

# THE GRAND CANON

A Worldwide Bibliography

*of the*

Grand Canyon *and* Lower Colorado River  
Regions in the United States and Mexico

16<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries

**Volume 1, Part A:  
Introduction, Statistics, Surveys and Commentaries**

FIFTH EDITION

Earle E. Spamer



A Raven's Perch Digital Production



**RAVEN'S PERCH MEDIA**

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL RESOURCES ON THE  
GRAND CANYON AND LOWER COLORADO RIVER REGIONS OF THE  
UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

THE GRAND CANON : A WORLDWIDE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GRAND CANYON AND LOWER  
COLORADO RIVER REGIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO, 16th TO 21st CENTURIES  
Volume 1, Part A: Introduction, Statistics, Surveys and Commentaries  
Fifth Edition

CATALOGERS NOTE  
canon: *a standard or  
essential list of works*

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The Grand Canon  
*not* The Grand Canyon

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## EXECUTIVE OVERVIEW

**T**HE GRAND CANON is a definitive, wide-ranging bibliography and cartobibliography of published materials about the Grand Canyon and lower Colorado River regions in the United States and Mexico (Arizona, Nevada, California, Baja California, and Sonora). It is the evidentiary record of worldwide interests. These are publications containing observations, statements, reports, proclamations, opinions, and reflections, detailed and cursory alike, from nearly 500 years of official and occupational activities, and avocational and recreational pursuits; components of a capacious history of human affairs. For this geographic area this is a unique, authoritative resource—a **canon** of general, creative, technical, and administrative publications about, or even just touching upon, the land, the river, and the people there—vital to current users and trustworthy to future generations. It deals with everything from the deep time of earth history to current events and concerns. It is as historically complete as possible, useful to administrators, professionals, affiliates of organizations having special attentions in the region, and to interested individuals. The introductory volume further includes background information on the process and purpose of making and using bibliographies, even in the digital age, which details how this bibliography and cartobibliography was put together during the past half century and how it continues to serve.

This work focuses on broad landscapes along the Colorado River from Glen Canyon Dam to the Gulf of California, diverging for historical, environmental, and geological reasons into the Salton Sea, the Imperial, Mexicali, and Yuma Valleys, and the northernmost gulf. All topics of general and incidental interest, exhaustive study, and administrative concern are included. The *Bibliography*, divided into 32 subject areas, and the complementary *Cartobibliography*, contain 111,000 detailed and augmented citations for items in 115 languages—ample, vital, trifling, and trite alike, created worldwide in the 16th to 21st centuries in countries from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe. It proves an enduring, worldwide engagement with this region. Publications include printed, audio, audio-visual, and photographic works, digital formats, and media for users with vision impairments. These comprise books, serials, reports, pamphlets, maps, films and transparency materials, recordings, Braille, and unusual media. Listings accrue as new works are produced and old ones are recovered from obscurity; an everlasting process.

The many parts of THE GRAND CANON ensure that administrators, scholars, students, and the general community within the American nation and among its Indigenous peoples, and interested parties around the world, retain a permanent documentary record of published ideas and work about the Grand Canyon and Colorado River country. Every cita-

tion in *THE GRAND CANON* vouches for a creative work, however outstanding or mundane, current or outdated. In detail they demonstrate the innumerable ways in which this region has been touched, even if just a bit, in publications around the world. In sum they document the temporal and geographical embrace commanded by this region.

The bibliography's citations, more than a tenth of which are in languages other than English, characterize centuries of international culture, study, reflections, uses, and administrative and advisory action. Items were created by individuals, institutions, organizations, corporations, and government agencies. They pinpoint resources that may contribute to users' specific inquiries. They are a means to identify, access and assess publications and their content. And they may allow users to gather information for historiographical or administrative analysis. This is, after all, a recipe book for historical studies and for new projects—even now, perhaps, applications to Artificial Intelligence-driven jobs. Individual entities—writers, photographers, artists, organizations, companies, and government agencies whose works are cited here—have been witnesses to, sometimes makers of, history. Users who look into these works may gather together what is needed to move ahead in their own, new work. Thus the bibliography is *legacy and vision*; intriguingly, it is hardly the impression many people have of what is a bibliography.

