaques were dedicated in 1932 and both remain in their original locations at Petrified Forest and Casa Grande Ruins. Mather and his cronies donated the money to purchase Pipe Spring National Monument on the Arizona Strip in 1923. With its quintessential western lore of cattle rustling, a wagon trail, Indian raids, smuggling, polygamy, God-seeking, and desert rats, this cool green wayside was too much for Mather to resist. That it was a natural stop along the way between Zion and the Grand Canyon on his Grand Circle of National Parks

made it perfect. The Mather Plaque at Pipe Spring was obtained in 1991 and looks over the North Kaibab Plateau from a hillside above the spring and Winsor Castle. Saguaro National Park and Walnut Canyon National Monument will dedicate their plaques in 2016.

Which brings us back to the Grand Canyon and its two plaques. While most Parks don't have a Mather Plaque, three National Parks have two! Each of these Parks has two plaques for a different reason. (The other Parks are Mt. Rainier and Sequoia/Kings Canyon.) The Grand Canyon has no idea why it has two plaques. The Mather Plaque on the South Rim is well known and well documented with a file of letters, notes, photos, memorandums, telegrams, reminders, architect's drawings, and a bill of lading. It was dedicated on 4 July 1932 with Arizona Governor Hunt as the guest speaker. 3 year old Sonny Lehnert, photographer Emery Kolb's grandson, placed a wreath on the monument. Since that day, the plaque has moved three more times enroute to its current location. Its present setting is certainly one of the most esthetically pleasing of any plaque and eminently worthy of your appreciation.

A maintenance worker found a Mather Plaque in a storage shed on the North Rim in 1995. The plaque was promptly whanged onto a limestone boulder and placed in front of the North Rim back country office. No documentation there or any place else has ever been found concerning this plaque. It is from the 1959 casting. The maintenance officer whose crew found the plaque retired and was lost to contact. For a while the search stopped there. Earlier this year (2015) when a friend had a permit for South Coyote Buttes and asked me to go along, the third hiker with us was in fact that retired maintenance supervisor. So I got the rest of the story: The discovered North Rim plaque was new, in the box. It had never been mounted. The shipping crate was broken up and burned as firewood. No, there was no documentation or paper

work of any sort. Upper management on the South Rim decided where the plaque was to go. The worker that found the plaque was just trying to clean things out to make more room in the sign shop.

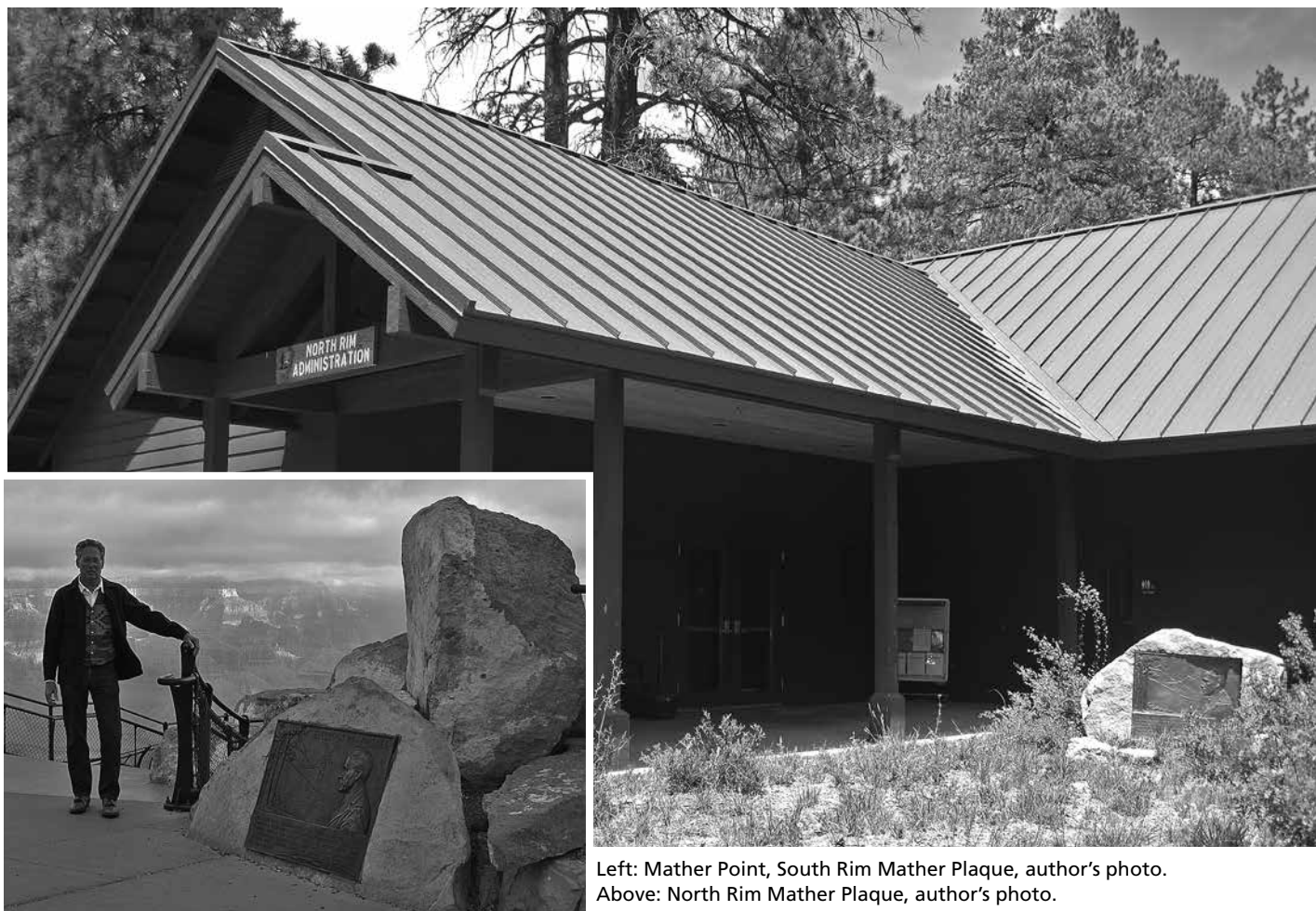
Of the fourteen 1959 plaques, three have moved completely from their original locations. Mather Junior High School was closed and the building turned over to the city of Darien, Connecticut, for its City Hall in 1983. Harper's Ferry picked up its plaque and dedicated it that November in front of the Mather Training Center. Mounted on a large boulder from the Shenandoah River, it is referred to as the Mather Rock. Another plaque from an as yet unknown location was returned to the NPS History Collection at an unknown time. Sent to the Blue Ridge Parkway about 1989 or 1990, it was mounted outside behind the Linn Cove Viaduct Visitor Contact Station. This plaque is deeply weathered and somewhere along the

way, painted silver.

