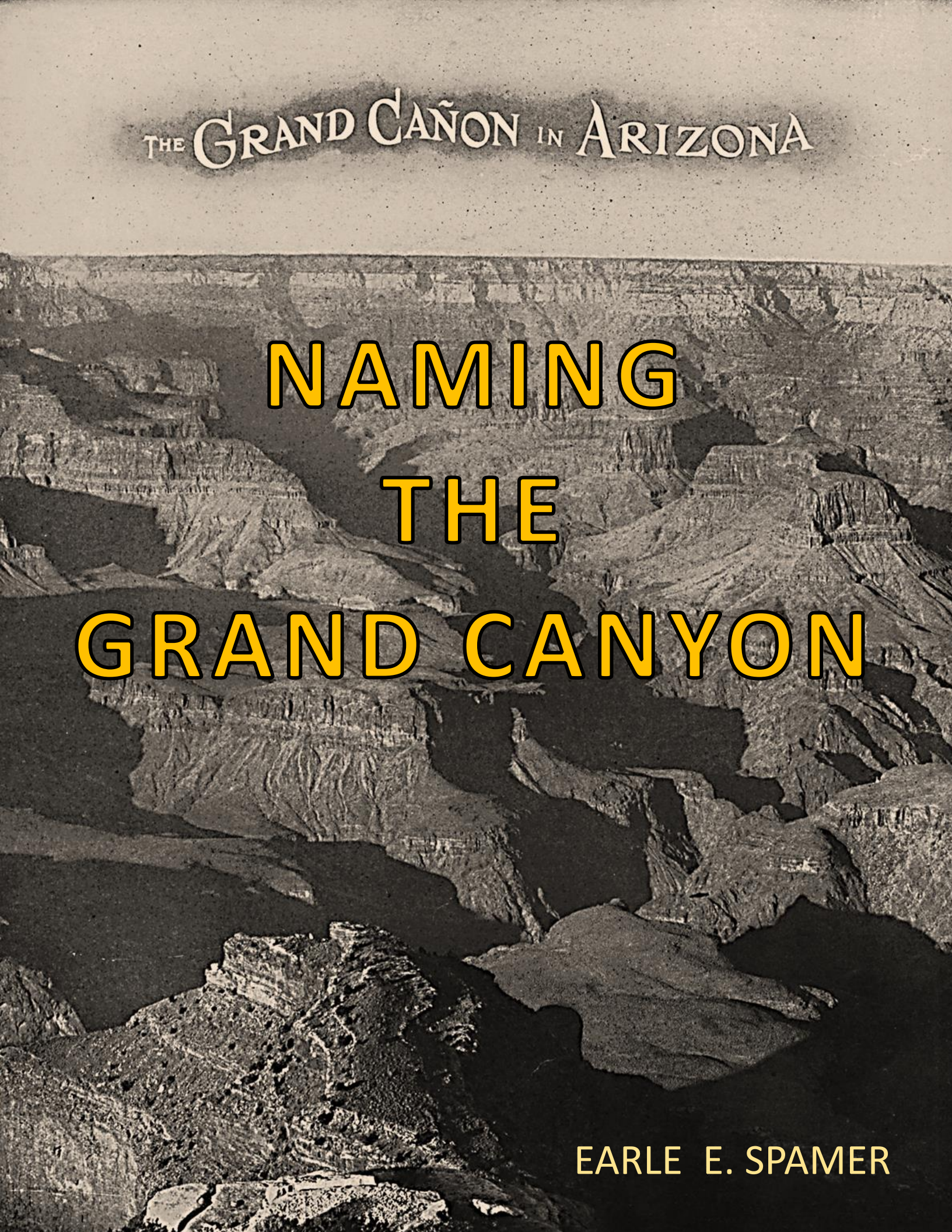

NAMING THE GRAND CANYON

EARLE E. SPAMER

COVER ILLUSTRATION

"Sunset from Bright Angel Hotel." In *America: Her Grandeur and Her Beauty. Part Four, Grand Canon* (Union Book and Publishing Company, Chicago and New York, [*ca.* 1900]).

Text, "The Grand Cañon in Arizona," shows evidence of darkroom work in producing the print.

NAMING THE GRAND CANYON

with an appendix

Grand Canyon Echoes

Earle E. Spamer

RAVEN'S PERCH MEDIA • 2024

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NAMING THE GRAND CANYON

by Earle E. Spamer

Spamer, Earle Edward (1952–) [Spamer pronounced *spah*-mer]

Naming the Grand Canyon : with an appendix, Grand Canyon echoes

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NAMING THE GRAND CANYON

ABSTRACT. The origin of the name "Grand Canyon" is unknown. It was not the neological invention of John Wesley Powell in 1869, as is often retold. Earlier in the 19th century it was known as "Big Canyon" and "Great Canyon," perhaps the translation of the term by which French-speaking mountain men may have described it—*un grand cañon*. Both appellations inattentively survived the coming of "Grand Canyon," but only for a couple of decades. The earliest known non-Indigenous term, *Puerto de Bucareli*, was conferred in the diary of the Franciscan friar Francisco Garcés when he visited the Havasupai people in 1776, the first non-Native person known to have reached the Grand Canyon since a party of Spanish conquistadores arrived on the rim 236 years earlier, in 1540 (who are not recorded as having given it a name). Ingenious misspellings of the *puerto* appeared on manuscript and printed maps in the 18th and 19th centuries but its association as Garcés's mountain pass for the Colorado River was never remembered, nor did it label an entire canyon. The origins for each "Canyon" name, though, remain mysteries, including the first known appearance of "Grand Canyon" in 1857 that disappointingly lacked an admission of neologism or credit to another source. This has not dissuaded travelers and writers from exploiting the name for other landscapes around the world or from exercising it in a superfluity of analogies and metaphors. In the end, an answer to the question, "Who named the Grand Canyon?" may be unessential, given that Native peoples have had words from time immemorial that affirm long spiritual and cultural associations with the canyon.

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The **"Appendix—Grand Canyon Echoes"** (pp. 29–42) is an overview of the nomenclatural reach of the Grand Canyon, its name exploited for hundreds of other physiographic features around the world and on other worlds and prolifically used in analogy and metaphor.

Introduction

FOR NEARLY A CENTURY, a variety of historical reviews and opinion pieces have brought forward a changing narrative on the specific question, "Who named the Grand Canyon?" There should have been an easy answer, and for a while it seemed that there was, but it wasn't so. The following publications—all referred to and cited throughout the present study—are those that relayed the record through the incremental stages of devotion, denial, and discovery, only to end with a shrug of the shoulders. Each of them contain more detailed information for their positions. Readers with the time or persistence should examine them through—in order—to appreciate the intricacies behind the present documented but summary work, which, brought up to date, introduces its own facts and assessments, too.

1933 Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, "Naming the Grand Canyon," *Science*, new series, Vol. 77 (April 7), pp. 349-350.

1968 O. Dock Marston, "Who Named the Grand Canyon?" *Pacific Historian*, Vol. 12, no. 3 (Summer), pp. 4-8.

1997 Earle Spamer, "The Canyon Grand By Any Other Name", *Nature Notes* (Grand Canyon National Park), Vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring), pp. 7-9.

2013 Earle Spamer, "Once Again, 'Who Named the Grand Canyon?'—and Other Obscure Grand Canyon 'Firsts'." *The Ol' Pioneer*, Vol. 24, no. 2 (Spring), pp. 4-16.

2018 Earle Spamer, "Connections: It's Always Who You Know and What You Hear," American Philosophical Society Library blog (April 20, 2018), https://www.amphilsoc.org/blog/connections-its-always-who-you-know-and-what-you-hear; last accessed November 29, 2024.

2018 Earle Spamer, "An Ill Wind Blows: Did John Wesley Powell Claim Jump the Grand Canyon?" *Boatman's Quarterly Review* (Grand Canyon River Guides, Flagstaff, Arizona), Vol. 31, no. 2 (Summer), pp. 10-12.

2022 Earle Spamer, "Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon: The Mysterious Evolution of a Name", *The Ol' Pioneer* (Journal of the Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 33, no. 1 (Winter), pp. 8-18.

That most of these are my own publications indicates only infatuation and persistence in my personal attention to the Grand Canyon's interthreading histories and worldwide publications. They also demonstrate that the field was pretty much static after Dock Marston put to rest the long-standing contention that the geologist, ethnologist, and explorer John Wesley Powell was the one who named Grand Canyon, although Marston's work seems to have not received as wide attention as it should have. But quite a lot more evidence still lay buried in the pages and maps turned out during and before Powell's time, evidence that, once recovered, led in new directions to the greater question, apparently not asked, "How many names has the Grand Canyon?" *(see pp. 25-27)*.

The influences that have driven me likewise led me into professional work in a broad variety of scholarly research collections, from which I learned to apply the academic techniques and resources to my studies (in their sixth decade now) of the Grand Canyon and the Colorado River. *Naming the Grand Canyon* is the record of the Grand Canyon's nomenclature and a synopsis of its wide-ranging literary influences, as of 2024. I hope that others may now discover more information that can productively supersede this work.

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

Figure 1

The text illustrated in *Figure 1* was a turning point in the literary and cartographical explorations that have guided this study. It is by far the earliest known publication of the name "Grand Canyon," one that unambiguously locates the canyon, too. It appears in 1857 as a footnote on page 97 of Lorin Blodget's substantial work, *Climatology of the United States*.[1] Blodget *(Figure 2)* did not claim he named the Grand Canyon, nor did he give other credit for it (Sitgreaves had only called it "the great cañon"). Yet why is John Wesley Powell still so often indorsed as the one who named the Grand Canyon in 1869?

The story is more involved than certifying the first use of a name. To appreciate the Grand Canyon's unfixed nomenclatural footing, we must go first to 1540, then ahead to 1776 and eventually to 1869 and today. The information marshaled here traces historical trajectories for what is now practically a trademark, to corroborate that J. W. Powell did not coin the name, and, however unsatisfactory it may be in the end, to substantiate the position that we may never know who extemporized the name "Grand Canyon."

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[1] Lorin Blodget, *Climatology of the United States, and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent* (J. B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, and Trübner and Co., London, 1857).

Blodget's reference to Sitgreaves refers to the U.S. Army expedition led by Lt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves in 1851 across the northern tier of New Mexico Territory. The report was published two years later: L. Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers* (Robert Armstrong, Public Printer; 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 59, 1853, with map). The Colorado River is also mentioned on Blodget's p. 92.

The volume, royal octavo containing fold-out charts with colored ink, was available by subscription in the U.S. and England. It was noted as "Just Published" in a Lippincott advertisement on July 18 (*American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, Vol. 3, no. 29, p. 463). The volume sold for $5.00 and for 28s in the U.K.; an inflationary rate to the present day is equal to about $180.

Figure 2

Lorin Blodget (1823–1901)

Detail from one of two large-format posed professional photographs by the Gilbert & Bacon studio, taken in Blodget's study at 1324 South Broad Street, Philadelphia; presented in 1900 to the American Philosophical Society, also in Philadelphia, to which he had been elected a member in 1872.

(American Philosophical Society, M42.27.34)

A statistician and climatologist, Blodget is an unlikely player in the hunt for who named the Grand Canyon. Other than his brief footnoted reference in 1857 to the reconnoitering expedition led six years earlier by Lt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves, wherein he inserted the first known appearance of the term *Grand Cañon of the Colorado* [*Figure 1 herein*], he apparently had no other interactions on the subject.

In 1851, Blodget was hired by the Smithsonian Institution to compile and make sense of the meteorological data that were being gathered from all quarters. By most accounts he was brilliant, capable, and self-assured of his work. He kept his scientific colleagues apprised of his analyses, delivering three papers to the 1853 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which he attended in Cleveland, Ohio, with his superior, Joseph Henry, the Smithsonian's first and long-serving Secretary (that is, director), himself a physicist and inventor. But Henry later revealed, "to my surprise I found that Mr. Blodget had entered all the papers on Meteorology entirely in his own name without mentioning the Smithsonian Institution."

Not only did Blodget feel that he owned the data that he worked on—culminating with his acclaimed 1857 analytical study, *Climatology of the United States*—he also had compiled an exhaustive list of about 1,000 observers and correspondents from across North America and nearby, which Henry asked him to turn over. He refused—one more in a series of insubordinate manners. Henry fired him in 1854, without getting the bound register, an address book which Blodget later gave to the American Philosophical Society ("1854–Washington. Observers and Correspondents of the Smithsonian Institution," Mss.925.B62).

Blodget settled in Philadelphia in 1857, when he began his broad statistical career in earnest, working with the U.S. Treasury Department and the Philadelphia Board of Trade, among other agencies. He also performed analyses of U.S. Census data and was a prolific author of publications on foreign and domestic commerce and finance (see numerous listings at https://worldcat.org).

"Statement of Professor Henry in reference to Lorin Blodget," mid- February 1855 (https://siarchives.si.edu/collections/siris_sic_13365); Mark Rothenberg, "Henry and the National Museum: Making a Deal," Smithsonian Material Culture Forum Grapevine (May 2000, https://siarchives.si.edu/oldsite/siarchivesold/history/jhp/joseph24.htm). [Web links no longer valid and not rediscovered, but originally seen and cited in 2018 by Earle Spamer, "An Ill Wind Blows: Did John Wesley Powell Claim Jump the Grand Canyon?" *Boatman's Quarterly Review* (Grand Canyon River Guides, Flagstaff, Arizona), Vol. 31, no. 2 (Summer 2018), pp. 10-12.]

"Lorin Blodgett's [*sic*] Life Is Ebbing. Eminent Statistician Dying At His Home—His Long Public Career." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Vol. 144, no. 83 (March 24, 1901), p. 1. [Blodget in fact died that same day.]

Earle Spamer, "Connections: It's Always Who You Know and What You Hear," American Philosophical Society Library blog, Philadelphia (https://www.amphilsoc.org/blog/connections-its-always-who-you-know-and-what-you-hear, May 3, 2018; last accessed November 29, 2024).

1540–1596—López de Cárdenas and Castañeda de Nájara Set the Stage [2]

BETWEEN 1539 AND 1542 an invasion was under way from Nueva España into the lands that today are the North American Southwest and Great Plains. It was a huge expeditionary party organized and led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. He (and others to various degrees) had a monetary interest in the campaign, not only on behalf of the kingdom of Spain but to recoup his personal investment in the expedition by plundering the fabulous Seven Cities of Cíbola, which in the end were only the stuff of mis- and disinformation.

The story is well known and frequently retold, in summary and at length alike. Historians and other scholars have been delving into the *entrada*'s discovered caches of records, and elucidating them, for two centuries, at least. Not until George P. Winship published in 1896 the only known detailed contemporary account of the *entrada* did the history of the expedition come to the fore. He transcribed and translated a Spanish manuscript originally written by Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera in the 1560s at Culiacán in Nueva España.[3] Winship worked from a copy of it that was made in 1596 by Bartolome Niño Velázquez in Seville, Spain, which was in 1896 in the Lenox Library in New York. The original 1560s manuscript apparently no longer exists. Earlier in the 19th century, the 1596 copy had been acquired by antiquarians from the collections of historian Henri Ternaux-Compans, in France. It is to this copy that every historian has had to refer.[4]

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[2] This section is modified from Earle E. Spamer (comp., ed.), *"My God, there it is!" The world encounters the Grand Canyon, 1540-1926* (Raven's Perch Media, 2022), an anthology in which are some extensive transcriptions from the cited works, with notes. (López de Cárdenas is often referred to as Cárdenas, and Castañeda de Nájara is known as Castañeda.)

