

From First Sight to Summit: A Guide to the Literature on Everest up to the 1953 Ascent

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Introduction

It is now over 50 years since Everest was first climbed, and over 120 years since it was first suggested that this might be possible. Yet despite the intervening years, there appears to be no diminishment in the number of alpinists who want to climb the mountain, or people in armchairs who want to read about it. The latter is so much the case that the words “Everest” and “book” sometimes seem to be synonyms. All of which brings us to this article. Much as a guidebook serves to help a climber find their way at an unfamiliar crag, the ultimate purpose here is to help guide the interested reader through the extensive literature associated with the mountain. Given its scope and volume, there appears to be some need. There is also good precedent.

There is, for example, the *Books and Periodicals Catalogue* of the library of the Alpine Club of Great Britain (Alpine Club, 1982). Another is *Sivalaya*, which provides a survey of the literature on the climbing of the 8,000 metre peaks (Baume, 1978). The standard guide to the mountaineering literature in English is *Mountaineering and Its Literature*, (Neate, 1978), and the definitive guide to the Everest English language literature, specifically, is the more recent *Climbing Mount Everest: The Bibliography* (Salkeld & Boyle, 1993). These last two are wonderful pieces of research, and include cross-indexing by topic, author, and title. If you can find it or afford it, the third edition of Yakushi’s, *Catalogue of the Himalayan Literature*, (Yakushi, 1994), with over 9,000 books listed, is the most comprehensive guide to the literature of climbing and exploration in the Himalaya and surrounding areas. It lists books in all languages, not just English. Finally, there is the little known, *Mystery, Beauty, and Danger: The Literature of the Mountains and Mountain Climbing Published in English Before 1946*, which is the PhD thesis of Robert Bates, published in 2000, about 50 years after it was written. It is not a bibliography, *per se*, but rather one of the few surveys that looks at mountaineering books as literature.

Given the volume of the literature on Everest, and the literature on the literature on Everest, why bother adding to the pile? One reason might be that not that many people are familiar with Neate’s work or that of Salkeld and Boyle. (The latter, especially, is too little known, seldom cited, and hard to find.) But then, why not just reproduce the originals?

First, the most recent edition of Neate’s work, for example, appeared in 1986, and a number of things have appeared or come to light since then (many, but not all, are included in Salkeld and Boyle). Second, to the extent that they exist, the book annotations by Neate, and Salkeld and

Boyle, are sparse. Third, there is little in the way of bridging prose that ties the literature together, or which serves as a guide for the reader.

In short, I am trying to provide a guide, as well as a list. Most of the entries in the bibliography that follows have annotations, which are often rather subjective, but hopefully of value or interest. In addition, I have created an updated table of the literature, loosely following the format introduced by Neate. Last, but not least, I have added some narrative which I hope will serve as a useful introduction to the literature. Throughout, the period covered is from the beginning, up to the time that Everest was first summited.

Before proceeding, one caveat: I am neither an historian nor a librarian. Rather, I am an enthusiastic reader of the literature. This work is a reflection of this enthusiasm, and the book collection that has resulted from it. I state this not by way of excusing any mistakes or omissions (I am a scientist and take research seriously). It is just an explanation that hopefully sets what follows in context. Furthermore, I have concentrated on books written by those directly involved, as opposed to histories written by others, either at the time or more recently. With a few exceptions, I deal only with the English language literature. As well, I have focused mainly on books, not periodicals.

Paving the Way

The European exploration of the Everest region is largely rooted in map making. From many perspectives, there can be no empire without maps, and Britain at the time that Everest was first “discovered” was certainly an empire. Mapping India was no small feat. Keep in mind that from the southern tip of India to the Himalaya is about the same distance as from the southern tip of Florida to Hudson’s Bay. The mapping of India, especially with the precision at which it was done, counts as one of the great achievements of the era. It is an accomplishment which is described in a number of books, including *Mapping an Empire - The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843*, (Edney, 1990), *The Forbidden Frontiers: The Survey of India From 1765 To 1949*, (Styles, 1970), and the briefer, more approachable *The Great Arc: The Dramatic Tale of How India was Mapped and Everest was Named*, (Keay, 2000).

