



Review: Hannibal Once More

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only say that when the delimitation is finished we shall have another very interesting evening here, listening to the gallant officers to whom this delicate piece of work has been entrusted by both Governments respectively.

The President: Those ladies and gentlemen who often attend our meetings know how easy it is for me, as a rule, to call on a number of gentlemen who are acquainted with the part of the world being described, and it is a tribute to the solitary and unknown region which we have heard discussed to-night that there is not, I believe, a single person in this hall who has ever been anywhere near this part of the world. There are, it is true, the three non-commissioned officers who accompanied Major Fawcett, whose names, I know, he wishes always to have coupled with his in connection with this arduous exploration. The main exploration accomplished by Major Fawcett on this occasion was the ascent for the first time of the Heath river. If you look at his map which he gave us this time last year you will see that the Heath river is fairly accurately drawn, and possibly in time it may be said that that accuracy indicated that the course of that river was known beforehand. It was, however, merely a clever anticipation of Major Fawcett that enabled him to draw that river on the map. Major Fawcett, you will observe, travelled nearly the whole of his time along the banks of rivers. But we are glad to hear from him that he intends to go right across the country next time. It will be an arduous expedition, but it will be well worth undertaking, and we wish Major Fawcett the best good luck in his endeavour to accomplish the feat. I think we must all be thankful to Bolivia in that it still affords one of the few places in the world where the explorer can go forth and exhibit perseverance, energy, courage, forethought, and all those qualities which go to make up the qualities of an explorer of the times now passing away. Major Fawcett has shown all these qualities, and also another, the one I like to dwell on most. I allude to the way in which he was able, by peaceful dealing with the savages, to win his way amongst them without having to fire a single shot.

Major FAWCETT: I should like to thank Your Excellencies and Major Darwin for your kindly allusions to the work, both on my own account and on behalf of my companions. I am sure that as long as we can uphold British prestige, benefit the country for which we are working, and also add something to geographical knowledge, we shall not grumble at the difficulties and the insects. I thank you very much for your attention.

HANNIBAL ONCE MORE.*

By DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD.

"There are subjects of no earthly importance to any one and of interest only to a very small portion of society, which have still, within those limits, been discussed with greater zeal than matters of a much higher and more useful description. Of this nature is the passage of Hannibal over the Alps." So wrote, in 1830, "a member of the University of Cambridge" in an endeavour to confute Wickham and Cramer's Dissertation on the same even then well-worn subject. The last eighty years

^{* &#}x27;Hannibal's March through the Alps.' By Spenser Wilkinson, Chichele Professor of Military History. With two figures and four maps. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1911. 48 pages. 7s. 6d. net.

have been fruitful, not only in this country but also in France and Germany (Italy for some reason seems less interested), in attempts to solve the old puzzle, attempts in which the better knowledge of the Western Alps attained in the course of the last half-century has naturally been brought into play. The most recent of these essays is now before us, a slender but not inexpensive volume of forty-eight pages, from the pen of the Professor of Military History at Oxford.

Prof. Wilkinson has been little harassed by the vagueness, or the apparent discrepancies, in the narratives of Polybius and Livy that have exercised the ingenuity of his predecessors. For he has found a key to the puzzle which fully satisfies him in the two picturesque passages in the classical authors in which each purports to give an abstract of a speech supposed to have been made to his soldiers by Hannibal on reaching the crest of the Alps. It may be convenient to bring back to the minds of our readers the passages in question. Polybius must come first:—

"Hannibal, seeing his men discouraged both on account of the hardships already undergone and those they anticipated, called them together and strove to encourage them, having one ground for this, the prospect $(i \nu a \rho \gamma \epsilon \iota a \nu)$ of Italy. For it lies so close under the aforesaid mountains that to those who contemplate both in one view the Alps appear to bear the relation of an Akropolis to the whole of Italy. Wherefore, pointing out to his men the plains about the Po, and reminding them of the general friendliness of the Gauls who inhabited them, and at the same time indicating the position of Rome itself, he to a certain extent raised their spirits."

So far Polybius. Let us now take up Livy.

"Hannibal, having advanced the standards to a promontory whence there was a view far and wide, and ordered the soldiers to halt, points out Italy and the plains about the Po lying under the Alpine range, (telling them) 'they were surmounting not only the walls of Italy, but those of Rome itself, that the rest would all be level or downhill, that by one or at the most two battles they would become the possessors and masters of the citadel and head of Italy.'"

