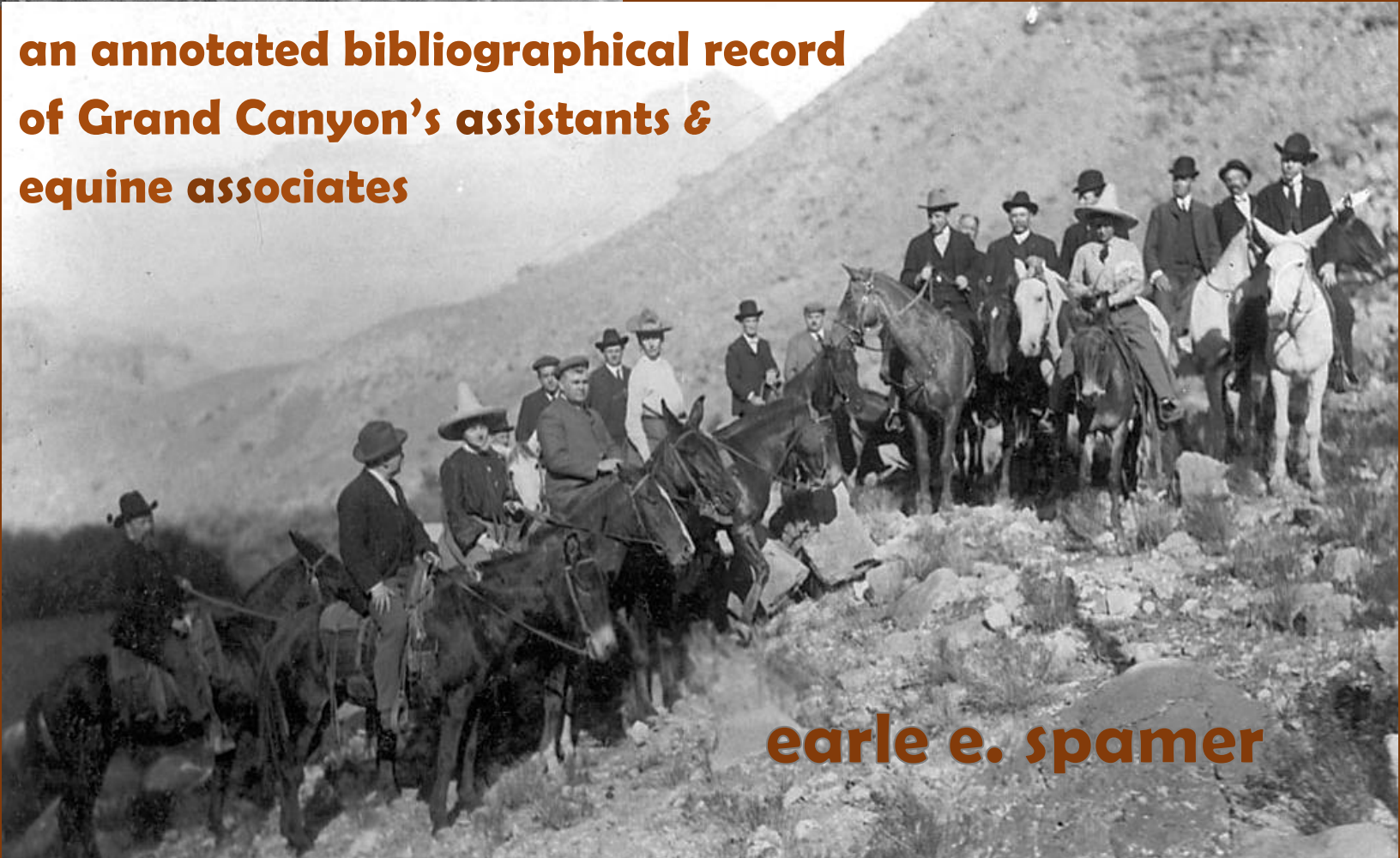




# **MILES AND MILES OF MULES**

**an annotated bibliographical record  
of Grand Canyon's assistants &  
equine associates**



**earle e. spamer**

## THIS IS A HYBRID DIGITAL DOCUMENT IN BOOK LAYOUT

**DIGITAL USERS:** The entire text of this PDF document is searchable; use your program's "FIND" command. To view it in book format with opposing pages, use the appropriate viewing mode with the cover page separate so that odd-numbered text pages appear on the right. A wide screen is essential for convenient two-page viewing. An opposing-page display is, however, not mandatory for the use of this volume.

*Hyperlinks* are used in the Table of Contents. Position cursor and click to jump to the indicated sections.

**NON-INTERACTIVE USERS:** The CONTENTS page lists the physical page numbers for the entire volume.

---

### COVER PHOTOS

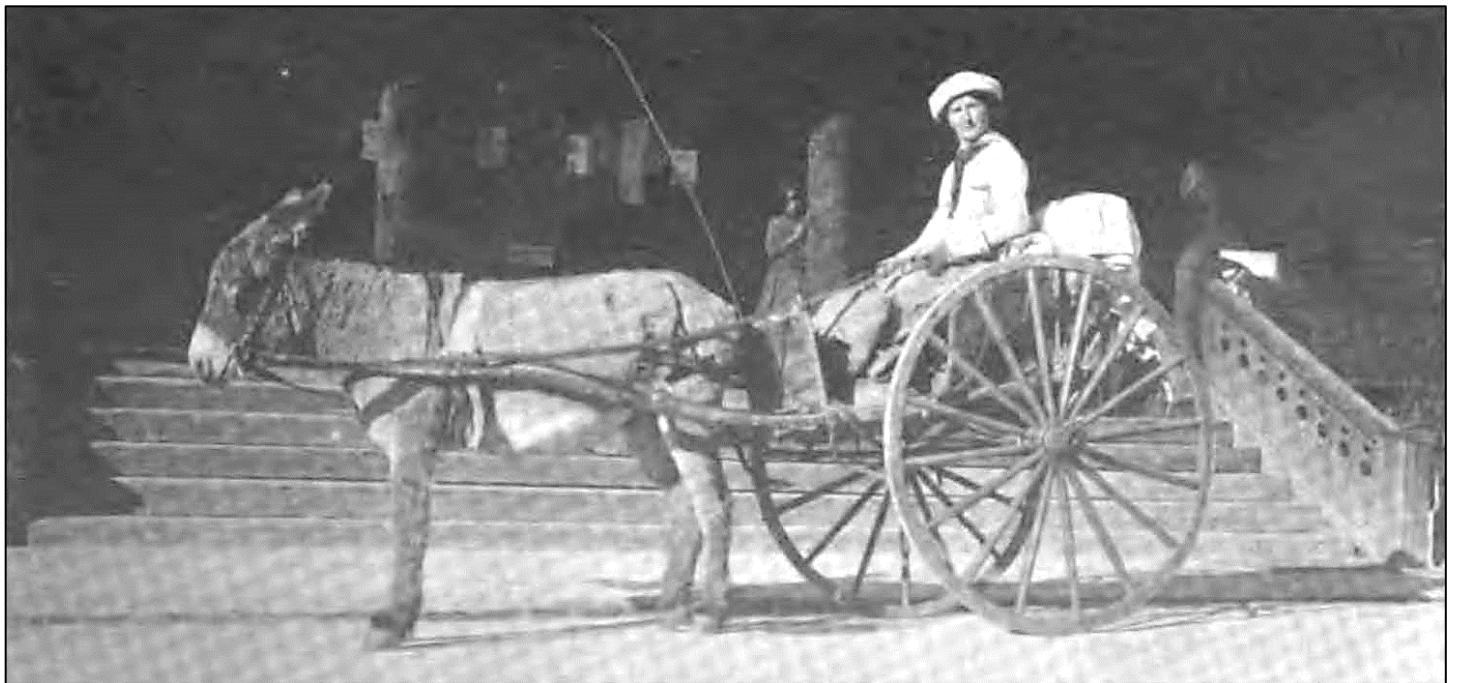
*(top)* Trail party on the Bright Angel Trail; Kolb Bros. photo, 29 September 1909.

*(bottom)* Trail party on the Bass Trail, ca. 1910.

*Grand Canyon National Park, via Wikimedia Commons,  
Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license*

MILES AND MILES OF MULES





# MILES AND MILES OF MULES

**an annotated bibliographical record of  
Grand Canyon's **assistants**  
and equine **associates****

EARLE E. SPAMER



A Raven's Perch Digital Production



## RAVEN'S PERCH MEDIA

Bibliographical and Historical Resources on the  
Grand Canyon and Lower Colorado River Regions of the  
United States and Mexico

## MILES AND MILES OF MULES

Copyright © 2024 Earle E. Spamer

**Spamer, Earle Edward (1952– )**

Miles and miles of mules : an annotated bibliographical record of Grand Canyon's assistants and equine associates

Raven's Perch Media, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA

FIRST EDITION

114 p. : illus.; Portable Document Format (PDF); electronic resource, <https://ravensperch.org>

---

**Frontispiece — Upper and middle photos:** Details from photographs in an album assembled by an unknown person following a visit to Grand Canyon in July 1903. *Upper photo* on Bright Angel Trail. *Middle photo* at Havasupai Gardens (in which note the two cone-topped hats in the bushes beyond the fourth and fifth riders, and the sign at left that directs to “Toilet”). [See also p. 114 of this volume.] (*Grand Canyon National Park Museum Collection, album GRCA-05781.*)

**Lower photo:** A donkey checking out of El Tovar. “Leaving Grand Canyon. This photo shows Miss Geist and ‘Jerry’ in front of El Tovar Hotel, about to leave on the last long lap of their 5,000-mile journey.” Part of the promotional stunt required that Geist and Jerry both check into the lodgings at which she stayed. (“*Foraging Their Way*,” *Santa Fe Magazine, Vol 9, no. 1 [December 1914], p. 40.*) [See herein under “Donkeys,” Anonymous 1914].]

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Contents

[in the PDF document the lines below are hyperlinks]

Downtrail	1
Mules	11
Donkeys	53
Burros	57
“Brighty of the Grand Canyon”—A Burro	67
Horses	73
“The Miniature Horse Hoax”	89
Feral Equids	93
Fossil Equids	109





## Downtrail

IT'S SOMETHING ABOUT THE MULES. *The Grand Canyon mules*. The epitome—no, the quintessence—of the Grand Canyon experience.

They're legendary, those mules. For well more than a century, “everyone” has heard about “the Grand Canyon mules” even if they have not been to the Canyon. Riding into the Canyon was something to aspire to. Ride a Grand Canyon mule and die. A lot of riders thought that was their fate once they were on the way down the trail, or so they reported afterward, for heroic effect, or perhaps truthfully—we might never know. Riding into the Canyon was not to be missed for the world, they said, but never again.

Lest one charge me with inventing this, take but one example from the literature. We can in fact go back all the way to Lt. Joseph C. Ives, who led the first truly organized land expedition to Grand Canyon in 1858. Approaching Cataract Canyon, the headwater of Havasu Creek and the Havasupai homeland, his account of the descent ironically presages the same sorts of over-stimulated descriptions made by numerous 20th-century writers who regaled their readers about the ride down Bright Angel and other trails. He wrote: “. . . glancing down the side of my mule I found that he was walking within three inches of the brink of a sheer gulf a thousand feet deep; on the other side, nearly touching my knee, was an almost vertical wall rising to an enormous altitude.”

Balduin Möllhausen, the German author, artist, and naturalist's assistant who traveled with Ives, was more graphic than the army lieutenant (*translated here*):

Riding on a protruding horizontal rock formation as if on the outermost edge of a roof along horrible abysses, one now also reaches places where even the sure hooves of mules can no longer find footing and only the way back remains open, a way that leads over terrible depths seeming to float freely in the air, where one likes to shade one's eyes in order not to see the rocky masses that seem to slide lazily past one another, where the stones that come loose under one's feet do not roll down noisily

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Downtrail

but fly inaudibly through wide spaces, falling heavily on the rocky ground far below, and the shock thus produced, but muffled by the distance, echoes eerily in the cracks and crevices.

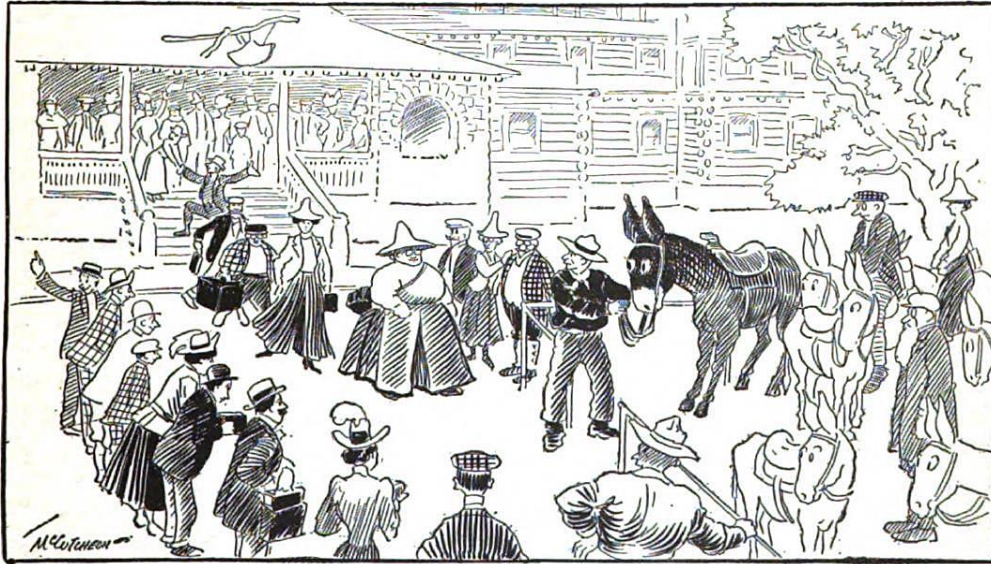
Of course, others have been positively exhilarant about the experience, but their testimonies lack daring, which takes some of the pizzazz out of the adventure.

Times change. Once, mounting an animal and riding it was ordinary. Today, visitors can come and go at Grand Canyon and never see a mule. They may not even know about the mules in the first place. That's probably a good thing, considering that reservations for trips are to be had only long in advance, like a year or more. And, one cannot be heavier—fully clothed—than 200 pounds. (They don't take your word; they check you right there on a scale at the tour desk in the Bright Angel Hotel lobby, for all the world to see especially if someone has their smartphone out.) And, one must understand English. (That will be obvious when one checks in; it is anyway not so much for the mule's benefit but to follow the guide's instructions on the trail.) Once ready to saddle up, the head guide runs through an animal- and trail-safety lesson, sprinkled with some humor but otherwise, shall we say, deadly serious. What few belongings you are allowed to carry are in a clear plastic bag; no foraging in the bag, and no picture-taking while on the mule. (That rule was in place long before "selfies." Now it means that you can't relay to your social media followers any instantaneous death-defying reportage. You and they will have to wait.) Those who do not follow the guide's instructions? The wrangler says, "we call them hikers." Flying out of an airport is not as challenging as boarding a Grand Canyon mule.

While once no one much checked the weight of prospective riders, there were exceptions, such as 200-pound Ada Neill, who went merrily "Bright Angeling on a mule." Then there were wide-eyed watchers of President William Howard Taft—all 325 pounds of him—who were probably aghast. When he was there in 1909 someone put the kibosh on a trail trip. He fairly grumbled about that in a statement he made before the House of Representatives in 1915 (as an ex-president then, he had been asked by the Secretary of the Interior to address the House during debates about the need to build better roads in the national parks). He said that at Grand Canyon there are "no roads at all except a railroad . . . and only a trail, called the 'Bright Angel Trail,' down into the canyon—down which they would not let me go, because they were afraid the mules could not carry me . . . ."

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**Downtrail**

Political cartoonist John T. McCutcheon weighed in by depicting a Grand Canyon mule trip from the perspectives of riders and burden-bearers both.



*“The start from the hotel.”*

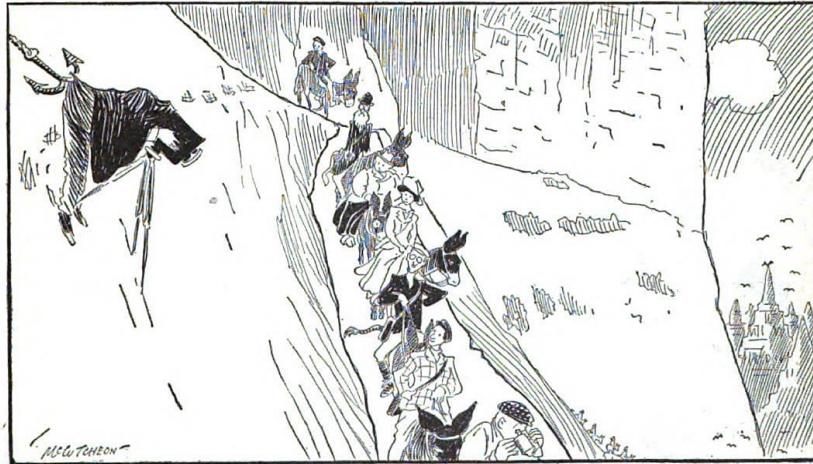
According to McCutcheon, this is how the trail trip goes:

Most people go down by the Bright Angel Trail, which leads directly down from the Hotel El Tovar, and on which the round trip may be done in about eight hours. The motive power is mule-back, reinforced by a small switch which seems to have little persuasive effect, but imparts a sportylike jauntiness to the rider.

The presence of one old lady will have a wonderful effect in bracing up the courage of the whole party.

The caravan is halted while a young man takes a photograph of the crowd [the Kolb brothers photographers took pictures of most every trail party; see also the cover of the present volume]. When you return in the evening finished copies will be ready for you, if you wish to purchase them. Of course everybody buys a copy, for who would not give the required amount to have eternal evidence of his daring Israel-Putnam-like dash down the Grand Canyon. The photographer is very crafty, for he posts his camera in a position overhead that makes the trail look twice as steep as it really is.

## Miles and Miles of Mules Downtrail

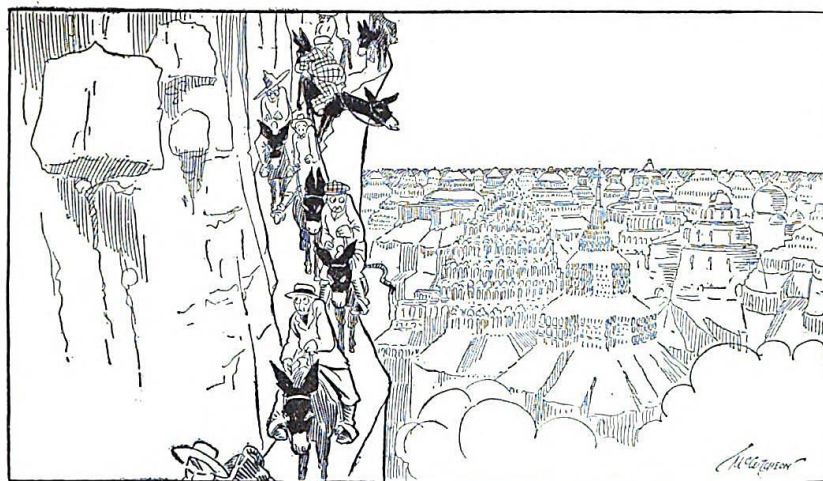


*“The dare-devil photographer.”*

In the meantime the guide is answering time-honored questions, such as: ‘Was anyone ever killed on this trail? [. . .] The guide cheerfully gives the required information, whether he knows it or not.

Many people come down and spend the night in the tents [at Havasupai Gardens], thereby getting an experience which enables them to say afterwards, “When I was roughing it out in Arizona.”

By one o’clock you eat your lunch at the edge of the river, with mind somewhat clouded by the realization that you have to go back every foot of that long trip you have come. You do it, however, and at five o’clock the caravan returns like triumphant explorers to the hotel at the top. You look for an easy chair—soft preferred—and discuss with one another your various heroisms of the day.



*“As they will describe it back home.”*



Miles and Miles of Mules  
Downtrail

In 1917, Chicago Cubs pitcher Al Demaree stopped at the Canyon while enroute with the team to the West Coast. A sports writer for the *Santa Fe Magazine* sized up a mule trip on Bright Angel Trail with Demaree's details and a cartoon by the pitcher himself.



THE members of the Cubs' baseball party are talking still about their wonderful trip from Chicago to Pasadena. Of course their experiences at the Grand Cañon of Arizona is the most popular topic of conversation. To jot down all their witticisms, stories and fairy tales would make a book in itself, so it can't be done.

But the story Howard Mann tells of Al Demaree's trip on muleback must be given wide publicity. Demaree is a Cubs twirling prodigy, and he is something of a cartoonist, also, even of himself.

Al Demaree has drawn a picture of himself on his mule. It is shown herewith. It will be noted that the mule is a temperamental beast, with a mean, obnoxious eye. He is snorting because he doesn't like Al to hang onto his neck. He is looking over the precipice at a wisp of grass growing on a ledge 2,000 feet below. Apparently, he is wondering whether it is worth a leap or not.

"The mule did this frequently," explained Al as he drew the picture.

"At this point the mule was getting ready to turn one of the frequent corners on the trail. I have drawn the trail wider than it should be. It looked a whole lot narrower when I was on it. When the mule got to the corner he put all four feet together and then turned slowly around the corner, as though he were on a turntable. I'll bet one of those mules could turn around on a nickel."

While Demaree was going down the trail he got to wondering how the mules were trained for their hazardous task. He also wondered why they persisted in walking on the outside edge of the trail. At first he thought it was because they desired to peek over the edge of the precipice and contemplate suicide.

When he got to the top he found out. A good trail mule is worth \$400, and he is given a severe course of instruction before he is allowed to carry humans. He is taken up and down the trail many, many times, carrying loads of wood and provender for those who live at the bottom of the cañon. These loads are tied on his sides and stick out a couple of feet. When a mule turns a corner in the trail on the mountainside, on one hand is the wall of the chasm rising above him; on the other hand is the precipice, a sheer drop of several thousand feet. If the mule does not keep away from the wall the load will brush against the rock, so the mule very soon gets



AL DEMAREE "VIEWING" THE GRAND CANON

Cubs' pitcher draws a picture of himself, but says he drew the trail too wide

into the habit of steering clear of the wall. The result is that the mule always goes pretty close to the edge of the precipice.

He never unlearns this little trick, and the result is rather disturbing to the passengers. The mule Demaree rode was comparatively a new beginner. He hadn't been on the job more than two years, and compared with the graybeards who had been hitting the trail since the Grand Cañon was little more than a gully, he was a sophomore. The twigs and

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Downtrail

68

THE SANTA FE MAGAZINE

sprouts along the way seemed to appeal strongly to him and he was forever stopping to have a look and a nibble.

"The guide told me to use a switch on the mule," says Al, "and I did, freely. After I had belted the mule several times, someone in the rear yelled at me. I thought it was the agent for the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

"What's the matter?" I yelled back. "Don't you want me to beat this brute?"

"I don't care if you beat him to death," came back the voice, and I looked around and saw it was Mike Prendergast and not an S. P. C. A. agent.

"Well, what's wrong?" I asked.

"Wrong!" said Mike; "everything's wrong. Every time you hit your mule he kicks my mule on the shins. My mule is getting sore and discouraged and I think he's going to jump off the cliff if your mule doesn't stop."

"So I quit hitting my mule. A lot of people have asked me how I liked the scenery down in the cañon, and I've got to admit that what I saw was fine. You see, after I took one look down to the bottom I quit looking down. But I kept my eyes on the wall and I got a fine view of that all the way down and back. Sometimes I'd shut my eyes and imagine I was crossing the Sahara Desert on a camel. This kept getting easier to do as we got toward the bottom, because it got quite warm down there and it was hot enough to be on the Sahara.

"I felt a lot easier when I had my eyes shut. Every time the mule stopped I knew he was looking over the sides, and my heart stopped beating. But I got used to it after a while. You see, the guide told me about a mule that stood on the edge once and finally jumped over. He committed suicide, probably because he had been given all the heavy-weights to haul and was getting discouraged.

"But my mule was young and fairly ambitious, and I figured that suicide was farthest from his thoughts. But the poor mule that carried Jim Vaughn and the one that carried Claude Hendrix—I don't see what kept them from getting together and making it a double suicide."

\* \* \*

But occasionally there is the astute visitor who is too objective to fret. Gilbert E. Gable swore off the "lodge rituals" and gave away the Secret of the Canyon:

There seems to be an unwritten something about going down Bright Angel Trail by which everyone who makes the trip is thereby initiated, and must ever after encourage and support the illusion that they have gone through great danger. I cannot be a member of the Lodge! I consider its tenets erroneous. The trail gave me a sense of deep emotion, but no fear. At very few places is it less than six feet wide, the grades are no steeper than those of scores of country roads in any hilly state. If you dismounted, shot your mule and pushed him over, there are mighty few places where he would roll more than twenty feet—to the next reverse course of the trail just below. Even if you blindfolded yourself and rolled over after him, you probably would be no more than bruised a bit when you found yourself safe on the next step of the path.



## Miles and Miles of Mules Downtrail

Yet the concessionaire's mules are not all of it. Some dedicated riders do obtain the permits necessary to ride their own mules on privately-supported trips into and across the Canyon. And even so, mules are not the only quadrupeds to tromp into the chasm. Horses have a history here, too, though the mules have won out in the heavy-lift and most inner canyon tourist categories.

Occasionally, burros and donkeys wandered into the scene. Though they are one and the same, many people see them as different animals, perhaps because of the names or perceptions of their uses. At Grand Canyon these animals are not so much for people-carrying as for carrying people's freight. Then there are those folks who have not regularly (if at all) ridden an animal and call the mules "donkeys." A donkey trip into the Canyon does sound to be quaintly fun, compared to the heavily clomping efforts of a mule train, but in any case there are no regular donkey trains.



"Brighty" statue and exhibit in the North Rim's Grand Canyon Lodge, July 2013. (Author's photo)

The Grand Canyon has its share of equine history, probably equitable to any number of places in the world, though with uniquely Grand Canyon flairs. There was the burro, a one-time prospector's carry-all let loose, that became more domesticated during its wanderings between the Colorado River and the Kaibab Plateau. He became known—and beloved, and occasionally put to work—on the North Rim as "Brighty" (named, naturally, for the Grand Canyon's "Bright Angel" themes—thank you, John Wesley Powell). He was immortalized in a widely reprinted and translated children's book, Marguerite Henry's *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. Then, eternalized in bronze as a cute little burro, he had a harder time of it, sometimes on and sometimes off display, indoors and out, shuttled around to various places on both

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**Downtrail**

rims of the Canyon. The latest resting place for bronze Brighty is in a small exhibit in the sunroom of Grand Canyon Lodge on the North Rim.

Then there are the “little wild horses”—for show. Gullible audiences learned that these poor, tiny things were sketching out a living in an “inaccessible valley” of the Grand Canyon, known to Indians (of course) but now sensationally revealed to the press and public. No trails went to their valley; it took the lucky, gutsy, self-promoted efforts of an entrepreneur showman to be lowered by block and tackle over sheer walls, where, finding some 50 of the diminutive equines, he rounded up two of them for exhibition and buck-collecting. The Park Service saw through this story. Grand Canyon’s superintendent encouraged, “news-papermen could render a service to the public by refusing to be a party to the miniature horse hoax.”



Real-photo postcard, “A ‘Natural-Finish’ Card Made by Graycraft Card Co., Danville, Va. [stock no.] 6053”. (*Author’s collection*) [See also p. 113 of the present volume.]

The horses were said to be stunted by poor forage and inbreeding in their clandestine, contained grand canyon. The sun didn’t shine there, either. The public ate it up, of course, though eventually the hubbub (or the horses) died off. Meanwhile, Park Service fieldwork ascertained that, yes, some horses thereabouts might be stunted or malnourished, but the



## Miles and Miles of Mules Downtrail

miniature carnival creatures were not necessarily locally sourced. They might be poorly kept Havasupai ponies or maybe bad-off Shetlands brought in from Mexico—all bought, not caught. End of trail.

Finally, to close out (or start, as the case may be) the equid history of the Grand Canyon there are the fossil and feral animals. The fossil ones offered evidence in the argument over whether some kinds of animals are modern feral canyon residents or whether they were in the past indigenous to the canyon country.

Why this argument came up was because of the noticeable feral burro populations in the Canyon. They are, indeed, the descendants of those let go by prospectors and transients, or lost by the hapless. They are in no case leftovers from Coronado's 16th century incursion into the Southwest, as is occasionally reckoned. But the question begs, are the burros occupying an ecological niche once occupied by indigenous Grand Canyon equids? If not, they are "invasive species," so categorized as though they can be grouped with other eradicable ecological nuisances like tamarisk trees or insects. While early park administrators had viewed the "hobo burros" with concern, the four-legged intruders eventually became a problem, both environmentally and politically.

Feral burros out-compete native animals (bighorns, for example) for food resources, and their inner canyon travels scuff untidy "burro trails" hither and thither across the canyon landscape, which likewise damages resources. So, after decades of recognizing the problem, plans were devised to eliminate (kill) the burros. Hacking down a tamarisk does not raise the ire of the public, but shooting down defenseless "Brightys" . . . well that was different. And what a boistrous pulpit was occupied. Editorials, articles, and letters from a concerned citizenry rushed across the nation in magazines and newspapers and dropped into the mailboxes of Park Service administrators and politicians alike. All of a sudden, Grand Canyon was to be a no-kill sanctuary. Eventually, although some unsanctioned lethal eliminations were discovered, many burros were removed by independent animal-rights organizations, whether using helicopter slings or by improvising floating corrals on river rafts. It was a sight.

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**Downtrail**

So it's not *just* the mules—the Grand Canyon mules—that are rounded up in this annotated bibliography. Their many assistants, associates, and ancestors play as well in this small and sometimes just plain fun slot in Grand Canyon's history. Climb aboard anywhere and see.

---

**Cited references:**

Anonymous, "Sports," *Santa Fe Magazine*, Vol. 11, no. 5 (April 1917), pp. 67-69.

Gable, Gilbert E., "I am not a member of the Lodge," *Santa Fe Magazine*, Vol. 17, no. 11 (October 1923), pp. 53-54.

Henry, Marguerite, *Brightly of the Grand Canyon* (illustrated by Wesley Dennis) (Rand McNally and Co., Chicago, 1953), 224 pp.

Ives, Joseph C. "General Report," in *Report upon the Colorado River of the West, explored in 1857 and 1858 by Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, Corps of Topographical Engineers* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1861).

McCutcheon, John T., "Doing the Grand Canyon," *Appleton's Magazine*, Vol. 13, no. 6 (June 1909), pp. 641-648.

Möllhausen, Balduin, "Der Rio Colorado des Westens" [*transl.* "The Rio Colorado of the West"], *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, New Series, Vol. 5 (1858), pp. 438-443. [In German.]

Neill, Ada P., "Bright Angeling on a mule; two hundred pounds and not ashamed, but she went down and came back," *Outing*, Vol. 75, no. 2 (November 1919), pp. 75-79, 114.

Taft, William Howard, "President Taft's address," *Congressional Record—House*, (January 18, 1915), pp. 1797-1798.

## Mules

### Anonymous

- 1903 [Grand Canyon asbestos.] *In: Western Mining News of the Week. Pacific Coast Miner* (San Francisco), 7(8) (February 21): 145.  
"Asbestos is now being mined in the Grand Canyon by the Hance Asbestos Company. About twenty men are employed. The mine is down in the canyon, and the asbestos has to be packed on **mules'** backs to the rim. A mile of elevation has to be gained in about five miles of climbing." (entire item)
- 1907 [Anecdote about "Jim Hance".] *In: Personal Views on Current Events [SECTION]. The Gateway* (Detroit), 9(4) (November): 26.  
John Hance's "Turkey in the Straw" former **circus-mule** anecdote.
- 1908 He fell slow. *Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters' Journal* (Chicago), 13(1) (January): 6.  
John Hance's "Turkey in the Straw" former **circus-mule** anecdote (again).
- 1909 Fest-Bummler snapshots. *The American Bottler* (New York), 29(11) (November 15): 43-44.  
Regarding the Fest-Bummler Band, a mostly women's band, which accompanied the transcontinental tour of the American Bottlers' Protective Association of the United States. See p. 43, note about "Mrs. J." who was "Smiling all the way down the 'Bright Angel Trail' when big men were saying their prayers."; and p. 44, "Welbrock's ambition will eventually secure him a job as a guide on the 'Bright Angel Train' [*sic*] for he certainly made that **mule** 'grunt' some." (entire note)]
- 1910 The western tour of the American Chemical Society. *Metallurgical and Chemical Engineering*, 8(9) (September): 517-518. [Item is signed "X.Y.Z."]  
If the petrified forest was hot, this was hotter. But the precipices make you forget the heat when your **mule** walks on the edge of the trail and there are a few thousand feet just below you. The clerk at the hotel described the canyon as follows: 'Between hell and the canyon trail there is but a screen door.'
- 1915 Is youngest president. *International Railway Journal*, 22(11) (February): 1-2.  
J. W. McAdam, President of Veterans' Association of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. See p. 2: "He and Mrs. McAdam were on the Grand Canon Trip, and the writer, while in Lebanon recently, was regaled with a most thrilling account of a perilous **mule** ride which Mr. McA., in company with a number of venturesome spirits among the members [of the International Association of Ticket Agents], took along a precipitous trail in the Grand Canon." (entire note)
- 1915 The N. E. C. A. fifteenth annual convention. *National Electrical Contractor*, 14(10) (August): 38-40.  
National Electrical Contractors' Association of the United States. See p. 38: "The trip across New Mexico and Arizona was enjoyed, and Wednesday morning early the train reached the Grand Canyon. Most of the passengers arose at four o'clock to see the sun rise on the canyon. They were well repaid for their efforts, and here one of the most wonderful sights was witnessed. Wednesday was spent at the canyon, some of the party going down the trail on **mules** and others taking the rim drive around the canyon." (entire note)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 1915 Mule to climb ladders? *In: Sparks from the N.E.C.A. Convention [section]. National Electrical Contractor*, 14(10) (August): 138.
- Anecdote regarding L. H. Woods during visit to Grand Canyon by National Electrical Contractors' Association of the United States: "L. H. Woods of New York City, President of the New York State Association of Electrical Contractors, made the trip down the Bright Angel Trail at Grand Canyon on a **mule**. He was so well pleased with the success of the mule climbing the 'Devil's Corkscrew' he remarked, 'That mule can climb anything. I'm going to buy him to carry me up twenty-story ladders on new buildings in New York City.' You New Yorkers watch out for the new form of elevator." (entire item)
- 1915 San Francisco meeting of the Mechanical Engineers. *American Machinist*, 43(14) (September 30): 605-606.
- American Society of Mechanical Engineers. See p. 605: "The route [to San Francisco included] the Grand Cañon, where some rode **muleback** or horseback down the Bright Angel trail, while others took the Hermit Run [*sic*] drive and the auto ride to Grand View." (entire note)]
- 1916 Three million miles; covered by Ellison-White Chautauquan attractions during last summer. *The Lyceum Magazine*, 26(7) (December): 48.
- Includes note, "Dr. J. Whitcomb Brougher, of Los Angeles, lectured in October, his subject being 'Through the Grand Canyon on a **Mule**.'" (entire note)
- 1917 Ganz descends canyon on **mule**-back; pianist makes difficult ride in Arizona a part of his western tour. *Musical America* (New York), 25(21) (March 24): 47.
- Rudolph Ganz, accompanied only by Benjamin Keith (who tends to Ganz's Steinway piano) and a guide, ride down Bright Angel Trail after a blizzard.
- 1917 Fred Harvey—liveryman. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 11(5) (April): 13-18.
- Fred Harvey touring amenities at Grand Canyon.
- 1918 Alma Voedisch and guide at foot of Bright Angel Trail, Grand Canyon. *Musical Courier* (New York), 77(18)(2014) (October 31): 13.
- Photo only. Alma Voedisch, musicians agent. Subjects are mounted on **mules**.
- 1918 Fairbanks closes year's program; athletic Artcraft star to appear in "A Modern Musketeer". *Dramatic Mirror of Motion Pictures and the Stage* (New York), 77(2035) (December 22): 40.
- A silent film. Includes (exactly): "In the production of this film the Douglas Fairbanks players experienced one of the most strenuous expeditions ever made by a motion picture company in staging a photoplay. The entire Fairbanks producing organization made the trip from the rim of the Grand Canyon of Arizona, down to the Colorado River, a descent of over seven thousand feet and a distance of over thirty-five miles, along narrow winding trails that were barely wide enough to allow the **mules** carrying the players and supplies to travel. The party required forty mules, who made the trip in twenty-two hours, stopping at Bright Angels Camp on the skirt of the Colorado River, where the company camped out during the time these scenes were being made."
- 1920 A vacation in southern Arizona. (By a traveler.) *Hide and Leather* (Chicago), 59(16) (April 17): 31, 33.
- "People spend days, or weeks, at the Canyon. They go on **mules** or burros to the bottom of it. They take horses or autos to points that give different views of the majestic scenes."



