Hell Or High Water
Adams, Eilean

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From my sixth-grade impersonation of Don Quixote until meeting Dock Marston in 1959, I knew little about the Grand Canyon. From 1959 until 1972, in addition to quizzing my mother for answers to Dock’s questions, I was the recipient of a kaleidoscopic blizzard of disparate letters, newspaper and magazine articles, excerpts from obscure books, government documents, and unpublished manuscripts—all accompanied by three- and four-page letters from Dock, brimming with curious facts, vacillating opinions, and wry humor.

When Dock orchestrated a three-way collaboration on a book, he naturally assigned the roles of river and land gurus to himself and Bob Euler; to me he allotted the task of chronicling the personal minutiae of James White’s life. He felt this was the proper chore for a granddaughter who didn’t know much about writing historical treatises. The assignment carried two corollaries: opinions and ideas which impinged upon Dock’s expertise were irrelevant, and I had no need to know the sources of the research he shared with me.

After Dock’s death, I tried to locate the sources of the unidentified references—with limited success. Dock was right—I am no historical scholar, but with some help from those who are, I have done my best.
Letters

Letters were generally the most important primary source for this book. Originals of those written to the White family and carbon copies of those written by them during my mother’s assistance in preparing Thomas Dawson’s Senate Document No. 42 were in my possession until I gave them to Dock in 1972. Sources for the remaining correspondence given to me by Dock are noted where known. All items provided by Dock may be found in the Marston Collection in the Huntington Library in California.

I have tried to track down the copyright owners of these letters. Where the author had sufficient fame to merit an institutional collection, permission to publish was granted; in some cases verification of claimants was not possible. With the others, I was unable to trace any heirs. If it turns out that I have infringed any rights, I offer my sincere apologies.

Most of these letters have never been published before; they are critical in understanding the behind-the-scenes events surrounding James White, his supporters and detractors, and the controversy that developed over his journey.

The correspondence originally in possession of the White family is identified by [W].

Bell, William A. Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 7 December 1907.
———. Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 2 October 1917.
———. Letter to James White, 22 October 1917. [W]
———. Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 21 February 1918.
———. Letter to James White, 21 July 1916. [W]
———. Cover letter to Miss [Esther] White accompanying draft of Senate document manuscript, Parry report, Calhoun article, and Rocky Mountain Herald piece, 28 November 1916. [W]
———. Letter to Miss [Esther] White, 8 February 1917. [W]
———. Letter to Miss [Esther] White, 10 February 1917. [W]
———. Letter to Esther White, 8 March 1917.
———. Letter to Miss [Esther] White, 1 September 1917. [W]
Dellenbaugh, Frederick. Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 9 August 1917.
———. Letter to Lewis R. Freeman, 7 February 1923.
Edwards, William Hiram. Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 1 April 1907.
———. Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 22 September 1907.
Hardy, William H. Letter to George Davidson, 5 August 1897 (in response to Davidson’s letter of 17 July 1897). Robert B. Stanton manuscript, Marston Collection. Huntington Library, Pasadena, California.
———. Letter to George Davidson, 12 August 1897. Robert B. Stanton manuscript, Marston Collection. Huntington Library, Pasadena, California.
Kolb, Ellsworth. Letter to L. R. Freeman, 27 December 1922 (copy of handwritten letter).
Simon, Adam. Letter to James White, 29 August 1917. [W]
Stanton, Robert B. Letter to James White, 16 May 1907. [W]
———. Letter to James White, June 1907. [W]
———. Letter to James White, 3 October 1907. [W]
———. Letter to Roy Lappin, 12 October 1907.
———. Letter to Mr. Gibson, 12 October 1907.
———. Letter to Hiram Edwards, 1 November 1907.
———. Letter to Roy Lappin, 1 November 1907.
———. Letter to Hiram Edwards, 13 November 1907.
———. Letter to Hiram Edwards, 11 December 1907.
———. Letter to Hiram Edwards, 7 January 1908.
———. Letter to Thomas F. Dawson, 22 November 1916.
———, Letter to Esther White, 19 February 1917. [W]
———. Letter to George Davidson, 16 September 1897. Robert B. Stanton manuscript. Marston Collection. Huntington Library, Pasadena, California.
White, Emilia. Letter to Thomas F. Dawson, 24 October 1917. [W]
White, Esther. Letter to Thomas F. Dawson, 2 August 1916. [W]
———. Cover letter to Thomas F. Dawson accompanying James White’s statement, September 1916. [W]
———. Letter to Thomas F. Dawson, 24 November 1916. [W]
———. Cover letter to Thomas F. Dawson accompanying return of Senate document manuscript, December 1916. [W]
———. Cover letter to Thomas F. Dawson accompanying his returned March 8 letter, a copy of Robert B. Stanton’s February 19 letter, and her reply to Stanton, 13 April 1917. [W]
———. Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 13 April 1917. [W]
White, James. Letter to Joshua White, 26 September 1867. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
——— (written by Emilia White). Letter to Robert B. Stanton, May 1907. [W]
——— (written by Emilia White). Letter to Robert B. Stanton, 24 October 1907. [W]
——— (written by Esther White). Letter to Thomas F. Dawson, 20 April 1917. [W]