While various bibliographies and reference lists for the Grand Canyon or the Colorado River had been compiled in the 20th century by individuals and official agencies, their lists were limited to principal and noticeable works. The results contained predictably similar products, albeit with different focuses. As for dates of publication, none of them delved deeper than the 19th century. None were intended to be a truly comprehensive accounting anyway, nor did they embrace the profusion of articles that even then were already in the periodicals. A couple of specialized bibliographies added brief commentary, but their coverage was purposely very selective. None of them cited publications that included only short notes of the river and its grand canyons. The absence of very detailed documentation of *all* published works is remedied by *THE GRAND CANON*.

## PURPOSE AND AUDIENCE

*THE GRAND CANON* is actually several things. Foremost is the bibliography (now presented as Volume 1/Part B); its subtitle is *A Worldwide Bibliography of the Grand Canyon and Lower Colorado River Regions in the United States and Mexico*. Then there are the introductory remarks and essays (now relegated to Volume 1/Part A), which together offer new generations of researchers insight into the process and craft of bibliography. This material explains how the bibliography is constructed and what it contains; then it continues with essays on the purpose and utility of bibliographies in general, amidst the resources of the digital age.

The idea of a bibliography—after that of its being an accounting of what works have been produced—is to reveal things that people are looking for or might become curious about. It is a place to record everything that was published—and thus idealistically, everything that is known—about the subject it embraces. The main purpose of *THE GRAND CANON* is to serve as a public collection of information about printed publications, audio-visual works, published digital products, and other, less usual, published media. Within broad guidelines it includes everything that (in whole or in part) pertains to, or mentions in context, the Grand Canyon or the lower Colorado River. And one cannot begin to understand the history of a region, or a field of interest, without first knowing what previous work and resources exist. To address these ideas to specific groups of users:

*Librarians and reference professionals:* This consolidates everything that has been published (so far as has been found) about this geographic region—every subject, every format and language. This is what patrons may ask about, with more than 111,000 precise and categorized citations to guide you; all is searchable in PDF. In the future a new database might be prepared from the bibliography.

*Historians:* This is a source list of published records, events, observations, objectives, and opinions about a significant portion of the North American Southwest.

*Indigenous peoples:* This is a collection of published materials that relate to your cultures and activities on traditional lands along the Colorado River and in the Grand Canyon region.

*Scientists:* This amasses and details previous work carried out in your field, within this geographic area, whether comprehensive or piecemeal.

*Administrators and resource managers:* This is a list of publications that have drawn upon the tangible and intellectual resources of lands you oversee, or which can contribute to a broader understanding of how these lands are perceived, experienced, and utilized by national constituents and people worldwide.

*Jurists and politicians:* Many publications not only document the activities of courts and legislatures, but even more embrace reaction, opinion, and petition that relate to legal and political affairs; these conserve the concerns and understanding of official activities by an informed citizenry and special-interest groups.

*Students and teachers:* This is an introduction to what has been published about this part of the Southwest in diverse fields of interest, which inform, of course, but which can inspire new projects and partnerships.

*Information technology specialists:* The bibliography in its digital format can be used for new explorations into the utility of the information contained in it. I envision applications of what is currently called Artificial Intelligence (AI), by which the raw data of a bibliography might be stretched, dissected, analyzed, and rejiggered to draw out new

presentations and analyses that deliver data in modified ways, for different audiences, or perhaps even in ways not now imaginable (although AI’s somewhat knotty debut reveals some untrustworthiness that must be overcome). But in this special case it all has to depend first on that raw source, the bibliography, which challengingly even can convey data through special typographies, not to overlook the mixed use of non-Roman orthographies and citations in dozens of languages. Sometimes citations even are bi- or multi-lingual. It’s not all text-only like in a database; typography and language deliver information, too. Then if there are annotations, these too have to be analyzed in context with the citation. I present these as experiments for AI. I hope people will try it out. More to the point, I hope that people will agree that bibliographies thus are really more than unmoving, unchanging lists and will use that concept to advantage—for uses and people not yet known.