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 1921 [Fred Harvey sightseeing.] *In: Along the Trail* [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 15(10) (September): 58.  
"Fred Harvey maintains twenty-one large sight-seeing automobiles and ninety-five **mules** and saddle horses for the purpose of enabling visitors to get a faint idea of what the Grand Cañon is like." (entire note)
- 1921 Carl Birchfield filming trip to Grand Canyon.] *From: Chicago* [subsection]. *In: Among Ourselves* [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 15(11) (October): 63.  
"Carl Birchfield, assistant general advertising agent, has just returned from a rather exciting trip to various sections of the West. Accompanied by a movie man and photographers and fifteen pack **mules** he made the trip to the north rim of the Grand Cañon up Bright Angel Cañon. He obtained some wonderful pictures and tells some wonderful tales of this trip across the cañon. However, the only casualty was one mule and its contents falling over a cliff. Afterwards Mr. Birchfield went to Santa Fe and filmed the fiesta." (entire note)]
- 1923 Tremendous scenes in Fairbanks movie; so big they appalled director, who had to work up to them gradually. *Utah Payroll Builder*, 10(2) (February): 22.  
Regarding Douglas Fairbanks film on Robin Hood, but with the following quotation of director Allen Dwan, ". . . we felt much as we did when we went to the Grand Canyon several years ago to make scenes for 'The Modern Musketeer.' We didn't undertake to photograph the canyon at once—it's magnitude appalled us. It was so vast, so big. So we played around the corrals for the first few days, photographing scenes featuring the horses and **mules**. Finally we got up courage enough to take a crack at the canyon." (entire note)
- 1924 Methods of one Australian firm. F. A. Wilks, of big Sydney music house bearing his name, gives details of system to which he attributes a considerable share of his success. Stand on tuning. "Keep pianos in tune" is advice impressed on customers and service department sends reminders. *Presto* (The American Music Trade Weekly) (Chicago), (2000) (November 22): 6.  
Article notes the Wilks party's travel to the Vancouver area, then notes in a new paragraph: "The picture shows Mr. Wilks . . . at the bottom of the Grand Canyon, near the Colorado River. His companions are Mrs. Vyden, and her son, Rex, both of whom accompanied Mr. Wilks on his interesting journey." (entire note) Photograph accompanies article, showing the three people seated on **mules**, perhaps along Bright Angel Creek.
- 1925 Just before starting down the "Bright Angel Trail" into the Grand Canyon. *In: Smith-Spring-Holmes*, enroute. *Music Trade Review*, 81(3) (July 18): 35.  
Photo only. An advertisement for Buescher Band Instrument Co., Elkhart, Indiana. Photograph shows Clay Smith and Guy Holmes with other (unidentified) riders and wrangler on **mules** beside a hitching post. Promotes the Smith-Spring-Holmes Orchestral Quintet.
- 1925 Impressions of the Eastern Homeopathic Medical Association in Fourth Annual Convention—meeting at Springfield, Mass., October 11th to 14th inclusive. *The Hahnemannian Monthly News and Advertiser* [accompanying *The Hahnemannian Monthly* (Philadelphia), volume 60], (November): 107-112 [*News and Advertiser* separately paginated].  
See p. 111, note of the lecture by DeWitt Wilcox, "Me and Another Mule". "Only the Doctor could have woven such an entertaining story about so unique a title. He described in charming manner his vacation experiences, especially his **mule** ride down the steeps of the Grand Canyon, and he held his audience spellbound throughout." (entire note)]

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 1926 Gustaf Adolf rides **mule**. He and princess enjoy climb to rim of Grand Canyon. *The New York Times*, (July 17): 28.  
Swedish Crown Prince Gustav Adolf and Crown Princess Louise visit to Grand Canyon.
- 1928 Lindbergh drops in, surprising Denver. Unheralded, he alights among 3,000 watching military air manoeuvres. Flew from Grand Canyon. There he abandoned recent reticence and talked of previous visit on **muleback**. *The New York Times*, (April 16): 16.  
Charles A. Lindbergh. Appends news item filed from Grand Canyon.
- 1935 La Guardia peers over canyon rim. Mayor orders **mule** for 7-mile ride down the Bright Angel Trail to Colorado River. *The New York Times*, (April 19): 3,  
New York mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia.
- 1941 Grand Canyon. *In: Here and There on the Desert* [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 4(6) (April): 37.  
"This story comes from the national park service: A Tennessee visitor to Grand Canyon found and gave to park officials a gold ring bearing the initials 'H. B. H.', a coat of arms and the inscription, '15 years of honorable service.' A park official on a trip to Seattle, Washington, showed the ring to jewelers, who identified it as the product of a New England firm, whose records showed it had been made for the head of a Philadelphia business. Pursuing this lead, park officials found the ring's owner was dead, but had a son living. To this son the ring was restored. It had been lost when the son fed a lump of sugar to one of the **mules** on which tourists ride down the long trail from top to bottom of the canyon. The mule snatched the ring from its feeder's finger." (entire item)]
- 1969 Grand Canyon **mule** brings 50th anniversary present. *National Park Courier* (U.S. National Park Service, Employees and Alumni Association), 15(4) (April): 1, 7.  
Bronze plaque commemorating 50th anniversary of Grand Canyon National Park presented by Arizona Governor Jack Williams, to be mounted at Powell Point.
- 1972 Le convoi postal de mulets du Grand Canyon [*transl.* 'The Grand Canyon mule mail train']. *Union Postale* (Bureau International de l'Union Postale Universelle, Berne) [French ed.], 1972(3)(97): 61-62. [In French.]  
**Mule** train mail to Supai, Arizona.
- 1972 Postbeförderung mit Maultieren im Grand Canyon [*transl.* 'Mail delivery by mules in the Grand Canyon']. *Union Postale* (Bureau International de l'Union Postale Universelle, Berne) [German ed.], 1972(3)(97): 43-44. [In German.]  
**Mule** train mail to Supai, Arizona.
- 1972 Mule train packs mail into Grand Canyon. *Union Postale* (Bureau International de l'Union Postale Universelle, Berne) [English ed.], 1972(3)(97): 40-41.  
**Mule** train mail to Supai, Arizona.
- 1973 See the USA. *Black Enterprise*, 3(10) (May): 25-27, 30.  
See p. 27, *Grand Canyon, in passing*, and photograph, "View from a horse and bridge of the Grand Canyon's natural beauty" (*i.e.*, view of **mule** rider from behind at one end of Kaibab Bridge; not a panoramic view).

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 1977 Three WASO brass retire. *National Park Service Newsletter*, 12(2) (February): 5.  
NPS Washington Office retirees include Hazel Oliff. "Hazel still works part-time for NPS and she plans a trip out west in June, taking in the Grand Canyon (including a **mule** ride 'if I don't lose my nerve') and as many parks as she can squeeze in between here and the West Coast." (entire note)
- 1986 **Mule** handy in repairing canyon phone line. *The New York Times*, (December 14): 46.
- 1990 Down at the **mule** barn. By Betty, a Fred Harvey mule. (Photos by B. L. Bartlett.) *Rimmin'* (Grand Canyon Pioneers), 6(1) (December 1990/January 1991): [5]-[6].  
Photos with handwritten legends.
- 1992 See the canyon from the back of a **mule**. *Arizona Visions* [weekly complimentary tourist guide to northern Arizona, with local television listings].  
June 5-11 issue cited here: see pp. 24-25.
- 1997 Grand Canyon **mule** ride. *National Geographic World*, (259), p. 2.
- 1998 Whoa! *The Bulletin* (Grand Canyon Pioneers Society), 2(4) (April): 2-3.  
Grand Canyon **mule** trips.
- 2000 **Mule** rides popular way to see Canyon. *In: Grand Canyon-Tusayan tourist guide : your guide to what's going on at Grand Canyon and Tusayan : fun at the canyon : Fall 2000*. Williams, Arizona: Williams-Grand Canyon News, p. 6. [Variously reprinted.]
- 2001 Hop aboard **mule** for thrilling ride; head to Plateau Point for the day or go overnight to Phantom Ranch. *In: Grand Canyon Tusayan guide : Fall/Winter edition*. Williams, Arizona: Williams-Grand Canyon News, p. 10.
- 2003 **Mule** mail—high tech, then low trek. *N.S.S.S. Post Boy* (Nevada Stamp Study Society, Reno), (January 11): 3.
- 2004 Arizona. *In: Tidbits* [section]. *American Profile*, West Edition, (April 25-May 1): 5.  
Regarding Grand Canyon **mule** rides.
- 2008 Postal history fun facts: **Mule** mail; High tech, then low trek. *University Mailing Services* (Oklahoma State University), 1(7) (January): 2.
- 2008 Traditional transport not an easy ride; Canyon on **muleback** presents its own challenges. *In: Grand Canyon and Tusayan guide : Fall 2008*. Williams, Arizona: Williams-Grand Canyon News, pp. 24-25.
- 2009 Exploring the Grand Canyon with back country friends, April 2009. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen Newsletter* (Emmett, Idaho), (July): 3-4.  
Xanterra Parks and Resorts **mule** trip, Grand Canyon.
- 2009 Modern mules are a new breed. *Equine News* (Kentucky Equine Research), 12(3): 14-17.  
Features in part Grand Canyon **mules**.
- 2011 Arizona. *In: Tidbits* [section]. *American Profile*, (May 1-7): 12.  
Mangum family conducts **mule** and horseback trips on Grand Canyon North Rim.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 2012 The life and legacy of John Burroughs, literary naturalist. *DHS News* (Deposit Historical Society, Deposit, New York), 9(3) (July): 2-3.  
Summary of presentation by Diane Galusha. Includes note (p. 3), "At 83, Burroughs went down Bright Angel Trail in the Grand Canyon on **mule** back." (entire note)
- 2012 Grand Canyon comes alive at Sky Harbor Airport. *Pinyon Press* (Xanterra South Rim, L.L.C., Grand Canyon), 2012(19) (September 19): 4.  
Three art exhibitions featuring Grand Canyon unveiled in Phoenix, presented by Phoenix Airport Museum. "A Grand Home: The Art of Bruce Aiken"; "A Grand Collection", from the collections of Grand Canyon National Park and Grand Canyon Association; "A Grand Ride", color **mule**-ride photographs by Tom Brownold. Notice only; not illustrated.
- 2018 Parting shot. Ernie W. Ensor, NPS maintenance, with a washing machine packed on the back of Rastus, the **mule**. The machine was taken down the Bright Angel Trail for use at Phantom Ranch. January, 1939. *The Ol' Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), 29(3) (Summer): 16.  
Photo only. See also back cover of this bibliography.
- 2019 Horses and **mules** abused and overloaded for tourists' pleasure. *Humane News* (Associated Humane Societies, Newark, New Jersey), (August): 17.  
Havasupai Indian Reservation.

#### Abbott, Chuck

- 1957 **Mule** train—Grand Canyon. *Arizona Highways*, 33(5) (May): cover.  
Photo only.

#### ABC News

- 1977 *Donkeys*. Hal Linden, host. 16-mm film or ½- or ¾-inch video. 22:00. ("Animals, Animals, Animals" series.) Distributed by Media Guild, San Diego, California.  
Includes Grand Canyon **mules**. For younger viewers.

#### Abernathy, Harris

- 2019 *Unobtainable elsewhere: The Grand Canyon, mules, and the photographers for the national park's most controversial trail, 1901-1936*. Master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 118 pp.
- 2020 A history of **mules** at the Grand Canyon. In: Quartaroli, Richard D. (compiler, ed.), *Celebrating 100 years of Grand Canyon National Park, February 2019 : a gathering of Grand Canyon historians : ideas, arguments, and first-person accounts*. Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Association [and Grand Canyon Historical Society], pp. 148-152.
- 2022 Historic Phantom Ranch turns 100 thanks to **mules**. *The Ol' Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), 33(2) (Spring): cover, 5-6.

#### Abyssus, C. V. [*pseudonym*] [Quartaroli, Richard D.]

- 2012 On the backs of **mules** and from the rivers of images: The amazing Ellsworth and Emery Kolb of Grand Canyon. *Boatman's Quarterly Review*, 25(1) (Spring): 18-20.  
Opening of exhibit at Kolb Studio, "The Amazing Kolb Brothers: A Grand Life at Grand Canyon"; attended by Kolb family members.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 2012 On the backs of **mules** and from the rivers of images: The amazing Ellsworth and Emery Kolb of Grand Canyon. *Grand Canyon River Runner*, (14) (Summer): 7.

#### American Trails [organization]

- 2013 National Recreation Trails Photo Contest winners. *American Trails*, (Spring): 18-19.  
See p. 18: "Bright Angel Trail, Grand Canyon, AZ"—Photo by Fiana Shapiro", depicting **mule** riders ascending the trail.

#### Anthes, Gary H.

- 1997 Postal Service's technology budget misdelivers. *Computerworld*, 31(23) (June 9): 33.  
"For 32 cents, a brave postal person on a **mule** will carry your first-class letter to the bottom of the Grand Canyon." (entire note)

#### Appleton, Elaine

- 1994 The war on waste. *National Parks*, 68(9/10) (September/October): 37-42.  
Includes photo (p. 41), "A **mule** train hauls trash along [South] Kaibab Trail in the Grand Canyon, Arizona. As park visitation soars and our society's consumption of materials increases, the waste issues confronting the parks and communities along their borders are escalating."

#### Armstrong, Edward M.

- 1929 '04. In: The Alumni [section]. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 30(10) (November 29): 282-283.  
Descriptions of travel from Herbert Wilcox. "Then they moved over to the Grand Canyon where they saw the sun rise at some unearthly hour. They did not have the nerve, however, to take the **muleback** ride down the Canyon to the River." (entire note)

#### Arnold, Oren

- 1938 Anything can happen—on the desert. (Scientific sketches by Reg Manning.) *Desert Magazine*, 1(7) (May): 6-8.  
See p. 7, "Case No. 4", new breed of Grand Canyon **mule**. Humor.

#### Banks, Leo W., and Coogan, Dan

- 2007 Mule sense; Grand Canyon **mule** skinner gulps, swears and gets used to living on the edge. *Arizona Highways*, 83(6) (June): 48-49.  
Regarding Jeff Pace.

#### Barnes, Will C.

- 1921 The Bandelier National Monument. *American Forestry*, 27(333) (September): 563-574.  
See p. 565: "Whoever has ridden one of the **mules** down the Grand Canyon trail to the Colorado River in Arizona knows the feeling inspired by this act [animals who "make strong attempts to nibble at a vagrant spear of grass that hangs over the cliff"]. It is essentially one of the best methods of developing goose pimples and ragged nerves known to civilized man." (entire note)

#### Bass, William Wallace

- 1909 *Rhymes and jingles*. Los Angeles: Arroyo Guild Press, 48 pp.  
A book of verses. See in "Come To Bass Camp", which includes "He has horses, **mules** and burros, / And you can walk or ride."

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Beauvoir, Simone de

- 1948 *L'Amérique au jour le jour*. Paris: Éditions Paul Morihien, 390 [391] pp. [Also a special-paper ed.: "Il a été tiré de cet ouvrage vingt-cinq exemplaires sur Alfama des papeteries du Marais numérotés de 1 à 25" [title-page verso].] [In French.]
- Memoir of Beauvoir's cross-country visit to America; diary January 25-May 20, 1947. See "17 mars." (pp. 183-185) and "18 mars." (pp. 186-187), which comprise Beauvoir's visit to Grand Canyon that included a **mule** ride to Plateau Point. She traveled from Williams to the canyon by bus, but took the train returning to Williams.
- 1952 *America day by day*. (Patrick Dudley, translator.) London: Gerald Duckworth and Co Ltd, 296 pp. [Translation of Beauvoir (1948). This ed. includes photographic plates, most credited to Paul Popper, of social and scenic scenes in America, and a frontispiece portrait of Beauvoir credited to Studio Harcourt.] [Also later printings.]
- See in the chapter, "Grand Canyon", Beauvoir's entries for March 17-18 (pp. 140-144), which comprise her two-day side trip to the Grand Canyon that includes a **mule** ride to Plateau Point. (The original French ed. is not divided into titled chapters.) She traveled from Williams to the canyon by bus, but took the train returning to Williams.
- 1953 *America day by day*. (Patrick Dudley, translator.) New York: Grove Press, 337 pp. [American ed. of the Dudley translation (Duckworth, London, 1952) of Beauvoir (1948).]
- NOTE: Although there is, as in the Duckworth ed. (1952), a chapter, "Grand Canyon", beginning with the date, "March 16th", in this Grove Press ed. the chapter (pp. 176-181), wholly omits Beauvoir's side-trip to the canyon! (The original French ed. is not divided into titled chapters.) On p. 178 in this American ed., it skips from her remarks about juke boxes in Arizona to her bus's departure from Williams for Albuquerque. The remainder of this "chapter" would include the dates March 17, 18, and 19, the 17th-18th being when she was at the canyon. The last part, prior to the March 20 entry in the next chapter ("Santa Fé"), has noticeable differences and omissions. Further, the Grove Press ed. omits the illustrations that appear in the Duckworth ed. (This edition is cited here to preclude one having to unnecessarily search for it.)
- 1999 *America day by day*. (Carol Cosman, translator; Foreword by Douglas Brinkley.) Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 390 pp. [1st paperback printing, 2000.] [Translation of Beauvoir (1948).]
- See Beauvoir's entry for March 17 (pp. 177-179), which comprises her two-day side trip to the Grand Canyon that includes a **mule** ride to Plateau Point.

#### Bell, Ryan T.

- 2011 **Mules** of the Grand Canyon. *In*: Backcountry Insight [column]. *Western Horseman Magazine*, (November):.
- Regarding proposed new stock use plan at Grand Canyon National Park.

#### Berry, John

- 2020 John Berry, **mule** skinner. *From*: Interviews [section]. *In*: Dundas, Zach (ed.), *Grand Canyon : "the ages at work"*. Austin, Texas: Wildsam Field Guides, p. 103.



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Bohn, John J.

- 1911 The Imperial City of Silence. *In: James, George Wharton, The 1910 trip of the H. M. M. B. A. to California and the Pacific Coast.* San Francisco: Bolte and Braden Co., pp. 43, 45-46, 49, 51-52.

Bohn reflects, at length, on the 1910 Grand Canyon visit by conventioners of the Hotel Men's Mutual Benefit Association; and how perceptions change. "The seeming danger of the forenoon trip into the canyon kept the eyes of the inexperienced on the **mule** and the trail, with the knees hugging the saddle. Once at the bottom, strength, courage and daring grew rapidly, and on the homeward trip there was much turning in the saddles, with backward, side and front views taken"

#### Bower, Blair T.

- 1991 Economic, engineering, and policy options for waste reduction. *In: U.S. National Research Council, Commission on Geosciences, Environment, and Resources, Board on Environmental Studies and Toxicology, Committee on Opportunities in Applied Environmental Research and Development, Opportunities in applied environmental research and development.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, pp. 55-75.

"Paper prepared for National Academy of Science's Committee on Opportunities in Applied Environmental Research and Development Workshop, May 8-9, 1989, Annapolis, MD".) See p. 70, "The **mules** in Grand Canyon National Park, under the jurisdiction of the National Park service [*sic*], are major wastes [*sic*] generators and polluters of Bright Angel Creek." No further remark, nor citation.

#### Brisco, W. R., and Krames, W. M.

- 1920 San Diego. *In: Among Ourselves* [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 15(1) (December): 80-80.

See p. 80: "Mrs. J. R. Jackson, wife of our weighmaster, contracted a serious illness due to a fall from a **mule** while ascending the trail from the Colorado River at the Grand Cañon, where Mr. and Mrs. Jackson were spending their vacation. Mrs. Jackson has improved very slowly but expected to be around again soon." (entire note)

#### Brooks, Beverly Metcalfe

- 2016 Grand Canyon **mule** ride. *In: Bev's Bits* [column]. *Cave Creek Museum Nuggets* (Cave Creek, Arizona), (May): 3.

Reminiscence from 1958. Includes a Kolb photo (not credited) of mounted riders on Bright Angel Trail.

#### Brown, Cindy

- 2010 Long ears looking for good homes. *The Little Brayer* (Pikes Peak Long Ears Association), (September): 13.

**Mules.** Writer notes, *in passing*, a working relationship with "the family [stable concession] that runs the North Rim of the Grand Canyon, Bryce & Zion Parks."

#### Brown, Craig McFarland

- 2009 **Mule train mail.** Watertown, Massachusetts: Charlesbridge, [unpaginated].

A young-reader title.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Brownold, Tom

- 2009 Giddyup and down. *In: The Journal* [section]. *Arizona Highways*, 85(11) (November): 5.  
Photo only; shows **mule** trains ascending South Kaibab Trail. Item refers to "Mule rides into the Grand Canyon" but the photograph shows two strings hauling trash, etc., from Phantom Ranch.
- 2012 A peaceful, early morning **mule** ride along Bright Angel Trail in the Grand Canyon. *Arizona Highways*, 88(1) (January): inside front cover-1.  
Photo only.

#### Brownold, Tom, and Dimock, Brad

- 2010 *The grandest ride*. Tucson: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 44 pp.  
About a **mule** trip in Grand Canyon.

#### Bryan, William Jennings

- 1908 The wonders of the West. *Santa Fe Employes' Magazine*, 2(8) (July): 564-567.  
Includes frontispiece (p. 564) of Bryan, in solitary view, astride a **mule** on Bright Angel Trail.

#### Buckley, James, Jr.

- 2022 *Grand Canyon National Park*. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Children's Books Arcadia Publishing), 96 pp. (Super Parks!) [Cover adds: "Incredible Vistas, Spectacular Selfies, **Mule** Rides, and More! Inside: History, People, and Culture! Fun and Fabulous Facts! something for Everyone!"]  
Young-reader title.

#### Büchler, Eduard

- 1921 *Rund um die Erde : erlebtes aus Amerika, Japan, Korea, China, Indien und Arabien* [transl. 'Around the world: experiences from America, Japan, Korea, China, India and Arabia']. Bern: Verlag von A. Francke A.-G., 259 pp. [In German.]  
See "IV. Das Westliche Amerika" (pp. 60-83) (transl. 'Western America'); Grand Canyon, pp. 68-72, plate between pp. 64/65. The account includes a two-day **mule** trip down Hermit Trail to Hermit Camp and the Colorado River, returning by way of Tonto and Bright Angel Trails.

#### Burdick, Clayton A.

- 1915 The Grand Canyon of the Colorado. *The Sabbath Recorder* (American Sabbath Tract Society, Plainfield, New Jersey), 78(18) (May 3) (3661): 551-555.  
"The **mule** assigned to the writer bore the scriptural name of Salome. She was a sober and demure beast, not much given to dancing unless her saddle girth became loosened; then she became a high kicker like the former bearer of the name. Otherwise she required much urging to make her step at all lively. She was slow but sure. She was so sure that she had her own way most of the time." On the trail, "we had not gone very far when it began to be rather quiet. Nobody seemed to be in a talkative mood any more. The trail was becoming a little steep. Sitting on a mule that is apparently standing on its head, is not conducive to much interchange of thought, especially on a narrow trail that winds its way back and forth across the face of a precipice 2,000 feet above the valley. More than that, the mules were so careless about it. They delighted in walking just as near the brink as possible. The only thing they seemed to be afraid of was rubbing their sides against the cliff. [. . .] When we came to a sharp turn, of which there were many, they would march straight up to the very edge before turning. I believe they liked to hear the gravel and stones fall on the rocks below."

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Burroughs, John

- 1912 *Time and change*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. (The Riverside Press, Cambridge). See "The Divine Abyss" (pp. 39-70). "It is quite worth-while to go down into the canyon on **mule**-back, if only to fall in love with a mule, and to learn what a sure-footed, careful, and docile creature, when he is on his good-behavior, a mule can be. My mule was named 'Johnny,' and there was soon a good understanding between us. I quickly learned to turn the whole problem of that perilous descent over to him. He knew how to take the sharp turns and narrow shelves of that steep zigzag much better than I did. I do not fancy that the thought of my safety was 'Johnny's' guiding star; his solicitude struck nearer home than that. There was much ice and snow on the upper part of the trail, and only those slender little legs of 'Johnny's' stood between me and a tumble of two or three thousand feet. How cautiously he felt his way with his little feet, as, with lowered head, he seemed to be scanning the trail critically. Only when he swung around the sharp elbows of the trail did his forefeet come near the edge of the brink. Only once or twice at such times, as we hung for a breath above the terrible incline, did I feel a slight shudder. One of my companions, who had never before been upon an animal's back, so fell in love with her 'Sandy' that she longed for a trunk big enough in which to take him home with her."

#### Chapple, Joe Mitchell

- 1906 At the Grand Canyon. *The National Magazine* (Boston), 24(2) (May): [unpaginated section], [5 pp.].
- Apparently this is final chapter of a much longer, serialized piece, "A Month in Mexico", which relates to the widely advertised commercially conducted tours managed by Charles H. Gates. "Of course we had to visit the bottom of this wonderful abyss—wanted to get to the bottom of things, you know. There was some hesitation—but I felt that I could not make any excuse that would satisfy the readers of the National, so I ventured on the back of 'Midnight,'—a **mule** of skittish disposition. The first few moments of descent covets somewhat precipitous ground—to put it mildly—and as Midnight went round the ledges it seemed to me that she always sought the very outside rim of the precipice on which to walk. I held my breath and wore the shoulder of my coat off leaning against the wall to preserve my balance. About half way down I looked around me and saw a cherring sight for a traveler upon the mountainside—the body of a dead mule. However, there was no turning back, and I resigned myself to my fate—and Midnight."

#### Cizmar, Martin

- 2012 Pushing the envelopes. *Arizona Highways*, 88(8) (August): 6-7.
- Hank Delaney delivers mail by **mule** to Supai, as did his father, Bud Delaney.

#### Clark, Cameron

- 2013 By heart and hoof; the work and legacy of the Grand Canyon **mules** and muleskinners. *Northern Arizona's Mountain Living Magazine*, (July): cover, 6, 7, 10-17.
- Photo feature.

#### Clark, Chris

- 2023 Chris Clark, lead Grand Canyon **mule** packer. (Jack Reid, ed.) *The Ol' Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), 34(1) (Winter): 12-15.
- An "edited version of an interview with Chris Clark, Lead Mule Packer for Grand Canyon National Park by Jillian Staurowsky that took place during the 2019 Grand Canyon History Symposium". Text comprises only the reminiscences and remarks of Clark.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Clarke, Arthur C.

- 1953 *Childhood's end*. New York: Ballantine Books, 214 pp. [Numerous American reprintings and foreign-language editions.]  
Fiction. See the beginning of Chapter 9; the Overlord Karellen, Supervisor for Earth, views people riding **mules** in the Grand Canyon.]

#### Clayton, Ron

- 2003 *Ron Clayton's Grand Canyon mule skinner's journal*. Cortez, Colorado: David Bowyer Productions. DVD video.

#### Cobb, Irvin S.

- 1919 Roughing it de luxe; the hydrophobic skunk; or, Rabid and his friends. (Illustrated by John T. McCutcheon.) *Saturday Evening Post*, 185(52) (June 28): 14-15, 28-30.  
Cobb describes the state of affairs at Hermit Camp, noting, ". . . outside there was a corral for the **mules**; a canvas storehouse; hitching stakes for the burros; a Dutch oven, and a little forge where the guides sometimes shoe a mule. They aren't blacksmiths; they merely have to be."

#### Collins, Marian L. (ED.)

- 1957 Death. *The Supai Weekly News*, (August 21): 1.  
"The white government **mule**, Mary, died last Friday night. She was a faithful animal and packed furniture, gasoline, groceries, school desks, Christmas toys, fuel oil, motors, radio-telephones, and many other articles down the Trail for over ten years. She also was the means of transportation for lots of government officials including Miss Orpha McPherson, Mr. Wohlenberg, Mr. Bobo, and Mr. Ladd. Mrs. Collins always rode Mary when she went out to town."
- 1958 Postal inspector here. *The Supai Weekly News*, (December 10): 1.  
"Post Office Inspector Velthoen, of Flagstaff, Arizona rode to Supai last Thursday to inspect the local Post Office. He does this once a year. Floyd Putesoy was his guide. Inspector V. had a fast ride on Floy's **mule**, Ray." (entire item)

#### Costa, Kristina

- 2012 *Principles for Postal Service reform : reforming the service while preserving a beloved U.S. institution*. [No place]: Center for American Progress, 7 pp.  
See pp. 1, 7, notes of postal service by **mule** to Supai, Arizona.

#### Costle, Douglas M.

- 1979 Recreation, jobs, and good health. *EPA Journal* (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Public Awareness), 5(6) (June): 2-3. [Table of Contents adds: "Administrator Douglas M. Costle discusses the dividends that a cleaner environment brings to the U.S. economy and the well-being of Americans."]  
See p. 2, photo, "Visitors descend from the South Rim of the Grand Canyon by **mule** to explore this famous canyon." No text mention of Grand Canyon.

#### Cottonwood-Oak Creek School District No. 6, Transportation Department

- 2009 All in a days ride! [*sic*]. *Communiqué* (Cottonwood-Oak Creek School District No. 6, Arizona), (April): 5.  
Photograph only, showing "Nine lady bus drivers and friends" on **mules** in the Grand Canyon.



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Cronin, Robert

- 1973 Ethyl and me. *Desert Magazine*, 36(3) (March): 32-35.  
Regarding a Grand Canyon **mule**. See also letter from Elmo Menetre, (6) (June): 46.

#### Crowell, Chester T.

- 1921 "Straight down to China"; a tale of **mules** and thrills in the Grand Canyon of Arizona. *The Independent* (New York), 105 (June 4): 579-580, 600-603.
- Crowell inadvertently purchased a mule ride into the canyon, believing that it would be a rim ride. But, too late. ". . . it was perfectly natural for me to estimate the width of that path at two and one-half inches. In fact, I distinctly remember that some of that hard rock leaned out once or twice and deliberately attempted to shove me off the path. As I said, my idea of the side of a canyon is something to be let strictly alone. In this helpless condition, with nine persons behind and eight in front, and the side of that Canyon jabbing at me, I couldn't think of a thing to do but place myself in the hands of God and that mule and sit tight. [. . .] But there I was on that mule, all dressed up in my overalls, and no place to go but forward. The descent is at an angle of about forty-five degrees and at intervals of some twenty to fifty yards one turns, or rather, the mule turns and descends again on a new tack. Those turns are a joy. They are so sharp that the mule's head sticks right out over eternity and the mule carefully takes about ten steps in order to get around that turn without falling off. It wouldn't be so bad if the mule appeared to be entirely conscious of the perilous situation and would confide in you about his sentiments. But the mule goes thru all of its maneuvers so absent-mindedly that you wonder if he may not be in love or possibly involved in some business trouble. In fact, his mind does not seem to be on the immediate present at all. I suspect that I was the most frightened person who ever went down into the Grand Canyon. [. . .] And the mule seemed to be in a conspiracy to give all the thrill to be had. The mules like the outer edge of the path. They remain away from the inside whenever they can. One of the mules chose a particularly trying point to stop for lunch. In that absent-minded way that I complained of in a preceding paragraph, this mule had noticed a patch of grass above his head and well out of reach. He turned sideways on that narrow path and reached up for it. One of his hind feet was within an inch of the edge of the precipice. The other hind foot was actually out over the precipice and he was feeling for a place to put it down. There wasn't any place to put it down short of a mile below. And I sat there helpless for five seconds that seemed like a month, waiting for the beast to put that foot down and fall over. But he didn't. Mules never do. [. . .] But out of the wealth of my experience I want to furnish you a magic phrase, and urge you to say it over and over to yourself all the way down and all the way up: 'This mule thinks just as much of his hide as I do of mine.' Just keep that in mind."

#### Curie, Ève [Curie, Eve]

- 1937 *Madame Curie*. Paris: Gallimard NRF, 311 pp. [Very numerous later printings.] [In French.] Ève Curie's biography of her mother, Marie Curie, has been very widely reprinted and translated (the original text is in French). There is but one brief passage that relates to Marie Curie's 1921 visit to Grand Canyon with her daughters, Irène (aged 23) and Ève (16), and of the daughters' horseback ride on the rim and **mule** ride to the Colorado River.
- 1937 *Madame Curie : a biography by Eve Curie*. (Vincent Sheean, translator.) Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 412 pp. [Later printings.] English translation of Eve Curie's biography of her mother. See pp. 333-334, brief remarks regarding Mme. Marie Curie's 1921 visit to Grand Canyon with her daughters, Irène (aged 23) and Ève (16), and of the daughters' horseback ride on the rim and **mule** ride to the Colorado River.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Daniel, Diane

- 2013 Grand Canyon: New trail for **mules**. *The New York Times*, (September 8): TR3.  
South Rim trail rides.

#### Dedera, Don

- 1973 Man and **mule** at the Golly Gulch. *Outdoor Arizona*, 45 (April): 13.

#### DeVault, Karen

- 2016 **Mule** skinner. *Women2Women Michigan* (Grand Blanc, Michigan), 7(5): 26.  
Inspirational message, recalling a mule trip to Phantom Ranch.

#### Dickens, Nancy

- 2022 *Twinkie : a Grand Canyon mule*. [No imprint], 34 pp. [An on-demand publication.]  
Young-reader fiction, but "dedicated to the real Twinkie".]

#### Diva

- 2009 Dear Diva [column]. *Morgan Tales* (Mississippi Valley Morgan Horse Club), 9 (August): 2.  
Signed "Diva"; "Advice from the Equine Ann Landers". This column about Grand Canyon **mules**.

#### Don Briggs Productions

- 1990 *Grand Canyon mule ride*. Narrated by Wilford Brimley. San Francisco: Don Briggs Productions.  
Video. 39:00.

#### Dooling, E. R.

- 1956 Grand Canyon on a **mule**. *The Cosmopolitan*, 140 (March): 18.

#### Dowling, Ross K.

- 2006 Tourists on **mule** back viewing the Grand Canyon, beneath the rim, Arizona, USA. In: Dowling, Ross K., and Newsome, David (eds.), *Geotourism : sustainability, impacts and management*. Amsterdam, Boston, Heidelberg, London, New York, Oxford, Paris, San Diego, San Francisco, Singapore, Sydney, and Tokyo: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, front cover [part of a collage].  
Photo only. See legends with photo credits on p. [ii]. Cover credits list "David Newsome", "Edited by Ross Dowling".

#### Doyle, William L.

- 1920 San Francisco [news]. In: Among Ourselves [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 14(12) (November): 76, 78, 80, 82.  
"Misses Nellie Rowan and Anna Creeley, telephone operators, have just returned from their vacation. They toured the South and also the Grand Cañon. Anna, with that lovable and most congenial disposition that she is the proud owner of, was one big scream riding down the Bright Angel Trail. Poor little **mule** wanted to rest and hied himself to the edge of the cliff, not only to admire the scenery, but to also lean over and chew some shrubbery that grew just over the precipice. Poor Ann sounded her Angel Gabriel horn of a shriek at his daring move, and so surprised the poor little mule that he sat down, and Ann then slid off backwards. The result was that Ann ate the balance of her meals at the Harvey House standing up."

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 1921 San Francisco. *In: Among Ourselves* [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 15(2) (January): 78.  
Includes note on Grand Canyon **mules**. Published as a follow-up to remarks in 14(12) (November 1920): 82.

#### Drougas, Susie

- 2015 Grand Canyon **mule** ride. *The Trailhead News* (Backcountry Horsemen of Washington, Ellensburg, Washington), 40(3) (May/June): 12, 14.

#### Dryden, Mary V.

- 1906 Sketches of a western trip. *The Medical Missionary* (Battle Creek, Michigan), New Series, 15(5) (July 31): 33, 36-38.  
A **mule** trip into the canyon is a "wonderful trip which is well worth all that it costs in expense and wearying effort."

#### Dugard, Marie

- 1896 *La société Américaine : mœurs et caractère—la famille—rôle de la femme—écoles et universités* [*transl.* 'American society: mores and character—the family—role of women—schools and universities']. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 320 pp. [In French.]  
An 1893 tour of America includes a visit to Grand Canyon at Hance's. See in Chapter 7 ("A Travers l'Ouest") (*transl.* 'Through the West') (pp. 106-109), *in translation here*: "We venture there [on the Old Hance Trail] in the morning with **mules**, an almost useless mount in these crevices; under the sun which reverberates in shimmering fire on the walls of red granite eight hundred meters high, one descends rockslides, leaning on the fir trees which grow in the cracks, crossing clearings of yuccas and aloes, excavations dug by the waters, following the bed of the torrents, crossing with the help of ropes the blocks which obstruct them and their falls along the smooth walls, and at two miles in depth one arrives at the Colorado, a vast river whose waters more than two hundred feet wide, red and swollen with clay carried along in their course, roll with a crash between ramparts of granite and disappear, torrential, terrible and attractive like the unknown."

#### Duran, Leah

- 2008 **Mule** master. *Arizona Highways*, 84(11) (November): 6.  
Casey Murph.

#### Ehrhardt, Charles W.

- 1980 In memoriam: Mason Ladd. *Florida State University Law Review*, 8(2) (Spring): 161-164.  
See p. 162: "Some of the cases which were discussed will never be forgotten by his students. With his canes waving in the air, his discussion of the escapades of 'Chiggers', the **mule**, during his trip down the Grand Canyon was a classic." Not elaborated upon, but cites "*Fred Harvey Corp. v. Mateas*, 170 F.2d 612 (9th Cir. 1948). Mason had visited the Grand Canyon and had someone point out Chiggers standing in a corral. Of course the class was treated to a description of the mule." (Regarding the "Chiggers" suit see herein U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, 1944, 1948, respectively.)

#### Essin, Emmett M.

- 1997 *Shavetails and bell sharps : the history of the U.S. Army mule*. Lincoln, Nebraska, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 245 pp. [First Bison Books (paperbound) printing, 2000.]

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Fish, Peter

1996 Bright Angel, bright **mule**. *Sunset* (Central West ed.), 196 (March): 14.

#### Francis, Mike

2004 **Mule** train post office. [and] More mule train. *The Postscript* (Tallahassee Stamp and Cover Club, Tallahassee, Florida), 14(2) (April/June): 1.

Regarding mail delivery to Supai.