Over a period of many years (since the 1970's) several people had occasion to note and document a Mather Plaque stored in a supply room at Fire Island National Seashore. The plaque in storage there was new and had never been mounted. Rather than email, I called Fire Island about this plaque on a cold winter day in early 2015. It didn't seem likely to me that a New York beach should be very busy middle of the week in February. The Ranger answering the phone turned my inquiry into an interrogation. "Why do you want to know about this Mather Plaque?" "Do you do this often?" No, she personally had not seen a Mather Plaque at Fire Island. "Who is funding your research?" No one—me! "Why do you think our plaque is missing?" "How do you know about our supply room?" "Have you located other missing plaques?" Yes, several. She noted in detail my personal identification and

contact information. Abruptly ending the conversation she said "I'll get back to you" and hung up. Lo and behold, it was the Chief Ranger and she did get back to me. In the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy, Fire Island underwent a complete inventory of all buildings and property. They have no Mather Plaque on their present manifest. As Fire Island has no record of ever having a plaque, they could not possibly know when it left, why it left, or where it went. But where else could a new 1959 plaque come from to be found in 1995 on the North Rim of the Grand Canyon? The mystery remains: who took or sent this plaque and why?

Of the 67 plaques cast, two are currently in storage. Haleakala took down its plaque several years ago as part of a renovation at Park Headquarters for bathroom and sidewalk construction. For unknown reasons it was never put back up. An offer to privately fund its mounting has met



Left: Mather Point, South Rim Mather Plaque, author's photo.
Above: North Rim Mather Plaque, author's photo.

Plaque Production and Current Dispositions

1930 Casting (28 plaques)	1959 Casting (14 plaques)	1991 Casting (20 plaques)	2015 Casting (5 plaques)
Acadia NP	Big Bend NP	#1 Colorado NM	Joshua Tree NP (2016)
Bryce Canyon NP	Blue Ridge Parkway	#2 Chamizal NMem	Redwood N & SPs (2016)
Casa Grande Ruins NM	Cabrillo NM	#3 Guadalupe NP	Saguaro NP (2016)
Crater Lake NP	Carlsbad Caverns NP	#4 Big Cypress NPRes	Walnut Canyon NM (2016)
Denali NP	Death Valley NP	#5 NPS Rocky Mtn.R.O.	Whiskeytown NRA (8/22/15)
Glacier NP	Everglades NP	#6 Pipe Spring NM	
Grand Canyon NP (South Rim)	Grand Canyon NP (North Rim)	#7 Great Basin NP	5/5
Grand Teton NP	Haleakala NP (storage)	#8 Santa Monica Mtns NRA	
Hawaii Volcanoes NP	Harpers Ferry NHP	(lost)	
Hot Springs NP	Isle Royale NP	#9 Allegheny Portage NHS	
Indiana Dunes NL	Mammoth Cave NP	#10 Boston NHP (lost)	
Lassen Volcanic NP	Theodore Roosevelt NP	#11 Fort Clatsop NMem	
Mesa Verde NP	Virgin Islands NP	#12 Golden Spike NHS	
Mount Rainier NP (Longmire)	Mather High School (Chicago)	#13 Petersburg NB	
Mount Rainier NP		#14 Old NPS Region III Bldg.	
(Tipsoo Lake/Mather Pkwy)	14/14	#15 Canyonlands NP	
Petrified Forest NP		#16 Bent's Old Fort NHS	
Rocky Mountain NP		#17 Yucca House NM (lost)	
Sequoia NP		#18 Hovenweep NM (lost)	
Wind Cave NP		#19 Fort Union NHS	
Yellowstone NP		#20 Assateague NS	
Yosemite NP			
Zion NP		16/20	
National Park Service Headquarters (Washington D.C.)			
New York-New Jersey Interstate Park			
(Bear Mountain State Park)			
University of California, Mather Memorial Grove			
(Botanical Garden at Berkeley)			
Redwood Highway			
(Humboldt Redwoods State Park, Kent-Mather Grove)			
			TOTAL—60/67
			Lost—5, Storage--2
27--General Grant NP plaque in museum storage, Ash Mountain, Sequoia NP			
(28--replacement to Acadia in ME for lost plaque?)			
27/28			

with noncommittal disinterest. The phantom plaque at General Grant National Park was taken down, probably in the late 1940's, for unknown reasons—possibly the graffiti dated 1934 scrawled across its front. It was located in museum storage beneath a warehouse stairwell at Ash Mountain, Sequoia National Park—where it has been stored for almost 70 years. An offer to pay for professional restoration, repatinate this otherwise pristine plaque and have it mounted has also failed to elicit much more than a

lukewarm official response.

Five of the 67 Mather Plaques are missing. One may well have been lost or damaged in the big 1947 wildfire at Acadia and replaced with the last 1930 copy remaining at Park Service Headquarters. This is not clear, however, as the current interpretive staff at Acadia denies that their plaque on the summit of Cadillac Mountain has moved since the day it was dedicated there by Superintendent George Dorr on the 4th of July 1932. A wonderful historian in Darian, CT simply ren-

dered the personal observation that “when something happens in Maine, there are usually at least two versions of what happened and why... and usually both are wrong.” Four plaques from the 1991 casting reached their shipping destinations but nothing has been seen or heard of them since. It is suspected that they may well be lost in storage somewhere in the Parks that received them. (Each of those plaques cost \$1,275 plus shipping, est. \$60--\$65, and weighs close to 100 pounds.) The new never

mounted 1991 plaque at Big Cypress (#4) was located in their headquarters attic after multiple email inquiries and a three month search in 2013. They received it in August of 1991 and hope to have it mounted in time for the 2016 Park Service centennial.

