Brigand with a mule at the Tooth, and we decided to walk hard and do the full 28 miles right back to Nanyuki in the day. This we managed after some adventures in the forest when we took a wrong turning in the bamboos and became thoroughly lost. Arthur then was all for retracing our steps and waiting for the mules, but I was rather obstinate and, with compass in my hand, I was all for attempting to take a beeline through the forest. Some hours later we were scratched and torn and not a little exhausted, and Arthur unkindly suggested that it was evident that his would have been the wiser choice.

Finally we got on to the idea of following the game paths which follow the ridges, but these went from ridge to river and from river to ridge. Evidently the animal's life seemed to be a continual wandering from drink to drink. We followed their example every time we reached the river, and the slog up to the top of the ridge seemed longer each time, although actually it did gradually get shorter and shorter with each climb up. However, it came to an end at long last, and we found ourselves sitting on a rough road—blessed symbol of man and civilisation—tired but content. Looking back we could see the mountain set like a little gem in the midst of a vast forest, though at that time we both felt that we had seen enough trees to last us a lifetime.

In the meantime the boys were putting up a stout show on our behalf and, having noticed that our spoor—I never thought that we had left any to see—had gone astray, they proceeded to look for us. They soon lost the spoor in the intricacies of the forest, but one man, the Brigand—bless him—took a supply of food and remained out all night looking for us. We tried to make amends afterwards and gave the boys all that was left of our provisions and a fairly substantial tip besides. They were certainly a grand lot of lads, and I look forward to renewing their acquaintance, if fate and fortune permit.

We did not see the peak again because the weather really broke the following day, and the real Kenya rains started. We journeyed back in the miserable train that took 10 hours to do 130 miles and, to make matters worse, started at 5 o'clock in the morning, but we were sustained for a long time afterwards by the memory of a most wonderful holiday. One day I certainly hope to return and to climb that last 40 feet.

FOOTNOTES TO ALPINE HISTORY

By E. H. STEVENS

3. Leslie Stephen and the Grépon

In 1873, at the age of 40, Leslie Stephen declared 'I have long abandoned difficult and dangerous expeditions.'[1] It is true that after 1864—the year in which he made the first ascents of the Lyskamm from the west, of the Zinal Rothorn, and of the Jungfrau from the Rottal—there was a break of several years in the marvellous

[1] *A.J.* 6. 353. *Playground of Europe*, ed. 1901, p. 172; Blackwell's ed. p. 91.

series of his Alpine conquests. During this interval he was President of the A.C. (1866–1868), married (1867), wrote *The Regrets of a Mountaineer* (November 1867), and edited the ALPINE JOURNAL (1868–1872). In 1869, however, he resumed mountaineering 'in his second manner' —*i.e.* 'only when I thoroughly enjoy it'—in 1871 made the first ascent of Mont Mallet (which he described as 'that child of my old age'[2]—at 38 !), and in 1872 his second ascent (the fourth in all) of the Bietschhorn.[3] The following year saw the crowning exploits of his climbing career. On July 14 he took part with Loppé, T. S. Kennedy and J. A. G. Marshall in the first crossing of the Col des Hirondelles. The sentence quoted at the beginning of this paper is taken from the introduction to his account of this expedition. 'A few weeks afterwards' he made the first recorded attempt on the Grépon, as will be shown further on. On August 6, with Loppé, he ascended Mont Blanc to see the sunset from the top, describing it in that little masterpiece *Sunset on Mont Blanc*,[4] which he himself called, long afterwards (1895), 'the best thing I ever wrote.'