#### Franklin, Marte

1977 Phantom Ranch: Yesterday and a mile deep; visited only by **mule** train riders, river runners, and hardy hikers in the Grand Canyon, Phantom Ranch, deep within the inner gorge, continues the traditions of a resort of yesterday. *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 51(12) (December): cover, 3, 4-9.

#### Fred Harvey [firm]

1968 *Welcome to a great adventure. Soyez les bienvenus pour une grande aventure. Willkommen zu einem grossen Abenteuer. Bienvenido a una gran aventura.* [Grand Canyon, Arizona]: Fred Harvey, 1 folded sheet, [4] pp. [In English.]

Pertains to **mule** rides.

#### Fromholz, Hugo

1897 *An den küsten des Pacific. Reisebriefe von Hugo Fromholz* [transl. 'On the shores of the Pacific. Travel letters from Hugo Fromholz']. Berlin: Druck von August Hoffmann, 160 pp. [In German.]  
Correspondence from an 1895 trip. See "Grand Canon des Colorado. (23.-26. September.)" (pp. 90-98), written in El Paso, September 28. He went down the new Hance Trail (*translated here*): "After discussing the descent down the canyon for the next morning with Mr. Hance, who provides guides and **mules** for the purpose at moderate prices (\$5 for the guide, 3½ for the mule), I went to bed [. . .] and at 7 o'clock I rode off with the guide, who, as a precaution for me, a heavy man, also led a second mule (without my paying for it!) carrying sandwiches, wine and water. [. . .] Riding down as lighter travelers do was out of the question for me, a heavy man, so like the guide I dismounted from the mule at the beginning of the descent and followed on foot last, to prevent any attempt by the mule to turn back and run away. The path is new, not much used, steep and sometimes not without danger, so that I had to be very careful with the weakness of my left ankle. So, there was not much to think about looking around, only when I stood still to urge the much slower descending mules, especially the mischievous 'Jimmy', could I watch the changing rock formations and admire the picturesque views below. [. . .] A fine fellow, this 'Jimmy', the strongest and brightest of the herd, but an incorrigible runaway when left unattended."

#### Gale, Zona

1904 A study in fear. *In*: Little Outdoor Stories [section]. *Outing*, 45(2) (November): 197-201. Fiction. See p. 199, a character's reminiscence of riding a **mule** into Grand Canyon.

#### Galloway, Mrs. John R.

1915 Our trip to the coast. A review of the N. E. C. A. convention. *National Electrical Contractor*, 14(11) (September): 41, 46, 121-122. [With editor's introductory paragraph.]

National Electrical Contractors' Association of the United States. See p. 41: "Our train carried us across New Mexico and Arizona, where we had the first glorious sight of the Grand Canyon at sunrise. Would you believe it, our people were all up at 4 a. m. and waiting for the train to stop,

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

anxious to get a glimpse of the wonderful canyon when the sun came over the rim? We spent a day (all too short) enjoying its beauty. Some of our young people went down the trail on **mules**, while others enjoyed a ride viewing the canyon from the new scenic boulevard along the rim.”  
(entire note)

#### **Gateway to Canyon Country, Staff**

2005 Blazed by a **mule**, trail’s pretty and cruel; Spencer Trail is a challenge, but the spectacular payoff is worth the exhaustion. *Gateway to Canyon Country*, (Winter): 21.

#### **Ghesquire, Mike, and Ghesquire, Lynn**

[2013?] Westward ho! Grand Canyon. *Millennium Magazine* (Millennium Luxury Coaches, Sanford, Florida), (17): 8-9.

**Mule** ride to Phantom Ranch.

#### **Gibberd, Mabel**

1927 Travels with a **mule**. *Ariston* (College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota), 21(3) (Spring): 5-6.  
Reflections on a mule ride into Grand Canyon.

#### **Green, Keith**

2010 **Mules**: A dying species at Grand Canyon. *The Ol’ Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), 21(2) (Spring): 1, 2, 3-5.

Administrative plans to curtail mule use of Grand Canyon trails.

2012 A mysterious death. *The Bulletin* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), 16(2) (March): 1.

Terry Magda Mische, former Phantom Ranch manager (died after diving in the Caribbean, cause undetermined). Includes note, “Probably her most enduring legacy there was the purchase of that stamp for postcards that reads, ‘Mailed by **mule** at the bottom of the Grand Canyon—Phantom Ranch.’”

#### **Greenstein, Lori**

2014 The three philosophers. *In*: Hauer, John, *The natural superiority of mules : a celebration of one of the most intelligent, sure-footed, and misunderstood animals in the world* (Sean Hauer, ed.). (Foreword by Sue Cole.) New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2nd ed., p. 158.

Photo only, showing three **mules’** heads as seen from one mule, looking over the Grand Canyon.

#### **Gronberg, W. E.**

1969 Down the wild Colorado. *Illinois Highway Engineer*, 21(1) (First Quarter): 2-4.

Regarding a 1968 Colorado River trip in Grand Canyon with Western Rivers Expeditions, Phantom Ranch to Temple Bar. The author and his wife met the trip via **mule** on Bright Angel Trail.

#### **Hadwen, Walter R.**

[c. 1921] *First impressions of America*. London: Hutchinson and Co., 320 pp.

See Chapter 14, “The Grand Canyon of the Colorado”, pp. 221-236. “Before I went to America I had never heard of ‘The Grand Canyon’; when I reached the United States and spoke of going on to California, I heard of very little else.” Mounting a **mule** to ride into the unknown: “I had no idea what it would be like when I started, or I should not have gone, and I certainly shall never go again. It was the most nerve-racking experience I ever remember. We took the Bright Angel Trail,



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

which, from the hotel to the Colorado River that flows at the bottom, is seven miles long. [¶] The path for the first two or three miles was nothing more nor less than a narrow ledge just wide enough for a mule to walk on, cut out of an almost perpendicular wall. The gradient was so steep that I felt as if I must inevitably be flung forward over the mule's head, but I stretched my legs straight, planted my feet firmly in the stirrups, grasped the reins tightly, and keeping myself back with knees in the mule's ribs, clung on for dear life! All of us were silent, as if we were in a funeral procession. Outside the narrow ledge was the sheer precipice. I simply dared not look down, but kept my eyes steadfastly gazing at the back of the mule's head! The most tragic moments to me were when we turned the sharp corners of the trail, and this we did on the zigzag path every two or three minutes. It seemed as if nothing could save one. How on earth the mule twisted his lithe body and negotiated those corners I cannot tell. Again and again I felt as if I must stop, but it was useless thinking about it; there were the mules moving slowly down the steep descent in single file in front and the remainder coming on behind. There was no turning or getting off unless one fell into the abyss at one's side. The perspiration poured down my cheeks, and my soft collar was soon soaking, but I dared not reach for my pocket handkerchief! I felt if I let go my grip of the reins I should fall over. Of course, I need not have troubled, the sure-footed mule makes no mistakes, and can be safely trusted." Afterward, back on the rim, "The men were all frank enough; nobody wanted a second edition once was sufficient for a lifetime; we each decided if we came again, neither the Bright Angel Trail nor the Hermit Trail would allure us, but we would take a comfortable automobile drive round the rim at the top."

#### Hall, Richard G.

1923 To the Ga--lor--ious West, and return. *The Seventh Regiment Gazette* (Seventh Regiment Gazette Association [107th Infantry, New York, National Guard; and 7th Regiment Veteran Association], New York), 38(2) (November): 17-18.

". . . immediately after breakfast ye Scribe girded up his loins and bestrode a **mule** (pity the animal) in order to make the trip to the waters of the Colorado. We don't know why they named it Bright Angel Trail unless it was because those who make the trip have led exemplary lives, have visions of speedily becoming bright angels as they descend some steep bit of trail or round some sharp bend affording a view of a thousand yards directly beneath their stirrup."

#### Harbin, A. E., and Nelson, Elmer

1923 Grand Cañon. *In: Among Ourselves* [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 17(5) (April): 74.

Includes note, "The B. & B. department, Mr. Shope, foreman, has completed large chicken houses at both Hermit Camp and Phantom Ranch" (with some further information, including the construction of "special carriers to hold twenty-five hens each, and each **mule** will pack two carriers").

#### Harrington, Johns H.

1957 Fugitive from a Fred Harvey **mule**. *Arizona Highways*, 33(5) (May): 34-35.

#### Harvey, Jim

2013 Arizona—web of time. *In: The Arizona Trail* [column]. *Territorial News* (Apache Junction, Arizona), 20(5) (March 6): 2.

Includes brief note of John Hance "offering sightseers **mule** rides to the bottom of the Grand Canyon north of Williams", in 1887. (Generalized.)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Hauer, John

- 2005 *The natural superiority of **mules***. (Sena Hauer, ed.) Guilford, Connecticut: Lyons Press, 152 pp.
- 2014 *The natural superiority of **mules** : a celebration of one of the most intelligent, sure-footed, and misunderstood animals in the world*. (Sean Hauer, ed.; foreword by Sue Cole.) New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2nd ed., 190 pp.

#### Hedgpeth, Mel

- 2008 Grand Canyon by **mule**. *The Northwest Connection* (Troutdale, Oregon), 2(12) (January): 1, 9.

#### Heidinger, Lisa Schnebly

- 2017 A woman by the name of Sedona. *Arizona Highways*, 93(11) (November): 3.  
Sedona Miller Schnebly. See p. 49, Kolb photograph of Sedona on a **mule** on Bright Angel Trail (no separate text note).

#### Holmes, Burton

- 1914 *Burton Holmes travelogues : with illustrations from photographs by the author. Volume Twelve*. Chicago: The Travelogue Bureau, 341 pp.  
Two canyon expeditions for the price of one—the first harkens back to a trip he took to Hance’s in 1898. The volume is a collation of Holmes’s very popular and well attended illustrated lectures of his tours of the world. See exhaustively, and profusely illustrated, “The Grand Cañon” (pp. 113-224), which does bring his text and illustrations up to date in the presence of the railroad and El Tovar. On Hance’s trail: “Like Dante, we begin our wanderings in an obscure savage wood; but unlike Dante we are mounted—not on the winged horses of the Muses, but—on the **mules** and the burros of good old Captain Hance, who in our case replaces Virgil as guide. [. . .] Then Captain Hance rounds up the animals, saddles the horses, packs the mules, and we begin our skyward journey.”

#### Iszler, Robin

- 2003 A grand vacation. *Hot Spots* (North Dakota Appaloosa Horse Club), (October): [2].  
**Mule** trip.

#### Keable, Ed [Keable, Edward T.]

- 2021 [Field briefing.] *In: Explorations with Ed [section]. Canyon Views* (Grand Canyon Conservancy), 28(1) (Spring/Summer): 4.  
Grand Canyon National Park Superintendent’s ride with packers and **mules** to Phantom Ranch, with notes of investigating trail crew and Inner Canyon operations support.]

#### King, June O’Neill

- 1989 A most memorable **mule** trip. *Northern Arizona’s Mountain Living magazine*, (February):.
- 1991 A most memorable **mule** trip. *Rimmin’* (Grand Canyon Pioneers), 6(1) (December 1990/January 1991): [4].  
Facsimile reproduction of King (1989).

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Kleihauer, Aylsworth

1965 Last man on a **mule** train. *Westways*, 57(10, Part 1): 22-24.

#### Kremer, Stefan

2011 Grand Canyon: Bald weniger **mule** rides im Canyon [*transl.* 'Grand Canyon: Soon there will be fewer mule rides in the canyon']. *Southwest Chronicle* (USA Reporter, Magazin über den Südwesten der USA, Stolberg, Germany), (January): 3. [In German.]

#### Kuhns, Stacy

2011 Hi guys. *Tails From the Trail* (Redshank Riders Monthly Newsletter) (Backcountry Horsemen of California, Redshank Riders, Aguanga, California), (12) (December): 1-2.

See p. 1, regarding proposed new stock use plan at Grand Canyon National Park, also affecting **mule** trips.

#### Lawrence, Jane

1963 Vacationing "West of the Mississippi". *News Letter* (Ravenna Ordnance Plant [Ravenna Arsenal, Inc.], Ravenna, Ohio), 17(7) (July): 7.

Notes having gone to Grand Canyon, "one of the most spectacular sights of all": "We had to see more, and a 6½-hour **mule** ride down into the Canyon gave us a closer view of the beautiful green Colorado River and was one of the highlights of our stay at Grand Canyon." (entire note)

#### Leadership Resources

2008 *Successful Test Taking : Reading 5*. Port Huron, Michigan: Leadership Resources, [18] pp.

See "Mail Call", pp. [13]-[16], [18]; regarding mail delivered to Supai by **mule**.

#### Leal, Melba

2011 Public lands. *Mother Lode Unit Matters* (Backcountry Horsemen of California, Mother Lode Unit, Elk Grove, California), 13(6) (November/December): 1-3.

See p. 2, regarding proposed new stock use plan at Grand Canyon National Park., as also affecting mule trips.

#### Leavengood, Betty

1999 *Grand Canyon women : lives shaped by landscape*. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 248 pp.

Includes a section on "Lady **Mule Wranglers** of the Grand Canyon", including Edith Bass, Bernice Reeves, and Kitty Marr.

#### Lemon, Jake

2008 Long distance packing. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (June): [unpaginated].

Preparations for, and brief recounting of, a long-distance **mule** trip that began with a rim-to-rim crossing of Grand Canyon. Includes author's discussion with Ron Clayton at Grand Canyon.

(NOTE: Among the follow-up articles under this author and serial, only those cited here were located. Note as well that the order of some articles seems to be awry. There may be two sets of printings, or reprintings.)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 2008 Long distance packing—Day 1. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (July): [unpaginated].  
South Rim to Phantom Ranch.
- 2008 Long distance packing; day 2. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (October/November): [unpaginated].  
Phantom Ranch to Cottonwood Campground.
- 2009 Grand Canyon pack trip. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (September/October): 2-3.  
Day 1. Grand Canyon Village, Bright Angel Trail, Phantom Ranch.
- 2009 Grand Canyon pack trip; continued. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (November/December): 9-10.  
Day 5, April 19. North Rim to De Motte Campground.
- 2010 Grand Canyon pack trip; continued. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (January/February): 3-4.  
Days 3-4, April 17-18, 2004. Cottonwood Campground to North Rim.
- 2010 Grand Canyon pack trip—continued; week 2, day 5, Monday, 4/19/2004. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (May/June): 4.  
North Rim to De Motte Campground. *NOTE:* This repeats the text of the November/December 2009 issue.
- 2010 Grand Canyon pack trip—continued. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (July/August): 6-8.  
Week 2, days 6-7, April 20-21, 2004. De Motte Campground to Jacob Lake.
- 2010 Grand Canyon pack trip—continued. *Squaw Butte Back Country Horsemen* (Emmett, Idaho), (September/October): 6-8.  
Week 2, days 8-9, April 22-23, 2004. Jacob Lake through Orderville Canyon to a point 14 miles from Stateline Campground.

#### Lesure, Thomas B.

- 1952 Getting to know the Grand Canyon. **Mule** trip puts one on an intimate footing with the big gorge. *The New York Times*, (May 4): XX 31.

#### Leonard, Devin

- 2011 The end of mail. The U.S. Postal Service is as old as the country, delivers 40 percent of the world's mail, and is on the verge of collapse. It doesn't have to be. *Bloomberg Businessweek*, (May 30-June 5): cover, 60-65.  
See p. 62, mail delivered by **mule** to Supai, Arizona, *in passing*.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Liestman, Linda

- 1996 Does horseback riding provide exercise and physical conditioning benefits? *North American Horsemen's Association, Yearbook of News*, 1996: 48-52.

Regarding NAHA Conference presentation by Michael C. Meyers. During the question period (pp. 51-52), note a question from Ron Clayton, Grand Canyon **mule** rides manager, pertaining to "fitness or conditioning benefit of English vs Western riding [equipment]". Meyers responded that this is under study, but "thus far no differences could be seen." (no further elaboration)

#### Lin, Daniel, and Loui, Michael C.

- 1998 Taking the byte out of cookies: Privacy, consent, and the web. *Computers and Society*, (June): 39-51.

See pp. 40-41, 46, a hypothetical example of a Grand Canyon hiker interrupted by "noisy tourists riding **mules**" not being able to "claim an invasion of privacy".

#### Lindau, Paul

- 1885 *Aus der Neuen Welt. Briefe aus dem Osten und Westen der Vereinigten Staaten.* [transl. 'From the New World. Letters from the eastern and western United States.']. Berlin: Verlag von Ferdinand Salomon, 385 pp. [In German.]

See Chapter 19, "Das „Grand Cañon of the Colorado“ in Arizona" (pp. 286-306); a party of Germans is with a group of thirteen men, interestingly including an advance man of the Santa Fe Railway, visiting the canyon at Peach Springs. *In translation here:* "For our transport there were at Peach Spring two wagons drawn by four mules each, two small, strong horses accustomed to climbing, and two **mules**. Those who were best acquainted with mules and horses and who hoped to be the easiest to manage on the path, which had been described to us as rather difficult, were put on horseback. They were the two German-Americans Udo Brachvogel and Friedrich Hess, Dr. Oswald, lawyer in Frankfurt am Main, and Richard Oberländer from Leipzig, a very heavy, portly gentleman, who had worked as a mounted policeman in Australia for a long time in his adventurous youth. [. . .] Through a dried-up river bed, with constant ups and downs, we were being dragged by the valiantly working mules, and the dips were so abrupt and steep that we were prepared at any moment to fly headlong out of the wagon; we touched our foreheads to the breasts of those who met us, the coachman had to keep pushing on the back of the mule in order to keep himself on the box; and the rises were so violent that we almost shuddered to think that we were going to come up there in the wagon. We had to dismount at least once every quarter of an hour. [. . .] But when he now wanted to urge the mule to begin the return journey to Peach Spring, it simply failed. In vain he used every possible art of persuasion; he whipped it, he kicked it, he threw stones at it—the will of the beast with its strong character could not be shaken in any way; it stayed quietly in place. After a while the other riders noticed that Dr. Oswald never joined them again; they now made their animals walk more slowly, rested, lit fires, but Dr. Oswald didn't come. They said to themselves that in any case he [must have] had met our wagons and had joined us, and rode on happily. After a long, long time human persistence triumphed over animal persistence. Oswald's mule consented to turn back. But it took its time; it stopped when it liked, grazed, rested, and the rider could not do anything with the animal. So night had fallen and he was left alone. [¶] When Oswald told us this story, our coachman said very calmly, 'I thought at once that something like this would happen. The animal cannot come along with the others. It is blind in both eyes and in general in a bad state.' [¶] 'Why did they give me such an animal?' exclaimed Dr. Oswald with an indignant look. [¶] "'Because we have no other,' pursued the coachman without getting excited in any way."

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Lloyd, Elizabeth

1906 Down the Grand Canyon. *Scattered Seeds* (First-day School Association of Philadelphia), 38(3) (March): 58-59.

"After breakfast in the morning I went to the starting place and saw more than a dozen animals saddled. The guide looked at me and concluded I was old enough to be handled carefully, so he summoned a sedate black **mule** named Rebecca, that had had twenty years' experience in mountain climbing. There were two ladies besides myself in the party and the guide put us in front next to him. [ . . . ] We had gone but a few hundred feet when the lady from Pittsburg, who rode between me and the guide, screamed. The guide turned his head to see what was the matter, and quick as a flash his horse, which had never been down the trail before, wheeled round in the narrow path. This made the lady's mule back against Rebecca's nose, and Rebecca unconcernedly turned half way round and poked her nose out over the chasm below; I did not feel so unconcerned as she did, and the guide finally lifted her off and deposited her on a rock beside the path. But we could not turn around on that narrow trail, and finally, when the guide assured her that nobody ever had been seriously hurt going down, and promised to send his horse on ahead and lead her mule, she consented to get on again."

#### Lukins, Julian

2000 **Muleskinner** honored. *The Brayer* (American Donkey and Mule Society), \_\_\_\_: 16. [Specific issue in 2000 not identified here.]

Excerpt from "The NYO Register", May 27-28, 2000. About "FredBurke: 'The last of the Mohicans'"; submitted to *The Brayer* by "Roberta".]

#### Lundean, J. L., and Payne, J. E.

1948 **Mule** college. *Saturday Evening Post*, 221(14) (October 2): 30-31, 120-123.

#### Marsh, Bea

1955 The **mule** I'll never forget. *Desert Magazine*, 18(1) (January): 9.  
Grand Canyon.

#### Martin, Stephen P.

2008 [Letter to Editor.] *In*: Bright Angel Trail. Grand Canyon National Park . . . up date [sic]. *Western Mule Magazine*, (December): 30.

Response to article by "Tennison" (September): 12-13; see also rejoinder by Tennison, (December): 30-31. Regarding **mule** use of Grand Canyon trails.

#### Mason, Harry B.

1909 The trip to Los Angeles. A daily diary written on board the Santa Fe train which took the eastern and middle-western members of the American Pharmaceutical Association to the meeting last month—interesting incidents which transpired along the way. *Bulletin of Pharmacy* (Detroit), 23(9) (September): 360-365. [Signed "H.B.M."]

"This morning everybody was up for an early breakfast, and then about half the party mounted **mules** and started for the trail trip down into the Canyon itself. There was much laughter and gayety as they started off—the women with divided skirts and leggings rented for the occasion, and the men with all sorts of grotesque costumes."



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Mather, Steven T.

- 1926 Annual report of the Director of the National Park Service. *In: Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1926 and the travel season, 1926.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, pp. 1-57.

See: "Swedish Royalty Visited Several National Parks", p. 12, and Plate 1. Refers to Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf and Crown Princess Louise, who crossed Grand Canyon from North to South by **mule**; see photograph, "Crown Prince and party on new Yaki Point section of Kaibab Trail" (mule train seen at a distance).

#### Matthes, François E.

- 1927 Breaking a trail through Bright Angel Canyon. *Grand Canyon Nature Notes*, 2(6) (November): 1-4. This is topographer Matthes' story of blazing the trail through Bright Angel Canyon during the 1902-1903 topographical survey of the eastern Grand Canyon, conducted by Matthes, which produced the first larger-scale maps of that part of the canyon. But first, the survey party struggles across the canyon on the Bass trails. "The crossing was known to be dangerous; the Bass Trail was merely a burro trail, still unfinished at the lower end, and the Shinumo Trail was little more than a faint track seldom used. Yet this was the route we finally selected." On the descent of Bright Angel Canyon: "On the very day when we started to examine this route, by a remarkable coincidence, there emerged from the head of Bright Angel Canyon two haggard men and a weary burro. These men, Sidney Ferrall and Jim Murray, had explored up through the Canyon and finally had fought their way up along the fault zone. At once the prospects of the return of the survey party by this new route became brighter. However, it did not follow that where a small burro was boosted up, a pack train of heavily loaded horses and **mules** can come down in safety. Two of the party, therefore, set themselves the task of cutting out brush and rolling out logs and boulders, so as to make a reasonably clear way for the pack train. And this work they carried all the way down to the mouth of the Canyon."

#### McConnell, Tayloe, and Muller, Seth

- 2007 The long-eared legacies; building Grand Canyon history on the backs of **mules**. *Northern Arizona's Mountain Living Magazine*, (August): 14-19, 67.

#### McCroskey, Mona Lange

- 2004 A **mule's** eye view of the Grand Canyon : the photograph collection of trail guide Ray Tankersley. Prescott, Arizona: HollyBear Press, 122 pp.
- 2008 A **mule's**-eye view of Grand Canyon: The photograph collection of trail guide Ray Tankersley. *In: Berger, Todd R. (ed.), Reflections of Grand Canyon historians; ideas, arguments, and first-person accounts. Grand Canyon Association, Monograph 14*, pp. 113-118. (2nd Grand Canyon History Symposium, January 25-28, 2007, Grand Canyon National Park.)

#### McDonald, Cary, and Stewart, William

- 2006 *Grand Canyon National Park mule rider and Phantom Ranch visitor study.* Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism, Park Planning and Policy Lab, 52 pp.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Merriam, Daniel Francis

- 2009 A field trip to be remembered. *In: GSA GeoTales IV : memories from GSA members : Volume 4.* Boulder, Colorado: Geological Society of America Foundation, p. 32.  
Having a mule-trip's wrangler collect rocks for the author during a trip on Bright Angel Trail (passengers were not allowed to dismount).

#### Miller, Martin

- 1997 Scents and sensibility. *In: Letters [section]. National Parks, 71(5/6) (May/June): 10.*  
Discouraged remarks on the scents of "fresh and stale urine" from **mules** during a hike on North Kaibab Trail.

#### Miller, Rose

- 2010 *Mules, mules and more mules : the adventures and misadventures of a first time mule owner.* [No place]: BookLocker.com, Inc., 272 pp.  
See first three chapters, pp. 3-40, pertaining to the author's **mule** ride in Grand Canyon.

#### Millspaugh, Dick D.

- 2003 Who needs a chaplain at the bottom of the Grand Canyon? *Chaplaincy Today* (Association of Professional Chaplains, Journal), 19(2): 16-21.  
Regarding a **mule** ride into Grand Canyon. "This article is the author's personal reflection following a family medical crisis through which the value of pastoral care provided by professional chaplains became evident by its absence. It was presented as a speech delivered to the Association of Professional Chaplains (APC) at the 2002 conference during his term as president and is reprinted here in response to members' requests."

#### Minard, Anne

- 2009 The lunar legacy. *Northern Arizona's Mountain Living Magazine*, (January): cover, 6, 14-19.  
Regarding astronaut geology training; Grand Canyon noticed *in passing*, but illustrated with a photograph of Neil Armstrong on a **mule**.

#### Muller, Seth

- 2003 Pete's revenge; tough Spencer Trail blazed by sure-footed **mule**. *In: Gateway to Canyon Country*, (Winter 2003): 10-11.
- 2013 (ED.) *99 things to do in northern Arizona : 2013.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Arizona Daily Sun, and Northern Arizona's Mountain Living Magazine, 52 pp. [including wraps].  
See "Grand Canyon By **Mule**" (p. 36).
- 2014 (ED.) *99 things to do in northern Arizona : 2014.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Arizona Daily Sun, and Northern Arizona's Mountain Living Magazine, 38 pp. [including wraps].  
See "Grand Canyon By Mule" (p. 35).

#### NBC Television [National Broadcasting Co.]

- 1966 *Grand Canyon : a journey with Joseph Wood Krutch.* New York: NBC (distributed by Films, Inc.). 16-mm film, color, sound. 26:00.  
**Mule** trip into Grand Canyon; based on Krutch's writing. Also includes Havasupai.]

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Neill, Ada P.

- 1919 Bright Angeling on a **mule**; two hundred pounds and not ashamed, but she went down and came back. *Outing*, 75(2) (November): 75-79, 114.

"On one side of the corral stood a dozen big fat sleek, sleepy-looking mules all saddled and bridled. Within the corral were six men-tourists, two women-tourists, two roustabouts, and one guide. Each eyes me amusingly as I entered the corral, and I knew what each was thinking. But I did not care. I was going down that Trail and with me every ounce of my two hundred pounds! [¶] The guide—a snappish, face-scarred ex-cowboy—looked me over sharply and asked me my weight. I answered him truthfully, lacking twenty pounds; and I knew my lie would not go to Heaven, because of my being thus placed. [¶] 'Bring out the biggest mule!' he shouted to one of the routsabouts. No one on earth so tactless as guides. [. . .] Farther down the trail . . . my mule, being extra long, had to use two twists of his back to every turn." And a trail rest results in an ungraceful dismount. Finally, "There was the River—dirty and yellow and crazy to boot. For it I had mule-clung head first seven miles . . . ."

#### Nelson, John, and Zauberis, Larry

- 2011 Beyond the Grand Canyon. *Highline* (Four Corners Back Country Horsemen, Durango, Colorado), 17(11) (November/December): 7.

Regarding proposed new stock use plan at Grand Canyon National Park, also affecting **mule** use.

#### Nesbit, Wilbur D.

- 1909 Another playground for the world. *The World To-Day*, 17(4) (October): 1027-1034.

The Canadian Rockies. But see p. 1028: "Folk who have bragged of riding slow-but-sure **mules** down into and up out of the Grand Cañon, will, after five hours behind Demon Webster [the author's Calgary-based chauffeur], realize that they have been loitering in the kindergarten of thrills, making paper butterflies and playing birdie on the tree." (entire note)

#### Neumark, H.

- 2001 **Mule** ride. *Christian Century*, 118(34) (December 12): 4-5.

#### Noonan, Mary

- 2016 [Questionnaire.] *Poetry Ireland Review* (Poetry Ireland/Éigse Éireann, Dublin), (118, The Rising Generation) (April): 126-128.

Regarding the questionnaire given to contributors to this issue, "30 Questions for The Rising Generation" (pp. 7-8), Noonan's response to the question, "If your best poem were a weekend away, where would it be?": "Arizona, featuring the desert and a **mule**-ride along the terraces of the Grand Canyon: stark, unforgiving, and very high drama." (p. 127). (entire note)

#### Nordenskiöld, Gustaf

- 1892 *Från fjärran västern : minnen från Amerika* [transl. "From the Far West; memories from America"]. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt och Söners Förlag, 115 pp. [In Swedish.] [Library of Congress catalog adds notation: "Appeared originally in Stockholms dagblad. cf. Förord."; i.e., serialized in the *Stockholm Daily*.]

Gustaf Nordenskiöld is best known as the Swedish scholar who was the first to scientifically study the archaeological sites at Mesa Verde. His 1891 visit to Grand Canyon, with two others, Al and Rob, is an unusual one, in that they reached it from the Hopi Mesas. From the Little Colorado River they were guided by an "old Mormon" down to the Colorado River on what must be the Hance Trail, although they were not Hance's guests, and only after the trip to the river did they spend a winter

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

night at Hance's untended cabin. See in Chapter VI, "Till Grand Cañon" ('To the Grand Canyon') (pp. 47-65); *in translation here*: "It was dinner, when we were ready to begin the ascent. It had been a waste of time to find the horses, which had gone quite a long way, searching in vain for pasture on the almost only cactus-covered slopes by the river. When everything is ready, we get on the saddle, because we can ride a little bit closer to the river. But this pleasure is soon over; it starts going steeply upwards. The old Mormon, our guide, rises from his little **mule**. [¶] The road becomes steeper. We all get out of the saddle. The old Mormon lets his little mule go first, grabs a strong grip on the animal's tail and then lets himself be towed upwards. His big iron spur jingles rhythmically with each step. If the road ever becomes less steep, he gives a signal to his faithful donkey with a jerk in its tail. Immediately the obedient animal stops, the old man takes a few steps forward, puts his foot in the stirrup and throws his right leg over the saddle. The spur shows its encouraging effect, and it goes a little faster until the next steep stretch. The rest of us walk all the way on foot; the opportunities to ride are increasingly rare. Soon we reached the place where, at the descent at night, our horses had been galloping. We could now convince ourselves that, if not for the mule which rolled down to the abyss, gaining a foothold at the last moment, it would hardly have been worthwhile to even look for any remnants of the pack below the precipice."

#### North American Newspaper Alliance

1958 Mail is directed by 15,751 women. *The New York Times*, (March 1) (Food, Fashions, Family, Furnishings section): 14.

Includes note, "Another woman postmaster had a couple of **mules** in her employ. She was Miss Virginia Siyuja, whose Supai, Ariz., post office is situated at the bottom of the Grand Canyon it is accessible only by muleback." (entire note)

#### Olcott, Charles S.

1914 *The lure of the camera*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. (The Riverside Press, Cambridge), 296 pp.

See Chapter 10, "The Grand Cañon of Arizona" (pp. 273-296), regarding a visit to the canyon in 1903. "There were seven of us, including the guide, as we started down the long and crooked path. The guide rode a white horse, but the rest of the party were mounted, like myself, on big, sturdy **mules**—none of your little, lazy burros, as most people imagine."

#### O'Leary, Dorothy

1948 Those Grand Canyon **mules**; world's safest transportation. *Pacific Pathways*, 3(1): 22-23, 32-34.

#### Ordelheide, Grant

2022 **Mule** train on Bright Angel Trail in Grand Canyon National Park. *National Park Journal* (Grand Canyon Edition) (National Park Trips, Boulder, Colorado), 2022: cover, 4.

Photo only.

#### Parsons, Charles L.

1910 San Francisco meeting of the American Chemical Society. *Science*, New Series, 32 (September 2): 318-320.

See p. 319: "Friday, July 8, was passed at the Grand Canyon, without question the greatest of all nature's marvels. Rides were enjoyed by many along the rim, while a number went on **mule** back or on foot to the bottom of the canyon, a mile below." (entire note)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Pattee, C. R.

1897 Flagstaff and the Grand Canyon. *Land of Sunshine*, 7 (August): 124-135.

The article is principally a commerce booster for Flagstaff, but sets out for the Grand Canyon at Hance's. "Of the three trails which lead to the bottom, the new Hance Trail is the shortest and most popular. By this trail it is five miles to the river, but, thanks to that indispensable worthy, the **mule**, the trip is made with comfort and safety. Nevertheless, the descent and return must be experienced to be appreciated."

#### Patterson, Shelia

2015 Red rock. *Ride Nipomo Horse and Trail Newsletter* (Ride Nipomo Equestrian Trail Alliance, Nipomo, California), (Summer): 6.

Report of trail rides by horse in Utah and Arizona, including a **mule** ride on North Kaibab Trail to Supai Tunnel.

#### Pease, H. Per Lee

1910 *Winter wanderings : being an account of travels in Abyssinia, Samoa, Java, Japan, The Philippines, Australia, South America and other interesting countries*. New York: Cochrane Publishing Co., 387 pp.

See "Back To America" (pp. 192-199). At the Grand Canyon: "The personnel of our original party was composed of the Misses Jackson, of Derbyshire; the Misses Seltzer, of Philadelphia; the guide; and yours truly. [A photo of the mounted party is shown between pp. 196/197, "Coming down the Bright Angel Trail"; the photo is taken at trail level.] We were treated to something out of common by the guide and his **mule**, which latter always objected to being remounted, would spin around in a circle, and when the man succeeded in mounting his quarterdeck, would kick and buck energetically in efforts to dismount him. We always watched these performances with great interest, by reason of the fact that our commissary department was being spun around and bucked at the same time. A guide is frequently obliged to dismount to come back and tighten a saddle girth, and many of these vaudeville performances consequently took place in inopportune and inconvenient if not dangerous places on the trail. The safety of one of the English ladies, who rode next behind the guide, was jeopardized several times in this way."

Later, the author visited Grandview. "While at the hotel we saw a man with his mule laden with asbestos from the mines not far away; also a string of mules tied head to tail, with bags of supplies for the copper mine down the Grandview trail, to return next day with heavy loads of copper ore."

#### Perry, Will

2020 A tourist in the Grand Canyon. *Boatman's Quarterly Review*, 33(1) (Spring): 28-29.

A January 1913 visit to Grand Canyon by the author's grandmother, Rosamond Underwood, with her mother and father, Grace and George; including a **mule** trip to the Colorado River. With five photographs.

#### Petty, Wendell

1992 Canyon **mule** rides. *In: Arizona Humor* [section]. *Arizona Highways*, 68(4) (April): 52.

#### Philibeck, Melissa

2010 Little house in the Verde Valley. *The Ranger Review* (U.S. National Park Service, Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, and Tuzigoot National Monuments), (6) (August 15): 1.

Regarding William B. Back at Montezuma Well; notes that "He would also board the horses and **mules** from the Grand Canyon and camps for the winter." (entire note)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Post, Emily

1916 *By motor to the Golden Gate*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 312 pp.

The author is none other than the future authority on American etiquette. She has rather little to say about the canyon, but on pages 273-274 she properly itemizes her expenses between Williams and through her stay at Grand Canyon, which included two rooms at El Tovar (bath between, \$10, for her and her cousin, Alice) and another room at \$5 (for Edwin, her son and chauffeur), including meals, a **mule** trip down Bright Angel Trail (\$4) (with no mention of that trip in her narrative, nor who it was that went down), and "Moving pictures exhibited at studios of trip through Colorado river" (*sic*) (\$3) (obviously the Kolb Studio presentation for several people), "Tips, per day, about \$1.25", and "Sundries, etc." (\$1.80).

#### Preston, E. C., and Le Clert, R. J.

1910 Fresno [news]. *In: Among Ourselves* [section]. *Santa Fe Employes' Magazine*, 4(8) (July): 87-88.

See p. 88: "Division Accountant Malott is spending a well earned vacation at Santa Barbara and the Grand Canyon. The pack **mules** on the trail all take kindly to ECM on account of his light weight." (entire note)

#### Randall, Brianna

2021 Wranglers of the West; a fully loaded mule train is a rare sight in most parts of the country, but traditional livestock packing is still thriving in Glacier National Park. *National Parks*, 95(1) (Winter): 14-16.

But see the photo, p. 15, "A **mule** loaded up with a washing machine in Grand Canyon National Park in 1939." No text mention. (See the back cover of the present bibliography.)

#### Rees, Hannah M.

2013 A crewel story. *In: Selected Writing by Hannah Rees* [section]. *The Bay View Literary Magazine* (United Methodist Church, Bay View Association, Petoskey, Michigan), 8 (Summer) ("Connections"): 13-14.

Regarding the author's teen daughters' stitching a crewel pattern for their grandmother during a cross-country trip to visit her at Bay View. Includes remarks on "several days at the Grand Canyon where the girls rode the donkeys down half way before having lunch and coming back up" (a reference to the Plateau Point **mule** trip).

#### Rees, Mal

1967 [Correspondence.] *From: McVay, Scott, 55. In: Class Notes* [section]. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 67(22) (April 18): 32.