Some plaques have taken on a life of their own. At Great Basin National Park the plaque has been stolen twice and miraculously recovered both times—last time from a scrap yard in Reno two years after disappearing. Now mounted in a “bomb proof” wall at Mather Overlook along the Wheeler Peak Scenic Drive, it is among the most beautiful of settings. Following a Freedom of Information Act request at Mt. Rainier, the story of gunplay at Tipsoo Lake was detailed, thus explaining the 40 caliber bullet ricochet marks on that plaque. The Old Santa Fe Trail Building (former Region III office) is home to 1991 plaque #14. This classic CCC building was negotiated back from the General Services Administration at a swank dinner party in Ft. Worth, Texas after cocktails, with the transfer note written on a bar napkin. Indiana Dunes State Park gave their lovely old original 1930 plaque to Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore next door when that Park unit was brought online in 1966. It was finally put up on display with development of the Lakeview picnic area in 1989. Mounted on a movable sawhorse affair in front of the Cruz Bay Visitor Center, a tourist managed to knock over the Virgin Islands plaque and it landed on another visitor’s foot breaking a toe. A possible lawsuit has been considered. A flash flood in the 1950s washed Zion’s plaque away from its first location. Fortunately it was promptly located and recovered from a sand burial with the aid of a WW II mine detector. It is now in its third location on the wall of the Zion Human History Museum. And so it goes.

Of the Mather Plaques currently on public display, they are scattered from Alaska to the Virgin Islands, Maine to the Big Island of Hawaii. You can find them in National Parks, Monuments, a Seashore, a Lakeshore,

Parkways, Memorials, a Preserve, a Battlefield, a Recreation Area, Historic Sites, and Historical Parks. They adorn three administrative offices, a couple of State Parks, and two schools. There are Mather Plaques in 16 UNESCO Biosphere Reserves and 10 World Heritage Sites. As the Park Service reaches its centennial in 2016, Stephen Mather and the Memorial Mather Plaques firmly remain an integral part of Park history, they are a touchstone to our present, and they are a challenge to our future. They are America at her best. Visiting them is a journey. And you can start it all right here at the Grand Canyon.

THANKS

To the countless people who contributed to this collection, I give my heartfelt gratitude. For all the suggestions, criticisms, and freethinking ideas I’ve received, I love you for it. Any mistakes, omissions, or inaccuracies—and there may be some—are inadvertent but they are all mine. Should you have any additional information, corrections, facts, sources, or material related to Mather Memorial Plaques, kindly send it along as this continues to be a work in progress. Thanks. It’s been fun.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

While in university and graduate school, G. Arthur Janssen MD worked four summers with the National Park Service in the 1960’s as a backcountry fire fighter, packer, fire crew foreman, and ranger. After a 40 year career first as an academic and then as a clinical anesthesiologist, he is now a full time dirtbag hiker and pursues eclectic historical interests. ajansiv@gmail.com

SOURCES

Don Lago, “There will never come an end to the good that he has done—The Stephen Mather Memorial Plaques,” Grand Canyon Historical Society, *The Old Pioneer*, Vol. 21 No. 4 (2010). This is the only published article of any veracity that I could find. Don had access to the Gorham company archives at the time he wrote this. Currently (as of this writing) the Gorham records are in storage with very limited accessibility at Brown Uni-

versity under auspices of the Smithsonian.

David Nathanson, “The Mather Memorial Plaques,” NPS Park History Program Subject Files, 12/4/97, updated 9/21/99 & 1/7/02. This is the only NPS document relating to Mather Plaques from any NPS national source. This paper is helpful but contains a number of errors, several inaccuracies, and is incomplete.

Personal communication with a Deputy NPS Director, an Associate NPS Director, five Park Superintendents, and a Washington D.C. Department of Interior Librarian.

Personal communication with six retired Superintendents and two retired Regional Directors.

Emails with museum curators at NPS Headquarters, Moab, Grand Canyon, Sequoia, Yosemite, Zion, Crater Lake, Darien and Boston. Emails with two Chief Rangers.

Countless email exchanges with each National Park, State Park, or school possessing a plaque as well as many Park units that don’t have one.

Wikipedia.

Various Park Administrative Histories are available on the internet. When you can find them, these comprehensive documents are most interesting for many reasons.

Only one email received was succinct to the point of rudeness. The vast majority of folks receiving my inquiries were variably interested and at least tried to answer my questions. It must be realized (as I have learned) that often Park archives, records, memos, photo files, etc. are “off site.” If these collections have not been cross referenced and digitalized (and most have not because that costs time and money) then these resources are not available to the interpretive Rangers schlucking through the daily emails, trying to answer peoples’ endless nitpicking questions about their Park. If a plaque doesn’t have much supporting historical information, it may not exist anymore or there may not be a reasonable way to obtain the information if it does exist. A substantial number of Rangers gave me more information than I had requested. Maintenance officers should never be overlooked as they know where things are in Parks. One superintendent personally answered my general email to his Park from his cell phone on a Sunday afternoon.

Details and descriptions of plaque locations are based on firsthand experience.

Shankland, Robert, “Steve Mather of the National Parks,” Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1951.

Albright & Schenck, “Creating the National Park Service—The Missing Years,” Oklahoma, 1999.

The Court-martial of William Hawkins

by Don Lago

In 1951 William Culp Darrah published the first important biography of John Wesley Powell, *Powell of the Colorado*, and he introduced a new and lasting image of Powell's boatman William Hawkins. Darrah declared: "Hawkins was a fugitive from justice."¹ Darrah's image was soon taken up by Wallace Stegner in his *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*, where Hawkins "was wanted by the law in Missouri."² Subsequent historians have routinely repeated that Hawkins was "a fugitive from the law," though more cautious historians might say he was "rumored to be a fugitive from the law." In his compilation of his Powell research in the 1947 *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Darrah also introduced a more specific image of Hawkins: "He was uneasy at the approach of a sheriff and otherwise acted suspiciously."³ Historians have repeated this image too. Darrah also introduced the idea that Hawkins was trying to hide his identity by going by the alias of "Missouri."

Yet where did these images originate? Powell and his boatmen never said anything about Hawkins being a fugitive from the law, or about seeing Hawkins acting nervously at the approach of a sheriff. Nor did they ever refer to Hawkins as "Missouri" or say that Hawkins was calling himself "Missouri."

The claim about "Missouri" seems to derive from Lewis Keplinger, one of Powell's Illinois Wesleyan students who accompanied him on his 1868 expedition in the Rockies, during which Powell met Hawkins. In 1919 Keplinger wrote an account of their adventures for *The Trail* magazine, in which he commented: "Missouri—that was what we called our second mountaineer."⁴ Notice he says "what we called," not what Hawkins called himself. It seems that "Missouri" was simply a nickname Keplinger was applying to Hawkins, referring to his

home state. At a time when virtually every white person in the West was a transplant, it was not unusual for people to get nicknames that reflected their origins, such as "the Virginian." We still make use of this habit, as in "Indiana Jones." Darrah, while not quite explicit about it, invited the impression that "Missouri" was actually an alias; Wallace Stegner took this idea a bit further; and subsequent historians have repeated it as a fact.