These passages Prof. Wilkinson takes "to the foot of the letter." On the strength of them he asserts that the prime and indispensable requisite for the Pass of Hannibal is that it should command from its summit a wide view of the Piedmontese plain. As a consequence, he rules "unconditionally" out of the running all the old favourites, the better-known historical passes. A French officer, Colonel Perrin, had, in 1884, pointed out that there is such a view from the Col de Clapier, a bye-pass 8173 feet above sea-level, a few miles south of the Mont Cenis. Prof. Wilkinson has visited more than once the pass in question and finds in it all he requires. He writes: "The nature of the view from the Col du Clapier is

^{*} Coldu Clapier commonly; but Colde Clapier in recent French Government maps and 'Alpine Guide.'

the crucial evidence that this was Hannibal's Pass, and, what is even more important, that neither Polybius nor Livy draws on his imagination for his statements."

It would seem as if Prof. Wilkinson had felt no misgivings either as to the verbal accuracy of the anonymous reporter, or as to the channels through which the words alleged to have been used by Hannibal may have reached Polybius, and through him, probably, Livy. Further, it has been pointed out by competent writers that, even taking the speech as authentic, the words in Livy (which Prof. Wilkinson leaves out), "the rest would be level or downhill," may in themselves suggest to an ordinary mind a sufficient reason for such a speech. To any born leader of men the downward slope of path and stream would surely hint the occasion for making an obvious appeal to the imagination of his followers. None of these considerations, however, have troubled the Professor of Military History; he "assumes the Clapier to be the pass," and proceeds "to find the route by which Hannibal reached it."

Polybius and Livy tell us that Hannibal crossed the Rhône nearly four days' march from the sea, and four days' march (for cavalry and elephants) below the confluence of the Rhône and a river called in the generally received texts the Ἰσάρας and Isara.* The distance from the eastern mouth of the Rhône, where Scipio was encamped, to the meeting of the Rhône and the Isère is about 125 Roman miles. Roquemaure, where Hannibal has hitherto been supposed by most writers to have crossed the Rhône, is about 50 miles from the mouth and 75 miles from the confluence. In his attempt to trace the famous march Prof. Wilkinson at once parts company with his predecessors. He makes the Carthaginians cross the Rhône near Arles and below Tarascon, 30 miles only from the sea. In insisting on this divergence from the general belief he has two objects in view. The first is, to find a way to fit in Livy's description of the passage of the Durance with his own theory. Having got Hannibal to the left bank of the Rhône south of the Durance, he leads him across the latter stream, alleging that Livy has misplaced its passage and confused his narrative through mixing his authorities. By an advance of another 10 miles, some 30 only in all from the crossing of the Rhône, Hannibal is made to arrive in the Island above the Confluence, described by the classical writers. In our author's view, this is the tract enclosed on two sides by the Rhône and a streamlet, the Sorgues, well known in literature as the Fountain of Vaucluse, immortalized by No attempt, as far as we can discover, is made to reconcile this hypothesis with the statement of Polybius that the confluence was 600 stadia or about 75 Roman miles from the passage.

Here we must pause in following Prof. Wilkinson's route, in order to

^{* &}quot;Skaras" in the MSS. of Polybius. Prof. Wilkinson substitutes six variants taken from different MSS., "Ibisarar or Ibisaras, Bisarar or Bisaras, Sarar or Saras," for the received text of Livy.

point out that the reasons he alleges for abandoning the common identification of the Island will not hold good in the eyes of a traveller on the spot. He writes, "The hypothesis that the island was the Rhône vallev above the Isère is inconsistent with most of the statements made by Polybius about the island. The island was especially fertile, which is not the quality of the land north of the Isère. The mountains do not, even in appearance, form the base of a triangle, of which the two rivers are the two other sides. Polybius distinctly says that the mountains forming the base of the triangle were impassable." Now let us see exactly what Polybius does say. The Island, he says, is "populous and cornbearing," the mountains at its base are "difficult of approach and access. and almost, so to speak, impassable." The country between the Rhône and the Isère is still populous and cornbearing, and it would be difficult to give a more accurate description than Polybius has done of the abrupt range above the Lac de Bourget and the track through the Grotte des Échelles before Charles Emmanuel II. of Savoy, in 1670, made a charroad.*