In part, briefly recalls a 1966 **mule** trip in Grand Canyon. The McVay class notes for the Class of 1955 are continued in the next issue, but do not continue Rees' correspondence.

#### Regimbal, Chuck; Regimbal, Betsy; Wible, Patti; and Ross, Debbie

2020 Grand Canyon trip February 2020. *The Trailhead News* (Backcountry Horsemen of Washington, Ellensburg, Washington), 45(3) (May/June): 14-15.

**Mule** ride to Phantom Ranch.



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Riddle, Danny M.

- 2009 [Letters from editor of *Western Mule Magazine* to Superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park and to President Barack Obama.] *In: Tennison, Grand Canyon alert! Western Mule Magazine*, (June): 12-13.

Regarding **mule** use of Grand Canyon trails.

#### Rinehart, Mary Roberts

- 1921 Adventuring *de luxe*—with Mary Roberts Rinehart and her joyous Desert Caravaners. *The Cosmopolitan*, 70(6) (June): 71-73, 124-128.

"Now the trails of the Grand Cañon have a peculiar characteristic. They shrink. Between the time some people have come up and left their mules and sat in hot water to take out the soreness and their next meeting with those who have not gone down, the trails frequently diminish from their normal three feet or more to six inches. At no time, also, is the gorge less than a mile, or the wall below anything but completely vertical. This peculiarity also extends to the **mules**; they cease in retrospect to be willing creatures, only induced by kicking to break into a walk, and become rearing and stampeding beasts, determined on suicide.

#### Robinson, Betty

- 2005 **Mules** and the Grand Canyon. *In: Hauer, John, The natural superiority of mules* (Sena Hauer, ed.). Guilford, Connecticut: Lyons Press, pp. 48-57.

- 2014 **Mules** and the Grand Canyon. *In: Hauer, John, The natural superiority of mules : a celebration of one of the most intelligent, sure-footed, and misunderstood animals in the world* (Sean Hauer, ed.). (Foreword by Sue Cole.) New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2nd ed., pp. 50-59.

#### Savory, Theodore H.

- 1979 *The mule : a historic hybrid*. Durham, England: Meadowfield Press Ltd., 49 pp. (Patterns of Progress, Zoology Series, 4.)

Grand Canyon noted (p. 29).

#### Seaman, Daisy Hatton

- 1915 A cross country frolic. *Motordom* (Albany, New York), 9(5) (September): 139-140, 145, (6) (October): 180-182.

Two installments in a longer, serialized article about the author's eastward drive across the country in a Franklin automobile. These two parts include crossing the Colorado River at Needles, and a drive to Grand Canyon through Williams. Notes a carriage excursion on Hermit Rim Road, describes at length a **mule** trip on Bright Angel Trail, and departs Grand Canyon via Grandview. On the trail: "It was a glorious day, with a brilliant sun. We left the rim and started down a steep, winding path. Gray Eagle [her mule] and I were near the guide and the Captain brought up the end of the line. One man dismounted and said he would sooner walk on the stiff grades, but they all laughed at him and he soon wearied of it. My cameras tied to the pommel of my saddle swung forward on Gray Eagle's shoulders when the grade was steep, and annoyed him, but he soon got used to it, and I hung my reins there, too, and commenced my picture taking. Some of my companions thought it unsafe not to hold the mule, but I was sure he knew more about the trail than I did, and as I couldn't ask everybody to stop because I wanted a picture, continued to take snap shots with rapid exposures from my mule, some times riding face to the front, sometimes to the back, and sometimes sitting sidewise. Of course my panorama could only be used when they halted to rest."

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Sexton, Dorrance

- 1936 '33. *In: With the Classes* [section]. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 36(17) (February 7): 413.  
Reporting on a letter from T. Fuzzola Woodward, apparently one who was often sleeping; notes that "we can personally testify that he is the only man who has slept from coast to coast in a rumble seat, including a trip to the bottom of the Grand Canyon, where sleep again put him on the rumble seat of a **mule**." (entire note)

#### Sharrow, Barbara, and Balsom, Janet

- 1987 Women at Grand Canyon. *Courier* (U.S. National Park Service), 32(4) (April): front cover, 3, 39-40, rear cover.  
Historical overview. Cover illustration shows Grand Canyon ranger-naturalist Pauline (Polly) Patraw, but the legend (p. 3, which pertains also to the back cover) reads only, "the NPS woman then and now". The back cover shows an unidentified woman Grand Canyon ranger mounted on a **mule** on trail.

#### Shepherd, Charles Kenilworth

- 1922 *Across America by motor-cycle*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.; and London: Edward Arnold and Co., 248 pp.  
An Englishman crosses America to California in 1919 on a four-cylinder air-cooled Henderson motorcycle. See Chapter 18, "The Grand Canyon" (pp. 178-191). "I have the best of reasons for believing that people never walk down the Canyon. Instead they bulge upon diminutive **mules** in strings of twenty or thirty or more and make the descent slowly, nervously, solemnly, and more or less in comfort. True, there are places where the trail is so precipitous that they have to dismount for safety's sake, but to walk the whole way would be absurd." But Shepherd did walk down, and back.

#### Sherman, Leonard DeWitt

- 1914 A front-row seat in Grand Canon. *Recreation and Outdoor World*, 51(2) (August): 68, 81-83, 119-120.  
Trail guide Earle Lewis chats with Sherman: "'Yo'd be surprised some to see the way different people take this trail. Some of 'em—ones yo'd guess would never make it, too—go down and back without battin' an eye; while others, that look as if they'd stand it fine, go plumb to pieces. Just the other evenin' I had a lady give out when she was half way up from the Gardens. The first news Ah had that she minded it a bit was when she began to cry. She just sat [on] her **mule** and blubbered like a good one. She declared up and down she couldn't go another foot, an' was no use to tell her she was over the worst of the trip an' nearly out o' the cañon. [¶] 'Ah took her off her mule, but that only made it worse. She had mo' faith in mules, Ah reckon, than she had in me. Ah scolded her awhile, an finally Ah got cross an' told her Ah was goin' to leave her. That started somethin' in a hurry. She climbed that mule like a puncher goin' to a barbeque.'"  
Lewis recalls another mule-skittish visitor, who struggles, "St-e-a-dy-mu-le." Guide Lewis: "'Oh, he's all right,' I answers. One eye's enough for any mule. He just fell over a cliff one day and blinded one of 'em and—' 'What! WHOA-Mule! I'm going to walk.'"

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Simpson, Hank

1999 The deep range; a Grand Canyon **mule** trip. *Flagstaff Live!*, 5(46) (November 18-24): 1, 3, 8-9.

#### Simpson, William Haskell

1918 The Grand Cañon of Arizona. *St. Nicholas*, 45(6) (April): 482-490.

Of the visitors, fat and lean, tall and short, old and young, to each is assigned a **mule** of the right size and disposition, together with a khaki riding-suit, which fits more or less, all surmounted by hats that are useful rather than ornamental. It is a motley crowd that starts off in the morning, in charge of careful guides, from the roof of the world—a motley crowd, but gay and suspiciously cheerful. It is likewise a motley crowd that slowly climbs up out of the earth toward evening—but subdued and inclined still to cling to the patient mule. [¶] ‘What did you see?’ ask curious friends. [¶] Quite likely they saw more mule than cañon, being concerned with the immediate views along the trail rather than the thrilling vistas unfolding at each turn. Nine out of ten of them could tell you their mule’s name, yet would hesitate to say much about Zoroaster or Angel’s Gate.”

#### Skinny the Ticket Clerk [pseudonym of A. E. Harbin]

1922 Wild dudes I have met at Grand Cañon. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 17(1) (December): 50-51.

“Yes, we have a lot of peculiar questions put to us during the course of a day’s work.” For example, “Is that burro trip as dangerous as my sister told me it was when I left Kalamazoo? Do the **mules** really have to jump any place?”

#### Smith, Quincy E.

1911 *Travels at home and abroad. Volume II : The second trip to Jamaica, the California trip, the bond sale trip.* New York and Washington: Neale Publishing Co., 169 pp.

The “California Trip” was with the American Bankers Association, in 1903. Grand Canyon, see pp. 91-95. “At eight o’clock the ladies went for a three hours’ ride upon the canyon’s rim, while a party of nineteen of us, with three guides, went for a trip down into the canyon over the Bright Angel Trail. I rode an ancient and honorable **mule** named Moses, a mule with undoubtedly good intentions, but a badly moth-eaten back and a generally saddened expression. I presume in his early days he was a handsome mule, but his youthful trouble in the bulrushes and the vicissitudes of a long and checkered career had definitely removed him from the beauty class.”

#### Snow, Vicky

1994 [Cartoon.] *Arizona Highways*, 70(2) (February): 50.

Grand Canyon **mules**: “Can you BELIEVE the recruits they send us these days?”

#### Spamer, Earle E.

2006 Flying **mules**. *Annals of Improbable Research*, 12(2) (March/April): 3.

Letter, tongue-in-cheek.

#### Stackpole, George F.

1912 *My travels through Europe and my western trip.* Riverhead, New York: The County Review Press, 133 pp.

See pp. 101-105, from a diary entry dated “Grand Canyon, Arizona, Oct. 5, 1906”. We hear, time and again, from tourists who fretted (to put it mildly) over their **mule**’s predilection to scaring the daylight out of the rider, and how they held on for life and dear life. Stackpole, on the other hand, not so fretful although he was a tight holder, offers for once the mule’s perspective of things.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

"It was interesting to see the mule turn the corners on a little pedestal not much larger than a good sized chair bottom. She would stop and gather her feet under and stand with her fore legs erect and stiff and work her hind feet round inch by inch until she was reversed and then she would creep on. At places there were steps, at which the mule would stop with her fore feet on the extreme edge of the step, steady herself for a moment and then drop both feet together down the step, with her legs straight and rigid. The jar was not pleasant for a man weighing 200 pounds. At one place the guide dismounted and told me to do the same, as it was not safe to ride. Here short logs had been bolted into the cliff to make a foot hold, but this was too much for even a mule to undertake with a man on her back, so we let the mules creep down ahead and we followed on foot. [¶] I was so interested in the wonderful scenery and in watching and admiring the work of the mule that I was not dizzy and had not the least sense of fear."

#### Stam, Mike

1992 *The mule alternative: The saddle mule in the American West.* [No place]: Medicine Wolf Press, 161 [162] pp. [Copy acquired in 2014 with added sticker: Battle Mountain, Nevada: Medicine Wolf Press; p. [iii] specifies that a current address will be available on "address label on the first page of this book."]

See illustration, p. 77, "**Mules** have become a tradition in the Grand Canyon, no doubt due in part, to surefootedness"; p. [v] gives legend as "Mules in the Grand Canyon". Volume is not indexed.

#### Stead, Philip C., and Cordell, Matthew

[2015] *Special delivery activity kit.* [New York]: Neal Porter Books/Roaring Brook Press, [8] pp.

See p. [5], "U.S. Postal Service Fun Facts", which includes the **mule** train mail to Supai. (No illustration.)

#### Steel, Joan

2014 Valley friends; the Grand Canyon. *Outlook* (Hughenden Parish Magazine, St. Michaels and All Angels) (Hughenden Church, Hughenden, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, England), (December 2014/January 2015): [22]-[23].

Brief summary of a presentation by Michael Hoey, retired from the Royal Engineers, about a north-to-south Grand Canyon hike on the "Bright Angel Trail", but with some confusing notes (such as "an Indian reservation where cattle were grazing") and misstatements (such as "Bright Angel Trail is used by **mules** carrying freight that is heavier than their own body weight").

#### Stewart, Jennifer J., and Avril, Lynne

2010 *The twelve days of Christmas in Arizona.* New York: Sterling, 32 pp.

Young-reader title. Including twelve Grand Canyon **mules**.

#### Stilton, Geronimo [fictional]

2012 *Dov'è sparito Falco Rosso?* [*transl.* 'Where did Red Bandit go?']. Milano: Edizioni Piemme S.p.A., 128 pp. (Storie da Ridere, 86) [In Italian.]

Young-reader fiction. See "Avventura da Urlo N° 4 [*transl.* 'Extreme Adventure No. 4'], Continua l'Avventura da Urlo N° 4", pp. 78-83, **mule** ride into Grand Canyon; and "Avventura da Urlo N° 5", pp. 84-91, river trip and conclusion. (Geronimo Stilton is the main character of the Geronimo Stilton series; written in the first person.)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

- 2014 *Flight of the Red Bandit*. (Lidia Morson Tramontozzi, translator.) New York: Scholastic, Inc., 107 pp. + advertisements. (Geronimo Stilton, 56.) [English translation of *Dov'è Sparito Falco Rosso?*] Young-reader fiction. See "Extreme Adventure #4, Part 2", pp. 70-75, **mule** ride into Grand Canyon; and "Extreme Adventure #5", pp. 76-89, river trip and conclusion. (Geronimo Stilton is the main character of the Geronimo Stilton series; written in the first person.)

#### Stocker, Joseph, and Tallon, James

- 1991 Those marvelous **mules**. *Arizona Highways*, 67(2) (February): inside front cover [legend on p. 1], 28-33.  
See also letter from Inez Patchen, 67(9) (September): 3.

#### Stoddard, John L.

- 1898 *John L. Stoddard's lectures. Volume Ten*. Boston: Balch Brothers Co., and Chicago: George L. Shuman and Co., 304 + 58 pp. [Numerous later printings through 1912 by Balch Brothers Co. (Boston). Published also by George L. Shuman and Co. (Chicago and Boston, 1914, 1925 (also later printings).]  
See "The Grand Cañon of the Colorado" (pp. 103-204), although the trip to the canyon itself, a wagon ride from Flagstaff to Hance's, does not begin until p. 168. The internationally renowned travel lecturer reports: "As it requires four hours to wriggle down this path, and an equal amount of time to wriggle up, I spent the greater part of a day on what a comrade humorously styled the 'quarter-deck of a **mule**.' A square, legitimate seat in the saddle was usually impossible, so steep was the incline; and hence, when going down, I braced my feet and lay back on the haunches of the beast, and, in coming up, had to lean forward and clutch the pommel, to keep from sliding off, as a human avalanche, on the head of the next in line. In many places, however, riding was impossible, and we were compelled to scramble over the rocks on foot. The effect of hours of this exercise on muscles unaccustomed to such surprises may be imagined; yet, owing to the wonderfully restorative air of Arizona, the next day after this, the severest physical exertion I had ever known, I did not feel the slightest bad result, and was as fresh as ever. That there is an element of danger in this trip cannot be doubted. At times the little trail, on which two mules could not possibly have passed each other, skirts a precipice where the least misstep would hurl the traveler to destruction; and every turn of the zigzag path is so sharp that first the head and then the tail of the mule inevitably projects above the abyss, and wiggles to the mule below. Moreover, though not a vestige of a parapet consoles the dizzy rider, in several places the animal simply puts its feet together and toboggans down the smooth face of a slanting rock, bringing up at the bottom with a jerk that makes the tourist see a large variety of constellations, and even causes his beast to belch forth an involuntary roar of disenchantment, or else to try to pulverize his immediate successor. In such a place as this Nature seems pitiless and cruel; and one is impressed with the reflection that a million lives might be crushed out in any section of this maze of gorges and not a feature of it would be changed. There is, however, a fascination in gambling with danger, when a desirable prize is to be gained."
- 1905 *John L. Stoddard's lectures. Volume Five. [Paris. La Belle France. Spain.]* Boston: Balch Brothers Co., 368 pp.  
See in "La Belle France" (pp. 127-250); specifically, p. 203: "The route [through the Pyrenees] is the most difficult I ever traversed on a **mule**, save the descent into the Grand Cañon in Arizona." (entire note)] [Other eds.]

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Stoddard, Seneca Ray

- 1906 The Grand Canyon of Arizona. *Anybody's Magazine* (Sacramento, California), 1(3) (July): 17-28.  
The well-known Adirondack landscape photographer recalls his October 1894 descent on Grandview Trail. “. . . on a sure-footed white **mule** [I] broke over the edge of the cliff about three miles west of the first view and went down into the depths. The way led zigzag, down slopes like the roof of a house, along balconies overhanging unknown depths, on shelves in cliffs descending vertically a thousand feet—at Suicide Point it was 1,500 feet, and a hair-raiser as one looked over. Hull explained that it was so named because it was such a good place if one was inclined that way. As we, belated, crept past it by moonlight on the return that night, I wondered as to the sensation of the plunge.”

#### Stop Animal Violence (SAVE) *see also* Save Havasupai Horses

- [c. 2017] *Guidelines for the minimum standard of care and use for horses/mules/donkeys (all equids) living in Supai, AZ.* [No place]: Stop Animal Violence (SAVE), [1], iii, 10 pp.
- 2018 *Long term systemic abuse of horses and pack animals on the Havasupai Reservation.* [No place]: Stop Animal Violence Foundation, [39] pp.

#### Tallon, James [Tallon, Jim]

- 1961 “These are my favorites”; Arizona photographer James Tallon selects five photos as his best. *Desert Magazine*, 24(4) (April): 41-43.  
See p. 43, which includes a photo taken during a **mule** trip into Grand Canyon, when “a cloud came over the trail partly to increase the already brilliant sunlight colors, giving a sort of ethereal quality to this photo.”
- 1967 A **mule** on the dodge. *Arizona*, (October 22): 20-23.
- 1991 [Essay on riding **mules** in the Grand Canyon; reminiscences of events and wranglers, mid-1960s.] *In: Along the Way* [section]. *Arizona Highways*, 67(9): 2.  
See also letter from Barbara Clark Marsh, *Arizona Highways*, 68(5) (May 1992): 3.

#### Taylor, Ralph C.

- 1956 [Frank J. Meyer, animal-shoe collector.] *In: Hobby Hitching Post* [section]. *The Rotarian*, 88(3) (March): 62-63.  
Meyer’s collection began with a thrown shoe during a “burro” [**mule**] ride into Grand Canyon.

#### Tennison [Tennison, Ben]

- 2008 Them **mules**; the Bright Angel Trail. *Western Mule Magazine*, (September): 12-13.  
See also response by Steve Martin (December): 30, and editor’s rejoinder: 30-31.
- 2009 Grand Canyon alert! *Western Mule Magazine*, (June): 12-14.  
Item comprises transcription of letters by Danny M. Riddle to Tennison, to Steve Martin (Superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park), and to President [Barack] Obama; and Grand Canyon News Release, May 22, 2009, “National Park Service seeking comments on **mule** operations and stock use in Grand Canyon National Park”



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Tierney, Veronica [Tierney, V. Ronnie]

- 2016 **Mule** team boss enjoying the journey; from head to hoof, John Berry manages the ride and the riders. *Flagstaff Business News* (Flagstaff, Arizona), 9(10) (October): 10, 44.  
Grand Canyon.
- 2018 Grand Canyon worker keeps **mule** train operations running smoothly; wranglers, river runners, tourists benefit from award-winning Xanterra employee Anderson Mann. *In: Community Profile* [section]. *Flagstaff Business News* (Flagstaff, Arizona), 9(11) (September): 13, 42.
- 2019 Women wranglers managing **mules**, rugged terrain, treacherous weather; Chelsea Plumb and Cricket Scheerer enjoy long days in the Grand Canyon. *Flagstaff Business News* (Flagstaff, Arizona), 12(3) (March): 8, 40.
- 2021 Former wrangler shares Grand Canyon life through art; drawn to the Colorado River, Mary Lois Brown has lived a colorful life as a **mule** wrangler, camp cook and, now, artist. *In: Community Profile* [section]. *Flagstaff Business News* (Flagstaff, Arizona), 14(1) (January): 19, 27.

#### Tillotson, M. R. [Tillotson, Miner R.]

- 1925 Building a difficult trail in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado; air-driven rock drills and a portable compressor packed to the job on **mule** back make rapid construction possible. *Compressed Air Magazine*, 30(4) (April): 1199-1203.  
"Kaibab Trail"; *i.e.*, North Kaibab Trail in Bright Angel Canyon.

#### Tombs, John

- 1918 Grand Cañon of Arizona—plus! *Santa Fe Magazine*, 12(2) (January): 37-39.  
About that short tunnel near the head of Bright Angel Trail: "Not far down we encountered a tunnel. At this point the trail formerly ran around a point of rock that jutted out over the edge of the chasm, and each **mule** would invariably walk right to the edge of the trail, sway out four or five feet and gaze pensively at the opposite walls of the cañon thirteen miles away. If this did not have the desired effect he would lean out another foot or so, or wiggle a forefoot in space, and this rarely failed to cause his rider to faint right in the saddle or at least to slide off on the shoreward side. This used to bust up the sessions—so we now have a tunnel."

#### U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit

- 1944 *No. 10783. United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Elmer H. Mateas, Appellant, vs. Fred Harvey, a corporation, Appellee. Transcript of Record. Upon appeal from the District Court of the United States for Southern District of California, Central Division. San Francisco: Rotary Colorprint [printer], 141 pp.*  
Regarding California Superior Court, County of Los Angeles, "No. 485,744, Elmer H. Mateas, Plaintiff, vs. Fred Harvey, a corporation; Doe No. 1; Doe No. 2; Doe No. 3, Defendant. Complaint for damages for personal injuries." Regarding injuries sustained while riding "a certain **mule** reported to be named 'Chiggers'", occurring at Grand Canyon. Includes various notes of historical interest to Grand Canyon readers.
- 1948 *No. 11858. United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Fred Harvey, a corporation, Appellant, vs. Elmer H. Mateas, Appellee. Transcript of Record. Upon appeal from the*

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

*District Court of the United States for Southern District of California, Central Division.* San Francisco: Rotary Colorprint [printer], 315 pp. (3-18-48—60.)

Regarding California Superior Court, County of Los Angeles, "No. 485,744, Elmer H. Mateas, Plaintiff, vs. Fred Harvey, a corporation; Doe No. 1; Doe No. 2; Doe No. 3, Defendant. Complaint for damages for personal injuries." Regarding injuries sustained while riding "a certain **mule** reported to be named 'Chiggers'", occurring at Grand Canyon. Includes various notes of historical interest to Grand Canyon readers.

#### U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park

2010 **Mule operations and stock use, Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : Environmental Assessment.** U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, 142 pp.

#### U.S. Postal Regulatory Commission

2008 *Report on universal postal service and the postal monopoly.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Postal Regulatory Commission, 250 pp.

See pp. 142, 212-213, notes of **mule**-delivered postal service in Grand Canyon; *i.e.*, Havasupai Indian Reservation.

#### U.S. Postal Service

[2002] *The United States Postal Service : an American history, 1775-2002.* [No place]: U.S. Postal Service, 60 pp.

See section on "Star Routes" (pp. 18-19); specifically p. 18, illustrated side-bar, "Mail by **Mule**", pertaining to mail delivery to Supai, Arizona.

[2006] *The United States Postal Service : an American history, 1775-2006.* [No place]: U.S. Postal Service, 84 pp.

See section on "Star Routes" (pp. 18-19); specifically p. 18, illustrated side-bar, "Mail by **Mule**", pertaining to mail delivery to Supai, Arizona.

2010 *Postal facts 2010.* U.S. Postal Service, 20 pp. [including wraps].

See "Fun Facts" (pp. 16-17), including "Most Unusual Delivery Method", with photo, p. 17, "**Mule** train in the Grand Canyon."

2013 *Postal facts 2013.* U.S. Postal Service.

See "Just the Fun Facts" (p. 21), including "Most Unusual Delivery Method" (Supai, Arizona), with photograph, without legend, of **mules** at trailhead corral.

#### U.S. President's Commission on the United States Postal Service

[2003] *Embracing the future : making the tough choices to preserve universal mail service.* [No place]: President's Commission on the United States Postal Service, 181 pp.

See p. 26, note of postal service by **mule** to Supai, Arizona.

#### Utley, George B.

1911 The pre-conference trip. *From:* The travel side of the conference. *In:* Papers and proceedings of the thirty-third annual meeting of the American Library Association held at Pasadena, California,

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

May 18-24, 1911. *American Library Association, Bulletin*, 5(4) (July): 197-198. [Item signed "G.B.U."]

"Those of us who chose **mules** for conveyance and company, at first nearly had heart failure at the alarming proportion of anatomy that "Bessie" or "Jennie" projected over the yawning abyss while deliberately rounding Cape Horn and other nearly equally perilous promontories. But it's all in getting used to things, so before long we were content to throw the reins on "Bessie's" neck and trust to her tender mercies and sure feet. The good book tells us that the Lord taketh no delight in the legs of a man, but those who travel by the Bright Angel route surely learn to take delight in the legs of a mule."

#### Vaccarezza, Fabio

2006 Le vie della posta . . . sono infinite [*transl.* 'The post routes . . . they are infinite']. *Il Collezionista* (Torino?), (September): 28-35. [Ellipsis is part of title.] [In Italian.]

A selection of international postal covers, postmarks, and stampings, commemorating or documenting modes of post travel. See p. 30, illustration and brief description of U.S. postmark from Supai, Arizona, that includes the notation, "The **Mule** Train Mail Havasupai Indian Reservation".]

#### Wagner, Terry

2009 **Mules** and the Grand Canyon (Part I). *Western Mule Magazine*, (August):.

2009 **Mules** and the Grand Canyon (Part Two). *Western Mule Magazine*, (September):.

2009 **Mules** and the Grand Canyon (Part Three). *Western Mule Magazine*, (October):.

2009 **Mules** and the Grand Canyon (Part IV). *Western Mule Magazine*, (November):.

2010 **Mules** and the Grand Canyon, the last ride. *Western Mule Magazine*, (June):. [Part 5 of a series.]

2011 **Mules** in the Grand Canyon; Part VI. (Photos by Rich Granberg and Casey Murph.) *Western Mule Magazine*, (March):.

#### Walcott, Charles D.

1884 Report of Mr. Charles D. Walcott. In: Powell, J. W., *Fourth Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey to the Secretary of the Interior 1882-'83*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, pp. 44-48.

Walcott reported on his winter expedition on the purpose-built Nankoweap Trail (so-called Powell's Trail for a while) into the remote northeastern part of Grand Canyon. "January 25, camp was broken in Un-kar Valley and the back trail was taken to the water pockets. A short stop was made in Chuar and Nun-ko-weap Valleys to review the original observations made on the lava beds. February 5, the camp was moved up to the foot of the trail leading out of the cañon, and the following day we reached the old wagon camp on the slopes facing House Rock Valley. In going out one **mule** was killed outright and two badly injured."

#### Weeks, Charles M.

2013 HWI profile: Dr. Charles M. Weeks, Senior Research Scientist. *Hauptman-Woodward Institute* (Hauptman-Woodward Medical Research Institute, Buffalo, New York), (Winter/Spring): 6.

Interview notes "best experience as a parent" was a **mule** trip into Grand Canyon with his teenaged children. Includes photos.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Wells, Pat

- 2001 Post office still delivers mail by **mule!** Since 1896! *Weekly World News*, 22(16) (January 9): 31. Supai.

#### Whitman, Marina von Neumann

- 2005 Life with father. *SIAM News* (Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics), 38(2) (March): 8, 10.  
John von Neumann. Includes photo and commentary about her father on a **mule** at Grand Canyon while wearing a three-piece suit.

#### Williams, Cole

- 1916 Rolling around on the Santa Fe [column]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 10(4) (March): 75-76.  
A light-hearted account of going down Hermit Trail with a pack train. "When one starts off down the steep beginning of the trail he feels sure that he is going to arrive at the bottom much sooner than the **mule**, but after a while this conviction wears away, so absorbed becomes the rider in the things about him. I was 'brought to' every now and then by a big bag of leeks piling up on my back. These leeks, which are a sort of double onion when it comes to smell, were intended for the mountain canaries down in the cañon. [ . . . ] On our return no amount of persuasion would induce my animal to keep up with the bunch, but, at the top of a particularly sharp grade with a sudden turn and steep drop at the end, he started to run, and at the turn—well, I'll let the picture tell my story." Here a cartoon here shows the mule leaning out into space, and rider holding on for dear life.

#### Williamson, Mrs. M. Burton

- 1900 A visit to the Grand Canyon. *Historical Society of Southern California, Annual Publication*, 4(3): 200-205. [Volume cover title: *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California and Pioneer Register, Los Angeles, 1899. Published by the Society, Los Angeles, Cal. 1900.*]  
Williamson also wrote under a variety of *noms de plume*, including M. Burton Williamson, M. B. Williamson, M. B. W. Williamson, Martha Burton Williamson, Martha Burton Woodhead Williamson. She married Charles Wesley Williamson in 1887. She recounts a trip to Hance's in 1895.  
"As the old trail, near the guide's cabin, had been abandoned a ride around part of the rim was necessary before the descent was made, then single file, **mules**, men and women began the downward journey, for none were mounted at first, as the zigzag trail was too steep to go down otherwise than on foot. At a signal from the guide the mules are mounted. On the way the precipitous trail is dotted here and there with flowers. [ . . . ] Sometimes when riding, Stephen, the gray mule, would forage for food, sage brush (*artemisia*) and bunch grass, in the most hazardous parts of the incline trail, often as he turned a sharp corner down and out would go his head, but where his hind feet could find a resting place no one could tell, fear suggested that it might be at the bottom of the canyon, but the sure-footed beast never lost the beat of the trail."

#### Wojchowski, Steve "Ski"

- 2007 The "Ski" report. *The Twig of the Branch* (National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 1477, West Coast Florida Letter Carriers), (354) (March): [unpaginated].  
Regarding an article received by "Brother Elliott" [O. D. Elliott] from "a retired Carrier in Seminole", pertaining to the mail carrier delivering mail by **mule** to Supai, Arizona.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

#### Woodall, Greg

2012 Attention Diamond Creek drivers: new Park Service rangers are patrolling the road—but they are friendly, and all ears if you have any questions! *Boatman's Quarterly Review*, 25(3) (Fall): 48.

Photo only. Three young **mules** peering into truck cab, from the driver's perspective.

#### Worth, Mrs. H. M.

1909 The Bottlers' transcontinental tour; compiled from the diary of Mrs. H. M. Worth, Hatboro, Pa. *The American Bottler* (New York), 29(11) (November 15): 38-43.

"Those on **mules** went the whole distance. A few of the gentlemen went part way down the trail on mules. I don't know which they enjoyed the more the mule or the canyon. I do not think the mule." (Mr. Worth walked down, apparently none the worse for wear.)

### TAKE NOTE AS WELL OF THE FOLLOWING CITATIONS PERTAINING TO A MULE NAMED "PIMA" (grouped here for convenience)

Pima killed while packing supplies to a Civilian Conservation Corps camp in the Grand Canyon. Neither the circumstances nor the date of the accident are detailed in any of the sources cited here. The Fred Harvey company was compensated \$125 (about \$2700 in 2023 adjusted for inflation).

#### Anonymous

1939 Grand Canyon. *In*: Here and There on the Desert [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 2(8) (June): 38.

"Congress has decided and President Roosevelt has agreed that Pima, an Arizona mule, is worth \$125. The nation's chief executive signed a bill passed by the House and Senate, to pay to Fred Harvey Transportation company this amount for Pima, a jughead killed while packing supplies to a CCC camp in Grand Canyon. The FHT company had leased Pima to the national park service." (entire item)

#### Keefe (Mr.) [Keefe, Frank Bateman]

1939 Fred Harvey Transportation Department. *U.S. 76th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives Report No. 268*, 2 pp. (March 22, 1939.)

"Mr. Keefe, from the Committee on Claims, submitted the following Report (To accompany S. 10)." Includes correspondence from E. K. Burlew, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to M. M. Logan, Chairman, Committee on Claims, U.S. Senate, detailing the claim for \$125 made to the United States by the Fred Harvey Transportation Department, appraised by the National Park Service, for compensation in the death of a mule that "was killed while being used to pack supplies to Civilian Conservation Corps Camp No. NP-3A, Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz." while under contract No. I-5p-574 of October 13, 1934. Burlew recommends "that S. 10 receive favorable consideration by the Congress."

#### Hughes (Mr.) [Hughes, James Hurd]

1939 **Fred Harvey Transportation Department.** *U.S. 76th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Report No. 85*, 2 pp. (Calendar No. 91.) (February 23, 1939.)

"Mr. Hughes, from the Committee on Claims, submitted the following Report (To accompany S. 10)." Includes correspondence from E. K. Burlew, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to M. M. Logan, Chairman, Committee on Claims, U.S. Senate, detailing the claim for \$125 made to the United States by the Fred Harvey Transportation Department, appraised by the National Park Service, for compensation in the death of a mule that "was killed while being used to pack supplies to Civilian Conservation Corps Camp No. NP-3A, Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz." while under contract No.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Mules

I-5p-574 of October 13, 1934. Burlew recommends "that S. 10 receive favorable consideration by the Congress."

#### U.S. House of Representatives

1939 **Fred Harvey Transportation Department.** *In:* House of Representatives, Tuesday, April 4, 1939. *Congressional Record*, (April 4): 3799.

Regarding the bill, S. 10, pertaining to the claim for \$125 made by the Fred Harvey Transportation Department against the United States ". . . arising out of the destruction of a certain mule called Pima, leased to the National Park Service, under contract No. 1-5P-574, 1935 . . . ." [Procedural; not a matter of discussion in this text, with amendment.]

#### U.S. Senate

1939 **Fred Harvey Transportation Department.** *In:* Senate, Monday, February 27, 1939. *Congressional Record*, (February 27): 1908.

Regarding the bill, S. 10, pertaining to the claim for \$125 made by the Fred Harvey Transportation Department against the United States, ". . . arising out of the destruction of a certain mule called Pima, leased to the National Park Service, under contract No. 1-5P-574, 1935 . . . ." [Procedural; not a matter of discussion in this text, with amendment.]





## Donkeys

Donkeys and burros are the same, though the former is generally reserved for the domesticated animal, the latter for feral and formerly feral animals. They are segregated in this bibliography strictly for the informational value of an author's own usage.

### Anonymous

- 1909 Fine quality of asbestos. *The Salt Lake Mining Review* (Salt Lake City), 11(10) (August 30): 26. Credited to "Miner, Kingman, Arizona." "Asbestos of the best quality yet found in the United States occurs near the bottom of the Grand Canyon of Arizona. It is cross-fibre chrysolite of exceptional quality. The outcrop is extensive, but as the product must be packed on **donkeys** about twelve miles down [*sic*] one side of the canyon and 4000 feet up the other side, and thence hauled twenty miles to the railroad, only the hand-cobbed, best grade of the material can be shipped at present." (entire item)
- 1914 Foraging their way. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 9(1) (December): 40.  
". . . during the week before Thanksgiving Miss Margaret Geist and 'Jerry' registered at El Tovar, en route on their 5,000-mile cross-country hike from New York to San Francisco . . . . [¶] Jerry is the burro who hauls the two-wheeled cart in which Miss Geist rides when she isn't walking. [. . .] They must reach their destination not later than February 5, 1915. If successful Miss Geist gets \$5000 from a syndicate of German newspapers, who will publish the account of her trip. One condition is that she is to make the journey, foraging, as it were, on the country, without funds or food excepting as picked up on the way; and another is that the burro must register in wherever she does . . . . [¶] Just before reaching El Tovar Miss Geist's cart broke down completely, and she only had a few raw potatoes on hand for food. When she left—thanks to Mrs. Charlie Brant, Walter Hubbell, et al[.]—her cart had new yellow wheels, Jerry had a new harness and she was amply provisioned for a long cruise." Illustrated with photo, "Leaving Grand Canyon. This photo shows Miss Geist and 'Jerry' in front of El Tovar Hotel, about to leave on the last long lap of their 5,000-mile journey." (See the frontispiece of the present bibliography.)  
(Mrs. Brant was Olga Brant, wife of El Tovar's first and long-time manager, Charles. Jerry is also described as a **donkey**, as Geist too described him, as in the newspaper article, "Woman Tramps Across Continent, Donkey Her Traveling Companion, Wins a Heavy Wager By Her Walking Tour", *Oakland Tribune*, January 4, 1915, p. 13.)
- 1920 [Massachusetts and Rhode Island delegates' trip to the recent national convention.] *In*: New England Notes [section]. *National Laundry Journal* (Chicago), 84(11) (December 1): 72.  
"One of the most successful and interesting days was the one spent at the Grand Canyon, when the greater share took the beautiful rim drive around the top of the picturesque canyon. Messrs. George W. Hooper, Lucien Pierce and a couple of attractive but fearless New York girls secured four good, sturdy **donkeys** and wended their way down the Angel Trail [*sic*]." (entire note)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Donkeys

#### Chaffee, Patricia Ann

- 2015 Jane Allen—attracted to community and culture. *In: Featured Widow* [section]. *Pathfinder* (East Lyme, Connecticut), 1(9) (April): 8-11.

See p. 11, reminiscences “all stand out for some reason but riding a **donkey** down into the Grand Canyon on a two foot wide path, while in her mid 70’s really stands out in her mind.” (entire note)

#### Cowan, John L.

- 1906 Apotheosis of the ass. *Overland Monthly*, 48(2) (August): 85-90.

See p. 89, *Grand Canyon, in passing*. See also pp. 89-90: “The most melancholy and disheartening sight to be seen in all the West . . . is the prostitution of this austere and virile soul to base, ignoble and effeminate uses. Surely to fill the [G]rand Canon of the Colorado . . . and other corners of God’s great Western picture gallery with guides, photographers, lunch counters, paper bags and peanut shells, were sacrilegious enough. To take the laborious and long-suffering **donkey**, however, and treat it as a lay figure, or a portable appendage to the scenery . . . these are flagrant wrongs which mean-minded men have perpetrated through sordid love of the dimes and quarters of the summer tourists.”