Keplinger's article also seems to be the source of the claim about the sheriff. Keplinger said of Hawkins and his fellow mountain man Gus Lanken: "We knew nothing of the antecedents of these men except what might be inferred from these two incidents: One morning Missouri said, 'I had a dream last night. I dreamt I was back in Missouri and the sheriff was after me.' Of course we 'joshed' him and told him that was a dead give-away, and asked what devilment he had been up to in Missouri. But he was not communicative."⁵

Darrah seems to have taken Hawkins's dream and transformed it into a literal event, an eyewitness report. Obviously, having an anxiety dream about being chased by, say, a dinosaur, does not mean someone really was being chased by a dinosaur.

Keplinger continued: "On another occasion, when some of us were passing the night in an abandoned miner's cabin, the sound of horses' hoofs were heard approaching. We listened with unconcern, but they both sprang to their feet, got their revolvers and peered anxiously out of the crevices between the logs until the horsemen had passed by."⁶

Keplinger doesn't say that the approaching horsemen were lawmen. These were some of the wildest of Colorado's Wild West years, with some areas having far more outlaws than lawmen, with claim jumpers, horse thieves, bank robbers, saloon bullies, and killers on the loose, as well as defiant Indians.

Respectable citizens did not usually ride through mountainous areas in the night. Hawkins's reaction may have been the appropriate one for a seasoned mountain man; Keplinger's "unconcern" might have been the questionable reaction.

Keplinger's is the only account in which Hawkins could be said to have reacted with nervousness to someone approaching. Darrah seems to have combined this event and Hawkins's dream into his statement that Hawkins was nervous about the approach of a sheriff. This conflation might be reckless and unjustified, but Darrah did have a motive in trying to portray Hawkins as an outlaw. Darrah was a great admirer of John Wesley Powell, and Hawkins was severely critical of Powell in statements he provided to Robert Stanton in 1907 and William W. Bass in 1919. By portraying Hawkins as a criminal, a fugitive, and a deceiver, Darrah could brand him as unreliable and defuse his complaints against Powell. Darrah tipped his hand at the end of his *Utah Historical Quarterly* article about Hawkins, saying: "Inasmuch as neither of these accounts has much standing as source material, having been written nearly fifty years after the time of the expedition, neither is here printed....It is not possible to disentangle the errors of fact and colored opinion after such a long period."⁷ Darrah's readiness to discredit Hawkins fit into a larger pattern of Darrah playing with the facts to protect and enhance Powell.

It is also worth noting that it was Darrah who introduced the convention of referring to Hawkins as "Billy." None of Powell's crew ever called him "Billy." Hawkins was never observed referring to himself as "Billy." In the newspaper and local history accounts of Hawkins's later life in Utah and Arizona, no one ever called him "Billy." Powell never called him "Billy" in his book *The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyons*, simply "Hawkins." In

his river journals Powell mentioned Hawkins by name three times, and only one of those times did he say "Billy." In the account Hawkins wrote for Robert Stanton in 1907, Hawkins does depict Powell addressing him as "Billy." This isn't much of a mandate, but when Darrah first introduces Hawkins in his *Powell of the Colorado*, he gives us "Billy" Hawkins. Wallace Stegner soon ratified this name, and ever since, historians have been calling him "Billy." Perhaps we should not read too much into this, since after all Darrah's own name was William and he might have had some personal preferences about it. Yet precisely because Darrah had plenty of insight into social perceptions of the name "William," he would have understood that "William" carries much more dignity than "Billy," which is often perceived as the name of a kid or a hick and may even invoke a southwestern outlaw—Billy the Kid. By calling Hawkins "Billy," Darrah could diminish him further.

Yet there were good reasons for Keplinger and the rest of Powell's 1868 group to be suspicious of Hawkins. He had shown up with his buddy Gus Lanken, who soon stole two of Powell's pack animals laden with supplies, and ran off. When a squad of Powell's men tried to track Lanken, he opened fire on them, and the pursuers decided to give up. Hawkins remained with them, now suspected of being in league with Lanken. "That night," wrote Keplinger, "I made my bed close to Missouri, with a double-barreled loaded gun by my side, and I did not sleep much. Our plan and my instructions were to shoot to kill at the first unmistakable sign of treachery. We could afford to take no chances.... But Missouri stayed with us, and proved to be a capital good fellow."⁸ In these circumstances it is not surprising that Keplinger wondered about Hawkins's past.

Darrah also recorded that Hawkins was going by the alias "Bill Rhodes," and in this he was correct. But it is not clear that Powell's men even realized this was an alias. Throughout the river trip they always referred to Hawkins

as Rhodes, never as Hawkins. It may be that as far as they knew, Rhodes was his real name, so his use of it would not have stimulated any suspicion.

But Hawkins's use of the name Rhodes did throw Darrah off track in his attempts to find Hawkins's identity. Darrah searched Civil War records looking for a William Rhodes Hawkins on the assumption that Rhodes had been Hawkins's real middle name, as Powell had eventually assumed, but Darrah could not find such a name and instead latched onto a soldier named William H. Rhodes and entered his biographical data into the history books—when in fact he had nothing to do with the Powell expedition. According to his war record, this Rhodes had indeed gotten into trouble with the law, being "absent under civilian arrest" for a brief time, then returned to duty. Darrah suggested that this unknown crime was the reason Hawkins was a fugitive from the law and using an alias years later. Darrah couldn't really reconcile the apparent unimportance and quick resolution of Rhodes's crime with Hawkins's serious and long efforts to evade it, so he tossed in the bogus claim that Hawkins was frightened by an approaching sheriff and simply asserted: "Hawkins was a fugitive from justice, the result of a minor brush with the law which had even disrupted his service in the Union army."⁹

When I located the army record of the real William Hawkins some years ago, it turned out that he too had a brush with the law, which landed him in military prison for a brief while. The only detail about his crime was that he was "confined for mutiny." But Hawkins was soon back with his unit, so his crime did not seem serious enough for him to be hiding from it years later.

It turns out that Hawkins was court-martialed, and now that I have the records of his trial, we should consider whether this event might have been enough to make Hawkins a fugitive from the law who needed

an alias. Hawkins was accused of stealing the gun of a civilian.