But then, Britain was not the only empire in the region. To the north, there was China. As Michael Ward’s wonderful recent book points out, Everest was marked on maps by (Jesuit trained) Chinese cartographers as early as 1708 and 1718 (Ward, 2003)!

The Chinese cartographers, however, were not climbers. Not so the British. They did much of the early climbing in the region. However, the British cartographers didn’t think of themselves so much as mountaineers. They were simply (?) men doing a job. But the latter 1800’s did see a number of, mainly British, people in the Himalaya for the ostensibly sole purpose of climbing (ostensibly, since many were British officers on leave, and this is generally interpreted as meaning that they were also doing intelligence work). Some of the early pioneers included W.W. Graham, (Graham, 1885, 1887), W.M. Conway (Conway, 1894), Charles Bruce (Bruce, 1934), and Tom Longstaff (Longstaff, 1950).

As early as 1885, Clinton Dent, the then president of the Alpine Club of Great Britain, wrote that he believed that Everest could be climbed (Dent, 1885). This was an opinion echoed in 1906 and 1908 by Longstaff (Longstaff, 1934). In early 1893, during a mission to bestow British recognition to the new Mehtar of Chitral, the first proposal to explore Everest was probably made. Bruce (1934) claims that Younghusband made it to him, and Younghusband (1926) claims that the idea

came from Bruce. (One detail of interest is the route proposed by Younghusband: from the west, via Yarkland, rather than the route eventually used, from the east.) The first hint of a follow-through came in 1904, when as part of the Younghusband mission to Tibet in 1904-5, Captain C. G. Rawling, was dispatched to map parts of Tibet, including territory as close as 60 miles from the north side of the mountain (Rawling, 1905).

While Viceroy of India, (1899-1905), Curzon attempted to initiate a joint expedition by the Alpine Club and the Royal Geographical Society to the mountain, through Nepal; however, he was not able to get approval to enter Nepal (Younghusband, 1936). In 1907, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Alpine Club, there was another attempt to organize a reconnaissance expedition, this time through Tibet, with Bruce, Mumm and Longstaff (Longstaff 1934, 1950); however, again permission to enter the country was denied – this time by the British government which was afraid of upsetting ongoing negotiations with Russia. In 1909, Bruce and Longstaff planned to reconnoiter the mountain from Nepal, but permission was retracted (Longstaff, 1934).

To this point, most of the discussion had been more about exploring the mountain, and making a reconnaissance, rather than climbing it. But the article, *A Consideration of the Possibility of Ascending the Loftier Himalaya*, by the climber and physician, Dr. A.M. Kellas (1916), was one of the key catalysts that started shifting mountaineers' thinking about the big peaks. However, the initiative for the Alpine Club and Royal Geographical Society to form the Mount Everest Committee, and launch the first expedition, grew out of the discussion (Freshfield, *et al.*, 1919), following a talk to the Alpine Club in 1919 by J.B.L. Noel (Noel, 1919, 1927; Younghusband, 1926, 1936).

Finally, it is interesting to note that the naming of "Peak XV" (previously "Peak b" and then "Peak h") was controversial, right from the start. The practice of the Survey of India was to use the local name for peaks whenever one existed. The controversy with Everest was whether there was such a local name. If one did exist, the British name "Everest" would be disqualified. The flavour of this debate is captured in a series of three articles in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* (Walker, 1886a; Freshfield, 1886; Walker, 1886b). Walker, the past Surveyor General of India, argued the case for "Everest", while Freshfield, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, argued that there were local names, suggesting that one of "Gaurisankar" or "Devadhunga" would prove more legitimate. It is interesting that in his classic, *Climbing on the Himalaya and Other Mountain Ranges*, Collie (1902) still referred to the mountain as Devadhunga, but gave the alternative names of *Gaurisanka* and *Everest* in an appendix, and *Jomo-kang-kar* as the Tibetan name, in a footnote.