#### Cumming, Aline

- 2011 Classical music group. *Heart of England USA* (University of the Third Age), *Newsletter*, (July): 2-3.

Education for older people. “Finally we heard [another] choice, On the Trail, from Grose’s [*sic*] Grand Canon Suite [*sic*] and were transported to the **donkeys** taking intrepid riders down the trail into the Grand Canon.” (entire note)]

#### Deth Boat [musical group]

- \_\_\_\_\_ *The mysterious turkey curse*. Deth Boat (Artwork by Dan Hanchrow). (“3 CDs, 21 years in production, 51 unreleased studio and live tracks”, etc. [Listen to Disk 3, “Fold, Spindle, Mutilate”, which includes **Donkey ride down the Grand Canyon** (audio recording, 1994, A side.)

Multimedia Deth Boat retrospective. Deth Boat artists Jason Candler, Dan Hanchrow, George Rigney.

- 1994 **Donkey ride down the Grand Canyon | Lemmings**. Deth Boat. 45-rpm record (“Donkey ride”, A side.) CD.

Deth Boat artists Jason Candler, Dan Hanchrow, George Rigney.

#### Hardy, R. Donald, and Jost, Karen Lee

- 1996 The use of music in the instructional design of multimedia. *In: Proceedings of selected research and development presentations at the 1996 National Convention of the Association for Educational Communications and Technology*, pp. 242-263. (Association for Educational Communications and Technology, 18th National Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana.)

See p. 246: “A good example of classical music’s ability to produce sound effects is found in Grofe’s *Grand Canyon Suite*. One hears in this work a credible musical image of a **donkey**’s ‘clopping’ along a canyon trail and also a vivid representation of a thunder storm.” (entire note)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Donkeys

#### Horvitz, Eleanor F.

1980 Marion L. Misch—An extraordinary woman. *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* (Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association, Providence), 8(2) (November): 7-65.

See p. 16: "She also traveled extensively in the United States. 'Just picture this 150 pound plus woman on a little **donkey** teetering down the rim of the Grand Canyon—but she did it. She would not think of not doing it!' exclaimed Dorothy [her granddaughter]." (entire note)

#### Kolb Brothers

2018 Man and **donkey** out on Tanner Ledge, Grand Canyon, Arizona. 1913. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. *The Ol' Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), 29(1) (Winter): 15. Photo only, with Kolb Bros. blind stamp.

#### Long, William S.

1913 The charms of the great Southwest. *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 38 (April) (150): 305-321.

"Descent to the Colorado River [along Bright Angel Trail] is made on the sure-footed **little donkey called the burro**, the trail being so steep and treacherous that it becomes necessary at times to dismount in order to be roped together, for a false step would consign the unfortunate one to the depths of an escarpment from whence there is no recall."

#### Rees, Hannah M.

2013 A crewel story. *In: Selected Writing by Hannah Rees [section]. The Bay View Literary Magazine* (United Methodist Church, Bay View Association, Petoskey, Michigan), 8 (Summer) ("Connections"): 13-14.

Regarding the author's teen daughters' stitching a crewel pattern for their grandmother during a cross-country trip to visit her at Bay View. Includes remarks on "several days at the Grand Canyon where the girls rode the **donkeys** down half way before having lunch and coming back up" (a reference to the Plateau Point mule trip).

#### Monast, Jim

2021 My favorite national park in the United States; enjoying America's diverse landscapes. *Workers' COMPanion* (Monast Law Office, Upper Arlington, Ohio), (October): 1.

Grand Canyon. Includes remark on riding "**donkeys**" into the canyon.

#### Perkins, Kenneth E.

1995 Grand Canyon Suite and the **donkey**. *Planetarian*, 24(4) (December): 31.

A planetarium show.

#### Stephenson, Bertha

1925 The Special. *Woman's Home Missions* (Cincinnati, Ohio), 42(12) (December): 18-20. [Item signed as "B.S."; full name acquired from serial masthead, p. 2.]

". . . over the evening return of [sic] those super-weary ones who so blithely started down Bright Angel Trail afoot or **adonkey**, only a few short hours before."

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Donkeys

#### Stevens, Mark W.

2020 *Daisy's Grand Canyon adventure*. [No place]: Third Mountain Publishing, [vi], 94, vi pp. (Daisy Starshine Series, Book 3.) [An on-demand publication.]

Young-reader fiction. An author-illustrated book. Daisy is "a young, orphaned, and disabled **donkey**".

#### Wilding, Linda

2009 Teacher in the spotlight!! *Homestead-Wakefield PTA Newsletter* (Homestead-Wakefield Elementary School, Bel Air, Maryland), (October): 2.

"Most adventurous thing you have ever done: Went down into the Grand Canyon on a **donkey**."

#### Zeppelin, Max Graf von

1895 Das Grand Canon des Colorado in Arizona. *Vom Fels zum Meer* (Stuttgart), 14(2) (April/September): 261-263, 266-267. [In German.]

Zeppelin was a German zoologist and explorer (see the biographical note below). His account here begins with notes on his American trip in 1892 and features his visit to the canyon at Hance's, with a descent to the Colorado River. This account here is in a serial difficult to find in American sources—his other writings about Yellowstone, also visited on this trip, are much more well known. At the canyon, his references to *Eselen* can be translated as "**donkeys**" or "asses"; he did not refer specifically to *Maultiere* (mules), although these animals are also asses. Nonetheless, the party seems to have taken donkeys/burros downtrail, given his description (below) of getting them moving. Hance did have burros on hand at various times, since he was as well a miner during the "off season".

Zeppelin writes about the animals (and in which translation, here, perhaps should just be referred to as asses): ". . . we all came to dinner afterwards and ordered **donkeys** for the next morning—horses aren't good for the Canyon tour—they are in a much milder mood. [. . .] The following day, July 20th, provided with provisions for two days, we went up on donkeys to inspect the canyon. But the ride lasted only fifteen minutes. Arriving at the edge of the gigantic gorge, the donkeys were driven down by the shouts and stones thrown by the guides; we followed slowly on a difficult rocky path. [. . .] After a two-hour march we have reached the bottom of the giant gorge, rest, and have lunch at a small shelter and then get on the donkeys again. Sometimes the canyon widens, sometimes the mountain walls come together closely; side gorges open up, often only narrow crevasses, but of infinite height. Our little donkeys prove themselves excellently, cleverly and carefully they choose the best way step by step. The rider must let his animal walk calmly and need not steer it; it wouldn't do him any good either, because the donkey does what he wants after all!" The descent was on the Old Hance Trail, which required the use of ropes in some places, thus the animals were left behind for the ride back up later. "Hungry and thirsty we left this beautiful region and began the arduous journey back; half dead we got to our donkeys."

[*Biographical note*. Zeppelin was a the son of Count Karl von Zeppelin, then court marshal to Crown Prince Karl of Württemberg. For a brief biography of Max Graf von Zeppelin see Friedrich Ratzel, "Zeppelin, Max Graf von", in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, <https://www.bavikon.de/object/bav:HKO-ADB-00000000SFZ86568>, accessed 19 January 2024. In Spamer's "*My God, there it is!*" *The World Encounters the Grand Canyon* (p. 271) and in *The Grand Canyon! A Worldwide, Year-By-Year Anthology and Annotated Bibliography* (Nº 382), which transcribes in the original German and in translation much of Zeppelin's account, Max was mistakenly indicated to be the son of Ferdinand Graf von Zeppelin, the German general and inventor of the eponymous rigid airship.]

## Burros

(see also "[Brighty of the Grand Canyon](#)")

Donkeys and burros are the same, though the former is generally reserved for the domesticated animal, the latter for feral and formerly feral animals. They are segregated in this bibliography strictly for the informational value of an author's own usage.

### Anonymous

- 1900 Hance's Trail, Grand Cañon [*sic*] of the Colorado. *International Passenger and Ticket Agents' Journal* (Philadelphia), 7(10) (July): 31.  
Photo only; no pertinence to any article in this issue. Photo depicts John Hance with **burro** and dog at the head of his trail.
- 1904 Master plumbers in California; to our better halves. *The Plumbers' Trade Journal [and] Gas, Steam and Hot Water Fitters' Review*, (February 1): 127-128.  
"A trip on **burros** down the Bright Angel trail into the canon was decided upon and after the necessary preparation the party sallied forth. The trail is a rather dangerous looking one, being simply for the most part a ledge hewn out of the solid rock walls varying from two to five feet in width and rarely at a less angle than 45 degrees, but for all that the guides will tell you that they have never had an accident, thanks to the wonderful sure-footedness of the patient little burros. [. . .] Our manufacturing friend was very brave outwardly, but at one point, when his burro, as is their habit, stepped very close to the edge of the trail, cocked his ears and poked his head over to see the next descent, he was seen to bend over until his mouth was fairly in the little animal's ear and then was heard to exclaim in solemn seriousness 'You — — little fool you! Don't go so close.'"
- 1910 The excursion of the eastern chemists to the 42d General Meeting of the American Chemical Society at San Francisco. *The Chemical Engineer* (Chicago), 12(1) (July): 28-29.  
"It is reported that the temperature was about 130 and as the only way of going down into the canyon is on **burro** back, the explanation why so few of the party took the trip is easy."
- 1914 On his wedding trip. A. H. Bartsch also found time to establish a score of Bosch service stations. *The Automobile Journal*, 37(4) (March 25): 32.  
"On the way [to Los Angeles] he stopped at the Grand Canon in Arizona, and was somewhat disappointed to find that only horses and **burros** were used in that vicinity, so that he was unable to establish a Bosch service station." (entire note)
- 1916 Conquering the Grand Canyon of the Colorado by motor; "Death Valley Dodge" with O. K. Parker at the wheel makes trip to bottom of Arizona's great cavern. *Motor Age* (Chicago), 29(25) (June 22): 20-22.  
"Perhaps the most startling accomplishment of the year occurred recently when a motor car crept down the precipitous and torturous path to the bottom of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, a trail that only sure-footed **burros** and less sure-footed humans had trod before. For some the rim of this vast two-hundred-and-fifteen-mile paint pot has been far enough; for others the shorter trails leading part way down to the rushing turbulent Colorado has brought a homesickness for the top and level ground that knew no compromise. Some have trusted to their own Shank's mare to carry

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

them to the lowermost part of the canyon, while many have entrusted the nerveless and homely **burro** with the keeping of their lives as he bore them along a hewn-out trail that has a perpendicular wall for thousands of feet upward on one side and a yawning abyss thousands of feet below on the other—a trail that seems more like a tight wire over a bottomless pit than it does like a road.” (Parker had driven down Peach Springs Wash to Diamond Creek, in western Grand Canyon.)

- 1920 A vacation in southern Arizona. (By a traveler.) *Hide and Leather* (Chicago), 59(16) (April 17): 31, 33.  
“People spend days, or weeks, at the Canyon. They go on mules or **burros** to the bottom of it. They take horses or autos to points that give different views of the majestic scenes.”
- 1920 Vick sees Tammany party. Says the convention won’t “pussy-foot” on wet plank. *The New York Times*, (June 22): 2.  
Democratic Convention party strategy meeting. Story filed from Grand Canyon, regarding Walter Vick, campaign manager for New Jersey Governor Edwards, and note of a “**burro**” trip into the canyon and a rim drive.
- 1925 Never trust a **burro**. *The New York Times*, (July 26) (Section 7): 3.  
Actress Trixie Friganza reports her “burro” stumbled on trail at Grand Canyon. She had been at Grand Canyon for location filming in “The Road to Yesterday”.

#### Armstrong, Margaret

- 1912 Canyon and glacier. *Overland Monthly*, New Series, 59(2) (February): 95-104.  
See “Dripping Spring” (pp. 95-99), which is an account of four women riding horses down Hermit and Dripping Springs Trails, where they meet and lunch with Louis Boucher in his lair.  
“There was something peculiarly delightful about the little place. Perhaps its greatest charm was owing to the vivid contrast between the cool shadow in which we sat and the burning valley spread out below us. We could hear far off the **burro** bells, and after lunch Billy Hill rode off to bring in the burros for us to see. In a little while, one after the other, in a long line, they came up the path and into the corral, led by an old white mule. Some of them were very pretty, and Boucher told us with pride that one of his “burro family” had been bought by a millionaire last year, and was now living in the East. The little creatures were very tame, and ate bits of bread and orange peel from their master’s hand, while we took their photographs.” Armstrong includes in her article a photo of “Boucher and his ‘burro family’.”

#### Bass, William Wallace

- 1909 *Rhymes and jingles*. Los Angeles: Arroyo Guild Press, 48 pp.  
A book of verses. See in “Come To Bass Camp”, which includes “He has horses, mules and **burros**, / And you can walk or ride.”

#### Brezenoff, Steve, and Calo, Marcos

- 2013 *The Grand Canyon burros that broke*. North Mankato, Minnesota: Stone Arch Books, 91 pp. (Field Trip Mysteries.)  
Young-reader fiction. Book was available at least by August 2012.] (“Edward ‘Egg’ Garrison and his friends in the Art Club are on a trip to the Grand Canyon when three riding **burros** mysteriously disappear.” (from the publisher’s blurb)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

#### Brockett, Miller

1966 1966 missionary volunteer schedule for the Pacific Union. *Pacific Union Recorder* (Seventh-day Adventists, Pacific Union Conference, Angwin, California), 65(29) (February 7): 1, 8.

See p. 1: "Two one-week junior camps, one for boys and one for girls, will be held during July in Hava Supai canyon. The campers will pack into this ancient valley of the Supai Indians. Food and heavy camping equipment will be packed in by **burro**. Specific dates will be announced later." (entire note)

#### Carter, Ray Cecil

1925 Says Ray Cecil Carter, Colby '11. *In*: Here's What They Thought of the 1910 Convention [section]. *Delta Upsilon Quarterly* (Delta Upsilon Fraternity, New York and Burlington, Vermont), 43(2) (April): 170-172.

Section provides reminiscences to complement the highlights of the forthcoming railway circle tour in U.S. and Canada as part of fraternity's convention (see Anonymous, 1925, item no. 2.30281). Carter mistakes Santa Fe Railway's provider, Fred Harvey, as "George Harvey". Notes regarding visit to Grand Canyon, "which I understand neither paint nor words have done justice to, so I shall refrain. I shall never forget (I wonder if the rest of the party admits it) the horrible sweat in my palms as my **burro** felt his way down to the bottom of that huge maw. And who were the dare-devils that swam the river at the bottom." (entire note)

#### Cobb, Irvin S.

1919 Roughing it de luxe; the hydrophobic skunk; or, Rabid and his friends. (Illustrated by John T. McCutcheon.) *Saturday Evening Post*, 185(52) (June 28): 14-15, 28-30.

Cobb describes the state of affairs at Hermit Camp, noting, ". . . outside there was a corral for the mules; a canvas storehouse; hitching stakes for the **burros**; a Dutch oven, and a little forge where the guides sometimes shoe a mule. They aren't blacksmiths; they merely have to be."

#### Darby, G. W.

1904 [Regarding members' trip to the national convention in Los Angeles.] *In*: Links [section]. *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Monthly Journal*, 38(7) (July): 530-531.

Bros. Souerbeck and Hukill took the trail afoot. The balance of the trail party went on **burros**.

#### Davidson, W. L.

1904 To the Pacific coast and back. *The University Courier* (American University, Washington, D.C.), 11(2) (July): 6-8. [Item signed "W. L. D."]

Includes remarks about the disastrous day, April 28, when 2,000 Methodists in 93 Pullman cars arrived at Grand Canyon, when a rail accident precluded their timely departure. "The engines were dead, fires having to be extinguished because there was no water to fill the boilers, the water train having been wrecked on the journey up the hill from the main line, and all the water obtainable was that which had to be carried up on the backs of **burros** from the springs in the Canyon three thousand feet below the rim."

#### Dixon, Winifred H.

1921 *Westward hoboies : ups and downs of frontier motoring*. (Photographs by Katherine Thaxter and Rollin Lester Dixon.) New York: Scribner's Sons, 377 pp. [Also later printings, 1924, 1928, 1930.]

From Boston to the West in a Cadillac Eight. See Chapter 16, "The Grand Canyon and the Havasupai Canyon" (pp. 220-233). "It is so great a pity that most of those who 'see' the Canyon do not see it at all. They arrive one morning, and depart the next. They walk a few rods along its

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

edge at El Tovar, visit the Hopi house, and hear the Kolb Brothers lecture. If adventurous, they don overalls or divided skirts, mount a velvet-faced **burro** who seems afflicted with a melancholy desire to end his tourist-harassed existence by a side-step over Bright Angel. They speak afterward with bated breath—the tourists, not the burros—of the terrors of a trail which is a boulevard compared to some in the Canyon." (Dixon also went to Supai; see under "Horses" herein.)

#### Fitch, George

1914 *Sizing up Uncle Sam : vestpocket essays (not especially serious) on the United States.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 238 pp.

See "The Grand Canyon" (pp. 71-72). "There is only one trail to the water below—the Bright Angel Trail, named for the people who have fallen off; and by mounting a **burro** the tourist can find himself in two hours in a scene of utter desolation which has never been penetrated by the automobile, the book agent, the pianola, the harem skirt, the tariff question or the senatorial scandal. Many tourists have taken this spot for Paradise and have had to be removed by force." (Regretfully, the Grand Canyon "senatorial scandal" was realized with Ralph Cameron in the 1920s.)

#### Higgins, Will

1917 The prospector and his burro. *The Salt Lake Mining Review* (Salt Lake City), 19(10) (August 30): 33-34.

Fiction. A prospector's yarn to his **burro**, telling of an unplanned journey by raft with Flop Ear Pete, "a half-breed Indian", through the canyons from the mouth of the San Juan River, managing to climb out on the third day, where an old gold mine was rediscovered.

#### Holland, Henrietta

1946 The desert canary. *Frontiers* (Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia), 11(1) (October): 24-26.

Includes note *in passing* of use of "**burros**" in Grand Canyon (p. 26).

#### Holmes, Burton

1914 *Burton Holmes travelogues : with illustrations from photographs by the author. Volume Twelve.* Chicago: The Travelogue Bureau, 341 pp.

Two canyon expeditions for the price of one—the first harkens back to a trip he took to Hance's in 1898. The volume is a collation of Holmes's very popular and well attended illustrated lectures of his tours of the world. See exhaustively, and profusely illustrated, "The Grand Cañon" (pp. 113-224), which does bring his text and illustrations up to date in the presence of the railroad and El Tovar. On Hance's trail: "Like Dante, we begin our wanderings in an obscure savage wood; but unlike Dante we are mounted—not on the winged horses of the Muses, but—on the mules and the **burros** of good old Captain Hance, who in our case replaces Virgil as guide."

#### James, George Wharton

1911 Down the Topocobya Trail. *Wide World Magazine* (London), 7(37) (April): 75-79.

On this adventure in Havasu Canyon, James writes of his party: "Up and down these awful places they fearlessly ride. And up and down them we must walk, or slip, or slide, leading our horses or letting them go on ahead, our provisions and bedding packed on the backs of the patient, sturdy, plucky, and wise little **burros, or donkeys** . . . ."



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

#### Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, Mary Commandery No. 36

- 1904 *Pilgrimage of Mary Commandery No. 36, Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, to the Twenty-Ninth Triennial Conclave of the Grand Encampment U.S. at San Francisco, Cal.* Philadelphia: [Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, Mary Commandery No. 36], 190 pp. (Cover title: *From geyser to canon with Mary.*) (Made by Thomson Printing Company, 310 Cherry Street, Philadelphia.)

This book is a complete diary, August 22-September 22, 1904, from Philadelphia and return, by rail. See during the return trip, one day at Grand Canyon, September 14 (pp. 143-149). "Many of [the pilgrims] were disappointed that we had not been long enough here to make the descent into the canon on horseback or astraddle of a **burro**. But it is an all day journey, and our schedule of course would not permit of lying over for another day."

#### Levy, S. Rutherford

- 1921 Trip correspondence. *National Association of Chiropodists, Journal*, 11(6) (June): 17-19.

"At times you will make out in the distance something moving along the trail, as it approaches, you will discern a person afoot or on a **burro** coming from the floor of the canyon. It may be an interest and thrilling experience to go down to the bottom of the canyon, but to see the Grand Canyon at its fullest advantage, I would advise the Rim Edge Trail, then the beauty and glory of the whole is unfolded to you; this seems to be the consensus of opinion of most tourists who have visited this canyon."

#### Lewis, Sylvia

- 1920 A dangerous venture. (A true story.) *In: St. Nicholas League [section]. St. Nicholas*, 47(3) (January): 279-280.

The by-line indicates that Lewis is 13 years of age (and see biographical note below). This is an essay as part of "Prize Competition No. 239" in the St. Nicholas League, for which the writer was awarded a Silver Badge (2nd prize). It is noted (p. 278) that she is from Arizona. The "dangerous venture" relates to crossing the Colorado River on a cable at the foot of the trail. Her entire account is transcribed here.

"Slowly we wound down "Jacob's Ladder" at sunset. The Grand Cañon was a spot of unequalled beauty as the sun faded away in the west. But beautiful as its purples and gold were, they failed to thrill us, for on the morrow we were to undertake a trip known to all for its danger. When we reached the foot of the cañon, the roar of the angry Colorado made us realize what a perilous journey we were about to begin, for we were to cross the cañon in a "skip," or basket, which runs on a cable and is large enough to carry an animal and two or three people. [¶] Morning saw us ready for the crossing, and two men, myself, and the **burro** (which the guide refused to leave behind) climbed into the basket. It fell to me to sit on the **donkey's** back, as there was standing room for only two in the skip. All went well until we reached the center, when "Bright Angel" (for such was the **burro's** name) began to kick and jump, as the roar of the river was so loud it frightened him. And I was nearly paralyzed with fright when I looked into the depths below me. I began to appreciate the outside world more than I had the night before. Slowly the skip approached land, and after a few terrible moments the burro began to recover from its terror. Finally we reached solid ground; and long after, as I gazed at the river from the rim of the cañon, I heard some bystander remark, "I thought it was a *big* river!" as the Colorado looks small from the brink. [¶] I wish they could cross it as I did; they would think it quite big enough."

[*Biographical note:* Based on the notations of age and Arizona residency, a check of U.S. Census records for 1920 finds a Sylvia M. Lewis, aged 14, in Phoenix; daughter of Ernest W. Lewis, a general practice lawyer, and Esther.]

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

#### Long, William S.

1913 The charms of the great Southwest. *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 38 (April) (150): 305-321.

"Descent to the Colorado River [along Bright Angel Trail] is made on the sure-footed **little donkey called the burro**, the trail being so steep and treacherous that it becomes necessary at times to dismount in order to be roped together, for a false step would consign the unfortunate one to the depths of an escarpment from whence there is no recall."

#### Longstreth, T. Morris

1919 *The Adirondacks*. New York: The Century Co., 370 pp.

See p. 270: "But local history tells of nobody being killed by these falling rocks. [. . .] Perhaps it is a safety like that of the **burro trail** down into the Grand Canyon [*sic*]. Nature may disdain the obvious." (entire note)

#### Matthes, François E.

1927 Breaking a trail through Bright Angel Canyon. *Grand Canyon Nature Notes*, 2(6) (November): 1-4.

This is topographer Matthes' story of blazing the trail through Bright Angel Canyon during the 1902-1903 topographical survey of the eastern Grand Canyon, conducted by Matthes, which produced the first larger-scale maps of that part of the canyon. But first, the survey party struggles across the canyon on the Bass trails. "The crossing was known to be dangerous; the Bass Trail was merely a **burro** trail, still unfinished at the lower end, and the Shinumo Trail was little more than a faint track seldom used. Yet this was the route we finally selected." On the descent of Bright Angel Canyon: "On the very day when we started to examine this route, by a remarkable coincidence, there emerged from the head of Bright Angel Canyon two haggard men and a weary **burro**. These men, Sidney Ferrall and Jim Murray, had explored up through the Canyon and finally had fought their way up along the fault zone. At once the prospects of the return of the survey party by this new route became brighter. However, it did not follow that where a small burro was boosted up, a pack train of heavily loaded horses and mules can come down in safety. Two of the party, therefore, set themselves the task of cutting out brush and rolling out logs and boulders, so as to make a reasonably clear way for the pack train. And this work they carried all the way down to the mouth of the Canyon." Leaving the Colorado River at the conclusion of their work, ". . . we were scrambling up the prospector's steep **burro** trail and without serious mishap reached our goal on the south rim."

#### McKee, Robert Wylie

1921 A happy incident of finding water. *In*: St. Nicholas League [section]. *St. Nicholas*, 48(9) (July): 856.

The by-line indicates McKee is 11 years of age. This was an essay as part of "Prize Competition No. 256", for which the writer was awarded a Silver Badge in the St. Nicholas League. It relates to the commercial Wylie Way Camp at Bright Angel Point on the North Rim, which his parents managed. McKee remarks, "Our spring was down the cañon a way, so that we had to pack the water upon a **burro** and this made it very hard to get."

#### Metcalf-Shaw, Gertrude E.

1926 *English caravanners in the Wild West : the old pioneers' trail*. (With sketches by Una Shaw Lang and other illustrations.) (Foreword by A. Wharton Metcalfe.) Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., 400 pp.

The book recounts eastbound travel by horse and wagon, the wagon fitted as a living space, from the west coast, picking up the Old Trails Road in Pasadena, headed for New York but ended by

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

winter in Missouri, whence they returned West on a freight train. See Chapter 9, "The Grand Canyon" (pp. 94-113); a detailed account of the trip from Williams to Grand Canyon and return, including a trip into the canyon. The Caravanners stayed at the canyon for a week, but "[a] week is nowhere for this canyon. We talked to an artist who was sensibly camping in the depths, keeping himself supplied with necessaries by means of a **burro** and a cowboy. He had travelled with **donkeys** from Los Angeles, and had been *two months* in the gorge, and was only now beginning to venture a painting. It took him all that time only to get into the atmosphere of the place."

#### Mosher, Leroy E.

- 1905     *"The Stranded Bugle" and other poems and prose including "The Eagle" (originally contributed to the Los Angeles Times:) together with an introduction by Gen. Harrison Gray Otis, and personal tributes from former associates and co-workers with The Times staff : with portrait.* Los Angeles: The Times-Mirror Co., 379 pp.

See the prose item, "The Sublime Gorge" (pp. 358-365), dated June, 1894. The author was a guest of W. W. Bass at Grand Canyon. "The trail is like most mountain trails, only a little bit more so. We are told that **burros** have carried women down it in safety, but it seems incredible, unless the burro dragged an anchor for ballast. [. . .] The Mystic Spring is not much of a spring as to quantity, but its quality is deliciousness itself. The luncheon-loaded burro was already at the rendezvous before us, and he proved at this particular juncture to be the most popular man in the party."

#### Oberländer, Richard

- 1885     *Von Ozean zu Ozean : Kulturbilder und Naturschilderungen aus dem Fernen Westen von Amerika.* [transl. 'From ocean to ocean: Cultural images and descriptions of nature from the Far West of America']. Leipzig and Berlin: Verlag und Druck von Otto Spamer, viii, 256, iv pp. [In German.]

He writes of his adventure into the canyon (*in translation here*): "From Peach Springs in Arizona, a station of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway, we set off on 6 **burros** and a springless, as uncomfortable as possible, four-wheeled buckboard [such as are] still possible to find only in the far west of America. [. . .] With trembling and hesitation I made the mad journey with my comrades by wagon and on foot; on the return to Peach Springs, which lasted until midnight, I did not dare to put my body in such danger again, preferring to ride on a burro, which in turn will not have been particularly pleased at the unaccustomed burden of my person."

#### Olcott, Charles S.

- 1914     *The lure of the camera.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. (The Riverside Press, Cambridge), 296 pp.

See Chapter 10, "The Grand Cañon of Arizona" (pp. 273-296), regarding a visit to the canyon in 1903. "There were seven of us, including the guide, as we started down the long and crooked path. The guide rode a white horse, but the rest of the party were mounted, like myself, on big, sturdy mules—none of your little, lazy **burros**, as most people imagine."

#### Orr, H. Nelson

- 1910     A hike through the Grand Canyon of Arizona. *The Bur* (Chicago College of Dental Surgery, Alumni Association), 15(1) (January): 2-8, (2) (March): 39-46, (3) (May): 63-68, (4) (July): 95-107. [Seen also as a separately paginated offprint, 32 pp.]

This series recounts a cross-canyon trip in 1909 on the Bass trails by a party of three, followed by a tour of the Arizona Strip and the vicinity of Kanab, Utah, before returning to the South Rim. Orr has quite a commentary about the burros of the cross-canyon trip. "We are assigned to our respective tents and sleep until morning when we are called early for breakfast and to get our

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

outfits ready to pack on the **burrows** [*sic*]. Here we meet the burrows, four pack and three saddle animals with a colt thrown in for good measure [. . .]

"'Peanuts,' my cousin's saddle animal and the only lady in the party, apparently timid and shy,— yes, she shied at every stick, stone and shadow in the trail for 300 miles,—was misnamed. If I had had the naming of her I would have called her Hellen Damnation. Every morning when we were ready to start, my cousin would mount to lead the procession as she was bell **burro**, and she would roll her eyes so that the whites would show all around and then 'Waltz him around again Willy, around, around, around' to the accompaniment of 'Line up there, you blank, blank, blank,' 'Get in the trail there or I'll break every bone in your blankety blank hide[']; and then with a delicate side step or two she would glide into the Hooche Kooche or the Hula dance and then do the Salome Wriggle with variations. She would keep her eyes pealed and her ears pointed straight forward all day long looking for something to happen, and at night when we would unpack she would be the freshest one in the party. Then there was 'Joe' a veteran of the trail, of fine physique and comely too, a suitor of the aforesaid 'Peanuts'; but he couldn't suit her and wouldn't let the others try; 'Murphy,' a good packer and willing to follow the bell to the end of the trail; 'Jock,' inclined to object to being packed in the morning, but honest and temperate in his habits; 'Davy,' the chronic grouch, never smiled the whole trip, as he goes along his head hangs low, his ears lay back along his neck, care seems to sit heavy upon his shoulders, I guess that's why his other end's so light. Beware Davy's 'other end.' 'Casey,' the grand-dad of the bunch, his coat of faded gray is frazzled by the wind and weather, but his eyes burned with the fire of a soul unconquered, he was before the white man or the Indian. He saw the canyon formed and as the years roll on he seems content to carry tourists down the trail who little dream that he was the famous ass of Bible times. 'Jack,' my saddle animal, one of the original 'Seven Sleepers,' would go to sleep between strokes of the quirt and jabs of the spur and even snore contentedly as he walked along. No tsetse fly in his most virulent form could produce slumber so profound as this; consequently, I walked most of the 300 miles of our journey rather than disturb this original rest cure advocate. Last, but not least, the colt, (I will call him 'Trouble,' for he was that and nothing more,) [*sic*] We were afraid to leave him behind for fear his mother, 'Peanuts' would not go, afraid to kill him after we started for fear she would return to the body; we couldn't tie him up at night because the others wouldn't leave him to feed, and when we let him go he would keep at them and drive them back on the trail four miles so that it would take half a day to find them. As we were packing and I was being initiated into the mysteries of the Diamond Hitch, Squaw Hitch and Swing Rope, I made some slighting remark about the burro we were packing and Bass gently drew me one side and whispered in my ear, 'Now Doc, don't say anything like that before the burros.' I learned later that the advice was good for as sure as we would discuss our plans in their hearing and they didn't agree with them, or remark that we would break camp for a hike in the morning, when morning came the burros would be far far away, and if they happened to hear that we would all be out of camp at the same time they would make a general raid on it, eat everything that wasn't canned, lick out all the pots and frying pans and have a good time generally."

"As we leave the zigzag trail and pass out upon the level plateau we have descended about 2,500 feet in a mile and a half. The plateau at this point is about a mile wide . . . Here the trail widens and the pack animals take advantage of this and scatter and for a few minutes all hands are busy getting them in line. We mount our burros and as we ride along my burro shies, which is unusual for him, as he is generally asleep, and I look down and see our first rattler. [. . .] As we go over the edge [of the inner gorge] it seems impossible that any man or animal could find foothold enough to descend to the river, but we go on and look back to see how the pack animals are making it. Here and there the trail is cut from the solid rock; at other places there are natural steps three or four feet high; and some places where there are very steep inclines of loose rock the burros seem to sit down and coast, and as I look back and see them sliding down towards me enveloped in a cloud of dust, I am reminded of the old story of the 'hobo who had been kicked off the train for the twenty-third time and the conductor asked him where he was going. He said he

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

expected to get to Frisco if his pants held out.' Bass told me that he had to put copper bottoms on some of the younger burros, but after they got older they didn't need them."

#### O'Shaughnessy, Thomas J. H.

- 1915 *Rambles on overland trails*. Chicago: "Privately Printed", 125 pp. (Printed by The Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Co.)

Down to the depths of the canyon, there are many narrow trails, on which the bottom of the canyon may be reached by pony or **burro**, which are kept there for the benefit of tourists.

#### Price, Edna Calkins

- 1973 *Burro Bill and me : Death Valley to Grand Canyon by burro via Arizona Strip*. Idyllwild, California: Strawberry Valley Press, 275 pp.
- 1993 *Burro Bill and me : Death Valley to Grand Canyon by burro via Arizona Strip*. Death Valley, California: Death Valley Natural History Association, 279 pp. ("Text from the 1973 edition. Death Valley Natural History Association added photos and captions." (p. [ii]))
- 2004 *Burro Bill and me : Death Valley to Grand Canyon by burro via the Arizona Strip*. Santa Barbara, California: Narrative Press, 198 pp. (Historical Adventure and Exploration Series, 86.) [Cover uses subtitle, "Ramblings in the American Desert".]

#### Ross, Raleigh E.

- 1915 The lighter side of the 1915 convention trip; splendid entertainment en route—San Francisco Chapter caps the climax. *The Bank Man*, 10(9) (September): 215-216.

"Some took the rim drive, by automobile or carriage, some walked down the trail a way, some rode about five miles down to the plateau, and eight of us rode our **burros** clear to the bottom of the canyon and took a swim in the Colorado river. Four of these eight were Chicago boys. Some parts of this Bright Angel trail appeared dangerous and as our mountain canaries insisted upon keeping close to the edge, we all expected to join the bright angels any minute."

#### Taylor, Ralph C.

- 1956 [Frank J. Meyer, animal-shoe collector.] *In: Hobby Hitching Post* [section]. *The Rotarian*, 88(3) (March): 62-63.

Meyer's collection began with a thrown shoe during a "**burro**" ride into Grand Canyon.]

#### Townsend, C. H. Tyler

- 1893 A wagon-trip to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River. *Appalachia*, 7(1) (February): 48-63.

A trip to the canyon in July 1892. Townsend was an entomologist, the first to conduct such work at the Grand Canyon, as part of a group of naturalists who converged as two groups from New Mexico and Arizona. The group stayed at Hance's and spent several days in the canyon. "We had considerable luggage, and Mr. Hance had kindly proffered us the use of his **burros**, at two dollars each a day. He told us we would find it hard enough to take ourselves down, without any further encumbrance; and we did not doubt his word in the least, but thought we could worry along some way and carry our own loads. We paid one dollar each for the privilege of going down Mr. Hance's trail,—which is a very modest sum for the amount of work that must have been put upon it."

#### Upson, James W., and Upson, Lillian B.

- 1899 [Guest book remarks, dated October 30, 1892], *in* Woods, G. K. (collector, compiler), *Personal impressions of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River near Flagstaff, Arizona, as seen through*

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Burros

*nearly two thousand eyes, and written in the private visitors' book of the world-famous guide Capt. John Hance, guide, story-teller, and path-finder.* San Francisco: Whitaker and Ray Co., for G. K. Woods, Flagstaff, Arizona Territory.

"James W. Upson, Mrs. Lillian B. Upson, Baldwinsville, N. Y. This party all went to the river without a guide. They rated it very grand, and all that has been claimed. However, if future parties of camping ladies intend going down, would advise them to employ the guide, and go prepared for roughing it. The ladies should wear very short wide skirts, and have Hance's **burros** to help them up from the cabin." (Note that this was on the Old Hance Trail, that below Hance's inner canyon cabin the descent was made partly by rope, thus the animals would have been left behind.)

#### **UU** [*pseudonym* (as like two horseshoes)]

1956 The Hitchin' Rack [letters section]. *Boys' Life*, 46(12) (December): 7.

Response to letter from Tommy Jennings, regarding folk tales and the creation of Grand Canyon. UU replies that it was "my great-great grandfather, Don Juan Ladimos Pedro", a **burro** who dug out the canyon, in the process forever burying the location of the fabled Lost Dutchman mine.

#### **Yucca** [*pseudonym*]

1893 A woman's trip to the Grand Cañon. *Goldthwaite's Geographical Magazine* (New York), 5(7/9) (July/September): 258-267.

A trip by five women and four men to Hance's in 1892, before the stage line had been started, with a nicely detailed description of the descent into the canyon (and back up). "Jennie, a gentle little **burro**, belonging to John Hance led the way, loaded with two or three Navajo blankets, for bedding a small bag containing a few toilet articles and provisions for three days. John Hance went next and the rest of us straggled after as best we could."

## “Brighty of the Grand Canyon”

(A burro.)

### Anonymous

- 1922 [Editors' note.] *In*: McKee, Thomas Heron, Brighty, free citizen; how the sagacious hermit donkey of the Grand Cañon maintained his liberty for thirty years. *Sunset*, 49 (August): 71.  
Editors' note added in press, reporting Brighty's recent death.
- 1967 Brighty gets a lift. *Popular Mechanics*, 128(4) (October): 149.  
Cable tramway recreated over Colorado River near Bright Angel Trail, used for filming the motion picture, *Brighty of the Grand Canyon* (see Fleetwood Films, 1966).