One more exception must be taken to our author's pleading. "There is a town," he writes, "which still bears the name of the island (Isle sur Sorgues)." But L'Isle sur Sorgues, Murray's Handbook tells us, is "on an island surrounded by branches of the Sorgues, whose waters, employed in irrigation, spread fertility and verdure around. This is a green oasis in the desert." The town, therefore, was not named from a surrounding district, nor is it the centre of an extensive district of the exceptionally fertile character Prof. Wilkinson would have us believe that "the Island" was. This most remarkable invention of a new Island is followed by a convenient reversal of the usual location of the subalpine tribes mentioned, and the identification of the first battlefield with the bend of the Isère some 9 miles below Grenoble. In the desire to bring this spot to the right distance from the Confluence (800 stadia) we recognize the second reason for moving the Island lower down the Rhône valley. To make this locality possible as the scene of the first encounter. Hannibal is assumed not to have crossed the Isère, but to have preferred to march up its more difficult left bank. There is nearly a mile of level between the hills and the stream on the opposite right bank at the spot indicated. For the battle at "The White Rock" a defile in the Arc valley below St. Michel de Maurienne is chosen, and three days are allowed for the march onwards from it to the Col de Clapier, an assumption very difficult to reconcile with Polybius.

When we come to the descent on the Italian side, we are told that a part of the Carthaginian army found its way down the steep zigzags of the most direct track, but that the bulk of the army led by Hannibal followed another path bearing away to the right, and,

^{*} See 'Alpine Guide,' vol. 1, p. 191, for a description and further references.

where this was broken by a recent landslip, made a considerable circuit in order to reach a glacier lying at some distance from, and considerably above, not only any present track to the Col de Clapier, but the Col itself. Having failed in this spirited attempt, they were led back by Hannibal to the broken track, which is identified by Prof. Wilkinson with a modern path which contours the mountainside from the Col to the chalets of Tuglia. This track runs above the tree-limit, and traverses slopes shown as bare in the military map of the frontier.*

Prof. Wilkinson, in his "several visits to the pass," has, he tells us, not yet ventured on the complete investigation of these various suggested lines of descent, which he "suspects would repay the scrutiny of an expert cragsman." Are we to infer that Hannibal's soldiers climbed where all but modern Alpine cragsmen fear to tread? In the opinion of qualified travellers who have crossed the passes in October, there is no need to drag in a glacier in order to meet the requirements of the classical narratives. Moreover, if Prof. Wilkinson's identification of the path to Tuglia as the broken track is to stand, Livy's story as to gigantic trees having been cut down and burnt to split the rocks must be dismissed. I do not, however, wish to insist too much on such details. My own view, which I have expressed more fully elsewhere, is that the difficulties in the descent occurred in two places, the first near the Pass, the second considerably lower down.†

There remains one more point in Prof. Wilkinson's itinerary on which I must comment. He assumes that "the plain of the Po in the neighbourhood of Turin was reached in three days' march from the great pass over the Alps."

"Neighbourhood" is a very elastic term; but, if it is to be taken here in its ordinary sense, I cannot think that this statement is a reasonable inference from the classical narratives. Hannibal's first camp in the

^{*} In Blackwood's Magazine for May, 1836 (vol. 39), which is in the Alpine Club Library, there is a full account of the Col de Clapier by W. Brockedon. He calls it the Col de Clairée, and says, "The pass is on the Italian side, the steepest I have ever traversed." Brockedon travelled widely in the Alps, and, besides his principal work, published in 1833, 'Journals of Excursions in the Alps: the Pennine, Graian, Cottian, Rhetian, Lepontian and Bernese,' and in 1836 a series of articles in Blackwood's Magazine; he also took part in the first edition of Murray's 'Handbook.'