What is curious in all of this is how the native name most commonly heard today, "Chomolungma," was not part of the debate, despite having been used in Tibet since 800, and appearing (as "Jumu Langma") in a survey made between 1711-18 (Ward, 2003). And the debate continues still, with the more recent introduction of yet another name by the Nepalese government, "Sargamatha." And the name Gaurisankar? It turns out that it was the right name; but for a different mountain.

See Unsworth, (2000), Appendix 3, and Ward, (2003) for more information on the naming of the Everest.)

The Overview

Before diving into the details of something, I generally want an overview to provide some context. In this regard, the student of Everest is well served. The "Official History" (Band, 2003) notwithstanding, the "Bible" of Everest is unquestionably *Everest - The Mountaineering History* (Unsworth, 2000). This is a monumental piece of well-documented research that is now in its third edition. What is most refreshing is how well it reads. This is a book that flows from cover to cover. I only wish that the authors of my history books in school had the same combination of passion, command of material, and fluency with written language.

Another excellent history of Everest can be found in, *Everest: The Best Writing and Pictures from Seventy Years of Human Endeavour*, a collection of photographs, maps, and first person accounts edited by Gillman (1993). This is a wonderful book covering the history of the mountain from its first "discovery" by Europeans up to the time of writing, 1992. If one wanted an overview of the mountain, and was going to buy only two books, I suspect that Unsworth and Gillman might be the best choices. They complement each other beautifully. If you can do without the photos, and are on a budget, then I would also strongly recommend the anthology of first person accounts edited by Lewis (2003). It is perhaps the best collection that I have seen.

I would also strongly recommend including Ward's (2003), *Everest: A Thousand Years of Exploration. A Record of Mountaineering, Geographical Exploration*, in the collection. Besides providing an extremely well researched summary, with detailed references, of all of the expeditions up to 1953, this book is the best reference that I have seen in two areas: the history of the evolution of the science of high altitude medicine, and the history of the mapping of the Everest region. It is an essential book for anyone interested in the region.

For an introduction to the geology and geomorphology of the Everest massif, see Hagen *et al.* (1963) or a shorter summary, Kielkowski (1993/2000).

For a good summary of the first three British expeditions to the mountain, see *The Epic of Everest*, (Younghusband, 1926). It is a contemporary description of the expeditions of 1921, 1922 and 1924, and can be easily found since it has recently been reissued in paperback. The full text and photographs are also available on the Internet (see the book citation in the references). This book is as interesting for its style as for its content. The language is old fashioned, but Younghusband's perspective on the use of oxygen and "fair means" is modern, even by today's standards. Reading this early account brings one far closer to understanding the frame of mind and attitude of the protagonists than is obtained by reading about the events in more recent second-hand accounts, such as Unsworth's, (which is not a slight on Unsworth's writing or research).

In 1936 Younghusband wrote another book, *Everest: The Challenge*, (Younghusband, 1936). (The second edition summarized the Everest expeditions up to 1936.) It also presented his views on high altitude mountaineering and the Himalaya. It makes for interesting reading to see what changed and didn't change in his views between these two volumes.

For two other books that synthesize the early climbs, see *The Story of Everest 1921-1952*, (Murray, 1953) and Shipton's, *Men Against Everest* (Shipton, 1955), which was originally published in the UK as *The True Book About Everest*.

Finally, what I said earlier about empires holds equally true for reading about mountains: one needs a map. Here the reader is well served. As I have already stated, the best overview of the mapping of the Everest region is found in Ward (2003). Hagen *et al* (1963) includes a large

format, detailed map, introduced by an entire chapter by Schneider. A more recent and accurate large format map was included with the November 1988 issue of *National Geographic* (Washburn, 1988). To celebrate the 50th anniversary of the 1st ascent, *National Geographic* put out a special edition in May 2003. More than the articles or photographs, the issue is of particular interest due to the large format map and aerial photograph of the south side of Everest that it included. What is of even more value is that this map and a number of photos are available on-line. This includes an interactive 3D relief map of the Mountain and surrounding region, and a 360 degree interactive panorama view from the summit (National Geographic, 2003). Finally, for detailed route maps and descriptions, see Kielkowski (1993/2000). This is essentially a climbing guide for the Everest massif, comparable to what you use at your local crag.