### Berg, Hilary

- 1997 *History of the horse : a literature approach to equine history. Intended for primary or intermediate grade levels.* [No place]: Beautiful Feet Books, 26 pp.  
Source material includes Marguerite Henry's *Brighty of the Grand Canyon* (Henry, 1953).

### Brookshier, Frank

- 1974 *The burro.* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 370 pp.  
“Brighty” of Grand Canyon, see pp. 270-272.

### C., F. N.

- 1953 Independent burro. “Brighty of the Grand Canyon”, by Marguerite Henry. *The New York Times*, (November 15) (Review of Books): 34.

### Demaray, A. E.

- 1923 The passing of Brighty; a four-footed hero of the Grand Canyon comes to the end of the last trail. *Outing*, 81(5) (February): 225.

### Fleetwood Films

- 1966 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon.* Norman Foster, director, writer; Joseph Cotten and Dick Foran, cast). Mt. Vernon, New York: Fleetwood Films, Inc. 16-mm film, in three parts. 30:00, 30:00, 29:00.  
[Various re-releases.]  
Based on the novel by Marguerite Henry.

### Hadas, Yardena [הדס, ירדנה]

- 1982 . על חמור שזכה לחיי נצח. *The immortal donkey.* *In*: ביקורת: [REVIEWS SECTION]. ספרות ילדים ונוער / *Sifrut Yeladim Vanoar / Journal for Children's and Youth Literature* ( משרד החינוך והתרבות, המדור ) לספרות ילדים, ירושלים [Israel, Ministry of Education and Culture, Children's Literature Section, Jerusalem]), 8(4)(32) (מאי 1982) [Sivan 5765, May 1982]: 44-46. [In Hebrew; with

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**“Brighty of the Grand Canyon”—A burro**

English item title, author’s name, and serial title (in transliteration and English) taken from English-language contents page.]

Review of *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*, by Marguerite Henry; review made from the 7th printing, Rand McNally, 1970.]

**Henry, Marguerite**

- 1951 *Album of horses*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 112 pp. [Also later printings.]  
See “The Burro or Donkey” (pp. 94-97), which includes remarks about “Brighty” of the Grand Canyon North Rim.
- 1953 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 224 pp. [Later printings, some in smaller format, with color illustrations reduced to black-and-white. 1st paperback printing thus, 1970. Also printed in translations and numerous citations for products made for the blind and vision-impaired.]  
Fact-based young-reader novel about the North Rim burro, “Brighty”, during the early 20th century.
- 1954 *Burri : die Geschichte eines Wildesels*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) (Hildegard Blomeyer, translator.) Köln: Kippenheuer und Witsch, 239 pp. [Translation of *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*.] [In German.]
- 1963 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) New York: Checkerboard Press, 224 pp. (The Marguerite Henry Horseshoe Library, 5.)
- 1967 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) New York, London, and Richmond Hill, Ontario: Scholastic Book Services, 224 pp. [Number of illustrations reduced from original ed.]
- 1967 *Album of horses*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 112 pp. (Junior Literary Guild.) [Includes “Brighty”.]
- 1969 *Dear Readers and Riders, [sic]*. Chicago, New York, and San Francisco: Rand McNally and Co., 224 pp.  
See “Was Brighty Born Free?” (pp. 75-84).
- 1971 *Kvik*. (Illustrated by Robert Viby; Ellen Kirk, translator.) [Denmark]: Gyldendal, 138 pp. [Translation of *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*.] [In Danish.]
- 1974 A weft of truth and a warp of fiction. *Elementary English*, 51(7) (October): 920-925.  
See p. 922, author’s remarks on “fact-minded” children’s questions, including, “Did Brighty actually uncover a murder in the Grand Canyon?” (referring to the author’s *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*).  
(ENTIRE NOTE)
- 1975 *Burri : die Geschichte eines Wildesels*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis; Hildegard Blomeyer, translator.) Düsseldorf: Hoch-Verlag, 158 pp. [Translation of *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*.] [In German.]
- 1979 *Burri : die Geschichte eines Wildesels*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) (Hildegard Blomeyer, translator.) München: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 169 pp. (DTV-Junior, 7375.) [Translation of *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*.] [In German.]



**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**“Brighty of the Grand Canyon”—A burro**

- 1980 Over the rimtop. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) *Cobblestone*, 1(6): 33-38. [Reprinted from Henry (1953).]
- 1980 The wedding between truth and fiction. In: Waterman, David C., and Gibbs, Vanita M. (organizers), *Proceedings of the 1979 Ninth Annual Reading Conference, June 14; Rhythm, Rhyme, and Reason; Curriculum Research and Development Center, School of Education, Indiana State University, Terre Haute*. Terre Haute, Indiana: Indiana State University, School of Education, Curriculum Research and Development Center, pp. x, 1-7.  
 See p. 2, author’s remarks on “fact-minded” children’s questions, including, “Did Brighty actually uncover a murder in the Grand Canyon?” (referring to the author’s *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*). (ENTIRE NOTE)
- 1984 *Burri, die Geschichte eines Wildesels*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis; Hildegard Blomeyer, translator.) Stuttgart: Hoch, 192 pp. [Translation of *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*.] [In German.]
- 1987 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. Checkerboard Press, 222 pp. [New printing.]
- 1991 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) New York: Aladdin Books, 224 pp. [New printing, photographically reduced from Rand McNally eds., with new cover art. Later printings with imprint Aladdin Paperbacks.]
- 1993 *Album of horses*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) New York: Aladdin Paperbacks (Simon and Schuster, Children’s Publishing Division), 110 pp. [Also later printings.]  
 See “The Burro or Donkey” (pp. 94-97), which includes remarks about “Brighty” of the Grand Canyon North Rim.]
- 2015 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, and New Delhi: Aladdin (Simon and Schuster Children’s Publishing Division), Aladdin hardcover ed., 241 pp.
- 2017 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) New York: Aladdin Paperbacks (Simon and Schuster Children’s Publishing Division), 222 pp.
- no date *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. (Illustrated by Wesley Dennis.) London and Glasgow: William Collins Sons and Co., Ltd., 224 pp. [Copyright 1953; printing seen included ISBN number, thus that printing from 1968 or afterward.]
- no date ブライティー：大峡谷をかけるロバ [Buraiitī: Dai kyōkoku o kakeru roba]. [Brightness: Donkey of the Grand Canyon.] (越智道雄 [Michio Ochi] and 紀代志 梅田 [Kiyoshi Umeda], translators.) Tōkyō: 金の星社 [Kin’nohoshisha], 237 pp. [Translation of *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*.] [Author’s name in Japanese orthography: マーガライト ヘンリー.] [In Japanese.]

**Jaffe, Matthew, AND McCauley, Adam**

- 2022 The tale of a donkey. It’s hard to stand out in a place that bigger than Rhode Island. Nevertheless, there have been a handful of colorful characters in the history of the Grand Canyon, including John Hance, Mary Jane Colter and a burro named Brighty, whose life is immortalized in a children’s book, a feature film, and the pages of *National Geographic*, *Sunset* and *Arizona Highways*. *Arizona Highways*, 98(1) (January): 36-41.

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**“Brighty of the Grand Canyon”—A burro**

**Kelly, Tim**

- 1966 Norman Foster’s Brighty of the Grand Canyon; a classic motion picture from the classic children’s book. *Arizona Highways*, 42(5) (May): inside front cover, 1, 2-9. (Illustrations by Wesley Dennis from the book *Brighty of the Grand Canyon* by Marguerite Henry [1953].) [Fleetwood Films, 1966.]

**Krueger, Martha McKee**

- 2019 (WITH Elizabeth Ann Wagner) *Bobby, Brighty, and the Wylie Way : a collection of stories, letters, and memoirs*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Vishnu Temple Press, 104 pp. [pp. 102-104 enumerated but blank].

**Lago, Don**

- 2012 The life, death, and afterlife of Brighty. *The Ol’ Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), 23(3) (Summer): cover, 2, 4-15.

**Liggett, Deb**

- 1991 “We have given you a soapbox”: Case studies in critical issues interpretation. *Ranger* (Association of National Park Rangers, Journal), 7(4) (Fall): 12-13.  
Includes the “debacle” and long-term follow-up after the removal from public display of the bronze statue of the iconic burro, Brighty, at Grand Canyon.

**Manfredini, Becky, and Kostenko, Max**

- 2014 The story of Brighty the burro. *In*: Harvey, Stephanie, and Goudvis, Anne (program consultants), *Grand Canyon National Park*. [No place]: National Geographic Learning, Cengage Learning, pp. 16-23.  
Historical fiction.

**McKee, Thomas Heron**

- 1922 Brighty, free citizen; how the sagacious hermit donkey of the Grand Cañon maintained his liberty for thirty years. *Sunset*, 49 (August): 42, 70-71.
- 2019 Brighty discovered; a saga of the Grand Canyon. *In*: Krueger, Martha McKee, *Bobby, Brighty, and the Wylie Way : a collection of stories, letters, and memoirs*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Vishnu Temple Press, pp. 11-15.

**McKee, Thomas Heron, AND Henry, Marguerite**

- 2019 [Correspondence regarding Brighty the burro, Henry’s book (*Brighty of the Grand Canyon*), and life on the North Rim.] *In*: Krueger, Martha McKee, *Bobby, Brighty, and the Wylie Way : a collection of stories, letters, and memoirs*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Vishnu Temple Press, pp. 75-81, 84-86.

**Northern Arizona’s Mountain Living Magazine, Staff**

- 2013 Sixty years of Brighty; Grand Canyon classic one of many about the mules. *Northern Arizona’s Mountain Living Magazine*, (July): 17.

**Odland, Norine**

- 1968 Marguerite Henry: Mistress of Mole Meadows. *Elementary English*, 45(1) (January): 7-11.  
Remarks on *Brighty of the Grand Canyon* (p. 9); and see photo, p. 10, “Brighty and Marguerite”.

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**“Brighty of the Grand Canyon”—A burro**

**Skinny the Ticket Clerk** [pseudonym of A. E. Harbin]

- 1922 Wild dudes I have met at Grand Cañon. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 17(1) (December): 50-51.  
“Yes, we have a lot of peculiar questions put to us during the course of a day’s work.” For example, “Is that **burro** trip as dangerous as my sister told me it was when I left Kalamazoo? Do the mules really have to jump any place?”

**Smith, Dama Margaret**

- 1923 Going down “Bright Angel”. *Good Housekeeping*, 76(6) (June): 30-31, 181-185.  
Not only is this not a tourist’s report of affairs, but Mrs. Smith’s “privileged” position as the wife of Grand Canyon National Park’s Chief Ranger allows her to pen a pleasant diversion from the usual sort of trip report made by legions of tourists who were bent on “really seeing” the canyon; and it includes a few historical notes that surely would not have shown up if a guided tourist had written it. Despite the article’s title, her route is not “just” down Bright Angel Trail, but it crosses the Tonto Plateau to drop down to the original Kaibab Bridge, then on up to the North Rim—a rare review of ascending the Old Bright Angel Trail that also is not a usual tourist’s jaunt—and some ramblings on the north side.  
“A mile or so along the way we crossed a trickle of water coming from Wild Burro Spring, so named because the wild burros common to that region come there to drink. Just as we drew up there to allow our horses to drink, the sultry silence was shattered beyond repair. A rasping, jarring, choking sound rolled and echoed back and forth from crag to crag! [¶] ‘What’s that?’ I gasped, after I had swallowed my heart two or three times. [¶] The Chief silently pointed to a rock lying a few feet away. Over the top of this protruded an enormous pair of ears, and two solemn eyes were glued on us unblinkingly. Only a wee wild burro, but what a huge voice he possessed! The thousand or more of these little gray and black burros running wild in the Canyon are a heritage from the day of the prospector. They are not at all shy, and one, ‘**Bright Angel**’ as he was called, was often utilized by travelers to carry water, wood, or part of their packs back and forth on the trail. [ . . . ] At the north end of the bridge [over the Colorado River] where the cables are anchored is a labyrinth of trails crossing and recrossing. The Chief explained that the wild burro, ‘Bright Angel,’ made these one time when high water marooned him on that small area. The little fellow hung about constantly while the bridge crew worked, and when the structure was completed, he was the first animal allowed to cross on it. I wonder what he thought of the ‘Promised Land’ he had gazed at so longingly for years? Poor **Brighty** fell a victim to a tramp who refused to listen to advice and crossed to the North Rim after the snows had come, taking the burro from his winter home in the Canyon depths to carry his pack for him. After being snowed in for weeks, several miles back from the North Rim, it was Brighty’s fate to die of starvation and be eaten by the man. Everybody who had ever crossed the Canyon knew Brighty, and if Mr. Tramp has sound judgment, he will shun this part of the West.”

**Stephen F. Booth Productions, AND Program Power Entertainment, Inc.**

- 2003 *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*. Norman Foster, director; Stephen F. Booth, producer; starring Joseph Cotton and Dick Foran. [No place]: Stephen F. Booth Productions and Program Power Entertainment, Inc. DVD. (Family Outdoor Adventure Classics.)  
Interactive DVD, with “bonus featurettes” and “exclusive DVD-ROM features for your PC or MAC”.

**Wills, John**

- 2003 “On burro’d time”: Feral burros, the Brighty legend, and the pursuit of wilderness in the Grand Canyon. *Journal of Arizona History*, 44(1) (Spring): cover, 1-24.  
2006 Brighty, donkeys, and conservation in the Grand Canyon. *Endeavour*, 30(3): 113-117.

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**“Brighty of the Grand Canyon”—A burro**

**Wilt, Miriam E.**

1954      In Marguerite Henry—the thread that runs so true. *Elementary English*, 31(7) (November): 387-395.

See pp. 393-394, remarks on *Brighty of the Grand Canyon*.

## Horses

(see also ["The Miniature Horse Hoax"](#))

### Anonymous

- 1884 Grand Canon of the Colorado. *Scientific American*, New Series, 51(9) (August 30): 130.  
"At the last meeting of the Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, Prof. Davidson spoke of his recent visit to the Grand Canon of the Colorado at a point 160 miles east of the Needles, on the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, which required only 21½ hours' time, and an expense of \$10 for **horses** and guide and 75 cents a meal. He saw vertical walls, 2,700 feet high, 6,200 feet above sea level, where the Colorado River was 190 feet deep, and cannot imagine anything grander than the effect of sunset shining on these walls, only 10° from vertical, composed of different colored rocks, red sandstone, and the black overhanging rocks. The temperature was 136° Fahrenheit." (entire item) (Professor Davidson is George Davidson, geographer.)
- 1905 Cage for passengers. *Railroad Men* (New York), 19(2) (November): 74.  
"A local machinery firm has turned out a 1,000-pound iron cage to be used in swinging passengers and **horses** across the river of the Grand Canon of the Colorado, near where the Santa Fé has built its fine hotel. The capacity is ten persons, or one horse.—*Salt Lake City Desert [sic] News*." (entire item) Pertains to the Rust cable near the foot of Bright Angel Trail.
- 1906 Cage for passengers. *In: Railway News [section]. The Railway Signal* (London), 26(1) (January): 9.  
"A local machinery firm has turned out a 1,000-pound iron cage to be used in swinging passengers and **horses** across the river of the Grand Canon of the Colorado, near where the Santa Fé has built a fine hotel. The capacity is ten persons, or one horse.—*Salt Lake City Desert [sic] News*." (entire item) Rust cable near the foot of Bright Angel Trail.
- 1907 Railroad into canyon. *Popular Mechanics*, 9(10) (October): 1102.  
"The Grand canyon [*sic*] of the Colorado is a mile deep, and down its wall-like side a rock railway will be built. It will probably be the steepest railroad in the world and will save passengers an all-day and dangerous trip on **horseback**. Its construction will be along lines of other rock roads already in operation." (entire item) (Cog railway?)
- 1908 Kanab, at the gateway of the Grand Canyon. *Deseret News*, (December 19): 97.  
Includes photo, "Grand Canyon Transportation Co. Tramway Across Colorado River at Bright Angel Trail, Connecting North Side of Grand Canyon With South Side and Santa Fear Hotel Eltooar." [*sic!*, Santa Fe Hotel El Tovar] and photo, "Camp Wooley at Bright Angel" (three men on **horses**, Kaibab Plateau).
- 1911 Heard at the Grand Canon. *In: Some Santa Fe Smiles [section]. Santa Fe Employes' Magazine*, 5(6) (May): 72.  
"Guide Sharkey" at Grand Canyon tells his tourists a humorous story of a **horse**, falling over the edge, that starved to death before reaching the bottom. Likely a John Hance tale.

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

- 1911 Pointers. *The Medical Council* (Philadelphia), 16(6) (June): 206.  
Includes note, "When you go to Los Angeles take in the Grand Canyon of Arizona on your way back. **Horseback** on the canyon trails will make you sore for a week."
- 1912 Grand Canyon conquered. B. L. Graves and Chester Lawrence drive a Ford to very edge of Colorado River in bottom of the earth's deepest wrinkle—**Horses** haul car back to civilization. *Motor Age*, 21(25) (June 20): 14-15.  
Events at Diamond Creek.
- 1914 On his wedding trip. A. H. Bartsch also found time to establish a score of Bosch service stations. *The Automobile Journal*, 37(4) (March 25): 32.  
"On the way [to Los Angeles] he stopped at the Grand Canon in Arizona, and was somewhat disappointed to find that only **horses** and burros were used in that vicinity, so that he was unable to establish a Bosch service station." (entire note)
- 1915 Outdoors captured for Continent readers. *The Continent* (New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia), 46(23) (June 10): 775-778, and "Keys to Scenic Views", p. 792.  
Photo collage. See p. 775, "Descending the Grand Canyon is easy with the help of sure-footed **horses**", which depicts a trail party coming *up* Bright Angel Trail.
- 1915 San Francisco meeting of the Mechanical Engineers. *American Machinist*, 43(14) (September 30): 605-606.  
American Society of Mechanical Engineers. See p. 605: "The route [to San Francisco included] the Grand Cañon, where some rode muleback or **horseback** down the Bright Angel trail, while others took the Hermit Run [*sic*] drive and the auto ride to Grand View." (entire note)
- 1916 Special train to the Arizona meeting. [and] Arizona meeting, September 18 to 24, 1916. *American Institute of Mining Engineers, Bulletin*, (114) (June): iii-v.  
Various itineraries include "Sunday, September 24, 1916.—Arrive at El Tovar, Grand Canyon, at 8.00 A.M. All day Sunday will be available to those members of the party who desire to take some of the famous **horseback** rides into the Grand Canyon or along the rim to various points of interest." (entire note)
- 1920 A vacation in southern Arizona. (By a traveler.) *Hide and Leather* (Chicago), 59(16) (April 17): 31, 33.  
"People spend days, or weeks, at the Canyon. They go on mules or burros to the bottom of it. They take **horses** or autos to points that give different views of the majestic scenes."
- 1921 [Fred Harvey sightseeing.] *In: Along the Trail* [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 15(10) (September): 58.  
"Fred Harvey maintains twenty-one large sight-seeing automobiles and ninety-five mules and **saddle horses** for the purpose of enabling visitors to get a faint idea of what the Grand Cañon is like." (entire note)
- 1923 Tremendous scenes in Fairbanks movie; so big they appalled director, who had to work up to them gradually. *Utah Payroll Builder*, 10(2) (February): 22.  
Regarding Douglas Fairbanks film on Robin Hood, but with the following quotation of director Allen Dwan, ". . . we felt much as we did when we went to the Grand Canyon several years ago to make scenes for 'The Modern Musketeer.' We didn't undertake to photograph the canyon at once—its magnitude appalled us. It was so vast, so big. So we played around the corrals for the first few

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

- days, photographing scenes featuring the **horses** and mules. Finally we got up courage enough to take a crack at the canyon." (entire note)
- 1928 Los Angeles dealer has close call from death. L. E. Fontron kicked by **horse** while on hunting trip . . . *Music Trade Review*, (November 3): 5.  
Accident occurs "when hunting in the Grand Canon". Unclear whether this pertains to Grand Canyon of Arizona (perhaps Kaibab Plateau?).
- 1940 "Old Bob" of Grand Canyon dies. *The New York Times*, (March 31): 20.  
Last of Grand Canyon's **stagecoach horses**, 36. (See also Anonymous, 2000.)
- 1947 They cover canyon. *In: Here and There on the Desert* [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 10(8) (June): 33.  
"Richfield—Ralph A. Badger and Harry Aleson have been seeing the Grand Canyon country. They drove from Richfield to Boulder City, Nevada and chartered a plane there. In the plane they flew to Hite, Utah, following the Colorado river, Lake Mead, Grand Canyon, Marble canyon and Glen canyon, flying more than 1000 miles. Back on the ground, they took a power boat from Pierce's Ferry 46 miles into the Grand Canyon, going up the Colorado during its spring flood. The pair then made a **horseback** trip into Havasu canyon for color pictures of Havasupai Indian life, and returned by auto to Utah." (entire item)
- 1951 Isolated tribe to modernize. *In: Here and There on the Desert* [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 14(6) (April): 25.  
"Grand Canyon—Two hundred Indians, living in Havasupai Canyon, are planning to adopt a paleface tourist lure. They are erecting a small group of cabins on their remote reservation to accommodate visitors. To reach them it is necessary to travel 60 miles over a poor road, then hike or ride **horseback** nine miles down a steep trail. Everything that goes in or comes out passes over this precarious trail. Tourist income last year was \$5000. It is hoped the cabins will increase the income. Dudley Manakacha, who has been chief since his father's death in 1942, died recently in Phoenix. A new chief will be elected.—*Gallup Independent & Tucson Daily Times*." (entire item)
- 1964 Healthier Indian mothers and babies. *Public Health Reports*, 79(6) (June): frontispiece, 468.  
See frontispiece, depicting a woman and baby, the legend for which reads: "A health station in Supai, Ariz., maintained by the Public Health Service, is visited twice a month by an Indian Health Service doctor and nurse stationed at an Indian health center at Peach Springs, Ariz. They ride the last 12 miles from the top of the canyon to its floor by **horseback**. In emergencies an Air Force helicopter takes the doctor or nurse to the canyon floor."
- 1973 See the USA. *Black Enterprise*, 3(10) (May): 25-27, 30.  
See p. 27, Grand Canyon, *in passing*, and photograph, "View from a **horse** and bridge of the Grand Canyon's natural beauty" (*i.e.*, view of mule rider from behind at one end of Kaibab Bridge; not a panoramic view).
- 1999 **Horse** camp status. *Uplift and Erosion* (Grand Canyon National Park General Management Plan Implementation Team newsletter), (February): 1.  
"We are currently considering the possibility of using a portion of the South Gate parking lot as a temporary location for the horse camp for this coming season." (entire note)

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

- 2000 Bob earns a holiday. *The Ol' Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Pioneers Society), 11(4) (October/December): 12.  
"Author unknown. Submitted by Sam Fenner to Jeanne Schick to be placed in the biography of her father, Ed Cummings." Reminiscence about Bob, the last of the stage **horses** on the rim drive tours, who had arrived from Colorado in 1917, aged six, who was retired to Phantom Ranch in 1927, where he remained at the time that this story was told. (See also Anonymous, 1940.)
- 2003 Take in area scenery on **horseback**. *In: Grand Canyon Tusayan Guide : Fall 2003*, p. 8.
- 2011 Arizona. *In: Tidbits* [section]. *American Profile*, (May 1-7): 12.  
Mangum family conducts mule and **horseback** trips on Grand Canyon North Rim.
- 2014 Resident of the month; Liz Worlds. *The Sentinel* (Center Ridge Health Campus, North Ridgeville, Ohio), (April): [unpaginated].  
Notes that she had met her husband, Clint, while he "was working as a guide at the Grand Canyon, taking people on **horseback** out on the trails."
- 2019 **Horses** and mules abused and overloaded for tourists' pleasure. *Humane News* (Associated Humane Societies, Newark, New Jersey), (August): 17.  
Havasupai Indian Reservation.
- 2021 This Month In History. *In: The Journal* [section]. *Arizona Highways*, 97(1) (January): 8.  
Includes: "On January 21, 1921, the Grand Canyon's Bright Angel Trail saw its first recorded serious accident. Three **packhorses** carrying supplies fell over a wall of the Canyon and were killed."

### Armstrong, Margaret

- 1912 Canyon and glacier. *Overland Monthly*, New Series, 59(2) (February): 95-104.  
See "Dripping Spring" (pp. 95-99), which is an account of four women riding **horses** down Hermit and Dripping Springs Trails, where they meet Louis Boucher in his lair, with whom they lunched.

### Bass, William Wallace

- 1909 *Rhymes and jingles*. Los Angeles: Arroyo Guild Press, 48 pp.  
A book of verses. See in "Come To Bass Camp", which includes "He has **horses**, mules and burros, / And you can walk or ride."

### Blanchard, R.

- 1907 Quand les femmes ont-elles cessé de monter à cheval à califourchon? [*transl.* 'When did women stop riding astride horses?']. *In: Correspondance Médico-Littéraire* [section]. *La Chronique Médicale* (Paris), 14(23) (December 1): 790. [In French.]  
Part of a series relating to the title question. In this note is the observation that women may rent split skirts to ride **horses** into the Grand Canyon.]

### Breed, Jack

- 1948 Ride a **horse** to Havasupai. *Arizona Highways*, 24(7) (July): 12-21.



## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### Carroll, Richard, and Carroll, Donna

- 1996 **Horseplay.** *Orange Coast* (Orange County, California), 22(8) (August): 72-74, 76-79.  
See "Bar Ten Ranch" (pp. 78-79).

### Carter, Frank

- 1902 The Grand Cañon of Arizona. *McGill University Magazine* (Montreal), 1(2) (April): 218-230.  
"A start is arranged for nine o'clock, and, clad in our oldest clothes, we mount the trusty **horses** that are to take us down. [. . .] An apparently trivial path, starting a yard or two west of the hotel, soon turns abruptly down, and one finds oneself zigzagging down an almost vertical slope. The guide goes first and shows one the way, a superfluous aid when the only alternatives are the track and instant destruction. [. . .] Here and there, it is true, at the turn of a zigzag, the rider gazes over into sheer space, and the habit, universal with all horses and mules, of preferring the outermost edge of the trail, does not tend to reassure; but in the main the eye is satisfied with the sight of a slope below, with rocks and scanty bushes. One feels that even if—if something were to happen—one would have after all a fighting chance for life; a faint chance, perhaps, when one takes into consideration the roughness and the intense steepness, but still a chance."

### Clark, Ann Nolan

- no date *Blue canyon horse.* (Illustrated by Allan Houser.) New York: Viking Press, 55 pp. ("Special Scott, Foresman and Company Edition for the Invitations to Personal Reading Program" [title-page]; "This edition is printed and distributed by Scott, Foresman, and Company by special arrangement with the Viking Press, Inc." [title-page verso], where the inclusion of a postal ZIP Code in Viking Press's address indicates a publication date of 1963 or after (1st is 1954). Front free flyleaf verso includes list of books, "Invitations to Personal Reading, Set B; Curriculum Foundation Classroom Library; Scott, Foresman and Company"; this title is there listed under "Realistic Stories".]  
Text is in verse. Although not indicated, it is apparent from the story line and illustrations that this story features a Havasupai boy and **horses** in Havasu Canyon.] [Young-reader title; fiction.]
- 1954 *Blue canyon horse.* (Illustrated by Allan Houser.) New York: Viking Press, 55 pp.  
Text is in verse. Although not indicated, it is apparent from the story line and illustrations that this story features a Havasupai boy and **horses** in Havasu Canyon.] [Young-reader title; fiction.]

### Cole, B. F.

- 1914 Auto Atoms [column]. *The American Chauffeur*, 2(12) (December): 864.  
See item: "Capt. Bass Forsakes Horse. Capt. W. W. ('Bill') Bass, Grand Canyon poet and guide, who has roamed Arizona since boyhood, aboard a **caiyuse**, is now Grand Canyon dealer in Studebaker cars." (entire note)

### Collins, Marian L. (ED.)

- 1958 [Rates for saddle **horses**, packing, camping, and cameras in Havasupai Reservation.] *The Supai Weekly News*, (March 26): 3.
- 1959 Return trip made. *The Supai News*, (July 2): 3.  
47 people arriving for a youth camp from the Faith Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles, came in "a big Greyhound Bus". "Due to telephone trouble they could not call in and they all hiked down [in] the hot sun"; and it took 47 **saddle horses** and 9 **pack horses** to get them out of the Canyon."

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Horses

#### Coues, Elliott (ED.)

- 1900 *On the trail of a Spanish pioneer : the diary and itinerary of Francisco Garcés (missionary priest) in his travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California[,] 1775-1776 : translated from an official contemporaneous copy of the original Spanish manuscript, and edited, with copious critical notes by Elliott Coues.* New York: Francis P. Harper, 2 volumes, pp. 1-312, 313-608. (American Explorers Series, III.)

For Grand Canyon, see Volume II. For the time when Garcés passed along the southern side of Grand Canyon, see Chapter VIII, "From Mojave to Moqui, June, 1776" (pp. 313-360). (Coues' footnotes often far exceed the space given to the translation of Garcés—often just two or three lines of diary and the rest of the page notes—thus the peculiarly long stretch of page numbers cited for the diary quotations made here.) Garcés spent five days with the Havasupai; his diary mostly describes the people and their living conditions, but concludes on leaving Cataract Canyon (Coues' translation): "June 25. I set forth accompanied by five Indians, and traveled two leagues south and east, now on **horseback**, now on foot, but in both these ways with great exertion, and halted on the slope of the sierra at a scanty aguage."

(It was, incidentally, during this part of the trip during which he records the first non-Native name for the Grand Canyon. "June 26. I traveled four leagues southeast, and south, and turning to the east; and halted at the sight of the most profound caxones which ever onward continue (*que aun todavia siguen*); and within these flows the Rio Colorado. There is seen (*vése*) 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 Bucaréli, 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 east-northeast. Also were there seen on the north some smokes, which my companions said were those of the Indians whom they name Payuches, 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.")

#### Curie, Ève

- 1937 *Madame Curie.* Paris: Gallimard NRF, 311 pp. [Very numerous later printings.] [In French.]

Ève Curie's biography of her mother, Marie Curie, has been very widely reprinted and translated (the original text is in French). There is but one brief passage that relates to Marie Curie's 1921 visit to Grand Canyon with her daughters, Irène (aged 23) and Ève (16), and of the daughters' **horseback** ride on the rim and mule ride to the Colorado River.

- 1937 *Madame Curie : a biography by Eve Curie.* (Vincent Sheean, translator.) Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 412 pp. [Later printings.]

See pp. 333-334, brief remarks regarding Mme. Marie Curie's 1921 visit to Grand Canyon with her daughters, Irène (aged 23) and Ève (16), and of the daughters' **horseback** ride on the rim and mule ride to the Colorado River.

#### Dixon, Winifred H.

- 1921 *Westward hoboos : ups and downs of frontier motoring.* (Photographs by Katherine Thaxter and Rollin Lester Dixon.) New York: Scribner's Sons, 377 pp. [Also later printings, 1924, 1928, 1930.]

From Boston to the West in a Cadillac Eight. See Chapter 16, "The Grand Canyon and the Havasupai Canyon" (pp. 220-233). "Sometimes our **horses** balked, and had to be pulled forward by the bridle, the more nervous becoming panicky, and trying to turn back. It takes a bad trail to make a Western broncho do that. Frequently we had to dismount, and avoiding their hoofs, urge them to leap obstructing boulders." (Dixon also went to Grand Canyon village; see under "Burros" herein.)

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### Eagle, Chris

- 2019 **Packhorse** purgatory. *Iperstoria* (Università di Verona, Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere), (13) (Spring/Summer): 142-155.  
Havasupai. Item is in English and includes interviews with Havasupai people.

### Farnsworth, Janet Webb

- 2011 North Rim ride: Seeing the Grand Canyon from the back of a **horse**. *In: Farnsworth, Janet Webb, and Heath, Bernadette, Grandma needs a four-wheel drive : adventure travel for seniors.* Tucson: Wheatmark, pp. 27-30.

### Farnsworth, Janet, and Heath, Bernadette

- 2001 North Rim ride; seeing the Grand Canyon from the back of a **horse**. *Arizona Highways*, 77(11) (November): 12-17.

### Franklin, Jodie

- 2014 Copper State Trail Riders' top picks for **horseback** riding and camping on the Arizona Trail. *Arizona Trail News* (Arizona Trail Association, Phoenix), 22(2) (Summer): 6-7.  
See "Passage 37; Kaibab National Forest" (pp. 6-7), relating in part to Grand Canyon South Rim.

### Fred Harvey [firm]

- no date *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Camp.* Detroit Publishing Co., 12 pp. [Ca. 1910; internal photo copyrights 1905-1909; other editions follow.]  
Price and tour guide for rim trips.
- no date *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Camp.* El Tovar Studio, 15 pp.
- 1910 *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Camp.* [No imprint], 16 pp. [March, 1910.]
- 1910 *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Camp.* [No imprint], 20 pp. [September, 1910.]
- 1912 *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Camp.* Chicago: Henry O. Shepard Co., 24 pp. [January, 1912.]
- 1913 *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Camp.* [No imprint], 8 pp., fold-out. [October 15, 1913.]
- 1914 *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Camp.* Kansas City, Missouri: La Rue Printing Co., 24 pp. [January, 1914.]
- [c. 1915] *Trails, drives and saddle horses: El Tovar Hotel and Bright Angel Cottages.* [No imprint], 12 pp., fold-out

NOTE: Later printings seem to omit the notation about saddle horses.

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### George Kleine [firm]

- 1910 *Catalogue of educational motion picture films : licensed by Motion Picture Patents Co.* Chicago and New York: George Kleine, 336 pp. (Printed by Bentley, Murray and Co., Chicago.)

A typewritten note in the copy in the New York Public Library reads, "this is the first catalog of educational motion pictures ever published." The catalog lists films that are available on lease to schools, theaters and other parties.] [See p. 65, film no. 6608: "Stage Leaving Hoppi (*sic*) House and Panorama of Grand Canyon. Approximate Length, 150 feet." Description reads: "Within a stone's throw of the sheer wall of the canyon, the Hoppi House is located, an irregular stone and adobe structure built to resemble an Indian pueblo in miniature and from which point the start is usually made to Bright Angel Trail and the descent to the bottom. [¶] Our first picture shows a Hoppi Indian buck, squaw and papoose in the quaint garb of their tribe and changes to a very animated picture in which a **4-horse coach** is loading with passengers leaving for Bright Angel Trail. On the way a panorama of the canyon walls is unfolded to view before the audience. A stupendous picture that lies wholly beneath the eye as if the spectator stood upon a mountain peak instead of the level brink of a fearful chasm in the plateau whose opposite shore is 13 miles away." (entire note) Page 333 (General Alphabetical Index) correctly spells "Hopi House" in the title, where also is noted the lease price of the film at \$19.50.]

### Gibson, Susana

- 2011 Riding the Canyon. *Trail Blazer* (Prescott Valley, Arizona), 33(5) (June): 72-.  
Rim-to-rim solo ride on **horseback**.

### Gurrisi, Tiziana

- 2014 Razze Americane Missouri Fox Trotter [*transl.* 'American Missouri Fox Trotter breeds']. *Italian Stock Horse Association, News Magazine* (Bagnolo Mella, Italy), (2) (November): 32-34. [English serial title and organizational name, thus. All articles in Italian.]  
See p. 34: "Questa razza è stata usata per fare la prima discesa del bordo nord del Grand Canyon." (entire note) (*transl.* 'This breed was used to make the first descent of the north rim of the Grand Canyon.')

### Haker, Ute

- 1997 *Saddle up! A guide to planning the perfect **horseback** vacation.* Santa Fe, New Mexico: John Muir Publications, 249 pp.  
See pp. 9, 98-105.

### Henderson, Emery

- 1971 The Grand Canyon rim to rim on a **Morgan horse**. *Morgan Horse Magazine*, 31(6) (July): cover, 6, 19-21.

### Holmes, Burton

- 1914 *Burton Holmes travelogues : with illustrations from photographs by the author. Volume Twelve.* Chicago: The Travelogue Bureau, 341 pp.  
Two canyon expeditions for the price of one—the first harkens back to a trip he took to Hance's in 1898. The volume is a collation of Holmes's very popular and well attended illustrated lectures of his tours of the world. See exhaustively, and profusely illustrated, "The Grand Cañon" (pp. 113-224), which does bring his text and illustrations up to date in the presence of the railroad and El Tovar. On Hance's trail: "Like Dante, we begin our wanderings in an obscure savage wood; but unlike Dante we are mounted—not on the winged horses of the Muses, but—on the mules and the

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

burros of good old Captain Hance, who in our case replaces Virgil as guide. [. . .] Then Captain Hance rounds up the animals, saddles the **horses**, packs the mules, and we begin our skyward journey."

### James, George Wharton

1911 Down the Topocoby Trail. *Wide World Magazine* (London), 7(37) (April): 75-79.

On this adventure in Havasu Canyon, James writes of his party: "Up and down these awful places they fearlessly ride. And up and down them we must walk, or slip, or slide, leading our **horses** or letting them go on ahead, our provisions and bedding packed on the backs of the patient, sturdy, plucky, and wise little burros, or donkeys . . . ."

### Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, Mary Commandery No. 36

1904 *Pilgrimage of Mary Commandery No. 36, Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, to the Twenty-Ninth Triennial Conclave of the Grand Encampment U.S. at San Francisco, Cal.* Philadelphia: [Knights Templar of Pennsylvania, Mary Commandery No. 36], 190 pp. (Cover title: *From geyser to canon with Mary.*) (Made by Thomson Printing Company, 310 Cherry Street, Philadelphia.)