On Hawkins's muster roll for February, 1865, he is listed as "Absent," with the note: "absent in arrest." Hawkins was confined in the military prison in Springfield, Missouri, and on its daily report for March 2, under the heading "confined without orders," the prison listed Hawkins as "confined for mutiny." The next day's report also notes mutiny. On the next available daily report, for March 8, there is no mention of mutiny. At Hawkins's court martial there was no mention of mutiny, nor was there in his subsequent muster forms or pension files. It's possible that the note about mutiny was a clerk's mistake or misunderstanding. Perhaps Hawkins got so annoyed about his arrest that the arresting officer treated it as an act of disobedience, but no actual mutiny charges were filed.

Compared with some of the crimes committed by soldiers, including desertion and murder, Hawkins's crime was relatively mild, although in frontier society the theft of a gun or—far worse—a horse could represent a serious threat to the victim. Yet for the army, courts-martials served as an important disciplinary tool, for the army had to regulate the behavior of hundreds of thousands of young men who were away from home for the first time, away from parents and sheriffs and preachers, young men feeling enormous discomforts, pressures, fear, and boredom, prone to drinking and gambling and sometimes fighting, all carrying guns. The army was especially vigilant about acts of disobeying officers, even when the act itself might be trivial. A small offense might be punished with a loss of pay, but falling asleep while on guard duty could lead to a court-martial and months of hard labor in camp, even a death penalty. Court-martials were fairly common and usually fair-minded, more concerned with enforcing discipline than with removing soldiers from the army, for officers knew how hard it was to recruit and train new soldiers and did not want to diminish their own forces

unnecessarily. The judge advocate who presided over a court-martial and served as prosecutor was also responsible for helping the defendant prepare his defense, for example by locating witnesses. The one factor that made Hawkins's case potentially more serious was that he had committed a crime against a civilian, and the army had to worry about its reputation in the larger society and thus might be more inclined to impose the sort of penalties that would be imposed by a civilian court.

After Hawkins had stayed in jail for three weeks, his court-martial trial began on March 11, 1865, under the authority of Brig. General J. B. Sanborn, with nine officers serving as a jury, one major and the rest captains, three of the nine from Hawkins's own regiment. The judge advocate asked Hawkins if he had any objections about his jurors and he said no. He was assigned an attorney, J. S. Phelps, Esquire. The court read the charges that Hawkins did "feloniously steal, take and carry away with intent to convert to his own use one revolver pistol of the value of twenty-five dollars."¹⁰ In 1865, twenty-five dollars was not a small amount of money. Hawkins pleaded: Not Guilty.

The victim, J. J. Wolf, took the stand and testified about the circumstances of the theft:

I was working at the mill, and the pistol was in my way and I took it off and laid it upon some plank in the mill.... Old man Hutton, his son, and Hawkins, the accused here came to the mill, and Old man Hutton wanted some flour and I sent a hand to the house (some six hundred yards away) after the flour. During the time the hand was gone for the flour, the revolver I suppose was taken, and the accused also left at that time. When the flour came I looked up to get the board that I had laid the revolver on, to make a Calculation of the weight of the flour, and the pistol was gone, I had laid the pistol on this board....Both of

the Mr. Huttons plead innocent and insisted that I should search them. I objected I hated to search a neighbor. I looked around and discovered that Hawkins the accused was missing.

The court proceedings never mentioned it, but the Huttons were cousins of Billy Hawkins. The younger Hutton, Ben, was serving in the same cavalry company as Hawkins.

After searching everyone present, Wolf concluded that Hawkins was guilty and went to Hawkins's company officer, Captain Sutherland, to complain. The Huttons warned Hawkins that Wolf was mad at him, and in the evening Hawkins came back and tried to return the pistol, but he did not find Wolf since Wolf was away seeing Captain Sutherland, so Hawkins did not leave the gun. But, Wolf testified, "Mr. Hawkins, the accused, brought it back to me about Sun rise the next morning." Hawkins said it was just a joke. "He said that Ben Hutton persuaded Him to take it, to pays a joke on me."

The judge advocate, as the prosecution, then swore in William Hawkins's brother, Sargent John J. Hawkins. When asked William's age, John replied: "I think He was Sixteen years old last July, as well as I recollect." This was a loaded question, for John was admitting that William was a liar who had lied about his age to get into the army, though this was a common practice often overlooked by recruiters. John reported that Captain Sutherland, upon receiving Wolf's complains about his stolen gun, sent John to find his brother and retrieve the gun. After eight miles and a bit after dark John found William at the house of one of the Huttons. William said that he did not have the gun but it was somewhere in between there and the house of the other Hutton. "As we went back," reported John, "he rode out to the side of the road. But I did not see Him get the pistol. I did not see the pistol until we got to Milton Hutton's." Through a series of questions the judge advocate explored whether William had really

hidden the gun along the road or was merely pretending he had, and whether William said that hiding the gun was part of the supposed joke; the implication was that William really had intended to steal the gun. The next morning John had accompanied William to Wolf to return the gun.

Prosecutor: "Did your Brother say anything to Wolf about Wolf stopping the prosecution against your brother, now that He had got his pistol?"

John Hawkins: "I don't know that He did. He told Mr. Wolf that He had taken it through a joke."

Prosecution: "Did your Brother say that Hiding the pistol by the side of the road was a part of the joke? Or what did he say He hid it for?"

John Hawkins: "I don't know what He said."

The defense then swore in Riley Chaney, who testified that he was present at the mill when William Hawkins returned in the evening, looking for Wolf but missing him by half an hour or perhaps an hour. Chaney admitted he had not overheard anything about why Hawkins was looking for Wolf.

The judge advocate asked Chaney: "What is the general character of the accused in regard to honesty?"

Chaney: "I never heard any thing but what he was an honest boy."

Judge advocate: "Are you well acquainted with him?"

Chaney: "Not very. I know the boy, have known him for six or seven months. I have seen him two or three times."

The defense swore in Ben Hutton, who testified:

We were there at the mill and Mr. Hawkins saw the pistols lying over head on a plank. He the accused said to me, it would be a pretty joke to play off on Mr. Wolf to take one of the pistols, and keep it awhile. I went upstairs then and was talking with Mr. Chaney awhile. I then came down stairs, and the accused showed me the pistol, and said that he would take the pistol and go off with it a while, it would be

a pretty joke. Mr. Wolf missed his pistol while the accused was gone. My father and I proposed to be searched, and were searched. Mr. Wolf said he expected that Mr. Hawkins had the pistol, Said I he may have it, if he has it, it is only to play a prank, He will fetch it back. Mr. Wolf got a little angry about it, and my father and I got on our horses, and went up home. Mr. Hawkins the accused was there. I told him that Mr. Wolf had missed his pistol and was angry about it. Hawkins then got on his horse and started back with the pistol, and said that he was going to take it back.