[3] Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (eds., translators, annotators), *Documents of the Coronado expedition, 1539-1542 : "they were not familiar with His Majesty, nor did they wish to be his subjects"* (Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, Texas, 2005).

[4] "Relacion de la Jornada de Cíbola conpuesta por Po. de Castañeda Nacera. Donde setrata de de aq-llos poblados, y ritos, y costumbres, la qual fue el año de 1540. Historia del Conde Fernando Gonzales impressa" [*sic*]. The manuscript is no. 63 in the Rich Collection (formerly of the Lenox Library), Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, New York City, still in the original binding of 19th-century owner Henri Ternaux-Compans. Collation: cover-leaf, signature leaf [transcriber Bartolome Niño Velázquez], ornamental title-leaf, folios 1–157 (recto and verso). The encounter with Grand Canyon appears on folio 45 recto and verso and folio 46 recto and verso. These are reproduced in facsimile for the first time in their entirety, rather than as a sample page or two, in Spamer, *"My God, there it is!"…* (refer to pp. 53-61 therein). The entire 1596 copy of the *Relación* has been digitized and is accessible as 342 individual images online at https://archives.nypl.org/mss/257063 (last accessed November 29, 2024). (The NYPL catalog record indicates, in error, that the missing original was written in 1540.) Niño Velázquez's colophon (folio 157 recto) confirms the date when he completed the transcription: "acabose de tresladar sabada a veinte y seis de octubre de mill y quintientos y noventa y seis anos en sevilla" (*transl.* 'finished Saturday, October twenty-six, one thousand and five hundred and ninety-six years in Seville').

Ternaux-Compans had identified the 1596 copy in the manuscript collection of Antonio de Uguina, in Madrid, who in turn had acquired the collection of Juan Bautista Muñoz (although scholars recognize that the details of early provenencial information is unclear). After the 1835 death of Uguina, Ternaux-Compans purchased the collection, from which around 1844 the Spanish manuscripts were purchased by Massachusetts bibliographer–

Castañeda de Nájara's historical account recollects the Coronado *entrada* from today's Mexico up into the Great Plains, and return. En route, in 1540, is a brief record of a side trip, under the command of García López de Cárdenas, by a small group of Spaniards who were led by Hopi guides from their home mesas to the Grand Canyon (the narrator Castañeda did not accompany that party). The purpose of this venture was to ascertain the presence of a great river that they had been told lay to the west. They hoped (correctly) that it was the Río Tizon (Río Colorado). They of course knew nothing of the big surprise—the Grand Canyon. This, too, is a story now well known; and it comes to us today with its own modern exercises that seek to discover the route that the Spaniards took to the canyon, the time taken to follow it, and the ultimate place of their arrival, where they spent three days. (These questions still are not satisfactorily resolved due to various ambiguities.) The story is also frequently retold for its brief note of the descent by three men into the canyon, in an attempt to reach the river. They failed, and in so doing we have the first record of how distances and scales in the canyon deceive at first sight, an illusion that has often been commented upon after the canyon first became touristically well known in the late 19th century.[5]

The manuscript account of the Coronado *entrada* was poorly known until Winship more widely disclosed it in an annual report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology. It had already been in print more obscurely for 58 years in Ternaux-Compans' somewhat unsatisfactory French translation published in Paris in 1838.[6] It fell upon Winship to concurrently provide the first transcription of the original Spanish text and the first English translation (with issues of its own), precisely three hundred years after Niño Velázquez made the copy of Castañeda's now-missing original.[7]

The Grand Canyon was first widely revealed to the world by the American exploratory venture led by U.S. Army Lt. Joseph C. Ives in 1858. The party traveled up the lower Colorado

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bookseller Obadiah Rich (through Henry Stevens, an agent working on behalf of Rich and others), and in 1848 Rich's collection was acquired by James Lenox (though the relationship between Rich and Lenox is not clear), whose collection in turn became the Lenox Library, which later became an elemental part of the New York Public Library. For a history of the Rich Collection see Edwin Blake Brownrigg, *Colonial Latin American Manuscripts and Transcripts in the Obadiah Rich Collection: An Inventory and Index* (The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; and Readex Books, New York, 1978).

5 See Earle Spamer, "'...bigger than the great tower of Seville': Sizing up the 1540 encounter in Grand Canyon," *The Ol' Pioneer* (Journal of the Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 30, no. 3 (Summer 2019), pp. 11-12. And see visitors' writings in the anthological work by Spamer, *"My God, there it is!"…*

6 "Relation du voyage de Cibola entrepris en 1540; ou l'on traite de toutes les peuplades qui habitent cette contrée, de leurs mœurs et coutumes, par Pédro de Castañeda de Nagera." *In* Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique publiés pour la première fois, en français, par H. Ternaux-Compans,* [Volume 9] *Relation du voyage de Cibola, entrepris en 1540. Inédit.* (Arthus Bertrand, Paris, 1838). (The Grand Canyon encounter is on pp. 62-64 and is also transcribed in Spamer, *"My God, there it is!"…*)

7 George P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542" (*U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report, Part 1*, 1896). See "Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola conpuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera. Donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados y ritos, y costumbres, la qual fue el Año de 1540," pp. 414-469 (the Grand Canyon encounter is on p. 429), and "Translation of the narrative of Castañeda. Account of the Expedition to Cibola which took place in the year 1540, in which all those settlements, their ceremonies and customs, are described. Written

River in a small steamboat and with mules moved overland across New Mexico Territory, visiting the Grand Canyon twice. The scenes of the river and canyons inspired worldwide awareness through the well illustrated expedition report, published in 1861.[8] It was Balduin Möllhausen, though, accompanying the journey as artist and naturalist's assistant, who beat Ives into print, by the better part of a year it seems, with his own lengthy but personable, modestly illustrated narrative, but it was in German and never was easily available to the English-reading public.[9] Hints of the great Grand Canyon had existed beforehand, but only through the gossip of guides who aided other expeditions that did not go to the canyon. It was known then as Big Canyon and Great Canyon, yet, aside from a couple of brief comments, no reliable accounts exist of Westerners having been there during the mountain man era.

In 2005 Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint compiled, transcribed, translated, and annotated all of the known documents, 1539–1542, from the Coronado *entrada*, including Castañeda's account.[10] Their work is structured more rigorously than those that were cobbled together by Winship and by others of the 20th century.[11] So history marches apace, and yet never is there note of a name having been given to the canyon by the first Spanish incursionists.

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by Pedro de Castañeda, of Najera," pp. 470-546 (the Grand Canyon encounter is on p. 489). (These are also transcribed in Spamer, *"My God, there it is!"…*)

8 Joseph C. Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West, explored in 1857 and 1858 by Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, Corps of Topographical Engineers, under the direction of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, A. A. Humphreys, Captain Topographical Engineers, in charge. By order of the Secretary of War.* (Government Printing Office, Washington), 5 parts and four appendices in 1 volume. (Volume: U.S. 30th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive Document [no number] with four maps; concurrently as House Document 90 [Serial 1058, Volume 14] with two maps.)

9 Balduin Möllhausen, *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico, unternommen als Mitglied der im Auftrage der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten ausgesandten Colorado-Expedition* (Hermann Costenoble, Leipzig, 1861), 2 volumes.

There was an undated edition, possibly 1860 and apparently more economically bound, from the firm of Otto Purfürst that could have been a commission by the principal firm, Costenoble. I have seen no evidence that indicates which of the two imprints, Purfürst or Costenoble, was actually the first to be distributed; this despite the fact that p. [456] of Volume 1 is an advertising page for publications from Costenoble, which is present in *both* the Costenoble and Purfürst printings. See Earle E. Spamer, *The Leipzig Imprints of Balduin Möllhausen's* Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico *(1860, 1861): Bibliographical Notes* (Raven's Perch Media, 2022).

Regarding the Ives expedition's overland venture from the Colorado River to the Grand Canyon, see Spamer, *Möllhausen's Grand Canyon: An English translation from Chapters 21–25 of* Travels into the Rocky Mountains of North America to the High Plateau of New Mexico [Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico] *(Leipzig, 1861) with a transcription of coinciding parts from Chapters 6–8 of the "General Report" of Lt. Joseph C. Ives'* Report Upon the Colorado River of the West *(1861)* (Raven's Perch Media, 2022).

10 "The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera's narrative, 1560s (copy, 1596); New York Public Library, Rich Collection, no. 63," pp. 378-493 and Notes, pp. 669-690, *in* Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (eds., translators, annotators), *Documents of the Coronado expedition, 1539-1542 : "they were not familiar with His Majesty, nor did they wish to be his subjects"* (Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, Texas, 2005). (The Grand Canyon encounter appears on pp. 397-398 [translation], 451 [transcription of the original Spanish].)

1776—*Puerto de Bucareli* [12]

ON MANY MAPS, particularly from the 19th century, is a name usually placed at the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers. It originates with the Franciscan friar Francisco Hermenegildo Tomás Garcés soon after he had visited the Havasupai on Cataract Creek (Havasu Canyon) in 1776. Viewing the expanse of the canyon carved in the plateau, seeing it as a great mountain pass through which the Colorado River flowed toward the sea, he bestowed on it the name *Puerto de Bucareli*, honoring the sitting Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa,[13] who had mandated Garcés's extended missionary

Figure 3

Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa (1717–1779)

Virrey de Nueva España [Viceroy of New Spain], 1771–1779

Oil on canvas portrait by Francisco Antonio Vallejo, 1772

Salón de Virreyes, Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec–Salass de Historia, Ciudad de México

(Wikimedia Commons, photo credited to Bicentenario México, https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antonio_Mar%C3%ADa_de_Bucareli_y_Urs%C3%BAa#/media/Archivo:AntonioMariadeBucareliyUrsua.jpg, *Dominio público; last accessed November 29, 2024)*

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[11] See the various translated recountings of the Grand Canyon visit of 1540 documented, summarized, and selectively transcribed in Spamer, *"My God, there it is!"…*, pp. 51-71.

[12] This section is modified from "Introduction to the Puerto de Bucareli Section" *in* Earle E. Spamer, *Mapping Grand Canyon: a chronological cartobibliography and chorographical study: Puerto de Bucareli, Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon*, 2nd edition (Raven's Perch Media, 2025).

[13] Elliott Coues (transl., ed.), *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer* (Francis P. Harper, New York, 1900), Vol. II, p. 348. This is the first publication in English, from a contemporary manuscript copy, of Francisco Garcés's diary in the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology (now a part of the Smithsonian Institution). (The original diary apparently does not survive but is known through several slightly varying manuscript copies.) See also notes and transcriptions in Spamer, *"My God, there it is!"…*, pp. 74-77. Coues's translation of the entry from June 26, 1776, after Garcés had left Havasu Canyon, reads: "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."

Another manuscript copy of Garcés's diary was published in English translation by John Galvin (transl., ed.) [from his personal library], *A record of travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776 : Fr. Francisco Garces* (John Howell—Books, San Francisco, 1965; 2nd printing, 1967), a publication that was released by Galvin in the public domain (see additional extracts in Spamer, *"My God, there it is!"…*, pp. 75-76). There, Garcés wrote on June 26 (Galvin's translation): "Four more leagues southeast and south, and I stopped in sight of the succession of very

tour of the Southwest in 1775 and 1776. This is the first known Western name given to the Grand Canyon.

When the renowned explorer and geographer Alexander von Humboldt was working on his American geographical studies in New Spain in 1803, he examined maps of the territory and transcribed the Bucareli name that had first been set down in 1777 by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, who had recorded Garcés's honorific[14] (*see Figure 4 Left)*. Although the Geographical Introduction to Humboldt's *Political Essay* on New Spain[15] devotes several pages of discussion to the astronometrically measured location of the confluence of the Colorado and Gila Rivers, and mentions source information for specific locales in what today are northern Sonora and southern Arizona, he did not do the same for places farther to the

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deep gorges among which flows the Colorado River. From here I saw that in a very large mountain range extending from southeast to northwest and blue with distance a deep passage was cut, steep-sided like a man-made trough, through which the Colorado River enters these lands; I called it the **Puerto de Bucareli**. Although to my sight it seemed quite near, it was very hard to reach on account of the canyons in between. It lay to the east-northeast from where I looked. I saw toward the north some puffs of smoke which I was told were made by the Payuchas, who dwell on the other side of the river."

Garcés's diary had first been published in Spanish in 1854, about which Galvin (1965, p. i) remarks that it is the version with the most variations, "whether because it was changed by its publishers or transcribes a manuscript now lost." ("Diario y derrotero que siguió el M. R. P. Fr. Francisco Garces en su viaje hecho desde Octubre de 1775 hasta 17 de Setiembre de 1776, al Rio Colorado para reconocer las naciones que habitan sus márgenes, y á los pueblos del Moqui del Nuevo-México," in *Documentos para la historia de México. Segunda serie, Tomo 1.* F. Escalante y Comp., México, 1854, pp. 225-374.) This was reprinted as a reset "Secunda edición" in 1968 as *Diario de exploraciones en Arizona y California en los años de 1775 y 1776* (Introducción y notas de John Galvin) (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968 [Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Cuadernos, Serie documental, no. 6]). The transcription from June 26 reads: "Con cuatro leguas al sudeste y sur, paré a la vista de los profundísimos cajones que siguen por aquí, y entre ellos va el río Colorado. Vi desde aquí que en una sierra muy grande que azulea, y corre de sudeste al noroeste, un puerto abierto hasta abajo, como si artificialmente la hubieran cortado por el cual entra en estas tierras el río Colorado, llamé a este **puerto de Bucareli**; y aunque a la vista parecía cercano, era dificultoso llegar a él por los cajones que mediaban. Caía al esnordeste de mi vista. También vi al norte unos humazos que dijeron ser de los payuchas, que viven a la otra banda del río."

Garcés is sometimes said to have compared the canyon to a "prison," but this is a misnomer. While he records having had a satisfying visit with the Havasupai, things did not go well with the Hopi; most of them wanted nothing of his ministrations and refused him even lodging and food. He mentioned having been in a melancholy mood; this was on July 14, the day before he left the Hopi pueblos. Coues's translation of Garcés (p. 408) reads: ". . . the melancholy . . . caused me to see myself buried alive in that calaboose (*calabozo*) of cliffs and cañons, after having encountered such rebels at [*sic*] the Moquis." Thus, with a fresh experience Garcés was now imagining himself in a *calabozo*, a dungeon or prison cell. This was not Coues's Anglicized "calaboose," or prison, which other writers misinterpreted conveniently, topographically, and broadly to mean the Grand Canyon, disregarding Garcés's collective generalization of "cliffs and cañons" and where he was when he wrote this. It was in mid-July at the end of his disagreeable visit, not at the canyon after his more congenial stay with the Havasupai three weeks earlier when he was enamored enough to name the canyon for his administrative patron, Bucareli.

[14] About Miera, see most informatively John L. Kessell, *Miera y Pacheco; a Renaissance Spaniard in eighteenth-century New Mexico* (illustrations by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco) (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2013); see also in Earle E. Spamer, *THE GRAND CANON, Volume 3, Cartobibliography of the Grand Canyon and Lower Colorado River Regions in the United States and Mexico : a chorographical study : 16th to 21st centuries* (Raven's Perch Media, 3rd edition, 2025).