This book is a complete diary, August 22-September 22, 1904, from Philadelphia and return, by rail. See during the return trip, one day at Grand Canyon, September 14 (pp. 143-149). "Many of [the pilgrims] were disappointed that we had not been long enough here to make the descent into the canon on **horseback** or astraddle of a burro. But it is an all day journey, and our schedule of course would not permit of lying over for another day."

### Kramer, Kelly Vaughn

2009 Mane courses. *Arizona Highways*, 85(2) (February): 38-43.

Travel by **horse**. See "North Kaibab Trail, Grand Canyon" (p. 41).

### Kuhns, Stacy

2011 Hi guys. *Tails From the Trail* (Redshank Riders Monthly Newsletter) (Backcountry Horsemen of California, Redshank Riders, Aguanga, California), (12) (December): 1-2.

See p. 1, regarding proposed new stock use plan at Grand Canyon National Park.

### Lanza, Michael

2007 Lost trails. *Backpacker*, (June): 64-70, 72.

See "**Horsethief Trail**, Grand Canyon National Park, AZ", p. 68.

### Laycock, George

1983 The biggest deer drive ever: Fifty-five cowboys on **horseback** and 70 Navajo braves on foot set out to drive 10,000 deer off the Kaibab, across the Grand Canyon, through the Colorado River and onto the South Rim. *Outdoor Life*, 172 (October): 60-61, 96-97.

### Leal, Melba

2011 Public lands. *Mother Lode Unit Matters* (Backcountry Horsemen of California, Mother Lode Unit, Elk Grove, California), 13(6) (November/December): 1-3.

See p. 2, regarding proposed new stock use plan at Grand Canyon National Park.

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### Liestman, Linda

- 1996 Does **horseback** riding provide exercise and physical conditioning benefits? *North American Horsemen's Association, Yearbook of News*, 1996: 48-52.

Regarding NAHA Conference presentation by Michael C. Meyers. During the question period (pp. 51-52), note a question from Ron Clayton, Grand Canyon mule rides manager, pertaining to "fitness or conditioning benefit of English vs Western riding [equipment]". Meyers responded that this is under study, but "thus far no differences could be seen." (no further elaboration)

### Lindau, Paul

- 1885 *Aus der Neuen Welt. Briefe aus dem Osten und Westen der Vereinigten Staaten.* [transl. 'From the New World. Letters from the eastern and western United States.']. Berlin: Verlag von Ferdinand Salomon, 385 pp. [In German.]

See Chapter 19, "Das „Grand Cañon of the Colorado“ in Arizona" (pp. 286-306); a party of Germans is with a group of thirteen men, interestingly including an advance man of the Santa Fe Railway, visiting the canyon at Peach Springs. *In translation here:* "For our transport there were at Peach Spring two wagons drawn by four mules each, two small, strong **horses** accustomed to climbing, and two mules. Those who were best acquainted with mules and horses and who hoped to be the easiest to manage on the path, which had been described to us as rather difficult, were put on horseback. They were the two German-Americans Udo Brachvogel and Friedrich Hess, Dr. Oswalt, lawyer in Frankfurt am Main, and Richard Oberländer from Leipzig, a very heavy, portly gentleman, who had worked as a mounted policeman in Australia for a long time in his adventurous youth."

### Live Stock Sanitary Board of Arizona

- 1908 *Brands and marks of cattle, horses, sheep, goats and hogs : as they appear of record in the office of the Live Stock Sanitary Board of Arizona at Phoenix, Arizona.* Phoenix: Press of the McNeil Co., 399 pp. ("This volume includes all brands and marks recorded to July 13, 1908".)

Of note: Allen Akabu, Supai (p. 53); P. D. Berry and Mrs. M. J. Thompson, Williams (p. 54); Jesse Chickaponya, Supai (p. 62); Arthur Kooska, Supai (p. 74); Hance Asbestos Mining Co., Grand Canyon (p. 91); Ed. Gale, N. J. Cameron, P. D. Berry and R. H. Cameron, Flagstaff (p. 123); Bert Wes-ca-ga-me, Supai (p. 123); Le-no-man Sinilla, Supai (p. 123); Mexican Jack, Supai (p. 132); Panahameta, Supai (p. 153); Prince-Wodo, Supai (p. 153); Fred Harvey, Grand Canyon (p. 182); George Yumthska, Supai (p. 220); W. W. Bass, Williams (p. 271). Others will likely be of interest to users; volume is indexed.

### Lloyd, Elizabeth

- 1906 Down the Grand Canyon. *Scattered Seeds* (First-day School Association of Philadelphia), 38(3) (March): 58-59.

"After breakfast in the morning I went to the starting place and saw more than a dozen animals saddled. The guide looked at me and concluded I was old enough to be handled carefully, so he summoned a sedate black mule named Rebecca, that had had twenty years' experience in mountain climbing. There were two ladies besides myself in the party and the guide put us in front next to him. [ . . . ] We had gone but a few hundred feet when the lady from Pittsburg, who rode between me and the guide, screamed. The guide turned his head to see what was the matter, and quick as a flash his **horse**, which had never been down the trail before, wheeled round in the narrow path. This made the lady's mule back against Rebecca's nose, and Rebecca unconcernedly turned half way round and poked her nose out over the chasm below; I did not feel so unconcerned as she did, and the guide finally lifted her off and deposited her on a rock beside the path. But we could not turn around on that narrow trail, and finally, when the guide assured her that nobody

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

ever had been seriously hurt going down, and promised to send his horse on ahead and lead her mule, she consented to get on again."

### Lyman, Lauren D.

1936 Score charlatans in archaeology. Prof. Tozzer, Dr. Kidder warn historians one stone tool does not make a culture. Tut-Ankh-Amen blamed. Providence session also gets a picture of how WPA is helping work of the archivists. *The New York Times*, (December 30): 9.

Includes note *in passing*, "Workers in Arizona had to ride on **horseback** thirty miles through the Grand Canyon to survey the records of the Supai Indian reservation."

### Matthes, François E.

1927 Breaking a trail through Bright Angel Canyon. *Grand Canyon Nature Notes*, 2(6) (November): 1-4. This is topographer Matthes' story of blazing the trail through Bright Angel Canyon during the 1902-1903 topographical survey of the eastern Grand Canyon, conducted by Matthes, which produced the first larger-scale maps of that part of the canyon. But first, the survey party struggles across the canyon on the Bass trails. "The crossing was known to be dangerous; the Bass Trail was merely a burro trail, still unfinished at the lower end, and the Shinumo Trail was little more than a faint track seldom used. Yet this was the route we finally selected." On the descent of Bright Angel Canyon: "On the very day when we started to examine this route, by a remarkable coincidence, there emerged from the head of Bright Angel Canyon two haggard men and a weary burro. These men, Sidney Ferrall and Jim Murray, had explored up through the Canyon and finally had fought their way up along the fault zone. At once the prospects of the return of the survey party by this new route became brighter. However, it did not follow that where a small burro was boosted up, a pack train of heavily loaded **horses** and mules can come down in safety. Two of the party, therefore, set themselves the task of cutting out brush and rolling out logs and boulders, so as to make a reasonably clear way for the pack train. And this work they carried all the way down to the mouth of the Canyon."

### McNeice, Renwick

1969 [Early travel to Grand Canyon.] *From*: Wuerth, Gustav C., '07. *In*: Class Notes [section]. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 70(5) (October 21): 22.

Wuerth quotes reminiscences of McNeice, regarding a trip to the North Rim of Grand Canyon by wagon in 1912 (*in passing*) and in 1914 a one-month trip by **horseback** that culminated descending "Bright Angel Trail" (*i.e.*, Old Bright Angel Trail, down Bright Angel Creek to the Colorado River).

### McRae, Noel

1993 Trail user etiquette. What are the rules for "correct" mountain manners? *The Backcountry Llama* (Kelso, Washington), 7(1) (February): 6-8.

See p. 7, reference to the principle that "all users will defer to stock", but also etiquette for bridge crossings, yielding to those already on the bridge. "My wife was exhausted and mostly across the bridge at the bottom of the Grand Canyon when a **horse** packer entered and forced her to turn around and go back and squeeze against the trail wall to allow his pack stock past." (entire note)

### Mortimer, John F.

1942 Grand Canyon tourists linger. War restrictions encourage the visitors to stay at national park, where **horseback** trips and "explorations" are much in demand. *The New York Times*, (July 19) (Section 9): 1.

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### Nelson, John, and Zauberis, Larry

- 2011 Beyond the Grand Canyon. *Highline* (Four Corners Back Country Horsemen, Durango, Colorado), 17(11) (November/December): 7.

Regarding proposed new stock use plan at Grand Canyon National Park.

### Newhouse, Eric

- 2008 Crew remembers MacDonald as "inspiring firefighter". *Smoke Signals* (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Interagency Fire Center, Boise, Idaho), 10 (July): 1-3.

Reprinted from the *Great Falls Tribune*, commemorating the life of Michael James MacDonald, a Blackfeet tribal member and Chief Mountain Hot Shot firefighter, who died in a medevac helicopter accident after "fighting a huge fire on the edge of the Grand Canyon." (p. 2). "Maurice St. Goddard said MacDonald drew pictures of **horses** on his leather gloves and made up a story about how the Blackfeet Tribe had stolen the horses from the Spanish and driven them across the Grand Canyon." (p. 2). (entire notes)

### Noonan, Meg Lukens

- 1996 **Horseback** riding; the Grand Canyon. *Outside* (January): 72.

Trip announcement.

### Olcott, Charles S.

- 1914 *The lure of the camera*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. (The Riverside Press, Cambridge), 296 pp.

See Chapter 10, "The Grand Cañon of Arizona" (pp. 273-296), regarding a visit to the canyon in 1903. "There were seven of us, including the guide, as we started down the long and crooked path. The guide rode a white **horse**, but the rest of the party were mounted, like myself, on big, sturdy mules—none of your little, lazy burros, as most people imagine."

### Orr, H. Nelson

- 1910 A hike through the Grand Canyon of Arizona. *The Bur* (Chicago College of Dental Surgery, Alumni Association), 15(1) (January): 2-8, (2) (March): 39-46, (3) (May): 63-68, (4) (July): 95-107. [Seen also as a separately paginated offprint, 32 pp.]

This series recounts a cross-canyon trip in 1909 on the Bass trails by a party of three, followed by a tour of the Arizona Strip and the vicinity of Kanab, Utah, before returning to the South Rim.

"Old Jim, the **horse** that Harry rode, was a character. John, one of Bass' men, traded a gun to an Indian: for him. He had one good eye and a hole where the other ought to be; one good hip and a dimple where the other had been. He was as wise as a burro and had many of the traits and characteristics of the Indian and some of his own, one especially of being able to vanish at will almost any time or place he wanted to,—just hobble him and turn him loose with a bell on his neck and when you wanted him you might pass him in the brush ten feet away and he would not move or ring that bell until you were too far away to hear it. Sometimes we would find him on the mountain side leaning up against a boulder and you might pass on the other side of it and never see him. He was a good old horse for our trip as he could get along without water like a camel, and would rather browse on dead leaves and brush than have the best grass in the country."

(There is much more written about the burros of the trip; see in the "Burros" section herein.)



## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### O'Shaughnessy, Thomas J. H.

- 1915 *Rambles on overland trails*. Chicago: "Privately Printed", 125 pp. (Printed by The Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Co.)

Down to the depths of the canyon, there are many narrow trails, on which the bottom of the canyon may be reached by **pony** or burro, which are kept there for the benefit of tourists.

### Philibeck, Melissa

- 2010 Little house in the Verde Valley. *The Ranger Review* (U.S. National Park Service, Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, and Tuzigoot National Monuments), (6) (August 15): 1.

Regarding William B. Back at Montezuma Well; notes that "He would also board the **horses** and mules from the Grand Canyon and camps for the winter." (entire note)

### Pomroy, Karen

- 2018 To the rescue. The good, the bad and the ugly: The truth behind Grand Canyon's Havasupai Falls. *Natural Horse Magazine* (Talking Horse Publishing, Prescott, Arizona), 20(3) (July/September): 50-54.

Independent investigation by Equine Voices, at request of Stop Animal Violence, of animal abuse on Havasupai Indian Reservation.

- 2018 The good, bad, and the ugly; the truth behind the Grand Canyon's Havasupai Falls. *The Heart of Oro Valley* (n2 Publishing [Neighborhood Networks Publishing, Inc.], Tucson, Arizona), (October): 10-11.

Independent investigation by Equine Voices, at request of Stop Animal Violence, of animal abuse on Havasupai Indian Reservation.

### Santa Fe Railway

- [1920s] *Saddle horse trips along the rim of Grand Canyon*. [No imprint], 12 pp., fold-out.

### Save Havasupai Horses *see also* Stop Animal Violence (SAVE)

- 2019 *Long term systemic abuse of horses and pack animals on the Havasupai Reservation : March 2019*. [No place]: Save Havasupai Horses, [31] pp.

### Simpson, William Haskell

- 1906 The aerial cable bridge across the Colorado River. *In*: Letters to the Editor [section]. *Engineering News*, 55(18) (May 3): 501.

"Referring to the editorial note in *Engineering News* of April 19 (p. 447) we will say that on again reading our news sheet you will note that the cable is to be stretched from *bank to bank across the granite gorge* of the Colorado River, and not from rim to rim of the Canyon itself. The Grand Canyon may be likened to a deep trough—the river runs through the bottom of the trough in a narrow gorge, through the granite, about 1,000 ft. deep and from 300 to 400 ft. wide. [¶] In using this aerial ferry, the tourist will go down Bright Angel trail from the hotel, eight miles on **horse back** to the top of the granite wall, take the cable across about 400 ft. and then ascend the north wall about twelve miles. Of course a cable, stretched 18 miles from rim to rim would be impossible and absurd." (entire item) (Pertains to the item about the Santa Fe's proposed cableway that was noted in the April 19 issue.)

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### Smith, Dama Margaret

1923      Going down "Bright Angel". *Good Housekeeping*, 76(6) (June): 30-31, 181-185.

Not only is this not a tourist's report of affairs, but Mrs. Smith's "privileged" position as the wife of Grand Canyon National Park's Chief Ranger allows her to pen a pleasant diversion from the usual sort of trip report made by legions of tourists who were bent on "really seeing" the canyon; and it includes a few historical notes that surely would not have shown up if a guided tourist had written it. Despite the article's title, her route is not "just" down Bright Angel Trail, but it crosses the Tonto Plateau to drop down to the original Kaibab Bridge, then on up to the North Rim—a rare review of ascending the Old Bright Angel Trail that also is not a usual tourist's jaunt—and some ramblings on the north side.

"And the bridge! [The suspension bridge over the Colorado River.] Picture to yourself a four-foot wooden road four hundred and twenty feet long, fenced with wire and slung on steel cables fifty feet above a rushing, muddy river, and you will see what I was supposed to cross on. My **horse** stopped suddenly, planted himself securely—and looked. I did likewise. [¶] 'Those cables look light,' I said, seeking some excuse to stay right where I was. [¶] But the Chief calmly informed me that they were 'heavy enough.' I presumed he should know, having helped to carry them down that twelve-mile trail. Only pride prevented me from climbing back up the homeward trail like a fly up a wall. The Chief rode serenely across, never doubting my close attendance at his horse's heels. Telling myself that this was the only bridge for a distance of three hundred miles, I spoke firmly to 'Supai Bob.' No results. I coaxed. I pulled. I pushed. I spanked with a board. Bob had made up our minds to remain there. Right there and then I formed a high regard for that horse's sound judgment and will power. [¶] At last the Chief looked back and saw my predicament. He turned his horse loose to continue across and came back to me. 'What's the matter?' Just as if he couldn't well see! 'Speak to him in Supai, and he will understand.' (This was a horse borrowed from our Supai Indian friend, for the occasion.) 'Speak to him yourself,' I said, and stalked on to that swaying horror. I haven't learned the details of the conversation, but a clatter of hoofs sounded behind me, and Bob securely anchored his nose on my shoulder, to remain there until terra firma was regained. On the return trip he seemed to have no fear and walked on to the bridge without hesitation."

### Snow, Stanley

1916      Recreation Places [section]. *Recreation*, New Series, 55(2) (August): 51.

Includes: "Of the many readers of this department, few of those who think of visiting the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in Arizona ever contemplate a hunting trip in the same connection. Yet a fine trip may be had simply by outfitting at El Tovar Hotel at Grand Canyon and heading for the north rim of the canyon in Utah [*sic*]. A very few hunting parties come into that country from the north, a long and hard trip, and comparatively few go in from Grand Canyon, but there is quite good deer and mountain lion hunting. Rates for the trip run from \$10 a day for one sportsman and \$3 a day for each additional one, to \$14 and \$8. These rates cover necessary **horses** and one guide and complete equipment; provisions are extra." (entire note)

### Stafford, "Check"

1935      The Latch String [column]. *Stand By* (Prairie Farmer Publishing Co., Chicago), 1(34) (October 5): 8.

See photo and legend, "Tumble Weed and Tonto. Howdy pardners. Meet Tumble Weed, singing cowpuncher from the Soda Springs Ranch near Rimrock, Ariz. He's being heard regularly on the National Barn Dance and daily programs. That little ditch behind Tumble Weed and his **horse** Tonto is known as the Grand Canyon." Relates to Stanley Leland Weed.

## Miles and Miles of Mules Horses

### **Stop Animal Violence (SAVE)** *see also* Save Havasupai Horses

- [c. 2017] *Guidelines for the minimum standard of care and use for **horses**/mules/donkeys (all equids) living in Supai, AZ.* [No place]: Stop Animal Violence (SAVE), [1], iii, 10 pp.
- 2018 *Long term systemic abuse of **horses** and pack animals on the Havasupai Reservation.* [No place]: Stop Animal Violence Foundation, [39] pp.

### **Tackman, Gary, and Kida, Jeff**

- 2018 Q&A: Gary Tackman. *In: The Journal* [section]. *Arizona Highways*, 94(10) (October): 12-13.  
Interview with Tackman, regarding a photo taken July 1979 showing a Havasupai man riding a **horse** through the Havasu Falls plunge pool.

### **Turley, Kylie Nielson**

- 2005 Kanab's all woman town council, 1912-1914: Politics, power struggles, and polygamy. *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 73(4) (Fall): 308-328.  
See photos (which have no text discussions), "Mary Chamberlain with **horses** on the 1905 Sutherland-Howell trip to the Grand Canyon" (p. 321), and "The Sutherland-Howell trip to the Grand Canyon in 1905" (p. 323; camp scene with Edwin D. Wooley, Joseph Howell, and Mary Chamberlain).

### **U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park**

- 1975 *Information for **horse** trips into the Grand Canyon.* [U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park], 2 pp. [Information sheet.]

### **Vaughn, Jacqueline**

- 2016 Rez dog problem remains unresolved. *Flagstaff-Sedona Dog* (Prescott, Arizona), (February/March): cover, 13-15.  
See p. 14, notes *in passing* to the Wildhorse Ranch's Gilbert, Arizona, programs to rescue dogs and **horses** from the Havasupai Indian Reservation.

### **Winship, George P.**

- 1896 Translations of the Relacion del Suceso. Account of what Happened on the Journey which Francisco Vazques made to Discover Cibola. *In: Winship, George P., The Coronado expedition, 1540-1542. U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report, Part 1*, pp. 572-579.  
The 1540 Spanish encounter with the Grand Canyon is most widely known through the narrative written by Pedro de Castañeda, of Najera, which Winship published in this volume on pp. 470-546 (Grand Canyon appears on pp. 489-490), but there is no mention in that brief passage of the horses they rode. Instead refer to this translation of the anonymously written "Relacion del Suceso", which while much more abbreviated than Castañeda's account, includes this brief note: "Having gone 50 leagues west of Tuzan, and 80 from Cibola, he [Cárdenas] found the edge of a river down which it was impossible to find a path for a **horse** in any direction, or even for a man on foot, except in one very difficult place, where there was a descent for almost 2 leagues."

### **Witham, E.**

- 1987 Treating the **horses** of the Havasupai. *Equine Practice*, 9(2): 30, 32-35.

**Miles and Miles of Mules  
Horses**

**Yager, Michael C.**

2004     **Horse** *trails of Arizona : mountain trails and camps.* Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Books.

## “The Miniature Horse Hoax”

### Anonymous

- 1940 Says **dwarf horses** roam hidden valley. Cattleman reports 90-pound animals in Grand Canyon. *The New York Times*, (May 12): 12.
- United Press report. “Les Clayton, veteran Arizona cattleman, said today that he had confirmed a long-persistent story that a herd of ‘dwarf horses’ was roaming the floor of an almost inaccessible valley in the depths of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River.” They had been found by “Jack Tooker, an engineer,” who had used a block and tackle to lower him and his party down the sheer walls, finding about 50 horses and retrieving two.
- 1946 Those **tiny horses**. *In*: Here and There on the Desert [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 10(2) (December): 25.
- “Grand Canyon—Miniature horses exhibited as having come from Grand Canyon where they were dwarfed for lack of feed, have never been near Grand Canyon, according to statement of Superintendent H. C. Bryant in a recent interview. ‘The horse which have been exhibited as coming from Grand Canyon have their origin probably in Shetland stock secured from a ranch in Mexico,’ Bryant said. The superintendent suggested that newspapermen could render a service to the public by refusing to be a party to the **miniature horse hoax**.” (entire item)
- 2003 Olo-oqlace. *Boatman’s Quarterly Review*, 16(1) (Spring): 48.
- “**Miniature horses**” of the Grand Canyon.

### Arment, Chad, and Sucik, Nick

- 2002 **Dwarf horses** of the Grand Canyon. *North American BioForteian Review*, 4(2) (9) (December): [78]-[80].

### Armer, Laura Adams

- 1960 Tony the pony. *Desert Magazine*, 23(8) (August): 12-13.
- This “is the fifth in a series of articles by Mrs. Armer telling of her experiences in the land of the Navajos. This episode occurred in 1925.” Includes photo (p. 12) with legend that repeats text from p. 13): “He [Mr. Armer] had been in Grand Canyon at the time certain very small ponies were found there. He photographed the finder and the ponies on the north bank of the canyon.” Photograph depicts man with pony wrapped around his shoulders, standing on edge of North Rim. Article does not discuss further. (**Miniature horses**, so-called.) (See also Pepper, 1967.)

### Burak, Gale

- 1990 [“**Pygmy horses**” from Grand Canyon.] *Grand Canyon Pioneers Society* [newsletter], (February): 4-5. [NOTE: This issue predates the enumerated issues of the *Grand Canyon Pioneers Society Newsletter*.]
- Regarding the so-called “miniature horses” of Havasu Canyon.

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**“The Miniature Horse Hoax”**

**Charlton Comics Group**

1958      The canyon of the **little horses**. *Black Fury*, (16) (November): 5 pp. [separately paginated item within the issue]. (Steve Ditko, illustrator.) [Also note a CreateSpace on-demand reprint of the full issue, 2015.]

Young-reader fiction; starring Black Fury, the wonder horse. Regarding an Anglo hunter’s pursuit of putative “miniature horses” known to the “Supai Indians” of Grand Canyon.

**Clayton, Dorothy**

1967      From the little horse’s mouth. *In: Letters and Answers* [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 30(12) (December): 43.

In response to Choral Pepper’s article on the so-called “**miniature horses**” said to be from Grand Canyon, in the May issue. Includes editor’s comment.

**Franse, H. G.**

1938      **Vest-pocket horses**. *Arizona Highways*, 14(10) (October): 18-19.

**Lauzon, Hubert F.**

1990      [“**Pygmy horses**” from Grand Canyon.] *Grand Canyon Pioneers Society* [newsletter], (February): 5. [NOTE: This issue predates the enumerated issues of the *Grand Canyon Pioneers Society Newsletter*.]

Regarding the so-called “miniature horses” of Havasu Canyon.

**Modgling, Roy L.**

1967      **Little horses**. *In: Letters From Our Readers* [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 30(9) (September): 43.

In response to Choral Pepper’s article in the May issue (Pepper, 1967) on the so-called “miniature horses” said to be from Grand Canyon. Includes photograph.

**Pepper, Choral**

1967      A little bit of fact about a little bit of horse. *Desert Magazine*, 30(5) (May): 10-11.

[Regarding “**miniature horses**” said to be from Grand Canyon. Notes the earlier article in *Desert Magazine* by Laura Adams Armer, 23(8) (August 1960): 12-13. See also letters from Myrtle Rees, (6) (June): 43; Roy L. Modgling, (9) (September): 43; and Dorothy Clayton, (12) (December): 43.

**Rees, Myrtle**

1967      Wee folk for wee horses. *In: Letters From Our Readers* [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 30(6) (June): 43.

In response to Choral Pepper’s article on the so-called “**miniature horses**” said to be from Grand Canyon, in the May issue (Pepper, 1967).

**Ritter, Ernest W.**

no date      *The canyon of midget horses*. Pasadena, California: Ernest W. Ritter, [7] pp. [including wraps]. [Ca. 1940-1950.]

**Suran, Bill**

1993      **The little horses**. *Grand Canyon Pioneers Society, Newsletter*, 4(5): 4.

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**“The Miniature Horse Hoax”**

**Tooker, Jack**

- 2003 Canyon of the **little horses**. *North American BioFortean Review*, 5(2) (11) (July): 45-47.  
Reprinted from the *American Weekly Magazine* in the *San Francisco Examiner*, Sunday, February 25, 1940, pp. 8-9.

**Werhan, Ron**

- 1990 [“**Pygmy horses**” from Grand Canyon.] *Grand Canyon Pioneers Society* [newsletter], (February): 2-4. [NOTE: This issue predates the enumerated issues of the *Grand Canyon Pioneers Society Newsletter*.]  
Recollections gathered from various sources regarding the so-called “miniature horses” of Havasu Canyon. Followed by signed remarks from: Gale Burak and Hubert F. Lauzon, pp. 4-5.





## Feral Equids

### Anonymous

- 1901 Kanab [news]. Mustang hunting. Ranchmen engaged in rounding-up the wild horses of the plains. *Deseret News*, (October 16): 7 [issue pagination]. (From New York *Evening Sun*.)  
Brief item of ranchmen of northwestern Arizona, southwestern Utah, and Nevada gathering at Pipe Spring for a **wild-mustang** hunt in the region.]
- 1911 [Notice of *The Young Lion Hunter* by Zane Grey.] *In*: Wild Life at Home and Abroad [section]. *The Christian Advocate* (New York), (December 7): 9 [and concurrently paginated for volume, 1657].  
"Zane Grey, one of the best of the recent writers for boys, brings together in *The Young Lion Hunter* boy heroes, Indians and greasers and carries them through diversified experiences with each other and with mountain lions and **wild horses** in the Grand Cañon country of Colorado [sic]."
- 1916 [**Feral burros** in Grand Canyon.] *In*: Forest Notes [section]. *Building and Engineering News* (San Francisco), 16(19) (May 10): 13.
- 1916 [**Feral burros** in Grand Canyon.] *In*: Forest Notes [section]. *Hardwood Record* (The Hardwood Company, Chicago), 41(3) (May 25): 21.
- 1916 [**Feral burros** in Grand Canyon.] *The American Thresherman and Farm Power* (Madison, Wisconsin), 19(3) (July): 70.  
Filler. "That wild burros in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado are increasing rapidly is the report from a ranger on the Tusayan National Forest, who says the little animals in their search for forage are finding their way to the top in such numbers as to constitute a nuisance. Already there are thousands of the animals in the Grand Canyon from Supai to the mouth of the Little Colorado, according to the forest ranger." (entire item)
- 1918 [Note on a legal case pertaining to wild horses in New Mexico and southern Colorado.] *In*: Along the Trail [section]. *Santa Fe Magazine*, 12(9) (August): 70.  
Includes note, "A tale, vouched for at El Tovar Hotel, is that there are 1,000 **burros** more or less running wild in the Grand Cañon of Arizona—descendants of their kind left there by Coronado's band in 1542." (sic!) (entire note)
- 1977 Killing of **burros** is delayed. *The New York Times*, (March 26): 8.
- 1977 Reprieve for **burros**. *In*: Around the Nation [section]. *The New York Times*, (April 2): 8.
- 1979 **Burros**, anyone? *In*: Follow-Up on the News [section]. *The New York Times*, (April 22): 41.
- 1980 Option on **wild burros** due in Grand Canyon. *The New York Times*, (April 27): 52.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

- 1980 NPS leadership changes; Dickenson new Director, Whalen returns to GGNRA. *Courier* (U.S. National Park Service), 3(6) (May): 1-2.  
Russell E. Dickenson; William J. Whalen; Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Dickenson began his Park Service career at Grand Canyon. Whalen's directorship included promulgation of a Colorado River Management Plan that would eliminate motorized rafting in Grand Canyon, and **burro** management plans.
- 1977 Grand Canyon **burros** get 1-year reprieve. *National Park Courier* (U.S. National Park Service, Employees and Alumni Association), 24(5) (May): 3.
- 1980 Animal group hoping to rescue wild burros. *The New York Times*, (May 22): A24.  
Fund for Animals.
- 1980 Effort to rid canyon of **burros** is delayed. *The New York Times*, (May 25): 42.
- 1977 Grand Canyon; NPS grapples with widespread misunderstanding of burro problem. *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 51(6) (June): 26.
- 1978 Can the GOP save them? *In: Frontlines* [section]. *Mother Jones*, 3(7) (August): 9.  
Grand Old Party (Republican Party). Regarding **feral burros** in Grand Canyon.
- 1978 NPCA observes park problems in the inner canyon. *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 52(10) (October): 22, 29-30.  
Includes the **feral burro** problem.
- 1979 Grand Canyon NP. *In: Park Briefs* [section]. *Courier* (U.S. National Park Service), 2(6) (April): 12.  
Proposal to remove **burros** from Grand Canyon the subject of six public meetings in the Southwest.
- 1980 Grand Canyon NP. *In: Park Briefs* [section]. *Courier* (U.S. National Park Service), 3(1) (January): 9.  
**Feral burros** in Grand Canyon to be rounded up by the New York-based Fund for Animals.
- 1980 Group says it will trap **burros** to save them in Grand Canyon. *The New York Times*, (June 22): 19.  
Fund for Animals.
- 1980 Living on burrowed time? *New Scientist*, 87 (August 14) (1214): 511.  
**Feral burros** in Grand Canyon.
- 1980 The big **burro** boost. *Life*, 3 (October): 118-120.
- 1980 NPCA intervenes in **burro** lawsuit. *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 54 (November): 22.
- 1980 Grand Canyon **burros**, under the gun, saved. *Vegetarian Times*, (40): 13.
- 1990 **Burros** slaughtered in Arizona. *High Country News*, 22(11) (June 4): 3.  
In northwestern Arizona, 51 wild burros as part of a group of "150 scheduled for adoption under a BLM [Bureau of Land Management] program" were found shot to death.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

- 2014 Stan W. Stockton—NPS packer. *The Ol' Pioneer*, 25(2) (Spring): 4-5.  
Obituary for Stanley Walter Stockton (1941-2013), livestock packer for the National Park Service at Grand Canyon National Park, who also worked with the **feral burro** removals.

#### Abbott, Mary C.

- 1979 A farewell to the **burros**. *Arizona* (Arizona Republic), (May 13): 21-22, 24-25.

#### Amory, Cleveland

- 1997 *Ranch of dreams : the heartwarming story of America's most unusual animal sanctuary*. New York: Viking, 288 pp.  
Grand Canyon, see pp. 56-91, and color plates [2, 3] following p. 84. Regarding the rescue of **feral burros**.]

#### Ashurst, Ed

- 2015 *Mavericks*. (Illustrated by Mike Capron.) [No place]: Ed Ashurst Publishing Co., 135 pp. [An on-demand publication.]  
Ranching life in Arizona, chiefly. See "Dave Ericsson" (pp. 76-84), which includes removing **feral burros** on rafts down the Colorado River in Grand Canyon.

#### Atwill, Lionel A.

- 1978 Up to our ears in **asses**. *Backpacker*, 6(4) (August) (28): 26-31, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 75-76.  
See also letters from Charles A. Endicott, Tom Johnson, Kenneth L. Cole, Kerry Beth Herndon, Ruth Arnott, Scott Thybony, Warren Hamilton, 6(6) (December 1978/January 1979): 9-10; and from James Brennan, Michael T. Chychota, James L. Hanna, Anna S. Ellison, Bill Burns, 7(2) (April/May 1979): 12, 15, 17.

#### Behan, R. W.

- 1978 Political dynamics of wildlife management: the Grand Canyon **burros**. *North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference, Transactions, 1978*, pp. 424-433.

#### Bendt, Robert H.

- 1957 [Remarks.] *From: Burro*-bighorn competition and control. *In: First Annual Meeting, Desert Bighorn Sheep Council, September 23, 24, and 25, 1957, Palm Room-Royal Nevada Hotel, Las Vegas, Nevada. Desert Bighorn Council, Transactions, 1: 75.*
- 1957 [Remarks.] *From: Hunting. In: First Annual Meeting, Desert Bighorn Sheep Council, September 23, 24, and 25, 1957, Palm Room-Royal Nevada Hotel, Las Vegas, Nevada. Desert Bighorn Council, Transactions, 1: 77.*  
Remarks specifically relate to a previous speaker's relation that an Arizona man arrested for shooting a bighorn was acquitted because he had believed it was an ibex (that bighorns were unknown in the region). Bendt commented: "We have found the same thing at Grand Canyon where unlike Death Valley we have people coming from all parts of the world, and looking down into the canyon the first thing they want to know is what are these trails they see on this Tonto Plateau[.] We hate to tell them they are made by **feral burros**. We tell them, Yes, we have bighorn. We take caution in making any estimates, but they are amazed that there are any bighorns." (entire item)

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

#### **Bennett, Peter S.; Phillips, A. M., III; Ruffner, George A.; Carothers, Steven W.; and Johnson, R. Roy**

- 1979 Effects of **burro** foraging on four types of Grand Canyon vegetation [abstract]. *In: Abstracts : 2nd Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks, 26-30 November 1979, San Francisco, California*. [No imprint], p. 250.
- 1980 Effects of **burro** foraging on four types of Grand Canyon vegetation. *In: U.S. National Park Service, Proceedings of the Second Conference of Scientific Research in the National Parks, San Francisco, California, November 26-30, 1979*, pp. 319-337.

#### **Berger, Joel**

- 1975 *Behavioral ecology of feral horses*, *Equus caballus*, in the Grand Canyon. Master's thesis, California State University at Northridge, 84 pp.
- 1977 Sympatric and allopatric relationships among desert bighorn sheep and **feral equids** in Grand Canyon. *Southwestern Naturalist*, 22: 411-420.
- 1977 Organizational systems and dominance in **feral horses** in the Grand Canyon. *Behavioral Ecology and Sociobiology*, 2(2) (June): 131-146.

#### **Blair, Gerry**

- 1978 The **burro** problem at Grand Canyon; feral burros in Grand Canyon National Park are destroying habitat and competing with native species for space and food. *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 52(3) (March): 10-14.

#### **Brown, J. P. S., and Beckett, John**

- 2006 Born cowboy part III; doing what "couldn't be done". *American Cowboy*, (March/April): 36-42. Conclusion of a profile on Dave Ericsson. Includes Cleveland Amory's Grand Canyon **feral burros** rescue project.

#### **Brown, J. P. S., and Daemmrich, Bob**

- 2005 Where the wild ones are; in going and getting the renegade kind, Richard Jordan has lived the Ladino life. *American Cowboy*, (January/February): 70-76.  
See pp. 72-74, work with Cleveland Amory in capturing **feral burros** in Grand Canyon.

#### **Brulliard, Nicolas**

- 2017 The **burro** quandary; **wild donkeys** are cute but destructive, and park officials don't know what to do with them. *National Parks*, 91(1) (Winter): 28-35.  
Includes Grand Canyon.

#### **Büchler, Eduard**

- 1921 *Rund um die Erde : erlebtes aus Amerika, Japan, Korea, China, Indien und Arabien* [transl. 'Around the world: experiences from America, Japan, Korea, China, India and Arabia']. Bern: Verlag von A. Francke A.-G., 259 pp. [In German.]  
See "IV. Das Westliche Amerika" (pp. 60-83) (transl. 'Western America'); Grand Canyon, pp. 68-72, plate between pp. 64/65. The account includes a two-day mule trip down Hermit Trail to Hermit Camp and the Colorado River, returning by way of Tonto and Bright Angel Trails. He notes (*in translation here*), "With the exception of an oasis [Havasupai Gardens] where we stopped for

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

lunch, our journey took us through dry, wild terrain. From time to time we encountered **wild donkeys** [or wild asses] that would stare at us and then suddenly flee.”

#### Carothers, Steven W.

- 1976 **Feral asses** on public lands: An analysis of biotic impact. *In: Carothers, Steven W., and Aitchison, Stewart W. (eds.), An ecological survey of the riparian zone of the Colorado River between Lees Ferry and the Grand Wash Cliffs, Arizona : final research report.* U.S. National Park Service, Colorado River Research Program, Technical Report 10, pp. 141-154.
- 1996 **Feral burros**: Old arguments and new twists. *In: Webb, Robert H., Grand Canyon, a century of change : rephotography of the 1889-1890 Stanton Expedition.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, pp. 84-85.

#### Carothers, Steven W.; Ruffner, George A.; and Phillips, Arthur M., III

- 1977 Data synthesis and conclusions. *In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 130-138.