Hutton added that Wolf didn't say anything about going to the law or the army to report the theft.

The judge advocate then tried to undermine Hutton's reliability, asking: "Are you not in arrest awaiting trial for Helping steal this pistol?"

Hutton: "Yes, that is what they have me here for."

The judge advocate then repeatedly tried to catch Ben Hutton in a contradiction, since he had told Wolf he didn't know anything about Hawkins taking the pistol. Hutton replied that he was simply trying to go along with the joke.

Judge advocate: "Why did you not tell Wolf that Hawkins had his pistol?"

Hutton: "Because it was taken through a joke, and we wanted to see a little sport over it."

Judge advocate: "Did you not tell Hawkins for him to take the pistol, and that you and him would go partners?"

Hutton: "No, sir."

Judge advocate: "When you saw that Wolf was angry about his pistol, and that the affair was about to create a difficulty, why did you not tell Wolf all about where his pistol was?"

Hutton: "Because I did not think about him reporting it."

The defense brought in the elder Hutton, John, and asked: "How long have you been acquainted with him

[Hawkins]?"

Hutton: "All of his life."

Defense: "Are you acquainted with his general character for honesty?"

Hutton: "Yes. As far as I know any thing about him."

Defense: "What is that reputation, good or bad?"

Hutton: "As far as I know he has a good character."

The questioning went through more loops, more examinations and cross-examinations about who knew what and who said what and if the Huttons knew that Wolf was filing a complaint and why they said nothing to prevent him. As nearly his last statement, John Hutton said:

Well, he said that he had just carried it back to Wolf, and he could not find him. I believe if I recollect right, Accused said He could not give the pistol to Wolf till he could find him. It was then late in the evening. I told him that he had better put up his horse, and carry the pistol back to Wolf in the morning. He left my house the next morning about daylight and Said he was going to carry the pistol back.

The prosecution had succeeded in undermining Hawkins's credibility, as Ben Hutton denied having prompted Hawkins to take the pistol as a joke. But the judge advocate never insisted that Hawkins had really intended to steal the pistol, or that hiding it along the road was part of this plan. The 19-page trial proceedings wrapped up:

The accused offered no further testimony. The case was submitted without remark. The Court was cleared for deliberation, and after mature consideration find the accused as follows.

Of the specification Guilty

Of the Charge Guilty

And the Court does therefore sentence him the said William W. Hawkins, a private of Co. D 15th Reg't Cav. Mo vol, to be imprisoned in the Penitentiary at such place as the Commanding General May

direct for the period of two (2) years.

If this sentence had been carried out, Hawkins would have remained in prison until the spring of 1867 and probably missed his chance to get to Colorado and become the experienced mountain man Powell hired for his 1868 exploration of the Rockies, which led to Hawkins going on the river expedition the next year. But Brigadier General Sanborn, who had authority over the court, decided that the conviction was unjustified, writing:

Proceedings in the foregoing case approved. The evidence in the case seems at least to raise a reasonable doubt as to whether the accused ever intended to convert the property taken to his own use. The finding and sentence is therefore disapproved. The accused will be released from arrest and returned to duty with his company.

Hawkins's next muster roll records him simply as "Present." His muster rolls and discharge form in July make no further mention of his arrest, but it appears he was not paid any further after his arrest, which may have been a form of punishment. In his pension files there is a brief, disinterested mention of his arrest, but no mention of mutiny, and Hawkins was honorably discharged. Yet such an experience could indeed have prompted years of bad dreams about being pursued by a sheriff.

However, Hawkins did end his service in arrears. His discharge form lists him as "Indebted to U. S. for 1 Waist Belt and Plate, 1 Gun Sling, 1 shoulder sling and Plate." Perhaps Hawkins had been merely sloppy and lost some of his gear, or perhaps, since the gear was gun-related, this was his way of getting a bit of revenge for an arrest, jailing, and trial he considered unjust and humiliating.

There is nothing in Hawkins's military record that defines him as "a fugitive from justice" or "wanted

by the law in Missouri." It is always possible that Hawkins got into some further trouble in the three years before he met Powell. According to Hawkins's pension file, a month after leaving the army he was in Leavenworth, Kansas, and by May 1866 he was in Denver, and in 1867 he was in Nevada and then Wyoming. These years and places were indeed the Wild West, with lots of temptations and chaos.

Or perhaps when Hawkins met John Wesley Powell, a Union officer who was looking for men he could rely on in the way he had relied on his troops in the war, Hawkins did not want Powell to check into his military record and discover that he had been arrested for theft, jailed for mutiny, and court-martialed. Powell would not be eager to take a mutineer on a difficult journey into a remote wilderness, where discipline might be a matter of life and death. Perhaps Hawkins offered the name "Rhodes" to hide his past from Powell.

Or perhaps like many men heading west in search of a new life, Billy Hawkins was eager to take on a new identity, symbolized by taking a new name. Whatever his motives, Hawkins did succeed in getting his real name attached to a butte in the Grand Canyon.

(Endnotes)

- 1 William Culp Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 114
- 2 Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: The Exploration of the Grand Canyon and the Second Opening of the West*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1953), 44
- 3 William Culp Darrah, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, 1947, 106
- 4 Lewis Keplinger, "The First Ascent of Long's Peak." *The Trail*, June 1919
- 5 Ibid
- 6 Ibid
- 7 Darrah, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 107
- 8 Keplinger, *The Trail*
- 9 Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado*, 114
- 10 All quotes from court-martial proceedings are from William W. Hawkins Court-martial File, National Archives, 16W3/15/20/6/ Box 1058

Where in the World... is the Grand Canyon?

by Earle E. Spamer

Long proudly acclaimed as one of the Seven Wonders of the World, the Grand Canyon is also sometimes the "Eighth Wonder of the World." The first person who figured that the canyon was the eighth may have had in mind only an addition to the traditional, school-room list of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.¹ There are lots of other places, too—some natural, some built—that each are an "Eighth Wonder" of the world. It's a crowded pigeon hole. One tourist at Hoover Dam had come there to see *that* "Eighth Wonder." She said, "I hear it is the next best thing to the Grand Canyon."² One wonders about that.