The North Side

The primary sources for the Everest expeditions are the official accounts. Concerning the pre-war expeditions to the north side of the mountain, there are *Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance, 1921*, (Howard-Bury, 1922), *The Assault on Mount Everest, 1922*, (Bruce, 1923), *The Fight for Everest: 1924*, (Norton, 1925), *Everest 1933*, (Ruttledge, 1934), *Everest: The Unfinished Adventure* (Ruttledge, 1937), which is the account of the 1936 expedition, and *Mount Everest 1938*, (Tilman, 1948), an account of the last pre-war expedition, and the last in this series to the North side.

(There is one strange footnote regarding members of the 1921 expedition. Given the fate of both Morshead and Wollaston, it seems that that the primary cause of death due to unnatural causes was murder, not mountaineering.)

The account of the 1935 reconnaissance expedition led by Shipton did not appear in book form, except almost as an aside in Ruttledge's *Everest: The Unfinished Adventure*. However, Shipton did publish an account of the expedition in the *Himalayan Journal*, "The Mount Everest Reconnaissance, 1935", (Shipton, 1936) and an excerpt of his report is included in a compilation of Shipton's works (Shipton, 1985).

The 1938 expedition led by Tilman is especially interesting in how its relatively "light weight" approach broke tradition with all of the previous ones. It cost about 1/4 of any of the previous attempts. While the weather dictated that no serious assault on the summit could be made, this expedition paved the way for the even smaller expeditions that Tilman and Shipton were famous for, and led to the alpine-type approaches more common today. Again, this was essentially an expedition that did not use supplemental oxygen.

In addition to the official records, there are also first person accounts from members of these expeditions. For example, *The Making of a Mountaineer*, (Finch, 1924), and *This is my Voyage* (Longstaff, 1950) each include chapters that document the author's participation in the 1922 expedition.

One favorite of mine is Smythe's account of the 4th British expedition in 1933, *Camp Six*, (Smythe, 1937). This is an exceptionally descriptive account of both the walk in through Tibet and the climb itself. As with the earlier British expeditions, the 1933 effort got tantalizingly close. Three climbers in two assaults (Wyn Harris and Wagner in the first, and Smythe in the second) matched or exceeded Norton's 1924 high point of 8,600 metres. Furthermore, they did so without supplemental oxygen, and despite being plagued by bad weather. Yet another account of this

1933 expedition can be found in Shipton's early autobiography, *Upon that Mountain*, (Shipton, 1943), which also covers his experience with the expeditions of 1935, '36 and '38.

The participants of the early Everest expeditions were largely remarkable in and of themselves, and as reflections of their time. Many of their biographies and autobiographies make fascinating reading, quite apart from those aspects that deal directly with Everest. In addition to those mentioned above, see in particular Bruce (1934), Boustead (1971), Greene (1974), and Morris (1960). See also Somervell (1936), Morshead (1982) and Wollaston (1933).

In addition to the officially sanctioned expeditions, there were also two extraordinary covert attempts on the mountain. The first was by an Englishman, Maurice Wilson, who believed that his faith in God, and his diet, would see him to the summit (despite his complete lack of mountaineering experience). His expected success would provide the world an example of the power of faith. While one cannot help but admire his spirit and determination, his judgment was lacking, and the result was that he died in his attempt. An account of his story, based largely on his extensive diaries, can be found in *I'll Climb Mount Everest Alone*. (Roberts, 1957)

The other illicit "solo" expedition from the north occurred in 1947, and was made by the eccentric Canadian Earl Denman, in the company of Tenzing Norgay, no less. Denman was not crazy, just overly ambitious. Unlike Wilson, he figured this out in time to get out alive and write about the experience in, *Alone to Everest*. (Denman, 1954).

With this, and the end of World War II, the action moved to the south side of the mountain - from Tibet to Nepal. Well, with one exception.