#### Carothers, Steven W.; Stitt, Merle E.; and Johnson, R. Roy

- 1976 **Feral asses** on public lands: An analysis of the biotic impact, legal considerations, and management alternatives. *In: Transactions of the North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference 41,* pp. 396-406.

#### Carothers, Steven W., et al.

- 1977 *Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, 169 pp. (“Submitted by: Steven W. Carothers”; “Compiled by the Biology Staff, Harold S. Colton Research Center: G. A. Ruffner, A. M. Phillips, III, S. W. Carothers, N. J. Czaplewski, L. T. Green, N. H. Goldberg, J. M. Downs, H. D. Usher, J. Scott, J. W. Jordan. Edited by: G. A. Ruffner, A. M. Phillips, III, N. H. Goldberg.”) (Contract Nos. PX821060722, PX821071444, CX821070015.)

#### Chapman, Arthur

- 1925 How a cowboy-aviator hunts **wild horses**; the world’s most thrilling sport found in ridding western grazing land of a million outlaw animals—adventures of a famous buckaroo. *Popular Science Monthly*, 107(5) (November): 16-17, 163-165.
- Western Arizona Strip; herding with low-flying aircraft.

#### Czaplewski, Nicholas J.; Downs, J. M.; and Phillips, Arthur M., III

- 1977 Description of study sites, Grand Canyon, Arizona. *In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 11-19.

#### Czaplewski, Nicholas J.; Downs, J. M.; Usher, Howell D.; and Ruffner, George A.

- 1977 Investigations of soil moisture, soil compaction and trail deflation in three habitat types, Grand Canyon, Arizona. *In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 104-113.

#### **Czaplewski, Nicholas J.; Ruffner, George A.; and Goldberg, N. H.**

- 1977      Investigations on small mammal communities in three habitat types, Grand Canyon, Arizona. *In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 114-129.

#### **Dennis, John G.**

- 1979      The relationship of research to resolution of a high interest natural resource issue—management of **free-roaming burros** on National Park System lands [abstract]. *In: Abstracts : 2nd Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks, 26-30 November 1979, San Francisco, California.* [No imprint], p. 252.

Notes Grand Canyon.

#### **Dickenson, Russell E.**

- 1980      Director's address before E&AA group. *Courier* (U.S. National Park Service), 3(12) (November): 32-33.

Excerpts "from Director Dickenson's address to employees and alumni who were gathered together on Sept. 25, for the 25th Anniversary of the NPS Employees and Alumni Association." See p. 33, notes, *in passing*, of "a **burro** problem at Grand Canyon".

#### **Dines, Sheila**

- 1978      The "organized slaughter" of **burros** in the Grand Canyon. *The New York Times*, (June 25) (Section 10): 11.

Letter to the Editor.

#### **Dodge, Natt N.**

- 1951      Running wild. *National Parks Magazine*, 25(104) (January/March): 10-15.

Feral burros in Grand Canyon.

#### **Draisner, Mercedes J.**

- 1979      "Please don't kill the **feral burros**". *The New York Times*, (March 15): A22.

Letter to the Editor.

#### **Drees, Linda**

- 2004      A retrospective on NPS invasive species policy and management. *Park Science* (U.S. National Park Service), 22(2) (Fall): 21-26.

See p. 21, notice, *in passing*, of **feral burros** in Grand Canyon; with photo.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

#### Ellis, Wheeler

- 1948 Car House No. 4 [report]. *In*: Conacher, H. K., Car House Highlights [section]. *Two Bells* (Los Angeles Transit Lines, Public Relations Department), 29(7) (December): 18-19.
- “Tex’ Parker and wife went to the Grand Canyon to see one of the Wonders of the World. ‘Tex’ said they had a swell time. They hiked to the very bottom of the canyon, let out three loud yodels, stroked the back of a **stray burro**, and then struggled back to the top.”

#### Fin and Fur Productions

- [2015?] *Unbranded*. Bozeman, Montana: Fin and Fur Productions. DVD video and online.
- Documentary film about travel with American **wild horses (mustangs)** on a 158-day, 3,000 mile trip from Mexico to Canada. Released in various formats and for theater displays. Includes Grand Canyon.

#### Gessner, Hal

- 1978 Grand Canyon **burros**. *The New York Times*, (July 16): 25.
- Letter to the Editor. Includes response by William J. Whalen, Director, National Park Service.

#### Goigel, Monica, and Bratton, Susan

- 1983 Exotics in the parks; feral goats and hogs, African iceplants, and other exotics are invading our national parks. *National Parks*, 57(1/2) (January/February): 24-29.
- Article begins with full page photo (p. 24), “Helicopter airlifts **burro** from Grand Canyon National Park” (credited to Robert Caputo), and brief text (p. 25) pertaining to removal of nonnative burros from Grand Canyon by river raft.

#### Goodwin, T. R.

- 1949 **Wild burro** vs. mountain sheep. *In*: Letters [section]. *Desert Magazine*, 13(1) (November): 30.
- Letter in response to Randall Henderson’s column in the October issue, which pertained to Death Valley. Goodwin’s letter notes: “The decision by the National Park Service to attempt to hold the number of burros to a point where they would not threaten the sheep is far from being a new angle. Grand Canyon had to face it a number of years ago and carried on a very quiet campaign with the permission of all Human Societies and Wildlife experts and while I do not have the number of burros that were actually done away with, I know it ran into considerable figures. Lake Mead is faced with the same problem at this time.” (entire note)

#### Graham, Stephen

- 1923 *In quest of El Dorado*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 334 pp.
- A book about Graham’s world travels. See Chapter 20, “Descent Into the Grand Cañon” (pp. 250-259). On the Tonto Trail, en route from Bright Angel to Hermit, he observes, “No one is at home in any fortress, castle, tower, or temple . . . Only certainly **wild asses** in great numbers wherever there is any pasture, uncatchable donkeys who sneeze at you at the most unexpected moments.”

#### Grinder, Martha I.; Krausman, Paul R.; and Hoffmann, Robert S.

- 2006 *Equus asinus*. *Mammalian Species*, (794), 9 pp.
- Grand Canyon **feral burro** populations noted (p. 4).

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

#### Gritten, David

- 1981 Sure it was donkey work but Cleveland Amory and his crew saved the Grand Canyon **burros**. *People*, 15(13) (April 6): 42-43.

#### Guernsey, Paul

- 1984 Shaggy refugees from the West. *The New York Times*, (August 12): CN15.  
**Feral burros.**

#### Hansen, Richard M.; Johnson, Mark K.; and Van Devender, Thomas R.

- 1977 *A study of the plant taxa in the diets of non-native burros of the Tonto Plateau, south side of the Colorado River, Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona. Final report.* Colorado State University, Range Science Department, 17 pp.

#### Harlow, Abbie

- 2017 "The burro evil": The eradication of **feral burros** in Grand Canyon National Park. Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 100 pp.
- 2019 "The burro evil": The removal of **feral burros** from Grand Canyon National Park, 1924-1983. In: Pearson, Byron E. (guest ed.), Grand Canyon National Park at 100. *Journal of Arizona History*, 60(4) (Winter): 437-457.

#### Honda

- 1891 The last **wild horse** of the Kanab Desert. *Outing*, 19(1) (October): 68-69.

#### Hoofnagle, Keith

- 1980 The Rangeroons present part one of a new series: Cartoon ideas contributed by our readers! (those that could be printed!). *In Touch* (U.S. National Park Service, Division of Interpretation), 1(33) (Fall): [24].
- Includes cartoon panel, "Help Save a **Burro**—Get Your Ass Out of the Grand Canyon!"; idea from Linda Borden, U.S. Forest Service, sent by Art Hathaway, U.S. National Park Service, Spokane. (Also note p. 2: "This issue's art work is sponsored by the Grand Canyon Natural History Association. We want to thank Jack O'Brien, Executive Secretary, and the association members for their generosity and sensitivity to this situation.")

#### Ivins, Molly

- 1980 **Wild burros** plucked out of Grand Canyon. *The New York Times*, (July 30): A12.

#### Janson, Donald

- 1984 Eastern refuge for **burros** saved in the West. *The New York Times*, (August 25): 25-26.

#### Jeffers, Leroy

- 1922 *The call of the mountains : rambles among the mountains and canyons of the United States and Canada.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 282 pp.
- See Chapter 16, "The Grand Canyon of the Colorado" (pp. 193-225). "Starting down Bass trail one fiercely hot July afternoon with a companion and an Indian pony, we made good time across the inner plateau and on the steep descent into Bass canyon. Roaming over the Tonto Platform and up many of the side canyons are little herds of **wild mules**, descendants of animals turned loose many years ago. One is often closely accompanied for miles by these mules, who fearlessly travel



## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

in the most impossible places to satisfy their curiosity, but who are exceedingly wary of capture.”  
(entire note)

#### **Jordan, James W.; Ruffner, George A.; Carothers, Steven W.; Phillips, Arthur M., III; and Colton, Harold S.**

no date Summer diets of **feral burros** (*Equus asinus*) in Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona. *Symposium on the Ecology and Behavior of Wild and Feral Equids : University of Wyoming, Laramie, September 6-8, 1979*, pp. 15-22. [1980-1982.]

#### **Kania, Alan J.**

1981 Reprieve for Brighty. *Desert Magazine*, 44(4) (May): 50-52.  
Grand Canyon **feral burros**.

#### **Keller, Christine**

1978 Feral animals in the United States—a growing problem. *Popular Mechanics*, 150(4) (October): 98.  
Includes note of Grand Canyon **feral burros**.

#### **Lemonick, Michael D.**

1990 Invasion of the habitat. *Time*, (September 10):.  
Invasive species. For Grand Canyon, notes tamarisk and former occupation by **feral burros**.

#### **Lukowski, Susan**

1981 NPS video technology applications endless. *Courier* (U.S. National Park Service), 4(6) (June): 7.  
“Portable [video tape units], according to Grand Canyon’s Resource Management Chief, Jim Walters, ‘has been terrific for situations like bringing the impact of **burro** damage directly to public meetings.’ The 10-minute unedited black and white tape Walters shot from a small patrol plane ‘did much to help the viewers understand Grand Canyon’s problems.’” (entire note)

#### **Mann, E. B.**

1982 The Everglades hunt. *Field and Stream*, 87(7) (November): 39.  
Includes note of removal of **burros** from Grand Canyon.

#### **Marshall, Julie Hoffman**

2006 *Making burros fly : Cleveland Amory, animal rescue pioneer*. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Books, 174 [175] pp.

#### **Martin, Paul S.**

1978 The **equid niche** in the Grand Canyon. *CoEvolution Quarterly*, (Fall): 136-137.  
1996 Thinking like a canyon: Wild ideas and **wild burros**. In: Webb, Robert H., *Grand Canyon, a century of change : rephotography of the 1889-1890 Stanton Expedition*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, pp. 82-83.

#### **McDermott, Shane**

2021 Horses stand beneath the layered cliffs of the Grand Canyon. In: Kida, Jeff (ed.), *Just some of the pretty horses; a portfolio*. *Arizona Highways*, 97(4) (April): 28-29 (legend on p. 31).  
Photo of **wild horses**.

**Miles and Miles of Mules**  
**Feral Equids**

**McKnight, Tom L.**

- 1958 The **feral burro** in the United States: Distribution and problems. *Journal of Wildlife Management*, 22(2) (April): 163-179.
- 1959 The **wild horse** today. *Desert Magazine*, 22(6) (June): [7].  
Map of "Distribution of Wild Horses in the Southwest Today" depicts minor concentrations in area of Hualapai Indian Reservation and south shore of Lake Mead.

**Orttenburger, David Shew; Orttenburger, Rhonda Shew; and Payst, Craig**

- 2013 *Midway dreams*. Bloomington, Indiana: WestBow Press, [36] pp.  
Young-reader title. Midway is a horse. See Chapter 5, "**Wild Mustang** in Grand Canyon" (pp. [16]-[17]).

**Patraw, P. P. [Patraw, Preston P.]**

- 1930 **Wild burros** of the Grand Canyon. *Grand Canyon Nature Notes*, 4(7) (May 31): 43-45.
- 1994 **Wild burros** of the Grand Canyon. In: Lamb, Susan (ed.), *The best of Grand Canyon Nature Notes*. Grand Canyon, Arizona: Grand Canyon Natural History Association, pp. 134-135.  
Reprinted from *Grand Canyon Nature Notes*, May, 1930.

**Phillips, Arthur M., III; Green, L. T.; and Ruffner, George A.**

- 1977 Investigations of **feral burro** impact on plant communities, Grand Canyon, Arizona. In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., *Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 20-103.

**Reiger, George**

- 1989 Why save endangered species? *Field and Stream*, 93(8) (January): 15, 17.  
See p. 15, **feral horses and burros** suggested as food sources for reintroduced California condors.

**Ruffner, George Andrew**

- 1977 Distribution and population densities of **feral burros**, Grand Canyon, Arizona. In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., *Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 7-10.

**Ruffner, George A., and Carothers, Steven W.**

- 1975 Some notes on the distribution of some mammals of the Grand Canyon region. *Plateau*, 47: 154-160.
- 1977 Appendix III. Age structure, condition and reproduction of two **feral burro** (*Equus asinus*) populations from Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona. In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., *Biology and ecology of feral burros (Equus asinus) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 144-169.  
Manuscript of a paper submitted to *Journal of Mammalogy*; but see in fact Ruffner and Carothers (1982).

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

- 1982 Age structure, condition and reproduction of two *Equus asinus* (Equidae) populations from Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona. *Southwestern Naturalist*, 27(4): 403-411.

#### Feral burros.

#### Ruffner, George A., and Tomko, Dennis S.

- 1976 Mammals of the Colorado River. In: Carothers, Steven W., and Aitchison, Stewart W. (eds.), *An ecological survey of the riparian zone of the Colorado River between Lees Ferry and the Grand Wash Cliffs, Arizona : final research report*. U.S. National Park Service, *Colorado River Research Program, Technical Report 10*, pp. 61-107.

#### Ruffner, George A., and Phillips, Arthur M., III

- 1977 The setting and the problem. In: Carothers, Steven W., et al., *Biology and ecology of feral burros* (*Equus asinus*) at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona : final research report. Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, for U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, pp. 1-6.

#### Ruffner, George A.; Czaplewski, Nicholas J.; and Carothers, Steven W.

- 1978 Distribution and natural history of some mammals from the Inner Gorge of the Grand Canyon, Arizona. *Arizona-Nevada Academy of Science, Journal*, 13(3) (October): 85-91.

#### Satchell, Michael

- 1991 Can we save the burros? *Parade* [syndicated], (April 27): 4-5.

#### Shoemaker, Philip L.

- 1976 Distribution of feral asses. In: Carothers, Steven W., and Aitchison, Stewart W. (eds.), *An ecological survey of the riparian zone of the Colorado River between Lees Ferry and the Grand Wash Cliffs, Arizona : final research report*. U.S. National Park Service, *Colorado River Research Program, Technical Report 10*, pp. 136-140.

#### Shoemaker, Philip L., and Carothers, Steven W.

- 1976 Burros threaten parts of Grand Canyon. *National Park Service Newsletter*, 11(8) (June 8): 1-2.

#### Smith, Dama Margaret

- 1923 Going down "Bright Angel". *Good Housekeeping*, 76(6) (June): 30-31, 181-185.

Not only is this not a tourist's report of affairs, but Mrs. Smith's "privileged" position as the wife of Grand Canyon National Park's Chief Ranger allows her to pen a pleasant diversion from the usual sort of trip report made by legions of tourists who were bent on "really seeing" the canyon; and it includes a few historical notes that surely would not have shown up if a guided tourist had written it. Despite the article's title, her route is not "just" down Bright Angel Trail, but it crosses the Tonto Plateau to drop down to the original Kaibab Bridge, then on up to the North Rim—a rare review of ascending the Old Bright Angel Trail that also is not a usual tourist's jaunt—and some ramblings on the north side.

"A mile or so along the way we crossed a trickle of water coming from Wild Burro Spring, so named because the **wild burros** common to that region come there to drink. Just as we drew up there to allow our horses to drink, the sultry silence was shattered beyond repair. A rasping, jarring, choking sound rolled and echoed back and forth from crag to crag! [¶] 'What's that?' I gasped, after I had swallowed my heart two or three times. [¶] The Chief silently pointed to a rock lying a few feet away. Over the top of this protruded an enormous pair of ears, and two solemn eyes were glued on us unblinkingly. Only a wee wild burro, but what a huge voice he possessed! The thousand

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

or more of these little gray and black burros running wild in the Canyon are a heritage from the day of the prospector. They are not at all shy, and one, "Bright Angel" as he was called, was often utilized by travelers to carry water, wood, or part of their packs back and forth on the trail." ("Bright Angel" was in fact the redomesticated burro, "Brighty", about whom see under "Brighty of the Grand Canyon" herein, and some further remarks about him by Smith.)

#### Sperry, Willard L.

1922 A religion for to-day. Part II. The interpretation of life, and the holy church universal. *The Christian Register* (Boston), 101(7) (February 16): 152-153.

Part of an address before the Unitarian Club of Boston. Includes a peculiar reminiscence of Grand Canyon; remarks concerning **(feral) burros** around the Grandview Mine below Grandview Point. Not only partly awry, it smacks of eugenics, when at about this time the American Eugenics Society was encouraging the promotion of its tenets through church sermons and organized social meetings.

"When the mining company gave up working the canyon it brought up all its machinery, but it left on this mid-level a dozen-odd burros which had been taken down there for pack-service. These burros were prisoners there for life. One one side was the cliff rising a half-mile above them and on the other side a precipice dropping a half-mile below them. And either way the shelf is intersected by cross canyons so that they could not escape the length of the Canyon. There they stayed and there they have inbred until now they are stunted weak little creatures, hardly bigger than a Newfoundland dog, and entirely unable to carry any load. And withal so wild that rather than be captured they will leap off the ledge of the shelf into the river below. They are a pathetic example of the degeneracy which follows upon inbreeding."

#### Steele, Rufus

1925 Wild horses as scenery; in new Zion Park mustangs vie with mountain marvels in visitors' eyes. *The Outlook* (New York), 141(3) (September 16): 84-86.

See p. 86, remarks on **wild horses** seen near Bright Angel Point on Grand Canyon's North Rim, and one sorrel mare was unwittingly chased over the edge.

#### Steinhart, Peter

1981 The fossil horse. *Audubon* 83 (March): 8, 10.

Mostly about the **feral burro** problem.

#### Sturdevant, Glen E.

1926 Bear? *Grand Canyon Nature Notes*, 1(8) (December 16): 4-5.

Three putative reports of bear in Grand Canyon: on upper Bright Angel Trail (mountain sheep tracks), near Monument Creek (**feral burro** tracks), and "near the edge of Grand Canyon village" (dog tracks).]

1928 Antelope for **burros**. *Grand Canyon Nature Notes*, 3(1) (June 30): 1-2.

Proposed substitution.

#### Sunny Daze [pseudonym]

2016 Unbranded; a documentary focusing on the American **wild horse (mustang)**. *Pet Connection Magazine* (East Olympia, Washington), (March/April): 9.

Review of a documentary about a 158-day, 3000-mile trip from Mexico to Canada. Includes the remark, "But, I must admit that the most heart-stopping scenes were when they rode the

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

mustangs down the narrow mule trains [*sic*, trails] into the Grand Canyon going through tunnels and suspension bridges [*sic*].”]

#### Taylor, Ronald B.

- 1976 The burro or the bighorn? The nonnative feral burro must be eliminated from Death Valley National Monument if the native desert bighorn sheep is to survive in one of its last refuges. *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 51(9) (September): 10-14.

Includes extended remarks on the **feral burro** problem in Grand Canyon, p. 14.

#### Thybony, Scott

- 2008 A boatload of **wild burros**, cowboys, and Catahoula Curs. *Boatman's Quarterly Review*, 21(2) (Summer): 20-23.

#### Tweit, Susan J.

- 2008 Misty's legacy. *National Parks*, 82(4) (Fall): 32-38.

Principally about the feral horses of Assateague Island but includes Grand Canyon **feral burros**.

#### U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park

- 1976 **Feral burro** management plan and environmental assessment, Grand Canyon National Park. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 74 pp.
- 1979 **Burro** population and distribution in Grand Canyon National Park. U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, 7 pp.
- 1979 *Immobilization and herding feasibility studies in Grand Canyon National Park*. U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, 12 pp.
- Burro** management.
- 1979 *Proposed feral burro management and ecosystem restoration plan and draft environmental statement, Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona*. U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, separately paginated sections [150 pp. total]. (DES 79-4.) [Cover title omits "Proposed" from title.]
- 1980 **Feral burro** management and ecosystem restoration plan and final environmental statement, Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona. U.S. National Park Service, Grand Canyon National Park, [ca. 130 pp.].

#### U.S. National Park Service, Western Region

- 1980 *Proposed feral burro management and ecosystem restoration plan and final environmental statement*. [No imprint], 259 pp.

#### U.S. National Research Council, Commission on Natural Resources, Board on Agriculture and Renewable Resources, Committee on Wild and Free-Roaming Horses and Burros

- 1980 *Wild and free-roaming horses and burros: Current knowledge and recommended research*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 382 pp.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

#### U.S. Senate, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Subcommittee on Public Lands and Resources

- 1977 **Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act** : hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Resources of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, on oversight of the Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act of 1971, May 23, 1977 : Publication No. 95-60. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 202 pp. Grand Canyon, *passim*.

#### Walters, James E. [Walters, Jim]

- 1977 The status of the bighorn/**burro** situation at Grand Canyon National Park. *Desert Bighorn Council, Transactions*, 21: 7-8.
- 1979 Movements and home ranges of **feral burros** on the Tonto Plateau—Grand Canyon National Park [abstract]. In: *Abstracts : 2nd Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks, 26-30 November 1979, San Francisco, California*. [No imprint], p. 249.

#### Walters, James E., and Hansen, Richard M.

- 1978 Evidence of **feral burro** competition with desert bighorn sheep in Grand Canyon National Park. *Desert Bighorn Council, Transactions*, 22: 10-16.

#### Whalen, William J.

- 1978 [Response by William J. Whalen, Director, National Park Service, to letter to the Editor from Hal Gessner, regarding Grand Canyon burros.] *The New York Times*, (July 16): 25.

#### Williams, D. A. (WITH J. B. Copeland)

- 1980 They shoot **burros**, don't they? *Newsweek*, 96 (July 7): 24.  
The title is a play on the title of the 1969 dramatic film, *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*

#### Wills, John

- 2003 "On burro'd time": **Feral burros**, the Brightly legend, and the pursuit of wilderness in the Grand Canyon. *Journal of Arizona History*, 44(1) (Spring): cover, 1-24.
- 2006 Brightly, donkeys, and conservation in the Grand Canyon. *Endeavour*, 30(3): 113-117.  
**Burros.**

#### Winters, S. R.

- 1919 The use of the forests. *The National Wool Grower* (Salt Lake City), 9(1) (January): 21-22.  
See pp. 22: "In several parts of the Southwest, notably in some of the Arizona forests and in the Grand Canyon National Monument, the increase of **wild burros** is a serious problem on the ranges. These animals are owned by nobody and are even more difficult to capture and handle than the **wild horses**." (entire note)]

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Feral Equids

#### Wood, H. L.

1920 Personnel of Petroleum [column]. *National Petroleum News*, 12(51) (December 22): 75.

Includes an opinionated item relating to National Park Service director Stephen T. Mather's disregard for the "**hobo burros**" (**feral burros**) of Grand Canyon. He concludes, "He's altogether too hifalutin' for the job he holds and he'd better lay off the burros."

#### Woodruff, Slim [Woodruff, Marjorie]

1992 **Wild burros** aren't a boon. *High Country News*, (November 16): 13.

Letter. Reminiscence from Grand Canyon.

#### Woodward, Susan L., and Quinn, Joyce A.

2011 *Encyclopedia of invasive species : from Africanized honey bees to zebra mussels. Volume 1: Animals*. Santa Barbara (California), Denver (Colorado), and Oxford (England): Greenwood (ABC-CLIO, LLC), pp. i-xli, 1-320, I-1 to I-38, [1].

Of those species with geographically pinpointed distributions reported as invasive within the context of this bibliography, see "**Feral Burro**", *Equus asinus* (pp. 262-265).





## Fossil Equids\*

### Collin, Yvette Running Horse

- 2017 *The relationship between the Indigenous peoples of the Americas and the horse: Deconstructing a Eurocentric myth.* Doctoral dissertatoin, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 230 pp. [p. 230 is blank].  
See pp. 141-143, regarding split-twig figurines from "Stanton's Cave in New Mexico" (*sic*), which the author argues the case that they represent horses, thus the presence of ancient, **pre-Columbian equids**.

### Martin, Paul S.

- 1978 The **equid niche** in the Grand Canyon. *CoEvolution Quarterly*, (Fall): 136-137.

### Rathbun, Richard

- 1917 *Report on the progress and condition of the United States National Museum for the year ending June 30, 1916.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.  
See "List of Accessions to the Collections During the Fiscal Year 1915-1916" (section); specifically, p. 156: "Hough, Dr. Walter, U. S. National Museum: . . . a flint arrowpoint and a **fossil horse-tooth**, collected by Mr. P. C. Bicknell in the Grand Canyon, 20 miles south of Bright Angel trail, Coconino County, Ariz. (59590)." [*sic; i.e.*, from the area of the Anita mine, near the spur from the Grand Canyon Railway].

(continued)

---

\* For specifics about Quaternary fossil localities in and near the Grand Canyon, and studies of them, see throughout ***Bibliography of Paleontology of the Grand Canyon Region*** (Earle E. Spamer, Raven's Perch Media). This bibliography is *occasionally updated*; the current version is [https://ravensperch.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/GCPaleoBiblio\\_rev3.pdf](https://ravensperch.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/GCPaleoBiblio_rev3.pdf).

The paleontology bibliography is in turn extracted from Part 21 (Geology and Paleontology) of ***The Grand Canon. A Worldwide Bibliography of the Grand Canyon and Lower Colorado River Regions in the United States and Mexico. Volume 1: Introduction and Bibliography. Fourth Edition.*** (Earle E. Spamer, 2022, Raven's Perch Media, 13,784 pp. (PDF, 89 MB)

[https://ravensperch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/The-Grand-Canon\\_4th-ed.pdf](https://ravensperch.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/The-Grand-Canon_4th-ed.pdf)

(or see Part 21 *separately* online at

<https://ravensperch.org/part-21-geology-and-paleontology-of-the-grand-canyon-region/>).

A Fifth Edition of *The Grand Canon* is projected for late 2024, at which time it will supersede the Fourth Edition. The separate paleontology bibliography is updated independently of *The Grand Canon*.

## Miles and Miles of Mules

### Fossil Equids

#### Spaulding, W. Geoffrey

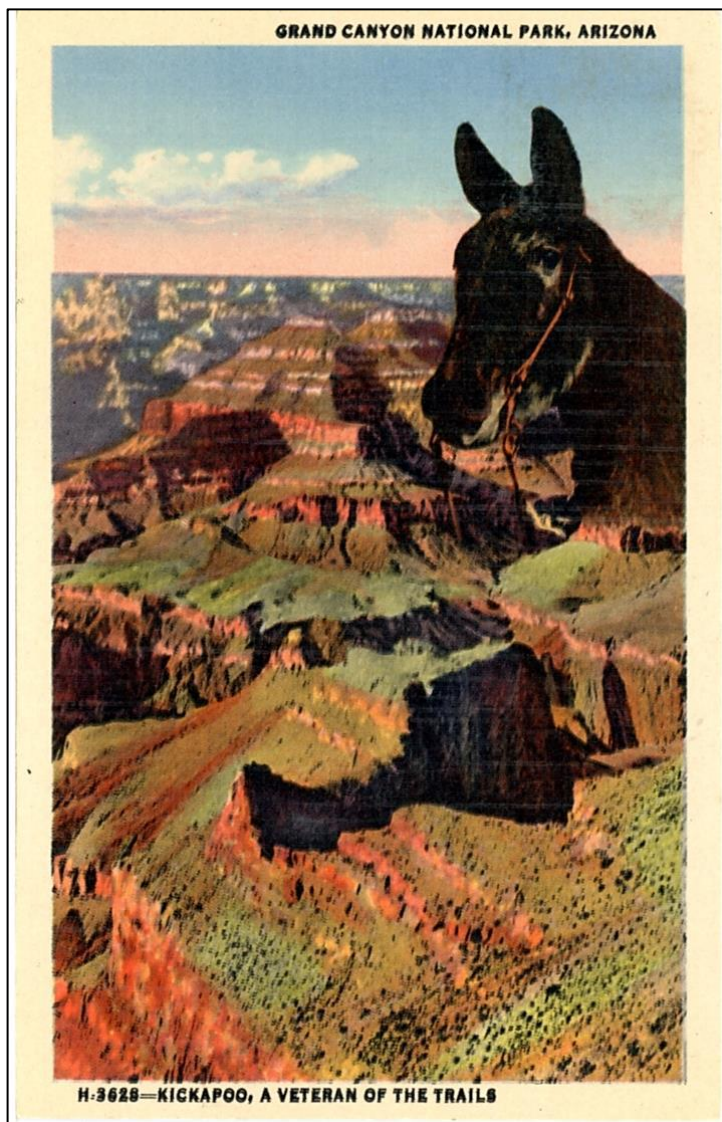
1977 Statement of W. Geoffrey Spaulding, Department of Geosciences, University of Arizona. *In: Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act : hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Resources of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, Ninety-fifth Congress, First Session, on oversight of the Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act of 1971, May 23, 1977 : Publication No. 95-60.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, pp. 120-125.

Presentation of paleontological evidence from Rampart Cave, Grand Canyon, and Gypsum Cave, Nevada, with regard to the issue of the presence of **Quaternary equids**, in discussions of modern feral horses and burros.

#### Steinhart, Peter

1981 The **fossil horse**. *Audubon*, 83 (March): 8, 10.





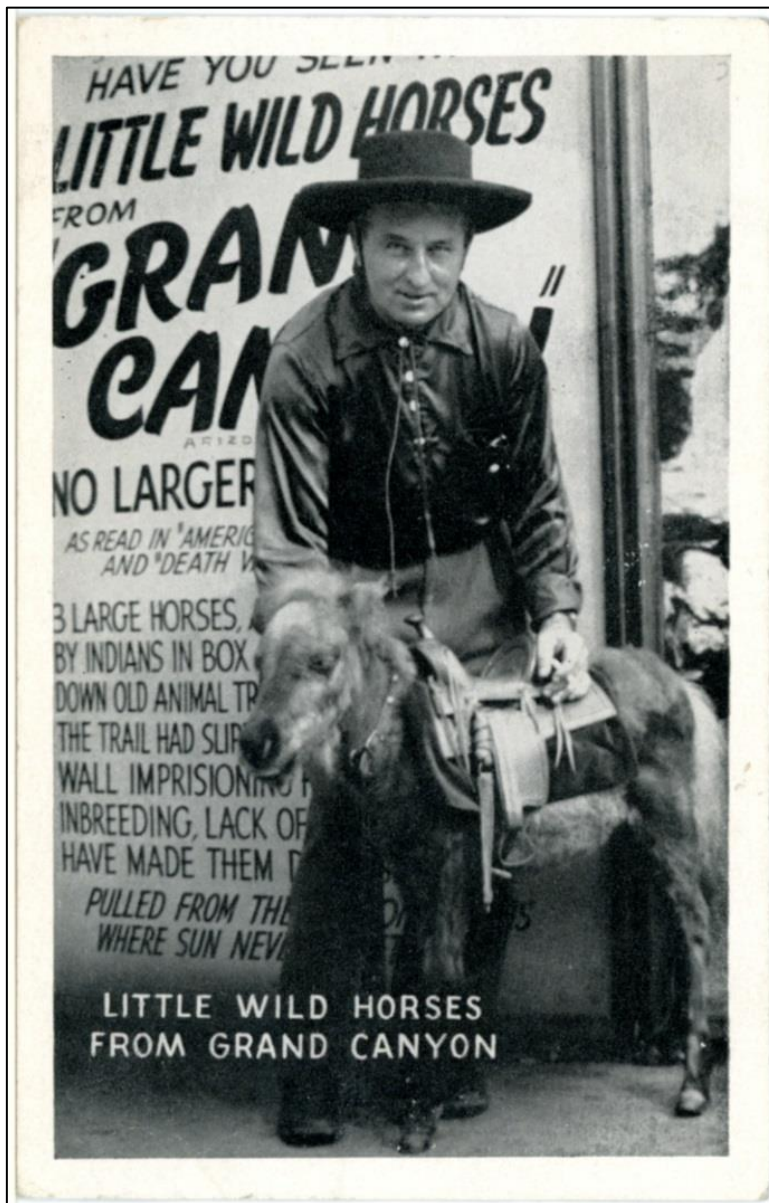
Kickapoo is my name  
But that's no fame—  
It's the trails I've made  
And the game I've played.  
Since Nineteen-six I've been up and down  
'Til I thought this Canyon almost round.  
The Supai Indians from whence I came,  
And for forty dollars obtained my name.  
The twenty years I have been around,  
I've carried safely down and back  
Four thousand tourists on my back.  
But now I'm old and turning gray  
And they've sent me away  
Where there is lots of hay.  
I like this place and hope I stay—  
They call it a dairy by the way.  
How long I'll stay it is hard to say  
But for thirty-five years  
I have kicked each day.

KICKAPOO

**Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona**  
**Kickapoo, a Veteran of the Trails**

Fred Harvey postcard H-3628, undated

*(author's collection)*



**Little Wild Horses from Grand Canyon**

*(author's collection)*

A real-photo postcard

Graycraft Card Co., Danville, Va. [stock no.] 6270, undated

Note the sensational wording in the sign, some of which can be filled in by intuition! "Have You Seen the Little Wild Horses from Grand Canyon!" "no larger than . . ." "by Indians in box canyon" "imprisoning" "inbreeding" "where sun never shines"



**An unidentified Grand Canyon tourist, July 1903.**

*(Grand Canyon National Park Museum Collection, album GRCA-05781.)*

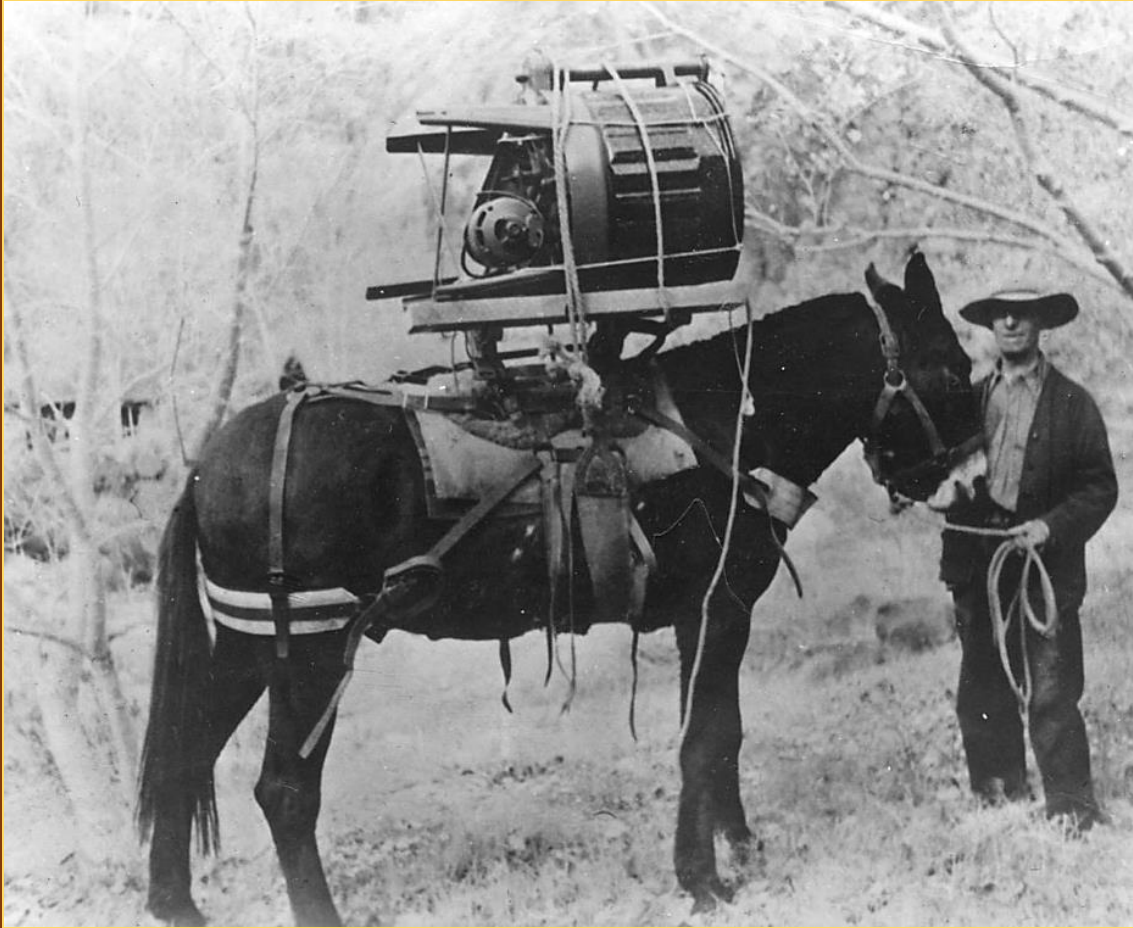
---

BACK COVER

*Washing machine delivered to Phantom Ranch by Ernie Ensor (Ernest Washington Ensor, National Park Service) and "Rastus," January 1939.*

*Grand Canyon National Park, via Wikimedia Commons,  
Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license*





Raven's Perch Media  
<https://ravensperch.org>