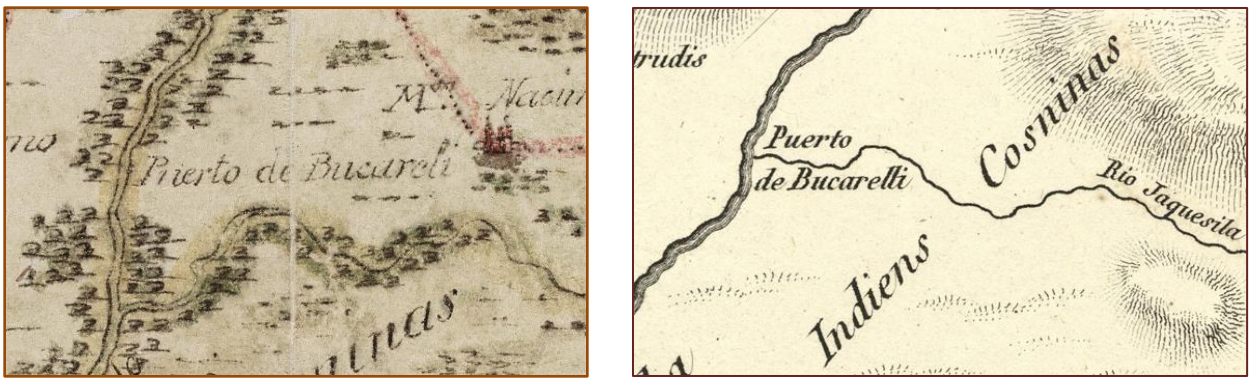

Figure 4. *Left.* Manuscript map *(detail)*, likely that of Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, with the legend, "*Derrotero hecho por Antonio Veléz y Escalante, Misionero para mejor conocimiento de las Misiones, pueblos de Indios y Presidios que se hallan en el Camino de Monterrey a Santa Fé de Nuebo Mexico. Laus deo Anno Domini 1777.*" The placement of the label *Puerto de Bucareli* is at the confluence of the *Rio Colorado* (north/south) and *Rio Jaquesita* (Little Colorado River, east/west) (the rivers' labels are not shown in this detail), amidst rocky symbols that signify encanyoned reaches of these rivers.
(Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4300.ct001515/; *last accessed November 29, 2024)*

The label *Puerto de Bucareli* seems to preserve Garcés's intention to name a "pass," shown as a gap in the encanyoned reach of the Colorado River (see just to the left of the word "Puerto," an observation apparently not specifically noticed before). But such a portrayal does not convey Garcés's nomenclatural application of the *puerto* to the chasm as a whole, as a pass for the river through the plateau. Instead, it shows a discrete gap, such as would be familiar in mountains, although here it is an interruption in canyon walls. Given that Miera was personally aware of some of the Colorado River's canyons from his travels with the Domínguez–Escalante expedition of 1776 [*see p. 12*], it seems odd that he would have made such an interpretation—unless through a misreading he thought that Garcés had identified a place similar to what became later known as the "Crossing of the Fathers" where that party had found a place to cross the encanyoned Colorado in today's southern Utah, an experience that would have been fresh in Miera's memory, a place where on the map Miera also shows a gap (though without a label).

Right. Alexander von Humboldt's 1808/1811 map of New Spain, "Carte Générale du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne" *(detail)*. The *puerto* is neatly inscribed at the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers. Without indications of canyon topography, it already has lost its topographical association as a "pass" and in fact its position seems to imply that it relates to the Little Colorado River. Humboldt has misspelled Miera's Bucareli and Jaquesita as Bucarelli and Jaquesila. *(1811 ed., American Philosophical Society)*

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north, leaving such information solely to his novel, detailed map of New Spain. He did, however, provide a lengthy annotated list of the maps that he had consulted, principally manuscripts, to create his map.[16] When Humboldt passed through Washington, D.C., on his way

[15] Alexander von Humboldt, *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne : ouvrae qui présente des recherches sur la géographie du Mexique . . . .* (Chez F. Schoell, Paris, 1808). (Numerous reprintings and translations.)

home to Europe in 1804, his own manuscript map was copied with his permission, which in turn was plagiarized with introduced errors for inclusion in Zebulon Pike's 1810 report on his western explorations east of the Rocky Mountains.[17]

Humboldt's map of New Spain was first published in 1808 in Paris and Tübingen, which was twice pirated in London in 1810 (only once offering a credit to Humboldt), while its more widely known 1811 printing was published in Paris alone.[18] He was the first to alter the Bucareli honorific, as "Puerto de Bucarelli" *(see Figure 4 Right)*. Later copyists continued to offer up even more respellings of Bucareli. Fourteen variants of the *Puerto de Bucareli* label have been noticed on manuscript and published maps, and in texts, which for historical completeness are collated here: *Bucarelli*, *Bucaretti*, *Bucaretty*, *Bucuretti*, *de Bucareli*, *P. Bacarelli*, *P. Bucarette*, *P. Bucaretti*, *Puerto Bucarelli*, *Puerto Bucarello*, *Puerto de Bucarelli*, *Puerto del Bacorelli*, *Puerto del Bacorilli*, and *S. Bacarelli*. The last of these names was perhaps thought to have been San Bacarelli, among the similar place names that actually were the recorded positions, on Miera's maps, of campsites of the expedition that circumambulated a good portion of the Colorado Plateau from Santa Fé in 1776, led by the friars Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante, whom Miera accompanied. They were trying to find a northerly route that would lead to the California missions but were eventually deterred by weather and lack of food. The party did not see the Grand Canyon, except nearby at the Colorado River locale known today as Lee's Ferry, at the physiographical and geolog-

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[16] Among the maps Humboldt said he consulted was "*Mapa de la California, carte manuscrite des pères Francisco Garces et Pedro Font, 1777.* Elle a aussi été gravée à Mexico, mais avec une erreur de trois minutes en moins pour toutes les latitudes. Elle est intéressante pour la Pimeria alta et pour le Rio Colorado." (p. 104) [the 1811 ed. of the *Essai Politique* retrieved here] (transl.: '*Mapa de la California, manuscript map by Fathers Francisco Garces and Pedro Font, 1777.* It was . . . inscribed in Mexico City, but with a diminution error of three minutes for all latitudes. It is interesting for the Pimeria Alta and for the Rio Colorado.').

[17] Zebulon Pike, *An account of expeditions to the sources of the Mississippi, and through the western parts of Louisiana, to the sources of the Arkansaw, Kans, La Platte, and Pierre Jaun, rivers : performed by order of the government of the United States during the years 1805, 1806, and 1807. And a tour through the interior parts of New Spain, when conducted through these provinces, by order of the Captain-General, in the year 1807* (C. and A. Conrad, and Co., Philadelphia [etc.], 1810). [Pike's "conducted" tour in New Spain was while under arrest by Spanish authorities, for having entered militarily and without authorization. He was a lieutenant at the time.]

[18] See David Y. Allen, "Alexander von Humboldt and the mapping of Mexico," *e-Perimetron*, Vol. 9 (2014), no. 2, pp. 79-96; and see illustration and cartographical summary, including Pike and other plagiarizing copyists, in Spamer, *Mapping Grand Canyon*, pp. 38-43.

Humboldt (1808), "Carte Générale du Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne depuis la Parallele de 16° jusqu'au Parellele de 38° (Latitude Nord) Dressée Sur des Observations Astronomiques et sur l'ensemble des Matériaux qui existoient à Mexico, au commencement l'anée 1804. Par Alexandre de Humboldt." 2 sheets in *Atlas géographique et physique du Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne, fondé sur des observations astronomiques, des mesures trigonométriques et des nivellemens barométriques* (Chez Fr. Schoell, Paris, et a Tübingue, chez J. G. Cotta, libraire), folio. [This was published in French by the multi-lingual Humboldt because he had first returned to preferred residence in France following his celebrated geographical explorations in South and Central America.]

Humboldt (1811) is the same as that for Humboldt (1808), with the exception that the imprint is solely that of "Chez F. Schoell," Paris.

ical division between Glen and Marble Canyons. They did not cross the river there but retreated northward to a location in today's Utah known as *El Vado de los Padres* [Crossing of the Fathers], known to Indigenous peoples as the Ute ford, presently inundated by Lake Powell.

The Bucareli name was repeated based on the fundamental authority of Humboldt's New Spain map, without knowledge of the intent of Miera's label that had been adopted from Garcés's diary. Even Humboldt had had no understanding of its special context. Some Bucareli labels that appeared on subsequently copied maps were not only misspelled but were geographically moved and/or were misleadingly shown with symbols that pinpoint precise locations.[19] So the Grand Canyon was noted, by name at least rather than topographically, on 18th and 19th century maps long before Ives and Powell, but no one knew its significance.

1869—Powell Defines the Grand Canyon But Does Not Name It [20]

GRAND CANYON entered more modern, fairly well accessed accounts first through Charles Christopher Parry's detailed reporting of the James White saga of 1867. White, a prospector, said he had, in the process of fleeing from Indians, wound up passing down the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon in 1867. Whatever he had been through, he was rescued from a rude raft, nearly dead from exposure and starvation, by Mormon colonists at Callville, more than 50 miles downstream from the mouth of Grand Canyon. White recovered and on September 26 wrote a short letter from Callville addressed to his brother "Jashay H. White" [Joshua] in Kenosha, Wisconsin. He said he had passed through "Big Canon."[21] The entire journey, perhaps from the San Juan River in Utah, was more than 350 river miles, depending upon the still-disputed starting point.

"Big Canyon" is a name by which the Grand Canyon was known for many years, perhaps most prominently in J. C. Ives' *Report* of 1861 when the expedition cartographer, Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein, labeled the length of the peculiarly mapped canyon in

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[19] See examples illustrated in Spamer, *Mapping Grand Canyon*, pp. 33-39.

[20] This section is modified from Earle Spamer, "Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon: The mysterious evolution of a name," *The Ol' Pioneer* (Journal of the Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 33, no. 1 (Winter 2022), pp. 8-18. To follow the cartographical history of these names, see Earle E. Spamer, *Mapping Grand Canyon: a chronological cartobibliography and chorographical study: Puerto de Bucareli, Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon*, 2nd edition (Raven's Perch Media, 2025).

[21] A transcription of White's two-page letter, with photographs of it and its mailing envelope, were first published in William Wallace Bass's *Adventures in the Canyons of the Colorado, by Two of Its Earliest Explorers, James White and W. W. Hawkins, with Introduction and Notes by William Wallace Bass, the Grand Canyon Guide* (Published at Grand Canyon by the Authors, 1920). The caption on the letter, in White's own hand, reads "Navigation of the Big Canon A terrible voyage."

block capital letters, BIG CAÑON OF THE COLORADO *(see Figure 5)*. The origin of that name is, however, unknown. I have elsewhere postulated that both of the appellations that predated Grand Canyon, Big Canyon and Great Canyon, could have come through the oral traditions of French-American trappers, who might have said it was *un grand cañon*—a big/large/great canyon—using as was customary in non-Spanish languages of the time the borrowed Spanish word "cañon" with or without the cedilla.[22] To be sure, this is conjecture given that no pertinent written records are known from among the mountain men; yet history writers, professional and avocational both, have reported (usually through secondary resources) that the canyon had been seen by some of these ranging men. While this is a very uncertain position without corroboration, it is intuitively improbable that the mountain men did *not* know of the canyon. It was in fact a part of a larger system of canyons, some of them known and visited, that followed the Green, Grand, and Colorado Rivers. As a travel route the Grand Canyon itself was impractical if not impossible. This is not particularly relevant since easier routes to the trapping and market areas were had around it anyway (for example, by following the Virgin River between Utah and the lower Colorado River country) and accordant logistical difficulties would have had to be resolved in carrying away the goods of any successful trapping that might have been done along the Colorado in Grand Canyon.

James White's experience was widely recounted, thanks to Parry and those who repeated it as a sensationally true tale, the veracity of which is still argued about today.[23] In April 1868, Parry's first report of White's epic trip was titled in a journal, "Account of the Passage through the Great Cañon of the Colorado of the West,"[24] but when it was reprinted the following year for inclusion in William J. Palmer's *Report of Surveys Across the Continent*

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[22] Spamer, "Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon." The word "cañon" and its Anglicized "canyon" were long in use in the American Southwest, in print as early as the 1840s, employing the local Spanish term for valleys of exceptional proportions; see more as summarized in Spamer, "The Canyon Grand By Any Other Name," *Nature Notes* (Grand Canyon National Park), Vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 7-9. Also note that as one searches for early instances of "Grand Canyon," numerous items will be found in French-language sources from around 1860. These, however, all refer to discussions or reports that cite the Ives expedition's findings or the published *Report* of 1861, which translate Ives' "Big Cañon" into French as "Grand Cañon," thus in these instances the phrase cannot be construed to be early uses of the Americanized Grand Canyon name.

[23] See particularly Eilean Adams, *Hell or High Water: James White's disputed passage through the Grand Canyon, 1867* (Utah State University Press, Logan, 2001). For the literary review see Earle E. Spamer, *"It was this way..." The Grand Canyon's indubitable James White and John Hance: An introduction and annotated bibliography* (Raven's Perch Media, 2023).

[24] C. C. Parry, "Account of the Passage Through the Great Cañon of the Colorado of the West, From Above the Mouth of Green River to the Head of Steamboat Navigation at Callville, in the Months of August and September, 1867, by James White, Now Living at Callville. Reported January 6, 1868, to J. D. Perry, Esq., Pres't of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, by C. C. Parry, Ass't Geologist, U. P. R. Surv." *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis*, Vol. 2, pp. 499-503. [Published April 1868 (see date at beginning of signature 32, p. 491 of volume). Delivered to a meeting of the Academy of Science of St. Louis by the well-known western American botanist George Engelmann, February 17, 1868 (see notation, p. 584 of volume).]