Skipping ahead in our chronology, rumours and fairly detailed reports have appeared alleging that in November/December 1952 Russia jumped into the game. As the story goes, they were trying to beat the British to the summit. Their attempt was from the north, and followed the traditional British route. An assault party of six, led by Pavel Datschnolian, established a high camp at 8,200 metres. They radioed that they expected to make the summit in the next two days, but were never heard from again, and no trace of them was found in subsequent searches. Speculation is that they were swept away by an avalanche.

Given that this was during the era of Stalin, if the reports are true, then it is understandable that this failure was kept as secret as a success would have been trumpeted. On the other hand, Gippenreiter (1994) states that despite a concerted effort, he was unable to find any record or report in the official records or from the Russian climbing community that such an attempt occurred. Unsworth (2000) makes the point that if it did, it would have had to pass through Chinese-controlled Tibet. Since Sino-Chinese relationships have not always been the best since then, if it did take place, it is strange that the Chinese did not "make hay" out of the Russian failure. The occurrence of this expedition is highly suspect.

From the South

Tilman and Houston made a brief preliminary expedition to the Everest region in Nepal in 1950, which is one of the expeditions described in *Nepal Himalaya*, (Tilman, 1952). Tilman and Houston spent only one day in the immediate area around Everest. The main result of their visit was the shared conclusion that a route from the south side would not "go." Nevertheless, largely based on an analysis of maps and aerial photographs by Michael Ward (see below), an expedition was sent to do a detailed reconnaissance of the south side the mountain. This is described in *The Mount Everest Reconnaissance Expedition, 1951*, by the expedition's leader, Shipton (1952). It is

also discussed by Hillary (who was part of the team) in both, *High Adventure* (Hillary, 1955) and *View from the Summit*, (Hillary, 1999). The main breakthrough of the expedition was that they made it through the Khumbu Ice Fall to the Western Cwm. In the process, they established that Ward was right and that Tilman and Houston were wrong. The mountain would "go" from the south side.

Then it was the turn of the Swiss. This was the first time that an official expedition had been mounted to Everest by anyone but the British, who thought of the mountain as "theirs." The Swiss made two attempts from the south in 1952, both of which are covered in *Forerunners to Everest*, (Dittert, Chevalley & Lambert, 1954), as well as captured photographically in, *Everest: The Swiss Expeditions in Photographs*, (Swiss Foundation for Alpine Research, 1954). Tenzing Norgay, along with the Swiss climber Lambert, came very close to reaching the summit. Tenzing's account of the expedition can be found in his first autobiography, *Tiger of the Snow*. (Norgay & Ullman, 1955). Two other books on the Swiss expeditions are, a collection of essays, *The Mountain World: Everest 1952*, (Kurz, 1953) and a beautiful book of photos and essays, *Everest 1952*, (Roch, 1952).

The British, watched these expeditions with great anxiety. With the hope that the Swiss would not succeed, they made plans for an attempt in 1953. In order to be better prepared for this attempt, while the Swiss were active on Everest, the British (under Shipton) set out on a training expedition to Cho Oyo. This is described in *High Adventure*, (Hillary, 1955)

While they came very close, the Swiss expeditions did fail, so the British had their chance in 1953 – a chance that they were well aware was likely to be their last. This expedition was led by Hunt, whose official account in, *The Ascent of Everest*, is dry, but nevertheless compelling (Hunt, 1954a).

Hunt's book includes a chapter written by Hillary describing the final summit bid with Tenzing. It is *extremely* interesting to compare Hillary's account with his more recent one in *View from the Summit*, (Hillary, 1999). The latter describes things in a far more subjective and candid manner. Tenzing's account of the climb is covered in his first autobiography, *Tiger of the Snow*, (Norgay & Ullman, 1955). One of the classic books on this expedition, and one of my favorites overall, is *South Col*, (Noyce, 1954). In my opinion, this is one of the best "climber's eye view" in the literature. Another book worth reading is *Coronation Everest* (Morris, 1958). Morris was the correspondent for *The Times* assigned to the expedition. Rather than a description of the climb, it more a portrait of Nepal and the Sherpa people in the early 50's. It is a portrait of rare sensitivity, especially for the time. It is a small book, but wonderful to read. While the *Times* had an exclusive on the story, that didn't stop their competitor, *The Daily Mail*, from dispatching a correspondent to Everest. The story of the interloper, Ralph Izzard, (who was no mountaineer) is told in his, *An Innocent on Everest*, (Izzard, 1954). This expedition makes it clear that sponsorship and competition for publicity is not something invented in 1996.