As the party left Montenvers on July 14 'the prospect was equivocal. . . . The Aiguille de Charmoz appeared, as it were, in a ragged dressing-gown. . . . Whether the old Charmoz intended an encouragement or a warning was to me an impenetrable secret. . . . Perhaps, too, my language is rather profane. The mountain, gleaming in the dim moonlight through the veil of mist, should have excited awe rather than unseemly familiarity. I do not profess, however, to have my emotions at command. . . . Moreover I have a spite against the Charmoz. I tried to climb him a few weeks afterwards, and his scarped cliffs foiled our best efforts; and, therefore, I take the liberty, not unprecedented under such circumstances, of attacking the character of a mountain which has shown itself too hard for me.'[5] Most of us, as we read the vivid words, with their characteristic irony, have probably thought: 'What, did Stephen once attempt and fail to climb our old friend the Charmoz?' The supposition is all the more probable inasmuch as some of the phrases omitted from the quotation show that the starting point of Stephen's thought was unquestionably what we now understand by the Charmoz. For instance he writes: 'One huge finger—well known to all buyers of photographs and coloured drawings for the last fifty years—was held up, pointing, with a muddled significance, towards the heavens.'[6] The finger is obviously the Aiguille de la République, and the Charmoz is the peak from whose N.E. ridge that strange splinter springs.

But it must be remembered that the name Charmoz long stood for that whole mass which was only differentiated into Charmoz (on the N.) and Grépon (on the S.) round about the time of the conquest of both peaks by Mummery in 1880 and 1881. In the first brief accounts of

[2] *A.J.* 5. 305.
[3] *A.J.* 49. 279.
[4] *Playground*, p. 257; Blackwell's ed. p. 178.
[5] *A.J.* 6. 355, 356. *Playground*, pp. 176, 177; Blackwell's ed. pp. 94, 95.
[6] *A.J.* 6. 356. *Playground*, p. 176; Blackwell's ed. p. 94.

those ascents (under the rubric of *New Expeditions* [7]) the peaks were described as ' the lower peak of the Charmoz ' and ' the highest ridge of this peak (*sc.* the Charmoz) ' respectively. It may be recalled that no full account of these climbs was made public till 1892. In the paper which Mummery then read to the A.C. he referred to ' the various summits . . . of what used to be called the Charmoz, for . . . this peak has [since] been hewn in twain, one half retaining the name of Charmoz, whilst the other and loftier has been dubbed the Grépon.' [8] Even in 1882, the ascent by the Balfours of Pic Balfour, which is the S. end of the Grépon ridge, was related under the heading ' Attempt on the Aiguille des Charmoz.' [9] On the other hand, in the 1877 edition of Ball's Alpine Guide (p. 200) the now accepted nomenclature had already been definitely adopted.[10]

What all this amounts to for the present purpose is that when Stephen in 1873 talked of an attempt on the Charmoz he might just as likely have meant what is now called the Grépon as the Charmoz proper. Can we discover which it was? In August 1874 E. R. Whitwell, with Christian Lauener and his son, on their way to make the first ascent of the highest peak of the Blaitière, ' reached a col between the Blaitière and the Charmoz, and near the latter peak. On my remarking how easy of access the Charmoz looked, Christian said we might try it if I liked, and we should get so far—as far as the spot he and Mr. Stephen had reached the previous year, and then—then we should come back! It seems that there is not much difficulty till within 50 ft. of the top, which rises quite perpendicularly.' [11] The col ' between the Blaitière and the Charmoz and near the latter ' is clearly the lower Col des Nantillons (3292 m.),[12] which is close under Pic Balfour, and therefore the peak which Stephen and Lauener attacked must be what is now known as the Grépon.

Further light on the expedition comes from Farrar's obituary notice [13] of T. Middlemore, from which it appears that Middlemore *with L. Stephen* made an attempt on the Charmoz (*sc.* Grépon) in 1873, and they were ' beaten back by the last bit, consisting of a slice of rock.' From Whitwell's statement it is obvious that the route was by the S. ridge, and no doubt the climbers reached at least the platform which

[7] *A.J.* 10. 95, 357.

[8] *A.J.* 16. 159. The passage was omitted in *My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus*.

[9] *A.J.* 10. 397.

[10] It may be added that the name Grépon (or Greppond) was originally used for the much lower summit to the N.W. of the Charmoz proper which is now called the Petits Charmoz. This application of the name was considered ' the better accredited ' in an editorial note in *A.J.* 10. 421 (1882), where in its favour are quoted Saussure, Bourrit, Wills, Mieulet's map, the map in Durier (reproduced also in Mathews' *Annals of Mont Blanc*), and other authorities, including Kurz, 1892. It would be interesting to know how and why the name was jumped, so to speak, over the lower to the higher summit of the Charmoz massif. Ball's Alpine Guide, 1898, p. 360 b, calls it the local usage, adopted by Imfeld's map (1896).