[†] I may venture to mention that when passing through Val di Stura I was interested in watching a Small Holder clearing his field of a big erratic block by an expedient very like Hannibal's. He lit a bonfire round it, and then threw liquid on it. I am not prepared to say the liquid was not accetum, but I believe it to have been cold water. Acctum—whatever it may have been—was, Pliny tells us, used in the Spanish mines. The ancient jests with regard to this incident seem therefore somewhat uncalled for: as Carlyle wrote, "Truth is better than error, were it even on Hannibal's vinegar,"

Italian plain was, I believe, reached on the fourth and not on the third day from the Alpine crest. How else are the fifteen days in the Alps to be made up? But let this pass; it is a detail of minor importance. What I desire to call attention to is that the story of what happened at the first camp is quite inconsistent with its having been pitched in the heart of a hostile country and close to the enemy's principal town. Hannibal, we are told, was able to rest and recruit there his utterly exhausted soldiers free from any molestation; he found no difficulty in procuring provisions for his men and sending his animals out to pasture. After he had done this $(M_{\epsilon\tau\dot{\alpha}} \delta_{\epsilon}^{\lambda} \tau a \hat{v}_{\tau a})$, he first entered into negotiations with the Taurini dwelling close to the mountain-side (and therefore across his line of march), and, these failing, invested and in three days stormed their chief town. The natural conclusion from this story surely is that the Carthaginian camp was at the edge of the foothills, in such a position as Borgo San Dalmazzo or Avigliana, and, though close to the frontier of the Taurini, in the territory of one of the friendly hill tribes. There is nothing in this hypothesis in the least inconsistent with the broad statement that Hannibal came down boldly on the Insubrians.

Having thus summarized the chief points in Prof. Wilkinson's version of the march, we turn to see how he treats the arguments of earlier writers. He does not deal, nor can any writer on the subject be expected to deal, with them in detail. Up to 1832 ninety-two had been counted, and the number has been largely increased since that date. But even among his more recent predecessors Prof. Wilkinson has made a very limited selection. He takes no notice of a military writer, the American Colonel Dodge, one of the latest upholders of the Little St. Bernard.* He ignores Mr. Marindin's scholarly articles in the Classical Review (June, 1899, and June, 1901). The German critics later than Mommsen he passes by altogether. Nor does he refer to the divergent views of Alpine experts, such as Prof. Bonney, Mr. Coolidge, and the late John Ball and H. B. George. He has concentrated his attention on the views of an eminent historian, Dr. Arnold, and of a contemporary writer in these pages and the Alpine Journal with a certain knowledge of the Alps.

It must be a matter for regret that before dealing with the former Prof. Wilkinson did not make acquaintance with the edition of Dr. Arnold's chapters on 'The Second Punic War,' brought out in 1886 by his grandson, the late W. T. Arnold, a scholar and a critic of sound judgment. He would have found there, in an appendix of eleven pages, a valuable comment, written in the light of modern research, on the classical texts, together with one of the fullest and most judicial summaries of the whole controversy. He might also have learnt that Colonel Perrin's hypothesis is no novelty to English writers. It is true he would not have

^{* &#}x27;Hannibal.' By T. A. Dodge, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, U.S. Army. 2 vols. Boston and New York: Mifflin & Co. 1901.

procured any support for that hypothesis. W. T. Arnold wrote, "So far as I can discover, the only serious argument" (for the Col de Clapier) "is that it commands an exceptionally good view of Italy. This point, of the view of Italy, is not one of those on which it is advisable to lay stress;" and again Arnold's last words are, "I should be disposed to say that Mr. Freshfield—for I do not regard Colonel Perrin, with his Col du Clapier, as a serious rival—holds the field."

We may now without further delay pass on to Prof. Wilkinson's remarks on my argument contained in the Alpine Journal (vol. 11, p. 267). Here again he does not seem to be acquainted with my more recent notes on the subject (Alpine Journal, vol. 13, p. 28, and Proceedings R.G.S., New Series, vol. 8, p. 638). In these I commented, not only on Colonel Perrin's treatise, but also on the analysis of recent Hannibalian literature contributed in 1884 to the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (vol. 4, pp. 705, 737, 769) by Prof. Schiller, in which that learned writer concludes in favour of one of the Durance passes, a view also expressed more recently by Mr. Coolidge in the 'Alpine Guide.'* Nor does Prof. Wilkinson appear to have read my original essay with any close attention. Whatever claims the Col de l'Argentière (or Col de Larche, as Prof. Wilkinson prefers to call it from the village on its French side) may possess ought to be fairly stated; any objections urged against it ought to be real ones. On either ground, Prof. Wilkinson's statements invite criticism. Various instances might be given. Two must suffice

Professor Wilkinson writes: "Livy says that from the Durance onwards Hannibal marched across a plain to the Alps;" and he adds, "there is no plain whatever in the upper valley of the Durance, or between it and the Alps." Livy's own words are "Campestri maxime itinere." The paraphrase given seems to me forced; "for the most part over open (or level) ground" would be nearer the Latin, and in any case the sentence must be read in connection with the immediate context, a description of the rugged character of the surrounding scenery. In fact, the road from Gap through Embrun to Guillestre is either over relatively open ground or in a valley, and there is no considerable ascent. As Mr. W. T. Arnold has pointed out, Livy's description of the land-scape of the upper Durance valley is singularly faithful.