But here is the real surprise: There are Grand Canyons without number! Pretenders all, they do not claim to be "like" the Grand Canyon; they outright "pinch" the name itself, either "straight up" or with a geographical or possessive garnish. One will find one or another kind of "Grand Canyon" named on the seven continents, balmy and frigid isles, in the ocean bottoms, and on celestial bodies of our solar system. True, almost all of the names are informal, sometimes spontaneous, even whimsical or wishful; but there they are, swirling around "our" Grand Canyon, at the ready to seize the name once and for all.

About 20 years ago, "Early C. Corax" and "C. V. Abyssus" tallied the other Grand Canyons as then known.³ There were a fair number. Some places were taken from listings in the U.S. Geological Survey's Geographic Names Information System, others from international gazetteers published by the Defense Mapping Agency, and more captured on the fly. Since then, though, the list has downright exploded, mind-

boggling in its hundreds of salutes to the human imagination. Reused Grand Canyons pop up everywhere, unimaginatively repeating the Grand Canyon's name. They pepper books and articles; they are slathered on ephemera (like postcards); and, most substantially, they are confettied through the Internet's websites. It's time to take a deep breath and have a new look.

GRAND CANYON ENVY

At the time of John Wesley Powell's inaugural Colorado River expedition in 1869, the name "Grand Canyon" was widely known. Within a year it was usurped when the Yellowstone River's "Grand Canyon" was labeled by Henry D. Washburn and Gustavus C. Doane while they scattered new names all across that landscape. (According to the Board on Geographic Names, the canyon in Wyoming is officially just "Grand Canyon," just like our Arizona canyon. It didn't get its suffix until 1872 when the painter Thomas Moran finished his monumental canvas, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*.)

And so it began. Ten years later, Clarence E. Dutton, our favorite 19th century Government artist-in-words, groused:

"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.”⁴

Forty years after Dutton, Edward Ambler Armstrong, a wealthy New Jersey businessman, sided with the authority of Government literature:

“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 [Arizona’s canyon] is meant. There are numerous Grand Canyons, but they all have a suffix.”⁵

Were that it was that simple! With suffixes and not, many people have branded some other of the world’s gorges as “Grand Canyon,” or laid the name in some forested rivulet near home, or stamped it on a ghastly open-pit iron mine.

Ever so many more Grand Canyons are fashionably given to the places they are—from “Africa’s Grand Canyon” (the Blue Nile Gorge in Ethiopia) to the “Zhexi Grand Canyon” (in Linan City, China). Virtually all of them in some way compare themselves to the Arizona standard. For starters, there are mewling Grand Canyons each which says it is the “Little Grand Canyon,” and there are a “Baby” and “Junior” one or two, shyly looking up to the big “Grand” of Arizona. There’s a “Hidden Grand Canyon”—but there may be nothing to it; there’s no telling.

Moving up a notch to rub against the Arizona “Grand,” a “second Grand Canyon” has been proclaimed; confusingly, there are *three different* ones. Plus, there is a “Second Grandest Canyon” by itself.

Standing shoulder to shoulder with our giant canyon is “the other Grand Canyon”—*fifteen of them!* There is an “America’s Other Grand Canyon” thrown in for good measure.

But *THE* Grand Canyon—Arizona’s main one, that is—does receive a deferential tip of the literary hat in a reference to nearby Oak Creek Canyon being “the other canyon.”⁶

More disparagingly, there is “that other Grand Canyon” (emphasis thus). That’s what a promotional piece for Pine Creek Gorge calls Arizona’s big canyon. (Pine Creek Gorge? That’s just another place. It promotes itself as the “Grand Canyon of Pennsylvania.”)

THE REAL DEAL

Astonishingly, there are four “real” Grand Canyons. One of these titles defends “our” Grand Canyon—it informs us that *IT* is the one “real Grand Canyon” and no others may apply. But each of the other three “real” ones oddly refer to *just part* of our Grand Canyon—and they do not refer to the same part! Shouting out above them is one more—a “REAL Grand Canyon”—which likewise labels just another section of the Arizona chasm. (Presumably it is the MOST REAL section.) If Arizona’s honestly real Grand Canyon has different “real” sections, we must infer that the other parts of the canyon are *less* real, maybe even unreal! The competition between sections is confusing, particularly since many writers and poets have proclaimed the *whole thing* to be unreal. Obviously, we have some real differences of opinion.

Speaking of differences, defiantly greater Grand Canyons are here and there around the world. They claim to be “deeper” and unabashedly “grander” canyons than Arizona’s. Most of them just can’t measure up, though. Their calculated depths are subtracted from nearby mountain tops because their landscapes don’t have *rims* from which to measure. And there lies the trap. The deep down rivers of those places never, ever were at those dreamy heights. (Imagine Arizona’s Grand Canyon without its plateau, measured from the Colorado River to the top of San Francisco Mountain: a Stupendously Grand Canyon.) A canyon is a “tube”

or “pipe” in the original Spanish (*cañón*, more usually *cañon*, which with other definitions can pertain to a conduit to convey something, like water). The only way to draw one is from end to end, from definite top to absolute bottom; the zone for which a river’s work is responsible.

Most assertively, the Arizona Grand Canyon serves alone as the *de facto* trademark of “The Grand Canyon State,” Arizona’s long-time nickname (formalized by the State Legislature in 2011). The State’s promotional literature further declares itself “The Official Grand Canyon State.”⁷ We may take the liberty to infer that the canyon thus is the “official” Grand Canyon. Fortunately, no one has yet moved to claim another canyon as the official one. (Will one day we see somewhere a distressingly possessed “The Grand Canyon®”?)

CANYON, CANYON, WHO’S GOT THE CANYON?

There are 75 places so far found that someone has labeled just plain “Grand Canyon.” With the few exceptions of those Grand Canyons listed in official geographical nomenclators (such as the one in Yellowstone), the other Grand Canyons in no way imply themselves to be sanctioned, widely accepted, or for that matter even known to most people. Most of them bear only cultural or impressionistic labels. They convey the literary whims of the authors who contrived them, or are the promotional tags of chambers of commerce. One may be surprised as well that while the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River may be the literary fount of ersatz Grand Canyons, it is *not* the first place to be named “Grand Canyon,” not even in Arizona; but that is another story, already told.⁸

Even though 75 plain old Grand Canyons should suffice for one world, stand aside now for the qualified Grand Canyons—those with suffixes (like *Grand Canyon of the Verdon*, in France), or which are possessives (like *Fiji’s Grand Canyon*), or that come with labels for comparative

size or particular geographical pins. There are hundreds.