*Casual users:* This holds a browser’s collection of visits, happenings, thoughts—anything that may have “meant something” to its author and which may “speak” to you: things to pique your interest and to be led to.

Researchers who are accustomed to having bibliographies among the study and reference tools at their disposal will attest to the inherent value of *THE GRAND CANON* for its expansive coverage. However, it also has uses not usually attributed to “dreary” lists of authors, dates and titles. For example, the bibliography can assist with matters of resource management, accountability, and other information needs of managers in federal and state agencies that have oversight in parts of the region covered by the bibliography. Users in a variety of organizations, institutions, and cultural groups who have concerns within the region may find comparable uses for this work.

Administrators and resource managers in the Grand Canyon and lower Colorado River regions have not had an authoritative accounting of publications that are about, or include, work performed within these managers’ jurisdictions. They have instead relied on resources in scattered official reports and working papers generated by administrative entities, which contain perfunctory lists of references. But in the publications of non-governmental and professional organizations, and in the general realms commercial publishers, there is an awesomely broad expansion of observations and opinions that relate to the geographic and thematic areas these managers oversee. These publications range from the casual activities of travelers, to deeply involved scholarly studies and technical reports of professionals, never reported or known to these managers. In fact, most products published about the Grand Canyon and the lower Colorado River are the result of activities of thousands of individuals and organizations who are unrelated to the administrative units that now exercise control in the region. And yet, these authors (and photographers and film producers and musical performers and . . . ) have produced works that draw upon resources that are under the purview of managers who have not had the means to determine the full scope of these “outside” interests, nor more broadly the wide-



ranging, non-official uses of, and attention to, the areas under their supervision. THE GRAND CANON is a master list of publicly available materials, although some may be scarce and not easily found.

The citations in the bibliography of course list things as the work of individuals, agencies, and organizations. But they further serve to document perceptions and opinions that have been held, what resources have been reported upon, and how widely in time, and where in the world, the publications have been produced. For those who are interested in topical focuses, the bibliography sorts through the publications in distributed fashion, as shown by the Table of Contents. Subsets of citations may be extracted to create specialized lists (see for example the complete Raven’s Perch Media publications list, which is continually added to (see at <https://ravensperch.org/>).

No comparably robust accounting of publications exists that embraces any U.S. National Park Service unit, nor for other federal and state public-lands agencies in this region of the United States and Mexico. With respect to Grand Canyon National Park in particular (as a focused example), the broad resources documented in THE GRAND CANON can position the park in a way to be able to also provide documentary information on behalf of other NPS units, as well as to other governmental agencies, academic institutions, and independent organizations in the U.S. and Mexico; from which related partnerships may develop as well. This may be beyond the charge by which the park functions within the federal hierarchy. But with such a resource it can respond as necessary to expectations of the American citizenry, it can respond to the information needs of agencies, institutions and organizations, and it can hold the advantage of a leadership position in such services among groups that do not have the means to produce such services on their own. Further, it may establish itself in the world community of protected areas as a leader in broad regional, national and international cooperation in the documentation of research resources.

THE GRAND CANON is the greatly enhanced and embellished version of the *Bibliography of the Grand Canyon and Lower Colorado River* that was first published by the Grand Canyon Natural History Association in 1981 (today this is the Grand Canyon Conservancy). The print editions of 1981, 1990, and 1993, and the queryable online database that replaced them during 2000–2021, consistently served Grand Canyon National Park and its constituency through the Conservancy’s mission to provide “premier educational opportunities about the natural and cultural history of the region”. In so doing it also continues to provide a research tool useful to the park’s administrative and interpretive staffs—and as well for the needs of other agencies and organizations elsewhere in its coverage area. This embraces federal, state, and local lands all along the lower Colorado River in the United States and Mexico, offering users in those areas comparable attention to

published resources about their areas, rounding out a robust accounting for publications for the spine of the Southwest.