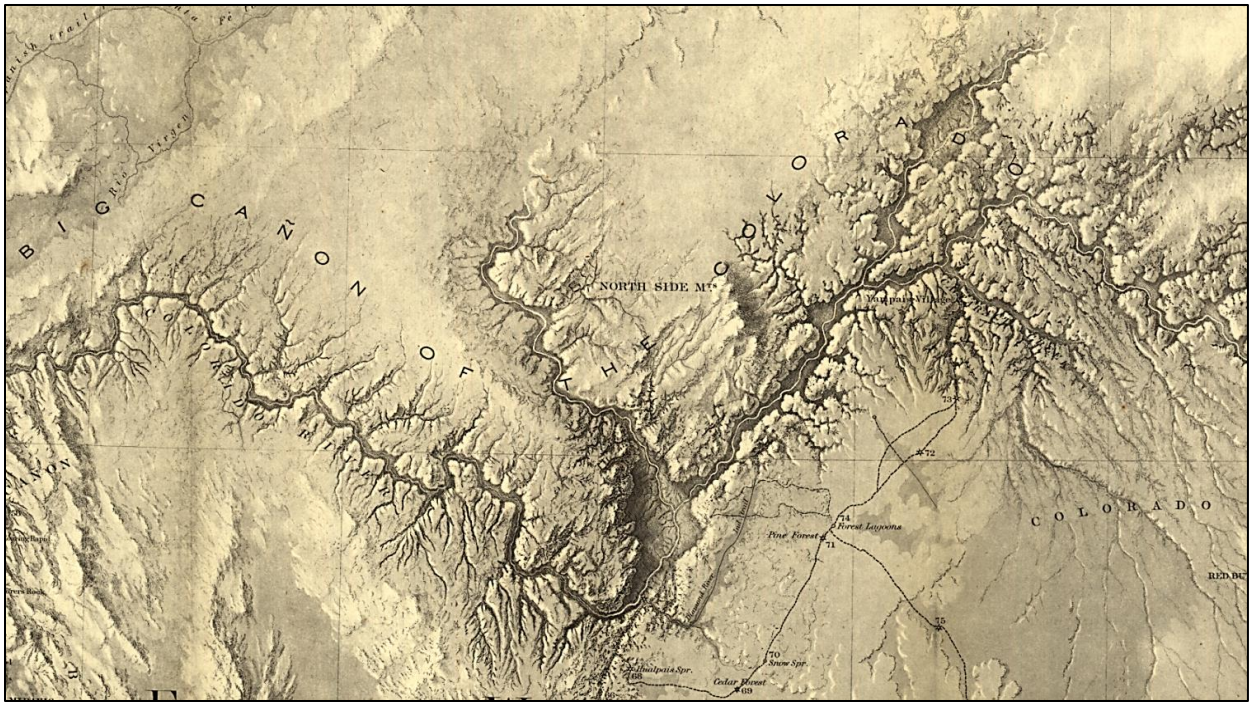

Figure 5. *Detail from* Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein, "Map No. 2. Rio Colorado of the West, Explored by 1st. Lieut. Joseph C. Ives, Topl. Engrs. under the direction of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, A. A. Humphreys, Capt. Topl. Engrs. in charge, by order of Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War. 1858. drawn by Frhr. F. W. v. Egloffstein. Topographer to the Expedition. Scale of 12 miles to one Inch or 1:760320." in *Report upon the Colorado River of the West, explored in 1857 and 1858 by Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, Corps of Topographical Engineers, under the direction of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, A. A. Humphreys, Captain Topographical Engineers, in charge. By order of the Secretary of War.* Government Printing Office, Washington, 1861. *(Library of Congress*, https://www.loc.gov/item/79692915/; *last accessed November 29, 2024)*

Note the prominent labeling of "BIG CAÑON OF THE COLORADO" along the river's course. (The label "Colorado" seen at lower right of this detail is part of that for the "Colorado Plateau.") The finely dotted lines on the southeast quadrant of this detail are the routes that the Ives party traveled; the numerals indicate sequentially numbered campsites of the expedition, which began on the lower Colorado River.

Egloffstein had not been able to make a satisfactory survey of the course of the Colorado River in the central and eastern parts of the Grand Canyon, leaving much to supposition. While the course in the western part of this detail fairly traces the Colorado as mapped today, east of the peculiarly bulbous open topographical area (which is the Parashant Canyon confluence) the river's course approaches directly from the northeast (note that the more distant reaches of the Colorado and Parashant fade away to subjectivity on the north). The crenulated complex of tributaries on the east side of this detail depict Egloffstein's course for the Little Colorado River (even though his Big Cañon label ambiguously curls at the end either to follow the Little Colorado's encanyoned course or to straddle the main Colorado). The stream approaching from the southeast corner is Cataract Creek, erroneously portrayed as a tributary to the Little Colorado.

the title became the hybrid "Grand Canon of the Colorado. Account of the Passage of the Great Canon of the Colorado."[25]

The name "Grand Canyon" itself has an obscured origin, despite the parroted claims that John Wesley Powell named it in 1869. The earliest record, in print, of Powell's having used the "grand" version of the name seems to be in a letter he had written to Ulysses S. Grant from Normal, Illinois, April 2, 1868, which was read into the published record of the U.S. House of Representatives on May 11. In asking for federal assistance through the army quartermaster in support of the proposed Colorado River expedition, he commented,[26]

> It is hoped that a survey of that river ['the Colorado river of the West'] can be made from its source to the point where the survey made by Lieutenant Ives was stopped. [. . .] I need not urge upon your attention the importance of the general scientific survey to the increase of knowledge. It is believed that the grand cañon[27] of the Colorado will give the best geological section on the continent.

Shortly after Powell left the river at the end of August 1869, a long communiqué from him was printed in the *New-York Tribune* for September 30, detailing the expedition's river itinerary and accomplishments.[28] To entice readers, the newspaper editors juiced up the title with tag lines like "shooting rapids and cascades" and "hair-breadth 'scapes." Just as he had before the expedition, Powell referred to "Grand Canyon." He did not, however, "name it." That piece of derailed history was on the insistent authority of Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, the teenaged member of Powell's second Colorado River expedition in 1871–72, who for years, particularly long after Powell's death in 1902, assured his reading public that it was the

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[25] C. C. Parry, "Grand Canon of the Colorado. Account of the Passage of the Great Canon of the Colorado, From Above the Mouth of Green River to the Head of Steamboat Navigation at Callville, in the Months of August and September, 1867, by James White, Now Living at Callville." Pages 232-236 *in* William J. Palmer, *Report of Surveys Across the Continent, in 1867-'68, on the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-second Parallels, for a Route Extending the Kansas Pacific Railway to the Pacific Ocean at San Francisco and San Diego. By Gen. Wm. J. Palmer. December 1st, 1868* (Privately printed in Philadelphia by W. B. Selheimer, Printer, 1869). "Great Canyon" was contemporaneous with but apparently a little later than "Big Canyon." It likewise has an unknown origin (see Spamer, "Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon").

[26] [Letter, J. W. Powell to General Ulysses S. Grant, dated Normal, Illinois, April 2, 1868.] See p. 2407 under the House of Representatives proceedings general heading, "Colorado Exploring Expedition," in *The Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the Second Session Fortieth Congress* (Washington, 1868).

[27] One may quibble that when lower case letters were used, as in "big cañon," "great cañon," or "grand cañon," it was only an adjective, not a proper noun; but individual writing styles were imperfect in those days, and style guides were nonexistent. Modern readers should not place too much emphasis on the precision of typography. Either, both, or neither of the two words might be capitalized; italics on the term or one word might be whimsical, and a cedilla on the "n" was user's choice.

[28] "Scenery of the Colorado. Interesting Report from Col. [*sic*] Powell. The most wonderful scenery in the world—925 miles of canon and 300 waterfalls—rock walls 4,000 feet high—shooting rapids and cascades—hair-breadth 'scapes—loss of three men—ancient Indian towns—a fascinating story." *New-York Tribune*, Vol. 29, no. 8886 (September 30, 1869), pp. 1-2. Undated correspondence to the editor from Powell (with introduced errors).

idolized Powell who had named the great Grand Canyon soon after the end of the 1869 expedition. His last attempts to ensure that Powell kept the crown were in 1933 and 1934.[29]

Powell's own correspondence and newspaper notices that mentioned Grand Canyon *before* the expedition, with no implications that he named it, should have been obvious to misinformed Powell celebrants of the Dellenbaugh camp throughout the 20th century. As we shall see, too, despite the best efforts of the grand champion of Colorado River historians, Otis "Dock" Marston, who went after Dellenbaugh's misinformation, Powell widely continued, and stubbornly continues, to be the Grand Canyon neologist.

It is Powell's *Tribune* letter that corroborates that the Grand Canyon name existed before he took it up. Therein he referred to "this region, known vaguely as the Grand Cañon of the Colorado," and continued,

> Many stories of wild adventure have been told by Indians, trappers, and prospectors—stories of walking along the brink of the cañon walls [. . .] I also arrived at the conclusion that what was known as "the Grand Cañon" was in fact a series of cañons, forming the banks or walls of the Upper Colorado, and the lower portions of the Green and Grand that unite to form it. These two streams unite in cañons, and some persons held that the vaguely defined "Grand Cañon" was continued up the Green, and others that it was continued up the Grand . . . .

We would love to have Powell's sources of the "Indians, trappers, and prospectors" who cruised the canyon's rims. Alas, they are mostly Powell's literary allusions, to which we are accustomed.

In recounting the trip down the Green and Colorado Rivers, Powell called off the names of the canyons in order, dissecting a single grand canyon into many (Powell's terms are cited, with modern names in brackets[30]): "the Uintah system of cañons" [several canyons between Flaming Gorge and Split Mountain], "Cañon of Desolation" [Desolation Canyon], "Coal Cañon" [Gray Canyon], "Still Water Cañon" [Labyrinth and Stillwater Canyons], "Cataract Cañon" [Cataract Canyon], "A rocky valley cañon . . . we called it Mille-crag Bend" [Mille Crag Bend, foot of Cataract Canyon and start of Narrow Canyon—in "mille crag," today locally mispronounced "millie," Powell had blended the French and English to mean "thousand crags"], "Narrow Cañon" [Narrow Canyon], "Mound Cañon" [part of Glen Canyon], "We

[29] Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, "Naming the Grand Canyon," *Science*, new series, Vol. 77 (April 7, 1933), pp. 349-350. O. Dock Marston ("Who Named the Grand Canyon?" *Pacific Historian*, Vol. 12, no. 3 [Summer 1968], pp. 4-8) further revealed that soon afterward a letter to the editor from Dellenbaugh, dated September 29, 1934 (four months before his death), again championed Powell in the *Ellenville* (New York) *Journal* for October 4. In correspondence shortly later he remarked that he had "wanted to get the correct thing on record" (Marston quoting Dellenbaugh), so he "sent copies [of the newspaper clipping] to the Library of Congress, American Geographical Society, the New York Public Library, and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Kanab, Utah" (Marston, p. 6).

[30] Thanks to Richard Quartaroli for guiding me through the canyon nomenclature of the Upper Colorado River Basin.

named it Monument Cañon" [Glen Canyon], "We called this Marble Cañon" [Marble Canyon]. Most interesting of all, he did not mention Grand Canyon by name when he finally came to it in his narration, nor while telling of his travel through it. Only after exiting did he say, "This ended the exploration of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado; its head at the confluence of the Little Colorado, its foot at the entrance of the river to Mormon Valley [downstream from the Grand Wash Cliffs]." Further, in his table of "Approximate Distances" he listed each canyon, with "Grand Cañon of the Colorado" on its own line. Here, for the first time, the geographical limits of Grand Canyon were defined.

The Grand Canyon name no longer was inferred to be the complex of Green–Grand–Colorado River canyons, of which perhaps the most literary turn of phrase came contemporaneously from Samuel Bowles in 1869, before or during Powell's expedition: ". . . this rock-guarded career of the great river of the interior basin of the Continent is the grand canyon of the world, and one of its most wonderful marvels." He mused, "Its passage in well protected boats by careful navigators can scarcely be deemed impracticable, however dangerous, and the country will await the Powell movement through it with eager interest." Speaking of "men of science," he added, "The wonder is they have neglected it so long." [31]

Before his 1869 river trip, Powell seems to have himself been under the spell of a singular Grand Canyon along the Green and Colorado Rivers, but, as he admitted, he realized differently once he was traveling through them. His geologist's eyes read the rocks—the strata as well as the physiography—and he saw differences from one canyon to the next. He named them, but not the Grand Canyon; not a word when the expedition came to it. It already had a name. Through his geographical neologisms, he dissected the once-super "Grand Canyon" into many. By demarcating the limits of his final canyon, in a distinctive way he *did* name the Grand Canyon—by defining it. *The* Grand Canyon was the leftover piece. He could have given it another name, but left it alone.

2024—The Grand Revue [32]

IN MOST QUARTERS now, John Wesley Powell is credited as the person who popularized Grand Canyon's name, and that the name was around before he used it. Even so, this has not been universally received, nor is it appreciated by those who just prefer the celebrity of one-armed Powell braving rapids, climbing canyon walls, and worrying over provisions that were dwindling toward starvation rations for him and his nine-man crew.

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[31] Samuel Bowles, *The Switzerland of America. A Summer Vacation in the Parks and Mountains of Colorado* (Samuel Bowles and Co., Springfield, Massachusetts, 1869), p. 85.

[32] This section is modified from Earle Spamer, "Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon: The mysterious evolution of a name," *The Ol' Pioneer* (Journal of the Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 33, no. 1 (Winter 2022), pp. 8-18.

By 1968, the opinionated Otis "Dock" Marston, self-anointed but rightfully celebrated historian of the Colorado River, had had enough of the store of Frederick Dellenbaugh's repeated genuflections to Powell in articles, letters to editors, and general correspondence. Dellenbaugh's misled congregants were thorns, too, as were his reminders that *he* was the *first* to pen the Grand Canyon name on a map (for Powell in January 1873 while in winter quarters at Kanab, Utah). To Marston, all of this business of what he termed the disease of "firstiitis" was nonsense. Dellenbaugh's avowals, on behalf of Powell and himself both, had wormed their ways into authoritative gazetteers—and they survive even today in numerous current publications and on repetitive web pages. The claims weren't true, so Marston went in search of things to prove that the name preceded Powell. Using several books, newspapers, and maps he did away with Dellenbaugh's assertions.[33] Unbeknownst to Dellenbaugh and Marston, the name goes much farther back, as even Powell had accepted.

In 1997, a generation after Marston, I published a short item noting that everyone—Dock included—had managed to overlook an appearance of the grand name that was in plain sight a full decade before Powell.[34] In 1858, Lieutenant Ives had submitted to army superiors his brief preliminary report, "Colorado Exploring Expedition"; it was embedded deep in a year-end government roundup of army activities for the year.[35] He made no mention of the canyon by name, but offered several impressions about the "cañons" of the region, impressed by "immense chasms, thousands of feet deep, forming intricate systems of abysses many miles in width, and utterly impassable." This early report was republished in February 1859 by a New York journal, which emended Ives' title and added a subtitle: "The Colorado Expedition. The Colorado of the West and the Country Bordering It—The Grand Canon."[36] This oversight of a piece of evidence from a decade earlier than the time of Powell's expedition by those who searched for who named the Grand Canyon—Marston, particularly—is curious.

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[33] O. Dock Marston, "Who Named the Grand Canyon?" *Pacific Historian*, Vol. 12, no. 3 (Summer 1968), pp. 4-8.

[34] Earle Spamer, "The Canyon Grand By Any Other Name," *Nature Notes* (Grand Canyon National Park), Vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 7-9. See particularly the sidebar, p. 9, "So, Who Did Name the Canyon?", although it has been superseded.

[35] "Colorado Exploring Expedition. Preliminary Report of 1st Lieutenant J. C. Ives, Topographical Engineers, to Captain A. A. Humphreys, Topographical Engineers, in charge of Office of Explorations and Surveys, War Department, November, 1858," pp. 609-619 *in* U.S. 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 1, Serial 975, 1858. Ives' text is dated "Washington, November 1, 1858." [This also appears as pp. 31-42 in a separate of Humphreys' annual report: "Colorado Exploring Expedition. Preliminary Report of First Lieut. J. C. Ives, Topographical Engineers, to Captain A. A. Humphreys, Topographical Engineers, in Charge of the Office of Explorations and Surveys, War Department, November 1858," in *Annual Report of Captain A. A. Humphreys ... December, 1858* ("Washington: 1859" [no imprint]).]

[36] "The Colorado Expedition. The Colorado of the West and the Country Bordering It—the Grand Canon," *Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (February 1859), pp. 41-45. This is a slightly edited version of Ives' preliminary report to the army in 1858 [*see note 35*], with an editorially emended title and added subtitle; it largely omits his remarks on the Native Americans.

The subtitled "Grand Canon" term clearly predates Powell's use of the name but its author is unknown (nor is an editor credited in that journal at the time). To be fair, the name appears at the time when the Grand Canyon was the poorly defined "super" Grand Canyon of the Grand–Green–Colorado, which even Powell acknowledged *(see p. 17)*.