[11] *A.J.* 7. 423. [12] *A.J.* 35. 283, 284 (sketch). [13] *A.J.* 35. 272.

has long been known, from the initials painted on the rock, as C.P.[14] As this spot is reckoned to be about 150 ft. below the top,[15] we may perhaps infer from Whitwell's estimate of the height that he thought easily reachable, and from Middlemore's phrase 'beaten by the last bit,' as well as Stephen's 'the cliffs foiled our best efforts,' that the party —a strong one—advanced as far as the base of the difficult section immediately below the platform underneath the summit rock. This was not overcome till 1885 (by M. Dunod, led by F. Simond), and then only by an elaborate rope-throwing operation.[16] As Farrar said :[17] 'Such an attempt at that period (1873) denoted a high degree of enterprise and skill.'

Some questions remain. First as to the guides. Whitwell's statement of course proves that Christian Lauener was of the party. Of Middlemore's eight or nine big climbs in 1873 we know that he was accompanied by Lauener and his favourite Hans Jaun on July 4 (Aletschhorn) and on July 20 (Schallihorn),[18] that after the latter he repeated T. S. Kennedy's route up Mont Blanc from the Miage Glacier,[19] and thereafter made the attempt on the Grépon. As in *Pioneers of the Alps* Middlemore says 'in 1873 Christian Lauener, as well as Jaun, accompanied me,' it is practically certain that Jaun took part with Lauener in the Grépon expedition. As to the date, we have apparently no means of determining it with certainty, but it seems likely that it was in the first days of August.

The most intriguing question is, how came Leslie Stephen—by no means a particularly approachable person—to be associated for the first and only time with Middlemore, in an adventure so unlike the rest of his expeditions ? It is of course true that in 1873 most of the big things had been done, and the ascent of the Grépon was certainly one of the most alluring problems that remained unsolved. Perhaps we can go a little further. A few days before the passage of the Col des Hirondelles, T. S. Kennedy had made the first ascent of the N. peak of the Blaitière,[20] and, like Whitwell in the following year, he would almost certainly have observed the possibility of access to the Grépon on that side, and very probably told Stephen about it, perhaps while they 'chewed the cud of their recollections'[21] at Courmayeur on the day after crossing the pass. Next we note that Kennedy reached Zermatt soon after July 20,[22] and there probably met Middlemore after the latter's ascent of the Schallihorn on that date. It is surely significant that Middlemore's next expedition in 1873 was the repetition of the route up Mont Blanc from the Miage Glacier which Kennedy had opened in 1872, and that Kennedy and Middlemore

[14] The initials, which were those of Charlet (*dit* Straton) and P. Payot, were there in 1881 (see next reference), but probably not in 1873. Cf. *A.J.* 31. 120.
[15] *A.J.* 10. 397.
[16] *A.J.* 39. 252 *sqq.*
[17] *A.J.* 35. 272.
[18] *A.J.* 6. 294, 298.
[19] *A.J.* 35. 272.
[20] T. S. Kennedy, *Pioneers of the Alps*, p. 160. Date in *A.J.* 53. 48.
[21] *A.J.* 6. 363. *Playground*, p. 189 ; Blackwell's ed. p. 104.
[22] *A.J.* 53. 48.

climbed together in the following year.[23] It certainly looks as if they had talked over Alpine problems, amongst which would probably be the possibility of climbing the Grépon as well as Kennedy's project of ascending Mont Blanc from the Innominata basin, on which Middlemore joined him next year. When Middlemore got down from the Mont Blanc traverse to Chamonix, he must have met Stephen (who had returned over the Col du Géant some days before), and it seems likely enough that the latter, finding himself in good form, with an enterprising climber and two first class guides available as companions, may have thought it worth while to attempt one more 'difficult and dangerous expedition.' That Kennedy was actually interested in the problem, and may therefore have aroused the interest of his friends in it, is proved by the fact that he tried it himself in the next year, though by a different route—probably having by then heard from Middlemore that the way first tried would not go.[24]