The bibliography of more than 111,000 citations is also a unique public service. The only comparable work for a broad national park area that ever approached THE GRAND CANON in size and content was the *Greater Yellowstone Bibliography*, an online database containing “over 28,900” citations, sponsored by the University of Wyoming Libraries, which lasted only for a decade or so. The content, structure, means of access, and utility of the Yellowstone production differed greatly from the Grand Canyon bibliography, too; and it was not accessible as a single document. Another similar resource, the “Yellowstone Database” posted to the Washington State University website, was restricted to scientific literature of “about 14,060 references,” but after having been static for about a decade it disappeared around 2020.

That THE GRAND CANON includes items from six different centuries, 16th to 21st, testifies to a long play of human affairs. It accounts for work and commentary that has been published, of course, but it goes further by recording citations as precisely and completely as possible. This resolves the kinds of ambiguity that come from mis-citations, foreshortened citations, and various kinds of misunderstood, misquoted, misused, and contrived information. It serves also as a reliable base upon which new, extended, and selective resources can be built.

The bibliography can stand both as resource manager’s reference tool and a resource for interpretation and education. It does not figure into Grand Canyon National Park’s “Foundation Statement”, prepared in 2010, because the bibliography is not a National Park Service product nor is it sponsored by the Park Service. Still, it steps up because from 1980 to 2021 it had been sponsored by the not-for-profit Grand Canyon Conservancy, now “the official philanthropic and collaborative partner of Grand Canyon National Park”, cooperating with the park’s educational, interpretive, and other outreach programs. Even though GCC no longer is engaged in the production of this bibliography, it stood responsibly and responsively for four decades; and the conservancy continues to benefit from this work in its ongoing mission of support to Grand Canyon National Park, to Native American peoples with long cultural ties to the canyon, and to the international constituency of people who visit and who respect the Grand Canyon and its Colorado River.

The bibliography continually grows and is available to a world community of professionals and avocationists. For all, it documents the quantity and quality of human attention to, and interaction with, the Grand Canyon and lower Colorado River regions. Whereas research directions and individuals’ reflections change over time, the mission of THE GRAND CANON is to provide detailed documentation of all existing work — at least so far as has been found. It comprises a source list, arranged thematically, to inform administrators,



academics, and citizens, whether independent workers or representatives of organizations or government agencies.