Manuscripts
Euler, Robert C. Unpublished manuscript, 1972–75.
Parry, Charles Christopher. Notes from an interview with James White conducted on 2 January 1868. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
**Books**

Once again, excerpts from many of the books listed here came to me via the ubiquitous Marston express and suffered from a lack of precise documentation. Some were incomplete galley proofs which were promptly returned. Some of the references came from public libraries long before this book in its present form was started; only a small percentage of the listed books actually belong to me.


*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed.


**Newspaper and Periodical Articles**

Once again, the major newspaper and magazine references for White and his voyage came from Dock Marston. Despite Dock’s hap-hazard method of passing on his research details, his offerings were Xerox copies of actual, dated publications, and since many of them were referred to in other books, I had no doubt of their authenticity. What I do not generally have are page numbers, and while I regret that omission, I do not believe the true scholar will have any trouble locating the references.

**Newspapers**


———. “A Thrilling Adventure.” *Rocky Mountain Herald* (Denver), 8 January 1869.


*Chicago Tribune*, 16 September 1869.

*Chicago Tribune*, 21 September 1869.

*Chronicle News* (Trinidad, Colo.), 24 January 1917.


*Daily Pantagraph* (Bloomington, Ill.), 24 May 1869.

Grandin, E. B. Letter to Frank Alling (8 September 1867). *Alta California* (San Francisco), 24 September 1867.
“Half-Mile Below Ground.” New York Sun, 10 June 1869.

Kenosha Telegraph (Wisconsin). 1 October 1868.


Meacham, R. “To the Public.” Arizona Miner (Prescott), 14 September 1867.

Miller, Elder Henry W. In The Deseret News of Great Salt Lake City, 3 July 1867.


Rocky Mountain Herald (Denver), 11 January 1913.

Rocky Mountain Herald (Denver), 8 January 1916.

Rocky Mountain News (Denver), 6 November 1867.

Rocky Mountain News (Denver), 23 June 1869.


PERIODICALS


Dawson, Thomas F. In The Trail, February 1919.


Keplinger, L. W. Correspondence. In The Trail, December 1920.


“Only God Knew the Way.” Part of “Post True Stories of Daring and Adventure.” The Saturday Evening Post, date unknown.
Parry, C. C. “Account of the Passage through the Great Canyon of the Colorado of the West, from above the Mouth of the Green River to the Head of Steamboat Navigation at Callville in the Months of August and September, 1867, by James White, Now Living at Callville.” Transactions of the St. Louis Academy of Natural Science 2 (1868).

Stanton, Robert B. In Engineering News, 21 September 1889.

**U. S. Government Documents**


**Documentary**