My next complaint must be a more serious one. Prof. Wilkinson has, in a matter of primary importance, committed himself to a statement which will be the more misleading to the uninformed reader since it comes from a Professor of Military History.

Prof. Wilkinson emphatically asserts that the pass of The Barricades

^{* &#}x27;Alpine Guide,' vol. 1, p. 106: "The Col de Clapier is mentioned by French military topographers in the eighteenth century, while Hannibal, according to a very improbable theory, and certainly the Waldenses, traversed it." Mr. Coolidge himself inclines to the Mont Genèvre.

in Val di Stura cannot, in the absence of opposition from a foe, offer any difficulty whatever to the passage of an army. He has apparently forgotten the adventures of Francis the First on this very spot in August, 1515, before the battle of Marignano-adventures which are fully recounted in the passage from Paulus Jovius's 'Historia sui temporis,' which I quoted in a footnote to the article on which Prof. Wilkinson's criticism is based. The story has been retold at length by Sismondi and Michelet, in Brockedon's 'Passes of the Alps' and in the 'Alpine Guide.' In the last-mentioned work we read: "The pass was later traversed by French and Spanish armies in 1692, 1710, and 1744. Napoleon ordered a road to be made over it bearing the proud title 'Route Impériale de l'Espagne en Italie,' and even now it is styled the road 'from Montpellier to Coni." In 1744 the French met with serious difficulties from fresh snow on the pass in their retreat at a period of the year (November 15) little if at all later than that of Hannibal's passage (Marquis de St. Simon, 'Histoire de la Guerre des Alpes,' cited by me in the Alpine Journal). Prof. Wilkinson has, I assume, like other recent travellers, bowled down the excellent high-road which now traverses the gorges of Val di Stura. Had he studied Brockedon's account of his adventures, no longer ago than the early part of the last century (1826), in 'the fearful defile called the Barricades,' he might have been better able to appreciate correctly the character of the ancient mule tracks in that valley.*

Prof. Wilkinson comments somewhat severely on the assumptions made in support of hypotheses other than his own. He has himself made not a few mistaken assumptions—sometimes under the convenient shelter of an "apparently"—as to my views. I shall not stop here to deal with them. My main object in this note is not self-defence, and I am content to refer any serious inquirer to my former articles. The problem of Hannibal's Pass is one which cannot be attacked without assumptions; but, where they deal not with opinions but with ascertainable facts, it is a reasonable requirement that they should be such as a contact with facts, local or historical, does not immediately dispose of. In my opinion, Prof. Wilkinson's assumptions not infrequently fail when submitted to this test. For example, he would fain persuade his readers that before carriage roads were made, traffic and commerce did not follow certain definite main routes across the Western Alps. This, surely, is to contradict history! From Roman times onwards the main passes of the Western Alps, other than those frequented for local purposes, or in consequence of temporary political considerations, have been the passes over which the carriage roads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were subsequently constructed. It is across them that, with rare exceptions, Roman and mediæval and modern armies have marched, princes ridden, and pilgrims plodded. The passes of Brockedon are the Roman passes—the Cornice Road, the Col de l'Argentière, the Mont

^{*} Brockedon, 'Passes of the Alps,' vol. 2, p. 68.

Genevre, the Mont Cenis, and the Little St. Bernard. In selecting the lowest and most accessible gaps in the chain, the Romans showed their usual practical capacity, and later road-makers have had sufficient common sense to follow in their footsteps.