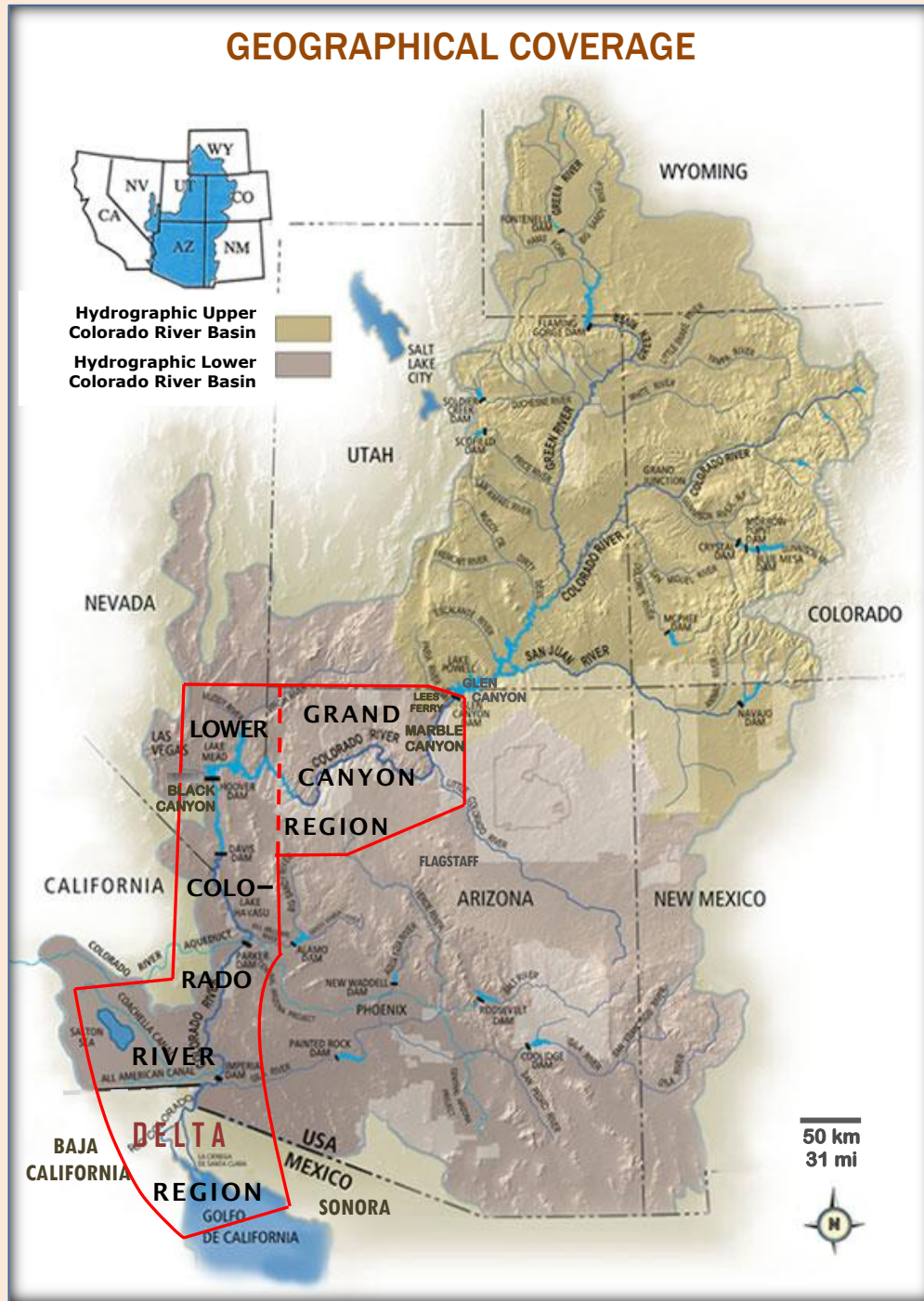
## GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE

THE ITEMS listed in THE GRAND CANON cover two separate regions (*see map on next page*). First is the physiographic Grand Canyon of the Colorado River that covers some 2,400 square miles, to which is added extensive adjacent lands. The second geographical region is the area bounding the lower Colorado River from the mouth of the Grand Canyon (where the Colorado River passes through the Grand Wash Cliffs) and the lower ends of the Virgin and Muddy River basins, to the sea. The river corridor-proper in the area covered by this work passes along some 800 miles—beginning in Glen Canyon below Glen Canyon Dam, through the lengths of Marble and Grand Canyons, then drifting through several dam-impounded lakes that straddle the boundaries of Arizona, Nevada and California. The river finally trickles to the sea in the delta—now virtually, often absolutely, dry—in the Gulf of California astride the Baja California–Sonora boundary in Mexico. There is a great human and ecological story here, still unfolding. And geologically, the lower Colorado River region and the extended delta with the ancestral head of the gulf offer solutions and show new mysteries both, regarding the origin of the Grand Canyon upstream and even the Colorado Plateau at large. It is, after all, one river.

The Colorado River country witnesses human heritages that arose and continue through understanding and participating in life in this land. The river runs through the physical land, bringing life, death, and rebirth in absolute, inspirational and spiritual ways. It clenches histories to be discovered and renewed, and it seems to withhold answers as well. So likewise the bibliography: looking at all of this land, and the life, places and things therein, it chronicles the work of thousands who have told us what can be understood and imagined, and uncovered ideas of what may never be known.