For collections of photographs of the 1953 expedition, see *The Picture of Everest*, (Gregory, 1954), *Alfred Gregory's Everest*, (Gregory, 1993) and *Our Everest Adventure*, (Hunt, 1954b). I also think that Charles Evans' sketchbook, *Eye on Everest*, (Evans, 1955) is well worth seeking out for its humour, as well as its sketches and cartoons. Other books relating to this climb are referenced in the table below. One thing worth noting, however, is that the feature-length documentary, *The Conquest of Everest*, (Stobart, 1953), is available as well as the written account of its creator, *Adventurer's Eye*, (Stobart, 1958a,b).

Another source of interest is *Eric Shipton - Everest and Beyond*, (Steele, 1998). This is a biography of Shipton, which gives a good second hand account of the expeditions immediately leading up to 1953, and the controversy surrounding Hunt's appointment as leader over Shipton. This is a topic, which is avoided in virtually all other books on the expedition, other than Shipton's (1969), *That Untravelled World*. It was a matter of extreme tension and unpleasantness. I assume others didn't discuss it because they did not want to take away from the "glory" of the ascent.

Finally, for conspiracy theorists, there is *Everest: Is it Conquered?*, by S.M.Goswami (1954). The author argues that the mountain was not climbed, and that the whole thing was staged in order to remove some of the shame of having to leave India, and to boost British prestige at the time of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. The arguments are as flawed as they are passionate. But lost amongst all of his rants there is one good point that should be heeded by those who claim to have "conquered" Everest (in the USA, for example, the title of Hunt's book was, *The Conquest of Everest*):

There has been no conquest of Mt. Everest ... "Conquest" means subjugation and rule. Mt. Everest yet challenges man

From The Air

Just fifteen years after the first flight by the Wright brothers, Dr. Kellas presented a paper to the Royal Geographical Society speculating on the possibility, and suggesting the potential value of, an aerial reconnaissance in the Himalaya (Kellas, 1918). From the discussion that followed emerged one of my all time favourite wrong predictions. It came from Admiral Mark Kerr, who was Deputy-chief of the British Air Staff:

...I fear that exploration by aeroplane will not be carried out in the next hundred years.
(Kerr *et al*, 1918, p. 383),

One can only speculate what Admiral Kerr would have thought of Neil Armstrong, who made it to the moon in half that time!

Back in the Himalaya, it took just another fifteen years for Kellas' vision to be realized, with the first flight over Everest in 1933. There are five accounts relating to this: *First over Everest*, (Fellowes, *et. al*, 1933), *Last Strongholds* (Etherton, 1934), *The Pilots' Book of Everest*, (Clydesdale & McIntyre, 1936), *All Over the World* (Etherton, 1946), and the more recent, *Roof of the World: Man's First Flight over Everest* (Douglas-Hamilton, 1983). This was a logistical and engineering *tour de force*, and resulted in the first aerial photographs of the mountain and its surroundings, which are reproduced in the books.

Another interesting early flight was that of Robert Scott. In his book, *God Is My Co-Pilot*, (Scott, 1943), he describes how he flew a P-43A in 1942, along the Brahmaputra River, into Tibet, over Lhasa (which he photographed in colour), on to Kangchenjunga, which he circled, then over Makalu and Everest. Also active were RAF pilots. They made secret flights made over the mountain in 1945 (Andrews, 1947) and 1947 (Neame, 1955). Both resulted in aerial photographs that were sent to the Royal Geographical Society (Ward, 2003).