About ten years later, I uncovered an earlier and unambiguous application of "Grand Cañon" buried in a robust monograph by Lorin Blodget, *Climatology of the United States*.[37] Published in Philadelphia in July 1857, it appeared even while Lieutenant Ives' expedition steamboat, *Explorer*, was being built just two miles from the publisher's offices.[38] Resorting to the 1853 expedition report of Lorenzo Sitgreaves, Blodget wrote in a footnote *(illustrated as Figure 1 herein)*,

> Sitgreaves . . . describes the gorges and cañons of the Colorado as very formidable at the 35th parallel, and in several cases below this point, and gives figures of some of them. The *Grand Cañon of the Colorado* as known to trappers and hunters, though not yet visited by scientific engineers, is placed by Sitgreaves in lat. 36°. [39]

Blodget capitalized—and emphatically italicized—the name. He cannot be said to have considered it as the complex of Colorado River canyons because we know that the Grand Canyon shadows the 36th parallel through its entire east–west course, and he took separate note of the lower-Colorado canyons around the 35th parallel. (Yet surprisingly it is not the first canyon to be named Grand Canyon, even in Arizona; *see in the Appendix herein, p. 37*.)

One may question how Sitgreaves had known of the 36th parallel path if he had not been there. The map from the expedition, drawn by Richard H. Kern, the illustrator who accompanied the party, depicts the route that they followed; along it the local topography was sketched in, leaving the parts on either side blank.[40] As mentioned *(in note 39)*, when the

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[37] Lorin Blodget, *Climatology of the United States, and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent* (J. B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, and Trübner and Co., London). Regarding the Grand Canyon, see p. 97 *footnote*; and the Colorado River, p. 92.

[38] See historical notes and illustrations in Earle E. Spamer, *Explorer: Andrew J. Carroll on the Colorado River, 1857–1858* (Raven's Perch Media, 2022), which features the steamboat's Irish-immigrant Philadelphia-based engineer.

[39] Blodget here refers to L. Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers* (Robert Armstrong, Public Printer; 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 59, 1853). East of the San Francisco Peaks near Grand Falls along the Little Colorado River, Sitgreaves noted on October 8 (pp. 8-9): "Having been informed by my guide [Antoine Leroux] and other experienced trappers that this cañon extends down the river to its junction with the Colorado, and the great cañon through which the latter flows, I regarded the attempt to follow the river to its mouth as too hazardous, considering the condition of the animals and the state of the supplies, and therefore, by the advice of the guide, turned off towards the mountains, with the purpose of striking the Colorado below the great cañon, and then exploring it upward as far as might be found practicable."

[40] Map title (published with Sitgreaves, 1853): "Reconnaissance of the Zuñi, Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers. Made in 1851 under the direction of Col. J. J. Abert, Chief of Corps Topograpical Engineers by Bvt. Capt. L. Sigreaves, T. E. Assisted by Lieut. J. G. Parke, T. E. and Mr. M. H. Kern. Drawn by R. H. Kern. 1852."

expedition's supplies and the condition of the animals were diminishing, the group turned away from the Little Colorado River and so abandoned the bid to reach its confluence with the Colorado River. They headed more or less straight westward on a journey of some 200 miles across the plateau south of the Grand Canyon, passing between the 35th and 36th lines of north latitude, so as to drop into known territory in the lower Colorado River valley downstream from the canyons.

On the northwestern part of the map, between the 114th and 115th lines of west longitude, the Colorado River is shown arriving *from the north*, from off the top of the map; and there the short reach is labeled "Great Cañon"[41] *(see Figure 6)*. The principal part of the canyon, then still only the subject of gossip, does not appear on the map. Along that short reach, the river soon reaches the confluence of the "Rio Virgen" (Virgin River), which also comes onto the map from the north, likewise on an inaccurate course. Yet by implying that the astronometrically still unlocated confluence of the two Colorados was not far off the top of the map on its easterly side (above the 36th parallel), and by mapping on the westerly side the end of the "Great Cañon" where it crossed that parallel and approached the Virgin River confluence, the Colorado River's course was accordingly implied by Sitgreaves and Kern to shadow the 36th parallel.[42] The parallel is drawn through the blank region of the map north of the expedition's route, where as we know is in fact the canyon's main path.

The remarkable instance of cartographical speculation on the part of Sitgreaves and Kern, even if elements of it are awry from our modern perspective, led Blodget to publish that Sitgreaves had placed the *Grand Cañon of the Colorado* "in lat. 36°." He seems to have adopted that position based on the labeled short reach of the canyon where it was mapped crossing the 36th parallel, having evidently traversed miles westward from the still-unmapped confluence of the Little Colorado River, near which the Sitgreaves expedition had been. The name, however, was not Sitgreaves', who had referred only to "the great cañon," nor did Blodget say the name was his own. He refers to "trappers and hunters," by which one

[41] There are two states to this map [*Figure 6*]. One state labels "Great Cañon" at this point (the name by which Sitgreaves refers the canyon in his text); the other state labels it "Big Cañon" (the name by which the canyon was also and apparently better known). The two states are nearly coincidental in time, though it is not determined which of them was printed first.

[42] The short "Great Cañon" reach could also be interpreted to be the north–south Black Canyon of the lower Colorado River, which was known, though in context with the Virgin River course there shown the Black Canyon interpretation would likewise be incorrect. The overall mapping of wayward river courses are not unusual for the time, given the lack of precise surveys and the liberal use of conjecture. Recall, too, that a single canyon system from Utah to the lower Colorado River area was believed to exist, in the midst of which was the 36th parallel run that *is* the modern Grand Canyon, a course that the river would have to follow to cross several degrees of longitude en route from Utah to today's Arizona–Nevada boundary. In fact, after the Ives expedition's first partly reliable maps of the region were published, many ingeniously invented courses of the Colorado through this area were presented by cartographers and atliers; see in Earle E. Spamer, *The Colorado River of the West: Cartographic Styles of the 16th to 19th Centuries* (Raven's Perch Media, 2023).

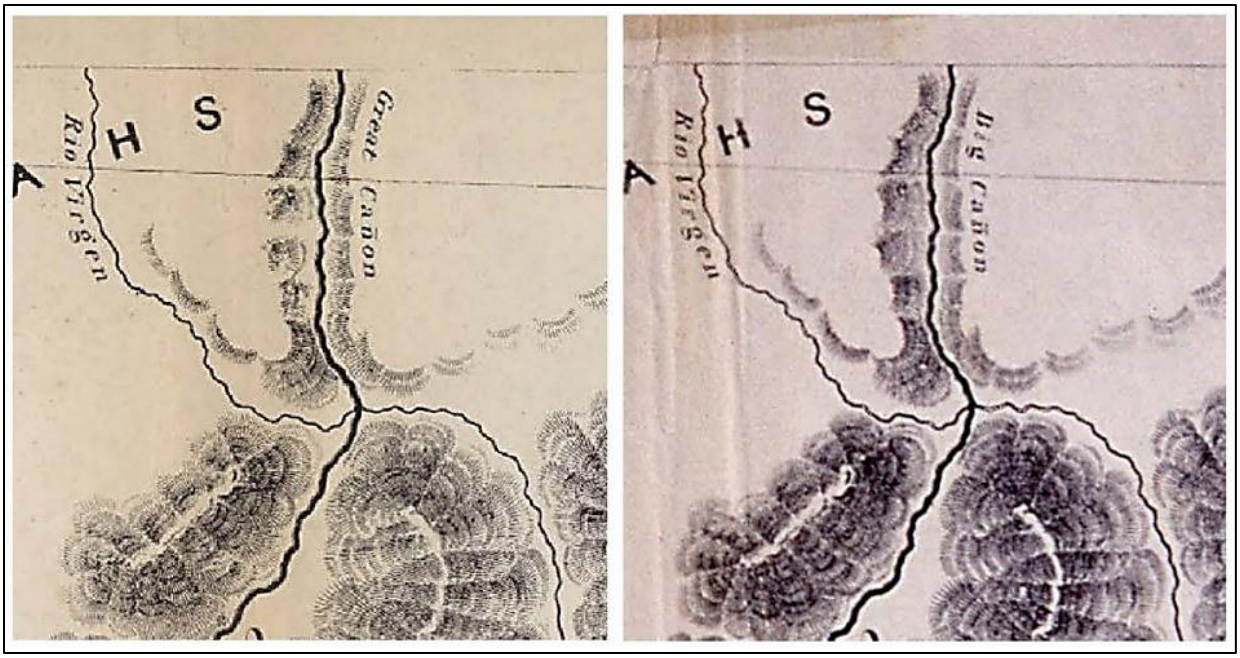

Figure 6. *Details from the two states of the map*, "Reconnaissance of the Zuñi, Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers. Made in 1851 under the direction of Col. J. J. Abert, Chief of Corps Topograpical Engineers by Bvt. Capt. L. Sigreaves, T. E. Assisted by Lieut. J. G. Parke, T. E. and Mr. M. H. Kern. Drawn by R. H. Kern. 1852." *In* L. Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers* (Robert Armstrong, Public Printer; 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 59, 1853). *(Library of Congress and author's collection.)*

The light angled line bisecting the "Great Cañon" and "Big Cañon" labels is the 36th parallel. Which state came first has not been established, though they seem to have been effectively contemporaneous.

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wonders if he had been influenced by Sitgreaves' remark about "experienced trappers" while being guided by Antoine Leroux *(see note 39)*. Or, did he receive the "grand" name from an uncredited source? or did he consciously raise "great" to a more splendidly literary "grand," creating the name on his own? We do not know. Yet there it is—"the *Grand Cañon*" even before Ives left to explore the Colorado River and Big Cañon, and 11 years before Powell's letter to General Grant.

Powell, in turn, left us no record of his essential book research in preparation for his expeditions to the Rockies in 1868 and down the Colorado in 1869. But he could well have studied Blodget's important publication from 1857 as part of groundwork for his western exploits, in that it includes numerous generalized seasonal climatological maps of the U.S.[43]

[43] Blodget's *Climatology* was in fact the first coast-to-coast study of its kind, made possible as such by the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in which Mexico ceded to the U.S. the southwestern lands that happened also to include the Grand Canyon. It was the most influential book on American meteorology in its day, favorably received

If he had not already known about the "super" Grand Canyon mostly in Utah and Arizona, it's conceivable that he saw Blodget's references to the "Grand Cañon" name and adopted it. Powell's own later definition, in 1869, of Grand Canyon tracing the 36th parallel reconfirmed Sitgreaves, Kern, and Blodget when he nomenclaturally dissected the Green and Colorado River canyons that had been organized conceptually as one tremendous, homogeneous, largely unknown canyon system called Grand Canyon—whoever may have named it.

All we can do at this point regarding the Grand Canyon's names is to communicate the information and the conjectures that have accumulated from the nearly five centuries during which non-Native peoples have made visits to the canyon.[44]

But Native peoples have known the place from time immemorial, and, while there are no written records, these people have their own descriptive and spiritual words for it, as part of long cultural traditions spanning centuries if not millennia. The list is surely incomplete, given the nuances and tones of oral customs and enlightened visions, made awkward by typographically formulated Western transliterations of spoken words. Among the people who recognize deep cultural ties to the Grand Canyon, their words for it—names, to non-Natives—include: [45]

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in America and Europe (including acknowledgment from Alexander von Humboldt), and remained in good use for years (Robert De C. Ward, "Lorin Blodget's 'Climatology of the United States': An Appreciation," *Monthly Weather Review*, January 1914, pp. 23-27). That said, Blodget suffered a long critical review by the anonymously signed X. (*American Journal of Science and Arts*, 2nd series, Vol. 25, no. 74 [March 1858], pp. 235-249). See also Earle Spamer, "Connections: It's Always Who You Know and What You Hear" (American Philosophical Society Library blog, May 3, 2018, https://www.amphilsoc.org/blog/connections-its-always-who-you-know-and-what-you-hear; last accessed November 29, 2024), who outlined Blodget's government work and occupational troubles in the Smithsonian Institution [*see also p. 5 herein*] and implied a connection to Powell's geographical research, with thoughts on why Powell may have avoided mentioning Blodget's work at all (Powell depended upon the Smithsonian Institution's Secretary, Joseph Henry, for expedition support and which institution eventually published his report in 1875, thus avoiding any reference to the dismissed Blodget could have been politically prudent).

[44] See summary presentations in: *1)* Earle Spamer, "Once Again, 'Who Named the Grand Canyon?'—and Other Obscure Grand Canyon 'Firsts'." *The Ol' Pioneer*, Vol. 24, no. 2 (Spring 2013), pp. 4-16 (partly superseded); *2)* Spamer, "Connections: It's Always Who You Know and What You Hear [*cited in note 43*]; *3)* Spamer, "An Ill Wind Blows: Did John Wesley Powell Claim Jump the Grand Canyon?" *Boatman's Quarterly Review* (Grand Canyon River Guides, Flagstaff, Arizona), Vol. 31, no. 2 (Summer 2018), pp. 10-12; *4)* Spamer, "Big Canyon, Great Canyon, Grand Canyon: The mysterious evolution of a name," *The Ol' Pioneer* (Journal of the Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 33, no. 1 (Winter 2022), pp. 8-18.

[45] Jason Anthony Robison, "Indigenizing Grand Canyon," *Utah Law Review*, 2021, no. 1, pp. 101-183 (https://dc.law.utah.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1279&context=ulr; last accessed November 29, 2024). Robison obtained the Native names from the permanent exhibition at the Museum of Northern Arizona (Flagstaff), "Native Peoples of the Colorado Plateau," although the web links he cited (p. 106, his *note 17*) were broken or incomplete even by late 2021.

Also consulted (here) are: Stephen C. Jett, "Direct borrowings and loan-translations of Navajo toponyms into New Mexican Spanish: Examples and explanations," pp. 148-182 *in* Gary Holton and Thomas F. Thornton (eds.), *Language and toponymy in Alaska and beyond; papers in honor of James Kari* (University of Hawai'i Press,

Havasupai	*Ha Tay G'am* or *Hagtaya Jigmima*	Southern Paiute	*Piapaxa 'Uipi*
Hopi	*Öngtupqa* or *Suukotupqa*	Yavapai	*wì·kạ?ī·la*
Hualapai	*Wi: Nyi Gacha*	Zuni	*Chimik'yana'kya*
Navajo	*Tsélché'ékooh* or *Tsé Chíí' Koo'*		

Among non-Natives, more recent attentions to, and academic acknowledgments of, Native Americans' long oral traditions have begun to inform the kinds of transcendent awareness and practical knowledges these peoples embrace, at least among those who attend to and benefit from elders' knowledge while gaining from their own learned experiences. They attain constancy through living with the land, holding to cultural and spiritual values, practices, and wisdom passed down through generations, things rarely learned by non-Natives except by those who might have been fostered in these communities. Their cultures, practices, and understandings have too long been dismissed as equivocal and unincorporable in non-Native ways of rational comprehension.

The journey from *Puerto de Bucareli* to *Grand Canyon* in the post–European-contact era discloses at minimum the limitations of non-Native languages and geographical labeling. Native words for a tangible–spiritual Grand Canyon forestall the contemporary neologies of outsiders' faiths and devotions. The Native world is one of customs that have no need for invariable names nor affirmations of political and ecclesiastical presence and commemoration. Perhaps it is proper that we do not know who among Western incursionists and onlookers named the Grand Canyon.

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Honolulu, and Alaska Native Language Center, Fairbanks, 2019); and Jim Enote, "A Zuni Corridor of Memory," in the "Native Voices on the Colorado River Tribal Series" (Flagstaff, Arizona, no date [2009]).