Stephen's association with Middlemore had a curious sequel. In the following year Middlemore made the first crossing of the Col des Grandes Jorasses. In his account of it to the A.C.[25] he described the dangers encountered from falling stones in the couloir on the Italian side of the pass, and defended the climb on the ground, as Stephen put it, that 'if we don't run risks now, we can't make new expeditions, as the earlier members of the Club used to do.' This doctrine, and certain ancillary arguments adduced by Middlemore—such as that the Club must dissolve if and when there are no more new climbs in the Alps to be done—was vehemently attacked by Moore, Freshfield, and especially by Leslie Stephen, whose letter on the subject [26] lacked nothing in forcible argument and plain-spoken condemnation. It is rather surprising that Farrar should have considered that 'Middlemore's temperate reply brought his critics back to their bearings.' [27] Middlemore's reply [28] was a somewhat defiant repetition of his previous arguments, and in all essentials he seems to me to have had much the worst of the debate. What Middlemore might have urged, but did not, was that much of the danger his party ran was due to a late start—they did not reach the foot of the couloir till 10.30 A.M. and were in it till 4 P.M.—and to certain mistakes in tactics. It is chiefly owing to greater prudence in such

[23] *A.J.* 53. 54. I am much indebted to Prof. T. Graham Brown's remarkable researches for these latter references.

[24] 'In 1874 Johann Fischer guided me over the Buet to Chamonix, where we failed to climb the Aiguille de Charmoz by the couloir, now known to be the proper way [*sc.* Mummery's route]; this failure arose from my want of perseverance' (T. S. Kennedy in *Pioneers*, p. 160). This was published in 1887; that even then the Grépon was still known as the Charmoz is proved by J. W. Hartley's article in the same book on L. Lanier, who is there said to have failed in attempts on the *Charmoz* in 1878 and 1880, each time with W. E. Davidson. That these were actually attempts on the *Grépon* is made clear in Farrar's obituary notice of Davidson, *A.J.* 35. 361–2.

[25] *A.J.* 7. 225. [26] *A.J.* 7. 311. [27] *A.J.* 35. 227.

[28] *A.J.* 7. 402 (misprinted 302).

respects that later climbers have found the expedition not unduly dangerous.[29]

One point in Stephen's letter is of importance in Alpine history. Dealing with C. T. Dent's argument that 'we should never have done the Matterhorn if we had been so nervous about danger,' Stephen replies: 'We should have done it without loss of life if the rules of prudence had been observed. It surely requires some courage to allege a case where a most lamentable accident was caused by neglect of a well established rule—the rule I mean of not taking an incompetent walker with an insufficient force of guides—as a justification for despising other rules of prudence in future.' The universal respect rightly felt for Hudson as a highminded man and a most accomplished mountaineer has led, I venture to suggest, to a general blurring of his responsibility for taking the inexperienced Hadow on such an expedition. Stephen's weighty judgment appears juster than Farrar's apologia in his brilliant article on Hudson,[30] which is rather of the nature of special pleading, since after all it *was* Hadow's inclusion and his incompetence that led to the catastrophe.

MOUNTAINEERING MEMORIES OF THE PAST

By G. P. BAKER

THE task I have set myself is to deal with incidents connected with expeditions associated with my name over a period of many years. I remember little of routes, passes, and bare facts; there are however some few incidents, of a serious nature, and others of a lighter vein, which remain ingrained in my memory, and these are they I now offer to the Editor.

* * * *

When I came of age, my father in his wisdom said that I could take a three months' holiday and go where I liked and he would foot the bill. After a year of thought and preparation, the glamour of the East took me to Persia in 1878, and on the way I stopped at Erivan, then a town of mud hovels, where in the *maidan* or open square was to be seen a pyramidal heap of native bread quite 11 ft. high. It was about the end of the war between Russia and Turkey, and it was said that this heap of bread was for the Turkish prisoners from Kars. Since that date Erivan has grown to be a modern city, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

Continuing S. on the Araxes plain, the whole of the eastern side of Ararat is seen rising sheer unencumbered by foot hills, though a pronounced chasm is visible, caused by an earthquake many years ago. As I travelled along it occurred to me that I would like to try

[29] *Cf.* R. Bicknell's judgment, *A.J.* 33. 381–2.

[30] *A.J.* 32. 31.