It would take up too much space here to examine in any detail the series of assumptions by which Prof. Wilkinson leads Hannibal to the Col de Clapier. But before leaving the subject, I would put to him this inquiry. He describes my statement that Varro's route, "Juxtà mare per Ligures," is the coast road—the Corniche—as an "assumption." Has he any alternative identification to propose; if so, what? Again, does he suggest any new representative of the Graian pass in place of the Little St. Bernard? If, as seems to most critics who know the Alps, these identifications of the first and last passes in the catalogue quoted from Varro are indisputable, can he supply any plausible grounds for rejecting the surely obvious inference that the three intermediate passes are referred to in their proper topographical order, going from south to north? This is a point on which no adequate explanation has hitherto been offered by any of the writers, who are loth to give weight to the passage in question.*

I lay down this last essay to solve the ancient riddle wholly unconvinced. The speeches put in the mouths of great men by classical writers are but unstable keystones to build round; the shifting of the Island is a bold but not a plausible expedient; the march of Francis I. across the Alps from Grenoble to Cuneo in 1515 offers in too many respects analogies † to that of Hannibal to be thus lightly disregarded. And if Prof. Wilkinson is satisfied of his own infallibility in the matter, he has been anticipated in this happy frame of mind by many of his predecessors. The adoption of a definite hypothesis as to the Pass of Hannibal seems to conduce to self-confidence! Let us pause on the brink, before we too commit ourselves. The Little St. Bernard may be put out of the question; the Durance passes, the Mont Genèvre, and the Col de l'Argentière, have our sympathy; it will require a far stronger case than Prof. Wilkinson has made out to persuade us to accept his pronouncement in favour of the Col de Clapier, even though it be given, so to speak, ex cathedrâ, from a University Chair. But the final discovery is not yet

^{*} M. Terentius Varro (B.C. 116-27) was a general under Pompey, a historian, an encyclopædic writer, and Cæsar's librarian. Cicero speaks of him as "diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis," a Renaissance scholar as "veterum omnium doctissimus." For fuller references to his career and acquaintance with the Western Alps, and also for reasons in favour of identifying the Mont Genèvre as Pompey's pass, see my article, Alpine Journal, vol. 13, pp. 33-34.

[†] See Alpine Journal, vol. 11, p. 267, for a fairly close study of these analogies. Francis I. met with a Rock, the Rocher de St. Paul, on the Western side of the pass; he camped on the watershed; he employed three thousand pioneers in making a practicable passage through the Barricades. One writer tells us that Francis "was stimulated by the example of Hannibal's passage over the Alps." I do not press this as an argument that they both used the same pass.

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made and verified. The Alpine adventures of Hannibal may still continue to amuse boys and perplex professors. Mark Twain's summary of the ancient argument has lost none of its pungency—"The researches of many antiquarians have already thrown much darkness on the subject, and it is probable, if they continue, that we shall soon know Nothing at All."

Except in a few instances, references to the works and articles quoted and criticized are wanting in Prof. Wilkinson's booklet. The sheet of maps appended leaves much to be desired: none but modern names and roads have been inserted, and railways form the most prominent feature. The scales are given in English miles and kilomètres, and not in stadia and Roman miles. Only one height is inserted, that of a peak, Mont Ciusalet, which has no connection with Hannibal's march. Yet the relative heights of the Mont Cenis (6893 feet) and the Col de Clapier (8173 feet) are not without significance in considering the probability of Hannibal, if he came up the Arc valley, having preferred the loftier and more difficult pass.

LABRADOR.*

By Dr. WILFRED T. GRENFELL, C.M.G.

In accepting the offer to lecture to the Society before I again left England, I had not expected to be required to write a treatise on Labrador, consequently I fear that the time at my disposal will not allow me to do justice to the country or myself. I must ask you to accept the following short paper with this apology appended.

I first went to Labrador in the summer of 1892, and have ever since been going to and from that country and cruising along its coasts and fjords. I have not personally spent the entire winter there, but I have been there from May to December, and I have kept trained colleagues there assisting me, while I myself wintered on the south side of the Straits of Belle Isle, that I might be in somewhat better communication with the outside I have cruised more than once as far north as Ungava bay, and also followed the coast from Quebec to Belle Isle in charge of my own boat as master. With the assistance of colleagues, I have had the advantage of studying various features of the physiography that call for training not included in the curriculum of a surgeon. During two summers I was honoured by the collaboration of Sir William Macgregor, late Governor of our colony, and well known as an expert surveyor. I have not myself been ever more than a day's journey from the coast-line into the interior, but I have arranged and assisted expeditions that have done so. These are some of the sources of information on which my

^{*} Royal Geographical Society, February 27, 1911. Map, p. 476.