## BREADTH OF ADMINISTRATIVE OVERSIGHT

A SIGNIFICANT portion of the Grand Canyon and the lower Colorado River corridor is administratively overseen by federal and state government agencies of the United States and Mexico, and by the autonomous governments of Indigenous peoples. Accordingly, THE GRAND CANON may aid these and other groups with its unique accounting of published research and reference materials that are available specifically about this region. And perhaps even more importantly, it serves as a documentary record, international in scope, of the work done on, and detailing the perspectives held of, the lands, waters, airspaces, resources, and human needs that are administered or protected by these agencies. A bibliography such as this one thus can serve both a widely interested audience and function as an informational guidance document for resource managers and administrative



professionals; and it feasibly can be used as a summary document for matters of legislative action and judicial opinion.

Administrative units with oversight of lands in the Grand Canyon–lower Colorado River region fall within different departments of the governments of the United States, Mexico, and Indigenous peoples. They can be noted in summary order as one passes

through the geographical range of this work from the Arizona–Utah boundary to Mexico; and together they demonstrate the interlocking political and cultural characteristics of the region.

The principal administrative units represented are Glen Canyon National Recreation Area; Grand Canyon National Park; Vermilion Cliffs, Grand Canyon–Parashant, Baaj Nwaavjo I'tah Kukveni–Ancestral Footprints of the Grand Canyon, and Gold Butte National Monuments (which monuments also are in the Bureau of Land Management's National Landscape Conservation System); Lake Mead National Recreation Area; Kaibab National Forest (portions of which are north and south of the national park); plus lands and facilities administered by the Bureau of Reclamation, Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs, federal and state wildlife refuges and environmental reserves, and Mexican national interests—and throughout there are the sovereign lands, agencies and interests of groups of Indigenous Americans. Segregated areas apportioned as Wilderness are also administered by the Bureau of Land Management, Fish and Wildlife Service, Forest Service, and National Park Service. These are congressionally reserved lands limiting human activities to scientific or historical study and non-mechanized recreation.

Near to the Grand Canyon is the formally established Little Colorado River Navajo Tribal Park and the Marble Canyon Navajo Tribal Park, both in the Navajo Nation that abuts the eastern end of the physiographic Grand Canyon. In the western portion of the Grand Canyon the expansive Hualapai Indian Reservation occupies the southern side of the canyon. While the Hualapai Tribe has not designated tribal park areas, they do operate a commercial tourist enterprise generally known as Grand Canyon West, a name that has since given this part of the Grand Canyon separate, *de facto* geographical status. In the central Grand Canyon area on the south side the Havasupai Tribe has their own tourism-focused enterprise in Havasu Canyon around the village of Supai.

On the Kaibab Plateau north of the canyon the Kaibab Squirrel National Natural Landmark spans the boundary between Grand Canyon National Park and the Kaibab National Forest. The U.S. Federal Highway Administration's ceremoniously designated Kaibab Plateau–North Rim Parkway (Arizona Route 67), a National Scenic Byway, guides travelers through a cultural and ecological scenery of significance along the way to the tourist destination of North Rim on the brink of Grand Canyon.

Along the lower Colorado River specially designated areas now include the Avi Kwa Ame National Monument, Nevada (designated March 2023) and the Chuckwalla Mountains National Monument (designated January 2025).

The region embraced by THE GRAND CANON also includes federally designated natural and wilderness areas and, along the lower Colorado River, wildlife refuges, including those of the Salton Sea area in California. In Mexico there is the Upper Gulf of California–Colorado River Delta Biosphere Reserve (*Reserva de la Biosfera Alto Golfo de*

*California y Delta del Río Colorado*); and the Pinacate–Gran Desierto de Alta Biosphere Reserve (*Reserva de la Biosfera del Pinacate y Gran Desierto*) encroaches on the area covered by THE GRAND CANON. To all these add the stakes of state agencies in Arizona, Nevada, California, Baja California, and Sonora, and local agencies in every city, town, and community of the area; as well as the rights accorded to commercial enterprises of all kinds and private-property owners. Then to apply a broader oversight to all, add the legislative and judicial branches of governments that influence activities, holdings, and accountability, ranging from international treaties to federal and state regulations and local ordinances.