Robison also remarks (his *note 16*, pp. 105-106), "In a few generations' time, the word for Grand Canyon in the Havasupai language has become 'wambodajwogo,' which translates literally to 'where the train stops'—a reference to the South Rim endpoint of the Grand Canyon Railway completed in 1901." [Robison's credit: "The Voices of Grand Canyon, GRAND CANYON TR[UST]. (Feb. 20, 2020), https://www.grandcanyontrust.org/nativeamerican-stories-grand-canyon" (no longer a good link; instead refer to https://www.grandcanyontrust.org/grand_canyon_centennial_native_voices; accessed November 29, 2024).] However, regarding this "newer" Havasupai name for Grand Canyon, compare Austin and Lynch's Navajo–English dictionary, who list both "Tsélché'ékooh; Grand Canyon" (which signifies the canyon) and "Bidáá' ha'azt'i'; Grand Canyon, Arizona" (which specifically denotes the village of Grand Canyon), thus Robison's inference of a Havasupai name drift for the Grand Canyon–proper is likely misleading. (Martha Austin and Regina Lynch, *Saad ahạạh sinil : Dual Language : A Navajo-English Dictionary*, Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona, revised ed., 1983, pp. 24, 36, respectively.)

How Many Names Has the Grand Canyon?

Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror (refer to the Appendix herein) itemizes hundreds of nomenclatural Grand Canyons from around the world and on other worlds, but what of labels applied solely to *the* Grand Canyon of Arizona? Most names are literary indulgences, neither officially applied nor so inferred. The list here is an accounting of the inspired and imaginative ways by which the canyon has been mentioned or styled. Culled from many venues over a couple of centuries, it includes even peculiar and awkward terms, and misnomers, but omits purely analagous or metaphorical creations.

America Grand Canyon
American Canyon of the Colorado
American Grand Canyon
America's Grand Canyon
Arizona Grand Canyon of the Colorado
Big Cañon [19th century usage]
Big Cañon of the Colorado River [19th century usage]
Big Canyon of the Colorado [20th century usage]
Black Canyon of the Colorado [erroreously applied to Arizona's canyon; neither Black Canyon below Hoover Dam nor a misstated Black Canyon of the Gunnison (*aka* "Grand Canyon of the Gunnison")]
Canyon of Canyons
Colorado Cañon [19th century usage]
Colorado Grand Canyon [error of geographical placement]
Colorado Grand Canyon [*i.e.*, Grand Canyon of the Colorado River]
Colorado River canyon
Colorado's Grand Canyon [error]
Earth's Grand Canyon
El Grande Cañon [*sic*, in poor Spanish by a writer in English]
Fabulous Gully [*sic*, as seen in an Artificial Intelligence-generated book]
Grand Basin Canyon [uncertain error]
Grand Cannon [misspelling]
Grand Cañon [contemporary employment of the Spanish *cañon*]
Grand Canyon
Grand Canyon East [eastern portion of Grand Canyon]
Grand Canyon National Park, Utah [error]
Grand Canyon in Arizona
Grand Canyon in Colorado [error]
Grand Canyon in the Country of Uncle Sam ["Grand Canyon di Negeri Paman Sam"; *in Indonesian*]

Grand Canyon of America
Grand Canyon of Arizona
Grand Canyon of Arizona State
Grand Canyon of Colorado [error]
Grand Canyon of Colorado National Park [*sic*, error]
Grand Canyon of Earth
Grand Canyon of Grand Canyon National Park [*sic*]
Grand Canyon of Mohave County
Grand Canyon of Nevada [error]
Grand Canyon of New Mexico [error]
Grand Canyon of North America
Grand Canyon of the American Southwest
Grand Canyon of the American West
Grand Canyon of the Arizona Desert
Grand Canyon of the Arizona River [*sic*]
Grand Canyon of the Colorado
Grand Canyon of the Colorado River
Grand Canyon of the Hualapai [in part possessive]
Grand Canyon of the Lower Colorado River Basin
Grand Canyon of the red [literal translation from Chinese, ~ of the "colorado"]
Grand Canyon of the Rio Colorado
Grand Canyon of the Rio Grande [error; not the so-called Grand Canyon of the Rio Grande on the Texas–Mexico boundary]
Grand Canyon of the Rocky Mountains [*sic*]
Grand Canyon of the Southwest
Grand Canyon of the Southwestern United States
Grand Canyon of the United States
Grand Canyon of the U.S.A.
Grand Canyon of the West
Grand Canyon of the Western United States
Grand Canyon of the Western USA
Grand Canyon of the World [Colorado–Green River canyons undivided]
Grand Canyon South [South Rim]
Grand Canyon Valley
Grand Canyon West [Hualapai Indian Reservation]
Grand Canyon West National Park [Hualapai Indian Reservation]
Grand Canyons of Arizona [Grand Canyon is one of three]
Grand Colorado Canyon
Grande Canyon [misnomer]
Grandest of all Canyons

Grandest of all national parks
Grandest of Grand Canyons
Great Canyon [19th century usage]
Great Canyon of California [*sic*]
Great Canyon of the Colorado [19th century usage]
Great Canyon of the Colorado River [19th century usage]
Great Canyon of the Colorado in Sonora [*sic*]
Great Chasm
Great Colorado Canyon
Great Gorge of the Colorado River
Great Grand Canyon
Major Canyon
Moqui Canyon of the Colorado [*sic*]
Nevada's Grand Canyon [error]
Puerto de Bucareli [18th century name, subsequently with various misspellings]
Rio Grande de los Cosninas [applied to Grand Canyon, not Colorado River]
that *other* Grand Canyon [as noted while discussing the Grand Canyon of Pennsylvania]
the Arizona Canyon
The Canyon of the Colorado
The Colorado canyon [*sic*]
The Colorado Grand Canyon
The Grand Canyon
the Grander Canyon [specifically, the Grand Canyon at Tuweep (Toroweap)]
the Grandest Canyon
the official Grand Canyon
the one and only really Grand Canyon
The Other Grand Canyon [mentioned in discussions of other canyons]
The "quintessential" Grand Canyon [South Rim]
the Real Grand Canyon [1] [the entire Grand Canyon]
the Real Grand Canyon [2] [specifically, eastern Grand Canyon]
the Real Grand Canyon [3] [specifically, North Rim near Whitmore Wash]
the Real Grand Canyon [4] [specifically, South Rim near Grand Canyon village]
the REAL Grand Canyon [*sic*; specifically, South Rim near Grand Canyon village]
The Ultimate Grand Canyon [corroborative, *here*; see Appendix, p. 42]
the Wild Grand Canyon [*i.e.*, undeveloped areas of Grand Canyon]
West Canyon [misnomer for "Grand Canyon West", Hualapai Indian Reservation]
West Grand Canyon [misnomer for "Grand Canyon West", Hualapai Indian Reservation]

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APPENDIX

Grand Canyon Echoes [1]

THIS APPENDIX is an overview of the nomenclatural influence of the Grand Canyon name. The nominal attribute, "Grand Canyon," has been copied and rephrased for hundreds of other geographic locales. Moreover, the Grand Canyon's overwhelming attractiveness for comparison is also wealthily displayed in the associative, meditative, and creative traditions of analogy and metaphor. I believe that it is imperative to have captured these numerous geographical and literary uses, at least in summary form, in *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror*. Each conveys the concept of a canyon, but there is one unavoidable detail in all of them: the reflection is always of "the one and only really Grand Canyon." [2]

These geographical and literary borrowings are like a musical canon that has a melody and repeated imitations of it. In also extracting concepts of the physical and conceptual Grand Canyon for other applications, each example among the literary compilations is a hyponym to the real Grand Canyon that is their hypernym. The number of recorded places (*more than 1,300 around the world and on other worlds*) and phrases (*more than a thousand*) dramatically emphasize the tremendous attraction that *the* Grand Canyon has had on people from the time when the first "other" Grand Canyon was named after it, in 1870. Most examples are informal, yet they have been used and thus they should be accounted for as a matter of literary and intellectual record. The comprehensive *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror* is a documentary record of the creative, sometimes whimsical, work of a very large number of people.

This Appendix is a light-hearted jaunt through geography and imagination. The hundreds of examples from *Colossal Mirror*, abstracted here, are documented by material gathered over a few decades, assembled as part of the ongoing Grand Canyon–Lower Colorado River bibliography project of Raven's Perch Media. The examples are retained in Earle Spamer's paper files.

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[1] Most of this Appendix is modified from Earle E. Spamer, *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror* (Volume 3 of THE GRAND CANON series from Raven's Perch Media, https://ravensperch.org); specifically from the 2nd Edition, which has been updated for publication in early 2025. *Colossal Mirror* contains itemized listings of everything mentioned here, and more, arranged by geographical location and by literary types.

[2] Anonymous, "Radium in the Grand Canyon," *Engineering and Mining Journal*, Vol. 111, no. 8 (February 19, 1921), p. 335.

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FOR THE RECORD, the physical Grand Canyon is not a place prone to producing echoes, although the reports go back to the 19th century, such as with this testimonial by John Augustin Zahm in 1892: "I have also heard in the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, in Arizona, some most extraordinary echoes, comparable, I think, with any that are to be heard elsewhere." [3] The misconception is a regular one, presumably because the Grand Canyon is conceptually mighty. But simply walking up to the rim and hollering is not bound to reverberate. Only in sequestered, rock-bound enclaves might echoes be routinely heard; or on the grand scale, truly powerful sounds, like thunder as a storm passes through the canyon, are beheld with astonished awe, but that is something for which one must be fortunate to be present at the right time.

The idea that Grand Canyon is an echo chamber appears without substantiation in technical literature, for the same reason that it is something that is intuitively true since the canyon is a vast, deep chamber of rock. Two examples here are translated from non-English publications, as the same has not been noticed, for some reason, in technical literature in English:

> Marta Ruiz Costa-jussà and Helenca Duxans Barrobés note in their textbook written in Catalan, *Introduction to Acoustics*, "So, an echo can be generated in the Grand Canyon if we shout 'Hello!' The effect is that after a moment we will hear 'Hello!' again. But if we shout 'Hello!' in the middle of the sea we will hear nothing." [4]

> Costaras Panagiotis's doctoral dissertation (written in Greek), "Study of Requirements and Measurements for the Use of Encryption in VoIP Communications," notes that "The echo effect . . . is a lot of fun to experience in the Grand Canyon, but in communications its presence is very annoying." [5]

Grand Canyon echoes can indeed be entertaining; witness:

> "Little Sir Echo," in a silly skit for three clowns, runs amok at the Grand Canyon's "Great Echo Cliff" (entrance fee required). [6]

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[3] J. A. Zahm, *Sound and Music* (A. C. McClurg and Co., Chicago, 1892), p. 120.

[4] Marta Ruiz Costa-jussà and Helenca Duxans Barrobés, *Introducció a l'acústica* (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, no date), section 3.4, "Eco": "Així, doncs, es pot generar eco al Grand Canyon si cridem 'Hola!'. L'efecte és que al cap d'un moment tornarem a sentir 'Hola'. Però si cridem 'Hola!' al mig del mar no sentirem res."

[5] Κωσταρασ Παναγιωτησ, *Μελέτη απαιτήσεων και πραγματοποίηση μετρήσεων για τη χρήση κρυπτογράφησης στις επικοινωνίες VoIP*, Πανεπιστημιο Θεσσαλιασ [University of Thessaly], section 2.1.4, "Echo": "Το φαινόμενο echo . . . είναι ιδιαίτερα διασκεδαστικό να το βιώνει κανείς στο Grand Canyon, αλλά στις επικοινωνίες παρουσία του είναι ιδιαίτερα ενοχλητική." [See Bibliography for fully translated citation.]

[6] Anonymous, "Little Sir Echo," *Hospital Clown Newsletter* (Emeryville, California), Vol. 8 (2003), no. 2, p. 5.

J. A. Murphy satirically reported the capture of an echo in a motion picture:

> "Gearin Cogs, camera man, has succeeded in photographing an echo. The echo was started through a megaphone at the upper end of Grand Canyon. Mr. Cogs panoramed with the camera catching the echo three times. Then the echo struck the sharp pointed Van Dyke beard of a tourist and split in half, one half slid over a smooth rock and was killed, while the other half blew up an alley. Mr. Cogs will repeat the experiment and use two cameras." [7]

Lest one despair that the Grand Canyon is a place for benumbed silence, consider listening to David Dunn's "Nexus 1" in his collection of *Environmental Sound Works*. The container notes explain that

> *Nexus 1* was performed and recorded in the interior of the Grand Canyon National Park over a three-day period from the 17th to the 20th of June, 1973. All performance and recording took place in the area known as Hermit's Gorge, approximately two miles down into the canyon interior along Hermit's Trail. The score specified sound gestures which the trumpets could articulate interactively with the canyon environment. This interaction primarily focused upon 1) the extended reverberation and extraordinary spatial acoustics of the rock formations, and 2) the non-human life forms such as the crows [*sic*] heard throughout the performance recording. [8]

These, then, are only auditory signals of the Grand Canyon's breath, which to experience it one must be present. Its geographical and metaphorical echoes, on the other hand, resound the world around.

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[7] "Breathless Announcements From the Press-Agent's Corner" section, *Photoplay Magazine*, Vol. 10, no. 5 (October 1916).

[8] Container notes for *Environmental sound works by David Dunn, 1973-85* (Innova Recordings, 2 CDs, 2:15:30); improvisational elements by Dunn; and Ralph Dudgeon, Ed Harkins, and Jack Logan on trumpets. (Listen to "Nexus 1," Disk 1, no. 1, 14:39).

I. Geographical Grand Canyons

> This name has been repeatedly infringed for purposes of advertisement. The cañon of the Yellowstone has been called "The Grand Cañon." A more flagrant piracy is the naming of the gorge of the Arkansas River in Colorado "The Grand Cañon of Colorado," and many persons who have visited it have been persuaded that they have seen the great chasm. These river valleys are certainly very pleasing and picturesque, but there is no more comparison between them and the mighty chasm of the Colorado River than there is between the Alleghenies or Trosachs and the Himalayas.
>
> —Clarence Edward Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District*
> (U.S. Geological Survey, Monograph 2, 1882), p. 2, *note*.

> One, of course, is always called upon to compare this Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone with the Grand Canyon, that of the Colorado, in Arizona . . . . When Grand Canyon without the suffix is spoken of, government literature tells us that is meant. There are numerous Grand Canyons, but they all have a suffix.
>
> —Edward Ambler Armstrong, *The Sinaites : a Chronicle of Happy Days*
> (Printed for private circulation, Princeton, New Jersey, 1922), p. 64.

AS A WONDER OF THE WORLD (first, seventh, eighth or other), the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona is the source of nomenclature, copied and rephrased, for hundreds of other features on all seven of Earth's continents, in the oceans, and on celestial bodies. All of these names have appeared in print or in digital form in internet sources. Formally and (far more usually) informally, these places are called in some fashion "Grand Canyon."