For example, there are 41 places that carry the name "Little Grand Canyon," with 21 more that have "Little Grand Canyon of ~" qualifiers. Not to be belittled, there are two places said to be a "Junior Grand Canyon." We have six "mini-Grand Canyons" and seven "Miniature Grand Canyons," but only two "Small Grand Canyons." Two more are "Grand Canyon's little brother," thus confirming the masculine gender applied to the canyon in several languages. The one "Baby Grand Canyon" happens to be the Little Colorado River Gorge—whose paternity of which we have no doubt.

The nomenclatural record-holder for geographically anchored Grand Canyons is the "Grand Canyon of the East." *Fourteen* locales carry that nominal term—11 in the United States, and one each in Canada, India, and China, albeit in the Asian examples "East" is to be read differently. And these do not include three U.S. locales that each are "Grand Canyon East"—one is in Kentucky; a second has been applied to the eastern portion of the Grand Canyon in Arizona (the so-called "east rim" of the canyon as viewed north of Desert View); and the third has been slapped onto the Colorado River stretch embracing Glen and Marble Canyons below Glen Canyon Dam.

The other cardinal directions are not overlooked. There are six places that are the "Grand Canyon of the North," one of the Northeast, three of the Northwest, six of the South, and two of the Southeast. Reassuringly, the only "Grand Canyon of the Southwest" and "Grand Canyon of the West" happen to be pseudonyms of our one and only Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona.

There is yet another very long list. It comprises analogies and metaphorical applications of the term, "Grand Canyon." Each use conveys some aspect of physical space, cultural surrounding, or imaginative concept that invokes the image or idea of "the Grand Canyon." These many

comparisons and references are to the acme of canyons; not a single one refers to one of the pretentious Grand Canyons that have our attention here, and everyone knows *THE* Grand Canyon is meant.

An interesting example of "another" Grand Canyon and a metaphor both overlaid on Arizona's Grand Canyon is when we are told that from the glass footpath of the Skywalk at Grand Canyon West we see the "even Grand Canyon."

UPSIDE DOWN AND BACKWARDS— THE SKY'S THE LIMIT

Still others in our list of other Grand Canyons are the unwitting creations of writers through geographical misunderstanding. Arizona's very own Grand Canyon has so often been misplaced in Colorado that the act verges on cultural theft. But it has also been said to be in Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, and (rather curiously) Sonora. One of the Colorado misplacements was memorable. When the canyon was labeled on a U.S. postage stamp as being in that state, thousands were quick to point out the mistake. The stamp had not yet been released for sale, and all of them were destroyed. Yet, when the corrected "Arizona" version came out alert observers then noticed that the photograph was printed reversed! Licked, the Postal Service gave up and kept it as is.

Now that we have touched on warped perspectives, please acknowledge the "Anti-Grand Canyon" (Ayers Rock, or Uluru, the famous mount in Australia, which more sensibly appears in the list of analogies, said there to be "like an inverse Grand Canyon"). Not to be underdone, there is the "Grand anti-Canyon of North America," a label put on the entire lower Colorado River stretch astride the Arizona-California boundary and on to the Mexican sea.

For a more motivating experience there is the "Grand Canyon You Can Drive Into" (on U.S. Route 60 across the Salt River Canyon in Arizona). Those who arrived with that one

surely overlooked the fact that "our" Grand Canyon can be driven into as well (down Diamond Creek Road clear to—and into if one desires—the Colorado River!).

And far above all there are many kinds of "Grand Canyon" labels stuck to features on the moon, Venus, Mars, and Titania (a moon of Uranus); surely with more to come.

A CERTAIN GRAND CANYON

One may argue that the focus on other nomenclatural Grand Canyons is more sensibly left to those that have been formally named. But as the hundreds of informal Grand Canyons demonstrate, the Arizona Grand Canyon holds a very broad embrace of human imagination and infatuation, worldwide. The complete list is a remarkable testimonial to the creativity of hundreds of writers (whomever they are, however widely read or not) who have seen the Grand Canyon fashioned in some other place.

So, are you *sure* that you have seen the Grand Canyon? Perhaps you need an official guide to these homes of the stars.⁹ A word of advice, though: Going to every last one of the Grand Canyons is likely to be a pastime not only of the restless wealthy, but of the most peculiar of ritualists.

NOTES

- 1 The earliest declaration of Grand Canyon as No. 8 (at least so far as I have found) is regretfully anonymous. "American Institute of Mining Engineers: An Account of the California Meeting and Excursions Preliminary to Starting for Japan," *Mines and Minerals*, Vol. 32, no. 5 (December 1911), p. 394: "The Grand Cañon of the Colorado was reached early Tuesday morning [October 3], where two delightful days were spent at the magnificent Hotel El Tovar. While the cañon was more or less familiar to all, either through Moran's painting [*The Chasm of the Colorado* (1873–1874)] or college textbooks, no preconceived idea is comparable with that derived from actually seeing what may be called 'the eighth wonder of the world.'" It is rather unlikely that this is the first such notation, but we still await the discovery of an earlier one.
- 2 Charles Bowden, "Hoover Dam: A Success Story That Few Remember,"

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- Tucson Citizen*, August 13, 1983, pp. 1, 8.
- 3 Early C. Corax and C. V. Abyssus, "Doin' the Canyon Shuffle," *Boatman's Quarterly Review*, Vol. 9, no. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 6-7.
 - 4 Clarence Edward Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District* (U.S. Geological Survey, Monograph 2, 1882), p. 2, note.
 - 5 Edward Ambler Armstrong, *The Sinaites; a Chronicle of Happy Days* (Printed for private circulation, Princeton, New Jersey, 1922), p. 64.
 - 6 Seth Muller, "Call o' the Other Canyon," *Northern Arizona's Mountain Living Magazine*, (May 2010), cover, pp. 6, 12-17.
 - 7 Arizona Office of Tourism, website: "Arizona—The Official Grand Canyon State," www.facebook.com/arizonatravel (first accessed 19 October 2011; since then frequently changed).
 - 8 Earle E. Spamer, "Once Again, 'Who Named the Grand Canyon?'—And Other Obscure Grand Canyon 'Firsts'," *The Ol' Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 24, no. 2 (Spring 2013), pp. 4-16.
 - 9 The complete, geographically arranged list—along with the list of uses of

"Grand Canyon" in analogies and metaphors—is appended to the disk version of my bibliography of the Grand Canyon and the lower Colorado River, *The Grand Canon* (a canon, with no tilde). An email to me (marblecanyon@earthlink.net), with your ground-mail address, will get you a copy of the disk, *gratis*.



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