Much of the physiographic Grand Canyon is overseen by the U.S. Department of the Interior, particularly the National Park Service. But the broader region covered by the bibliography includes a conglomerate of federal departments and agencies that have oversight in adjacent lands, waters, and airspaces. These include, but are by no means limited to, such diversely different agencies as the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Federal Aviation Administration, and the U.S. Coast Guard. In addition, areas are overseen by state and local agencies, the people and governing bodies of Native American tribes, and various not-for-profit and for-profit organizations. Some areas are private inholdings like ranches, mines, and tourist enterprises. A few properties have been turned over to federal jurisdiction or given to the care of not-for-profit organizations. Incidental events in these regions also are overseen by federal agencies, such as National Transportation Safety Board investigations of air and ground transportation accidents.

Eleven federally recognized Native American tribes have historical and cultural connections with the Grand Canyon. The administration at Grand Canyon National Park in particular, as well as those of adjacent national monuments and national forests, hold formal inter-governmental consultations with them and have executed with tribes individual agreements that pertain to land and resource uses and protections on the federal lands. Intertribal cultural studies of these lands have also been made, and educational institutions have implemented cultural- and resource-studies programs with these peoples. These tribal groups (as defined by the federal government) are:

Havasupai Tribe, Havasupai Reservation (Arizona)

Hopi Tribe (Arizona)

Hualapai Indian Tribe, Hualapai Reservation (Arizona)

Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians, Kaibab Indian Reservation (Arizona)

Las Vegas Band of Paiute Indians, Las Vegas Indian Colony (Nevada)

Moapa Band of Paiute Indians, Moapa River Indian Reservation (Nevada)

Navajo Nation (Arizona, New Mexico and Utah)

Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah

Cedar Band of Paiutes, Kanosh Band of Paiutes, Koosharem Band of Paiutes, Indian Peaks Band of Paiutes, and Shivwits Band of Paiutes



San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe (Arizona)

The Pueblo of Zuni, Zuni Reservation (New Mexico)

Yavapai-Apache Nation, Camp Verde Indian Reservation (Arizona)

Within the lower Colorado River region (as defined by the geographical bounds of this bibliography) there are Indigenous peoples who have traditional and legislatively administered lands in the U.S. and Mexico, whose histories and unique cultural heritages are integrated with the greater Southwest. These groups and their reserved lands are:

Moapa River Indian Tribe, Moapa River Indian Reservation (Nevada)

Fort Mojave Indian Tribe, Fort Mojave Indian Reservation (Arizona, California and Nevada)

Colorado River Indian Tribes (Chemehuevi, Hopi, Mohave, and Navajo), Colorado River Indian Reservation (Arizona and California)

Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Chemehuevi Reservation (California)

Quechan Indian Tribe, Fort Yuma Indian Reservation (Arizona and California)

Cocopah Indian Tribe, Cocopah Indian Reservation (Arizona)

Cabazon Band of Mission Indians, Cabazon Reservation (California)

Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians, Torres Martinez Reservation (California)

Cucapá (or Cocopa, *Xawill kwnchawaay*) (Baja California, México; traditional lands in the Río Colorado delta)

In addition, bands of the Southern Paiute people have traditional-use ranges within the northern part of the lower Colorado River region

The apportionment and use of waters of the Colorado River is the result of a complex arbitrate, legislative and judicial history of regulation and responsibilities among the seven U.S. states within the Colorado River basin—Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming—and through treaties ratified by the legislative bodies of the United States and Mexico and agreements of the U.S.–Mexico International Boundary and Water Commission. Supply and distribution concerns, and water-usage variances, go back more than a century, but which were first formalized nationally in the Colorado River Compact of 1922, which remains the foundational document of the generally called “Law of the River,” the domestic guidance among the seven cosigning U.S. states.