One may argue that the focus on other nomenclatural Grand Canyons is more sensibly left only to those that have been formally named or that have appeared in "proper" literature—published, in the conventional sense, discussionary at least, even officially sanctioned by registorial bodies. But as the geographical roll-call in *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror* demonstrates, the Grand Canyon has had a following who have practiced imagination and infatuation in abundance, worldwide, for a long time. It is these neologists (whomever they are, however widely read or not) who have seen the Grand Canyon shaped in some other place. Virtually all of the more than 1,300 geographically applied names itemized in *Colossal Mirror* convey some sort of branding or that are simply the literary whims of travelers and writers.[9]

[9] Due to the prevalance of variant names for some places, this figure does not represent a tally of *unique* places that carry the Grand Canyon marque. Some names noted in *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror* show variant names

"WHICH GRAND CANYON?" might be a puzzling question given that virtually everyone "knows" about the one in Arizona. Yet in various issues of the *National Park Journal*, an annual commercial serial, the question is meant to allow the reader to decide whether to visit the national park's South Rim or Grand Canyon West on the Hualapai Indian Reservation. Another source stages "the four sides of Grand Canyon," comprising North Rim, South Rim, Grand Canyon West, and Havasu Falls—though the last three all are on one side of the canyon—the South. At a distance there is "The Other Rim: North Rim" that somehow confirms the south side's singular reputation. But attempts to pigeon-hole the Grand Canyon fail.

Not including Arizona's Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, there are 120 places thus far found that are labeled just "Grand Canyon," albeit a couple of them are parodies (nevertheless, the geographical connotation is implied). Another 704 carry names with possessive qualifiers like the "Grand Canyon of ~ "; or if the qualifier appears as "~'s Grand Canyon," add *another* 95; and if the adjective qualifiers "-an" or "-ian" appear, the tally increases by 34.

Among these "Grand Canyon"s bury 35 that are features inside caves. Predictably, some are the "Underground Grand Canyon," "Grand Canyon underground," or "subterranean Grand Canyon"; but (hold your breath) there are four "Underwater Grand Canyon" locales in the world's seas, too. A submerged site in Florida has been likened to "the Grand Canyon with a lid on it" and Carlsbad Caverns is the "Grand Canyon with a roof." Then, five Grand Canyons have been identified in the geological subsurface, invisible to the human eye.[10] As clandestine as all these features might be, while keeping watch for the "Hidden Grand Canyon of India," be wary of stumbling over the "inverse Grand Canyon" (Uluru [Ayers Rock] in Australia).

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for one locale. Some places, listed separately, may be unknowingly the same as another place. Completely detailed geographical analysis has thus far not been practical.

Furthermore, some of the "Grand Canyons" in the People's Republic of China are based on publications originally in English translation, whose writers specifically reused the name of "the Grand Canyon." But many more instances may derive from literal translations of "great canyon" or similar adjectival terms from the Chinese rather than as a precise comparison to "the Grand Canyon"; and further, some names may be conflated through different or imperfect transliteration schemes. Some names in transliteration may actually refer to a metaphorical expression as opposed to a directly geographical name, which have not been ascertained. However, all names found are listed in *Colossal Mirror*, from English-language sources and material translated from the Chinese, rather than attempting a subjective analysis of original intent, which in any case is not possible considering that they are largely from such ephemeral sources as web-posted documents.

[10] None should be confused with the "invisible Grand Canyon on the ocean floor" (Monterey Canyon, off the coast of California, listed in the Analogies section of *Colossal Mirror*)—though how *its* presence is known in the first place is not explained.

As for the qualified analagous term, "Grand Canyon" in quotes—seemingly unable to fully commit to grandeur—there are nine thus far recorded in *Colossal Mirror*, and more that are a "Grand Canyon" (in quotes) with a geographical place-holding suffix.

There are 49 places that carry the name "Little Grand Canyon" (and 24 more Little Grand Canyons that have possessive qualifiers like "Little Grand Canyon of ~ ", and so forth); to these little features add three more that are in caves. Not to be belittled, a "miniature" or "mini" Grand Canyon appears three times; and if you can spy them there are also a "sub-miniature" one, a "micro" one, a "mini-micro Grand Canyon," and two that are a "Grand Canyon in miniature." One should be attuned, too, to the "piccolo Grand Canyon" (in Italy). There are also three "small Grand Canyons," but one is left wondering where the "Not-So-Grand Canyon" falls on this modestly grand scale.

All in the family, there are two "Junior Grand Canyons," three "Baby Grand Canyons," and five places that are "Grand Canyon's little brother" or similar moniker. To fill out the family group there are two "sisters" and four "little sisters"—even "the Grand Canyon's uncle ...twice removed" [*sic*]. "The Grand Canyon's father" is two miles deep, but it is unattainable because it is only in the spiritual experience of "Xorkoth," who fights long-term opiate addiction.[11] For those who wonder where "mother" is, they will have to find her, too, only among the metaphors, where *the* Grand Canyon is both the "mother of all grand things" and "the grandfather of all canyons."

The nomenclatural record-holder for geographically tagged Grand Canyons is the "Grand Canyon of the East": 16 locales carry that nominal term, 13 in the United States (four of them in New York State alone), and one each in Canada, India, and the People's Republic of China—albeit for the Chinese example "East" is to be read differently (synonymous with Orient even though there also are two canyons that are "Grand Canyon of the Orient" and two that are the "Oriental Grand Canyon"). These do not include two U.S. locales that each are "Grand Canyon East"—one is in Kentucky, the second is given to the eastern portion of *the* Grand Canyon in Arizona. Then, immixing the eastern-end Grand Canyon, there is the "east rim of the Grand Canyon," but it labels Horseshoe Bend, which is in *Glen Canyon* near Page, Arizona![12]

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[11] "Into The Flood: Ibogaine & Tabernanthe iboga (Total Aklaloid Extract)" [*sic*] by Xorkoth (June 5, 2014), (https://erowid.org/experiences/exp.php?ID=103568; last accessed November 29, 2024).

[12] Many instances are noted in THE GRAND CANON comprehensive bibliography (Raven's Perch Media) where Horse-shoe Bend has been depicted as the Grand Canyon. Misinformed visitors also include the case of a motorcycle tourist who wrote, "Pulling into the visitor center parking lot at the North Rim, I removed my camera from the saddlebag and walked out onto the Navajo Bridge that spans the Colorado River." After ascending to the Kaibab Plateau he remarked, "I was disappointed to see a sign near the store saying that the upper part of the canyon

There is "Grand Canyon West," a tourist-drawing locale on the Hualapai Indian Reservation that opened in 1988. It's the commercially advertised place so very familiar now to millions of visitors to Las Vegas, Nevada, that implies it is the focus of Grand Canyon, showcased by its Grand Canyon Skywalk (a looped glass walkway that does not bridge the canyon after all). Grand Canyon West is also where daily helicopter flights take hundreds of tourists "to the bottom" of the canyon, landing on helipads near the Colorado River on the reservation's boundary; some are specially marketed as "champagne flights" direct from Vegas to this implied extension of Nevada. Long before Grand Canyon West, the long-overlooked western part of the canyon had once been called "Arizona's lost canyon."[13] (There is also a " 'Grand Canyon' of the West"—on Grand Canary Island, in the eastern Atlantic Ocean of all places.)

Two places are "another Grand Canyon," and 16 places are the "Other Grand Canyon." Thrown in for good measure are "America's Other Grand Canyon," "Arizona's Other Grand Canyon," and "Mexico's other Grand Canyon."

There is the solidly enumerated "Grand Canyon—II," but, rebuffing arithmetic, a "second Grand Canyon" is so far found in *five* different places in the world. Accordingly, Arizona's canyon must be in first place; witness also two places in the world that are deferentially the "answer to the Grand Canyon" (one in Denmark, the other in Norway).

But which is *grandest*? Arizona's canyon is ascertively the "Great Grand Canyon" and "Grandest of all Canyons." And LeRoy Jeffers mirrored John Muir's own superlative gushing over the canyon with the synoptic "grandest canyon of canyons."[14] Fair enough; yet the Baranca del Cobre in Mexico has been styled the "grandest of the Grand Canyons." Farther afield, "The Grandest Canyon" is Valles Marineris—on Mars. Yet still there is "Grand Canyon, the grandest of all the grand ones"—but *it* turns out to be the claim made for the Royal Gorge of the Arkansas River in Colorado, not the middling Arizona one. Then, all alone is the "Second Grandest Canyon"—Palo Duro Canyon in Texas, which is the "Grand Canyon of Texas," too, and secondarily the "Grandest Canyon in Texas."

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was closed until summer." (Ron Sheppard, "Crossing the USA," *Motorcycle Roads* [Motorcycle Touring Association, Pahrump, Nevada], Vol. 20, no. 4 (July/August 2003), pp. 16-18).

[13] Russell K. Grater, "Arizona's lost canyon," *Arizona Highways*, Vol. 30, no. 3 (March 1954), pp. 32-35. Before "Grand Canyon West" there was thought of reserving the remote area on the Hualapai Indian Reservation for the dark-sky uses of avocational astronomers (Stephen James O'Meara, "Resort to the Stars" *in* "Amateur Astronomers" section, *Sky and Telescope*, Vol. 76, no. 6 [December 1988], pp. 681-683).

[14] LeRoy Jeffers, [Review of] "Steep Trails. By John Muir. Houghton Mifflin, 1918", *Appalachia*, Vol. 14, no. 4 (June 1919), p. 402. The Grand Canyon is also comparatively but indecisively the "king of canyons" and "queen of canyons," as listed in the Analogies section of *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror*.

Some canyons come out fighting. Seven of them claim the title of "Grander Canyon." One even has been labeled, jealously, the "original Grand Canyon."[15] And then in Spain there's one that, at long as it's at it, arrogates the Colorado River as well—there, Río Gor's canyon is the "Grand Canyon of the Spanish Colorado."

Novelly, the Grand Canyon was unwittingly renamed, with a straight face, "Fabulous Gully" by thesaurus-wielding Artificial Intelligence in a book generated about the floods of 1983 on the "Colorado Stream" and "Colorado Waterway."[16] AI needs more credibility.

Unrealistically, there are five "real" Grand Canyons. Even Arizona's honestly real Grand Canyon has a separate, promotionally pronounced "real" portion to it. This implies that there is a *less*-real portion!—somewhere.[17] Then we are presented with a conundrum: the question has been posed, "Which Grand Canyon is the *real* Grand Canyon?" which turns out to be a coin toss between the South and North Rims of the national park and the "West Rim" at the Hualapai Tribe's Grand Canyon Skywalk.[18]

There is also a part of Arizona's gulf that philosophically insists that even in the midst of such multifarious grandeur there is a "'quintessential' Grand Canyon."[19]

THE Grand Canyon—Arizona's main one—is condescendingly acknowledged as the "Other Canyon" in an item about Oak Creek Canyon, suggesting that the monstrous gape to its north is but "another" canyon whose name should not be mentioned in company.[20] More directly disparaged, Arizona's big canyon is called, with a sniff, "that *other* Grand Canyon," so noted in a piece that promotes Pine Creek Gorge, a place otherwise enviously and widely

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[15] The Jordan Rift, a geological feature in the Mid-East and Africa. To grasp back the title of "original," one writer conveyed a capital observation from an Elderhostel program geology trip—they had gone to "Grand Canyon (must have been the original since it was capitalized)" (Vance Boelts, "Alumni News," *Army Civilian Personnel Alumni Association Newsletter*, Lake Charles, Louisiana, (2004), p. 2).

[16] James B. Cole [supposedly], *Rising Waters : the untold story of the 1983 Colorado River flood.* [No imprint, 2024], 294 pp. [An AI-produced book where, despite the title, in the text the river is the "Colorado Stream" and the "Colorado Waterway," among numerous other tortured identities.]

[17] That supposedly "less-real" part of the canyon could be at Tuweep (Toroweap). The December 2017 issue of *Outside* includes a two-page advertisement (pp. [8]-[9]) placed by the Arizona Office of Tourism, which includes a photo of the view there, labeled (exactly) "[*Un*]Real" and "Grand Canyon National Park."

[18] Dawn Gilbertson, "Which Grand Canyon is the *real* Grand Canyon? The South and North rims? Or the West Rim? As popularity of Hualapai's Skywalk grows, so, too, does its rivalry with the national park." *Arizona Republic*, (June 8, 2008).

[19] Then there are sites that attempt to strip away the canyon's very own quintessentiality. For example, the one-time home of Elvis Presley in Memphis, Tennessee, is a temptor of tourists who might fly in from Atlanta, Georgia: "Graceland . . . is, with apologies to the Grand Canyon, perhaps the quintessential American landmark." ("Dream Weekends," *Atlanta* [October 2004], p. 83.)

[20] Seth Muller, "Call o' the Other Canyon," *Northern Arizona's Mountain Living Magazine*, (May 2010), cover, 6, 12-17.

advertised as the "Grand Canyon of Pennsylvania." Then there is the "Other Grand Canyon of the East" that distracts one to the Genesee River in New York State, where Letchworth State Park brandishes this other canyon that even carries eleven more synonyms to make its point. Perhaps a bit confusingly, there is, too, "The other Grand Canyon" that metaphorically labels the serene Havasupai world of Havasu Canyon, the flip side of the national park bustle,[21] while Havasu Canyon is correspondingly "The B side of Grand Canyon."[22] But if the (or any) Grand Canyon, or a part of it, can't conveniently be gotten to, the substitute "mimic Grand Canyon" may suffice.[23]

While dodging the other and mimicking Grand Canyons, it is impossible to not acknowledge that it is *THE* Grand Canyon which surpasses their immitative notoriety. It is splendidly the *de facto* trademark of The Grand Canyon State (Arizona's official nickname); as such we may infer from the state's promotional literature that the canyon is the *official* Grand Canyon.[24]

The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River may be the literary fount of ersatz Grand Canyons, but it is *not* the first canyon to be named "Grand Canyon"—even in Arizona![25]

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[21] Fiona McNeill, "The other Grand Canyon; Fiona McNeill finds paradise among the Havasupai," *Travel Savvy*, (May/June 2005).

[22] Caio Vilela, "O lado B do Grand Canyon" [in Portuguese], *Go Outside* (Tres Comércio de Publicações Ltda., São Paulo, Brasil), (March 2015), pp. 42-45.

[23] Mukuntuweap National Monument, Utah (now Zion National Park). (Robert Sterling Yard, *The National Parks Portfolio*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1917.)

[24] Arizona Office of Tourism, website "Arizona—The Official Grand Canyon State," www.facebook.com/arizonatravel (as accessed October 19, 2011). "The Grand Canyon State," the Official Nickname of Arizona, was formalized by the State Legislature in 2011.

[25] More extensive details relating to this note first appeared in Earle Spamer, "The Canyon Grand By Any Other Name," *Nature Notes* (Grand Canyon National Park), Vol. 13, no. 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 7-9 (which also briefly explicates the literary occurrences and geographical significance of the words "grand" and "canyon"), and in Spamer, "Once Again, 'Who Named the Grand Canyon?'—and Other Obscure Grand Canyon 'Firsts'," *The Ol' Pioneer* (Grand Canyon Historical Society), Vol. 24, no. 2 (Spring 2013), pp. 4-16.

Lt. James William Abert wrote in his journal during a reconnaissance between Fort Bent and St. Louis in 1845, "At noon we reached the Grand Cañon, which is referred to by Gregg in his 'Commerce of the Prairies,' as a source of great annoyance to early travellers." (*Message From the President. Communicating a Report of an Expedition Led by Lieutenant Abert, on the Upper Arkansas and Through the Country of the Camanche Indians, in the Fall of the Year 1845*, 29th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 438, 1846, p. 21.) He was referring to the canyon of the Canadian River, in New Mexico. Gregg himself had not used the name "Grand Cañon" when writing about this defile, although his is apparently the earliest appearance of the Spanish *cañon* in American literature. The *Oxford English Dictionary* indicates that "canyon" was in general use as early as 1861, but that the spelling, "cañon," was first used in the American geographical context in 1850. Yet as shown here it was already in print by 1844, in Gregg's celebrated travelogue, where he used the locally available word for the exceptionally deep ravines of the western prairies. (Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, Henry G. Langly, New York, 1844.)

"Grand Canon" appeared in Andrew B. Gray's 1855 record of a survey for the Texas Western Railroad (Southern Pacific Railroad) across the south of New Mexico Territory (which encompassed today's Arizona). This name was

Forgotten they may be (and should be), it is the name of the singular chasm of the Colorado that has been copied ever since John Wesley Powell got off the river in 1869, when celebratory acknowledgments of his first "Grand Canyon" expedition reached readers of newspapers, magazines, and books worldwide, readers who would literarily craft grand canyons of their own, somewhere. Almost immediately, in 1870, the first of what was to be hundreds of aspirant, suffixed Grand Canyons was named—the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.[26]

This exhausting trip around the world and through the imaginative exercises of neologists does not end here. We leap from Earth to the heavens, where are found variously characterized Grand Canyons on Mars (ten of them, not limited to the singular Valles Marineris that dwarfs Earth's canyon and goes by 12 distinctly different Grand Canyon–

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used for a defile in the Chiricahua Mountains (southeastern Arizona), although whether the name was newly applied or one locally used was not indicated. A lithograph illustrating this canyon was added to an 1856 reprinting of the survey—"Grand Canon. Mountains of Chiricahui, opposite Head Springs Valle de Sauz Cienega." This is the first illustration of *any* place labeled as Grand Canyon (and ironically, as like the neology of the Colorado River's "Grand Canyon" and its predecessor names, Big Canyon and Great Canyon, its origin is unknown). So Arizona's first Grand Canyon wasn't even the one on the Colorado River! One might argue that Gray's "Grand Canon" was only the generic description of *a* grand canyon, the name perhaps editorially capitalized, being in a figure legend, but his text refers to it as a specific geographic feature, with initial capital letters, even once calling it (with definite article and italics) "the *Grand Canon.*" (Gray, A. B., *Texas Western Railroad. Survey of Route,* its *Cost and Probable Revenue, in Connection with the Pacific Railway; Nature of the Country, Climate, Mineral and Agricultural Resources,* &c. (Cincinnati: Porter, Thrall and Chapman, 1855); "Grand Canon," see pp. 47, 48. Reprinted and slightly revised, with illustrations added: Gray, A. B., *Southern Pacific Railroad. Survey of a Route for the Southern Pacific* R R, *on the 32nd Parallel, by A.* B. *Gray, for the Texas Western* R R *Company* (Cincinnati: Wrightson and Co.'s ('Railroad Record') Print., 1856); "Grand Canon," see pp. 48, 49, illustration facing p. 48.)

[26] The name of the "Grand Canyon" in Yellowstone is attributable to Henry D. Washburn. During the expedition led by Washburn and Gustavus C. Doane to the Yellowstone region in 1870, numerous features there were given names by which they are famously known today. The "Yellowstone" suffix to Grand Canyon was added later; the Yellowstone's famous canyon was just called "the Grand Canyon." Lee Whittlesley's *Yellowstone Place Names* (Montana Historical Society, Helena, 1988, p. 119), attributes the Yellowstone Grand Canyon to Washburn but without any indication whether the Grand Canyon of Arizona influenced the Yellowstone name; nor apparently did the explorers make any such indication. An account of the expedition published by Washburn in the *Helena Herald* mentions "the Grand Cañon." That newspaper record was reprinted, without noting the date, in Rossiter W. Raymond's *Mining Statistics West of the Rocky Mountains* (U.S. 42nd Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document 10, 1871, p. 214). Doane's own report first mentions "the Grand Cañon" in his diary entry for August 29, 1870 (*The report of Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane upon the so-called Yellowstone Expedition of 1870*, U.S. 41st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Executive Document 51, 1871, p. 9). Nathaniel Pitt Langford's diary of the Washburn–Doane expedition first notes "the Grand cañon" in his entry for August 26, 1870 (*Diary of the Washburn Expedition to the Yellowstone and Firehole Rivers in the year 1870*, privately printed, 1905, p. 16). Thomas Moran's monumental canvas, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* (1871–1872) was developed from studies he made in Yellowstone that could be the original source of, if not otherwise inspired by, Washburn's and Doane's neology. Notably, Moran did not use the (Arizona) Grand Canyon's name for his equally large canvas, "The Chasm of the Colorado" (1873). Not only would the name have conflicted with his earlier work, but it seems that by then everyone understood that the Colorado River's chasm was "the" Grand Canyon, with no suffix. The paintings were purchased by the U.S. Government, each for $10,000, which originally were hung in the U.S. Capitol and later transferred to the Department of the Interior. They are now displayed in the Smithsonian Institution's National Gallery of Art, Washington.

centric names) and on the moons of Earth (four Grand Canyons on our Moon), Uranus (on Titania), and Pluto (on Charon).

II. Analogous, Metaphorical and Other Literary Grand Canyons

> "Nederland is voor de sociale geografie, wat de Grand Canon is voor de physische aardrijkskunde, nl. een grote verscheidenheid van vormen en problemen, harmonisch verwerkt in een klein bestek."
>
> **["The Netherlands is to social geography what the Grand Canon is to physical geography, *i.e.*, a great variety of forms and puzzles, harmoniously incorporated in a small space."]**
>
> — Isajah Bowman
> *as quoted in*
> J. S. Bartstra and W. Banning, eds., *Nederland Tussen de Natiën : een bijdrage tot onze cultuurgeschiedenis* [Netherlands Among the Nations : a contribution to our cultural history] (Uitgeverij Ploegsma, Amsterdam, 1946), p. 54 [27]

As with geographical reuses of the term "Grand Canyon," the Grand Canyon's overwhelming attraction to comparison is wealthily displayed in the creative traditions of analogy and metaphor. Writers everywhere have been affected by some aspect of physical space, cultural surrounding, or imaginative concept that conveyed the image or idea of the Grand Canyon. Many of the expressions listed in *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror* are taken from published literature and from internet websites, attended by liberal doses both of imaginative and poor writing skills; sometimes whimsy and wackiness make their ways into the list. Some even are a Grand Canyon of a stretch of the imagination!

Colossal Mirror lists the literary things that are rather, supposedly, or implicitly like the Grand Canyon: 264 analogies; 741 metaphors, euphemisms, and similes; 24 neological constructs, and 99 U.S. trademarks.

Noteworthy is the "'Grand Canyon' metaphor" itself, which is cited in a legal case that pertains to a matter of financial responsibility:

> For example, in *City of Miami Fire Fighters' & Police Officers' Ret. Tr. v. CVS Health Corp.*, 46 F.4th 22 (1st Cir. 2022), the court held that risk disclosures that "frame risks as merely

[27] The original source for Bowman is identified as ". . . (adviseur van President Roosevelt voor Europese Zaken) in een interview met schrijver dezes na het Internationaal Geografisch Congres te Amsterdam (1938), gepubliceerd in „Het Volk" dd. VI-'38." [*transl.* '. . . (advisor to President Roosevelt for European Affairs) in an interview with the author at the International Geographical Congress in Amsterdam (1938), published in "Het Volk" dated June 1938.']

> hypothetical may be misleading when they resemble the 'Grand Canyon' metaphor, in that 'one cannot tell a hiker that a mere ditch lies up ahead, if the speaker knows the hiker is actually approaching the precipice of the Grand Canyon.'" *Id.* at 35 (quoting *Karth*, 6 F.4th at 137). But a speaker only has a duty to disclose facts affecting the likelihood of that risk when the alleged risk had a "near certainty" of causing financial disaster or where the warned-of risk had already begun to materialize. [28]

The richest category, the metaphors, may convey such various concepts and contemplations on physical greatness, temporal vastness, or ponderous characteristics of physical features, emotional states, or abstract philosophical and intellectual perspectives. The metaphors include euphemisms and the sometimes peculiarly contrived model or design names of many commercial products. Some metaphors are, frankly, tortuous attempts at simile; for example, the arranged display of props labeled "Western Decor 'Grand Canyon'," incongruously depicted with a Monument Valley photo background, a teepee, a "totem pole" and spears of African appearance with various other "rustic" braces. To continue the theme, the Grand Canyon has been twistingly, redundantly articulated as the "Grand Canyon of Grand Canyonness."

A few more, random examples from among hundreds:

- The left Sylvian fissure of the brain has been called "the brain's version of the Grand Canyon."
- The "REAL Grand Canyon" exhausted the metaphorical energy of Arizona's canyon in describing a 225,000-km long "canyon of fire" left by a coronal mass ejection on the sun.
- Bridget Bardot: "like the Grand Canyon she is essentially a natural feature."[29] Barry Goldwater, too. Joan of Arc is inspirationally the "Grand Canyon of France" and Johnny Cash's grave, bass–baritone voice is "as old as the Grand Canyon."
- The renowned Lava Falls in the Colorado River has been called the "Grand Canyon of rapids."
- The legal profession's bar exams are the "Grand Canyon of torture."
- In chemistry, there is that "terrible conductivity 'Grand Canyon' located at pH 7."

Further, the following forced adverbs and adjective suffixes are witnessed in web posts; each is an analogy or metaphor of sorts:

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[28] Virginia Milstead, Mark Foster, and Michelle Portillo, "Do hypothetical risk disclosures give rise to securities claims?" *Reuters Legal News* [online], May 17, 2023 (Thomson Reuters Attorney Analysis), 2 pp., (https://www.skadden.com/-/media/files/publications/2023/05/do_hypothetical_risk_disclosures_give_rise_to_securities_claims.pdf; last accessed November 29, 2024) (note that /-/ is a part of the URL, a conventional hyphen and not a line break editorially inserted here).

[29] Kelly Ricciardi Colvin, *Charm offensive : commodifying femininity in postwar France* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 2023), p. 121.

- Grand Canyonee, Grand Canyoney, Grand Canyony, and Grandy Canyon
- Grand Canyonish
- Grand-Canyonized
- GrandCanyonesque or grandcanyonesque
- grandish canyon

There are as well these more easily defined but curious terms that echo the canyon:

grand canyon phile	presumably an attempt to spell "Grand Canyonophile", "Grandcanyonphile" or similar construct
Grand Canyoned	to have traveled in the Grand Canyon (in the context seen, specifically to have rafted the Colorado River through Grand Canyon)
Grand Canyoner	descriptor for a trip to or through the Grand Canyon (as in to do or to go on "a Grand Canyoner")
Grand Canyonful	a fanciful, tremendously-sized but ambiguous unit of measure
Grand Canyoneer	one who hikes or climbs in the Grand Canyon; specifically in the backcountry
Grand Canyoning	descriptor for an extreme form of river running, without boats but using body protection (in the example seen occurred not in the Grand Canyon but the name was applied to the act); also a descriptor for visiting the Grand Canyon or hiking in it
Grand Canyonist	a pseudonymous author's personal identifier; known from at least one individual who posted material to the web
Grand Canyonly	used as an adjective; used in this compound sense to express largeness of scale, whether physical or metaphorical
Grand Canyonophobe	one who fears or avoids visiting the Grand Canyon
Grandcanyoniana	ephemera and intellectual accumulata relating to the Grand Canyon

III. The Grand Canyon Is Around Here Somewhere

STILL MANY MORE items in *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror* are the creations of writers through error or as the result of geographical unacquaintance or witlessness. THE Grand Canyon has been misplaced, appearing as the "Grand Canyon of Nevada," "Grand Canyon of New Mexico," and the "Great Canyon of California." Even a distant "Great Canyon of the Colorado in Sonora" makes the list. One author sited the Grand Canyon as only "somewhere in America."[30]

[30] Veres Piroska, "Árva öregek," *Sarmasági Hírmondó* (Sarmaság, Romania), Vol. 18 (2020), no. 5, p. 2. "A hosszú szűk utcák fölé úgy emelkednek a színes paloták, mint a Grand Canyon sárgás-vöröses sziklái, valahol Amerikában." (in Hungarian [Romania has a large ethnic Hungarian population]; *transl.* 'The colorful palaces rise above the long narrow streets like the yellowish-red rocks of the Grand Canyon, somewhere in America').

Geographically challenged people have geo-relocated Arizona's world wonder as the "Grand Canyon of Colorado"; the confusion is attributable to inattentiveness to the extent of the "Colorado River." But through the wonders of homographical labels, the state of Colorado does have three of its own: the "Grand Canyon of Colorado" is the Royal Gorge on the Arkansas River, the Dolores Canyon on the Dolores River, and redundantly the Paradox Valley itself, through which the Dolores River flows.

But it was an internationally advertised version of the Arizona canyon misplaced to Colorado that memorably made the news, when a 60-cent international (air mail) commemorative U.S. postage stamp pictured "Grand Canyon, Colorado." The stamps had not yet been released when the error was identified, and ostensibly all of them (as many as 100 million) were destroyed at the cost of a half million dollars.[31] When the corrected version was released—"Grand Canyon, Arizona" (Scott C135, First Day of Issue January 20, 2000)—alert observers pointed out that the photograph was printed reversed! (The Postal Service kept this colossal mirror as is.)

An Ending Thought

OF THE MANY mirrored Grand Canyons—real, metaphorical or other—none are contrasted to any other than the *acme of canyons*. Each emulates "*the*" Grand Canyon; everybody understands the association.[32] Yet, curiously, no place seems to have been declared the "ultimate Grand Canyon." The aggregate content of *Grand Canyon: Colossal Mirror* can fill this unexpected gap to substantiate that "the one and only really Grand Canyon" is, inescapably, the Ultimate Grand Canyon.

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[31] Memorandum from Azeezaly S. Jaffer, Manager Stamp Services, "Review of the Printing Error in the Grand Canyon Stamp (RG-LA-99-001)," May 20, 1999 (U.S. Postal Service, Office of Inspector General (https://www.uspsoig.gov/sites/default/files/reports/2023-01/RG-LA-99-001.pdf; last accessed November 29, 2024).

[32] There always seems to be incongruous exceptions; for example, Japan's Mount Tomi in Gifu Prefecture is soberly named the "Grand Canyon of Gifu" in an advertisement for a sake producer situated at the base of the 892-foot mount.

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The RAVEN'S PERCH MEDIA colophon recalls this bird's habit of gathering and caching objects. Derived from original artwork by Balduin Möllhausen, it is a fine detail from the lithograph delineated by J. J. Young that is "General Report Plate VII" in Joseph C. Ives' *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West, Explored in 1857 and 1858* (Washington, 1861), which depicts a wintry camp just south of the Grand Canyon. The scene was sketched and described by Möllhausen on April 10, 1858, while he was perched in a nearby tree. He noted (in translation here), "a couple of ravens [*paar Raben*] croaked morosely on the bare branches of a dried-up fir tree as they waited impatiently for our departure, so that they could scout around the abandoned campsite for fat morsels." (Möllhausen, *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico, unternommen als Mitglied der im Auftrage der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten ausgesandten Colorado-Expedition*. Hermann Costenoble, Leipzig, 1861, Vol. 2, p. 83.) Möllhausen's original watercolor painting is now in the Amon Carter Museum of American Art (Fort Worth, Texas), https://www.cartermuseum.org/collection/character-high-table-lands-1988146.

Raven's Perch Media was created in 2018, but Möllhausen's remarks on this very scene were not discovered until the translation was made for *Möllhausen's Grand Canyon*, another Raven's Perch Media production (2022).

RAVEN’S PERCH MEDIA