National and international responses to natural and human-caused changes in water supply, water quality, and overall environmental conditions, have also dramatically affected interstate and international relations, beginning with devastating breakouts of the Colorado River after the turn to the 20th century, the result of failed headgates, which allowed the river to flow unimpeded to the ancient lakebed of the Salton Sink. This came on the heels of a smaller, natural breakout that had occurred in the early 1890s. The floods poured into the basin below sea level, now called the Salton Sea, where a geological history of river outbreaks is recorded by extensive salt flats, raised beaches, and archaeological occupancy sites. Since then, the means of water usage within the United States’ portion of the Colorado River basin has resulted in increases of salts and pollutants from irrigation

waters taken from and redrained to the river, so Mexico receives a far more brackish content of river water in greatly diminished flows. The desiccation of the Colorado River delta affects human cultures and the natural habitats of animals and plants. Citizen concerns have, in some small measure successfully, campaigned to Colorado River basin inholders and managers to delegate some water, so-called “pulse flows”, for delivery into the delta, to help restore natural habitats and to aid the traditional lifestyles of Indigenous peoples. Now, too, we begin to face physical, economic and culturally debilitating, and politically challenging, effects of a natural return to more usual climatic conditions of protracted drought throughout the Southwest—nature knows nothing of negotiated, legislated, and adjudicated schemes of water apportionment. This will affect the Grand Canyon, too, through the impacts—biological, geological, cultural, and economic—that will come through modifications of river flows and reservoir containments and through natural impacts on atmospheric and groundwater hydrology.

## CONCLUSION

CITATIONS continue to be added to *THE GRAND CANON* — new publications, naturally, but also items produced years ago that are recovered from obscurity. It is work never finished.

This is also a documentary project, one which cannot predict what items in it will be of interest or of use to any user, today or a century from now (and more). The burden of determining what is useful resides with the user; it is they who will identify the material that needs to be examined further or used to build yet another, perhaps broader, project. Without a guide (such as this one and complementary works produced from it) to resources in the first place users would not know about all what has been produced. It is one thing for one to filter out what is at the moment unessential, but quite another to work without knowing of potentially pertinent material. *THE GRAND CANON* is not just a listing of separate items that can be placed on a shelf; it accounts for all products that can be credited to discrete authors. This is a compendium equally for the crowds as it is for the few and the future.

A library containing everything cited in *THE GRAND CANON* would be compendious to say the least, and this bibliography is in fact a guide toward fashioning that library. Within the things that are cited is the elemental history of the Grand Canyon and lower Colorado River regions—descriptions, analyses, and postulations ready for present and future generations. Without the library—without the bibliography—answers could still be obtained, but with considerable effort, with no guarantee that the same depth of coverage would be realized.

So, the object of this bibliography is to indicate what was done—what is available for examination. As is the case of any reference work, the bibliography comprises informational assets: it respects and gathers referable resources that hold the “collective



memory” of the subjects and geographic areas it embraces. Some titles cited in the bibliography are in scarce numbers; they will be difficult to locate if one needs to see a copy (if it is not accessible digitally through web-based resources, although some reproductions there may be imperfect). Nevertheless, *THE GRAND CANON* does provide a total accounting, regardless of rarity or convenience of access, regardless of whether an item is like a tweet or a tome. This is, item by item, a definitive listing for academics, administrators, and general users, for any reasons they may have to use it. And *THE GRAND CANON*’s introductory material and commentaries inform new generations about the process and utility of bibliographies in general.

Last—and importantly—*THE GRAND CANON* is a journey, not an exhibition. It can be used to great effect by newcomers to the vast field of information about the Grand Canyon and lower Colorado River regions. Resource managers and administrators may use this as an introduction to the published works that have been produced for the lands they oversee. New historians and other scholars in various fields of study are likely to find their forays into the bibliography informative. By browsing, they may be introduced to the documentary evidence for how staggering is the worldwide notice of this region, over centuries, and how much promise there is for further investigation. A bibliography like this is first a guide to history: previous interests, research, opinion, criticism, commentary, and even passing thoughts; a body of literature that conserves a narrative of themes and a chronology of changing attentions over time. One then may also seize ideas of things that are problematical, or discern things that seem not to have been pursued or have not been adequately explored. Even those who are well versed in the subjects covered by the bibliography may do well to browse, too. This record of what has been done can yet inspire new projects and partnerships.

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## Naming the Grand Canyon

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.

***Naming the Grand Canyon*, by Earle E. Spamer (Raven’s Perch Media, 2024)**

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