Unsworth (2000) reports that, in contrast to the enthusiasm for an aerial reconnaissance expressed by Kellas (1918) and Noel (1919), the Everest Committee was very much against the 1933 flights. The impression conveyed is that they felt that the mountain was "theirs" and that anyone else poaching on their territory was to be stopped. However, this is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the use that A.R. Hinks made of the resulting photographs. Hinks was then the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, and dominated the Everest Committee. Yet, with H.F. Milne, the chief draughtsman of the RGS, Hinks made use of the resulting photographs and by 1945 had completed the first detailed map of the region. This showed both the north and south sides of the mountain, thereby realizing the vision expressed 17 years earlier by Kellas. Despite its significance, however, the map remained generally unknown until rediscovered by Michael

Ward. In early 1951, Ward used information from the map, as well as photographs from the 1933, 1945 and 1947 flights, to make a convincing argument to the Joint Himalayan Committee that there was a feasible route from the south (Ward, 2003; Ward & Clark, 1992). This was an argument that was necessary to make in order to counter the negative report from Tilman and Houston (Tilman, 1952) mentioned earlier. And, it was by the new route proposed by Ward that the mountain was first climbed.

The Exception: Tenzing

The reality is that the history of Everest, as we know it, is the history as seen by mainly upper and middle class white men, mostly British. The Sherpa, who were a key part of every expedition, clearly have another history. For the most part, however, this is a history that is unavailable to us, since none of the Sherpa involved were literate. There are only three books that exist, to my knowledge, that were “written” by Sherpa of that era. Each was dictated to a “Sahib” who transcribed it. One is the very hard to find autobiography of Ang Tharkay, which has only appeared in French, *Mémoires d'un Sherpa*, (Tharkay, 1954). The others are the two autobiographies by Tenzing. The first is *Tiger of the Snow*, (Norgay & Ullman 1955). The second is *After Everest* (Norgay & Barnes, 1977).

Because the Sherpa were such an important part of the history, and yet their voice so infrequently heard, I think it important for anyone seriously interested in the history of Everest to do their best to seek out their story. Take the 1953 British expedition, for example. To read any of the numerous accounts by the European protagonists, you would come to the conclusion that relations with the Sherpa were good, and that their respect of the Sherpa was so high that they let one be part of the summit team.

But reading Tenzing's version, a different picture emerges. Yes, Tenzing was treated as a member of the climbing team. But he was an exception. In Katmandu the Sherpa were essentially stabled in a garage without a toilet, which resulted in a mini revolt – and they had not even left the city yet.

Likewise, from today's perspective, we get the impression that Hillary and Tenzing were close friends. Not at all. Theirs was a pragmatic relationship, not at all like the relationship that Tenzing had with either the Canadian Denman or Swiss Lambert. It was only in later years that the personal relationship between Hillary and Tenzing developed.

Tenzing was a remarkable, but complex man. Hence, he is worth reading, and reading about. For those who want to dig deeper, there is an abundance of material beyond that already cited, including, *Tenzing of Everest*, (Malartic, 1954), *Tenzing: Hero of Everest*, (Douglas, 2003), *Touching My Father's Soul*, (Norgay & Coburn, 2001), and *Tenzing Norgay and the Sherpas of Everest*, (Tenzing, 2001). Of these, the book by Douglas is the best researched and most informative. The book by Malartic is probably the worst.

In addition to the above, I also think that *Tigers of the Snow* (Neale, 2002) and *Life and Death on Mt. Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering*. (Ortner, 1999) are both worth reading by anyone interested in getting more perspective on the Sherpa, their relationship with foreign climbers, and its impact.

The Unavoidable: Mallery & Irvine

In the lore of Everest, one of the most recurring themes is the question of Mallery and Irvine. Mallery has prompted eight biographies (Pye, 1927; Styles, 1967; Robertson, 1969; Hozel & Salkeld, 1986; Green, 1990; Gillman & Gillman, 2000; Salkeld, 2000; Green, 2005). There is one Irvine biography, (Summers, 2000), his diary (Carr, 1979), as well some biographical coverage in Hozel and Salkeld, (1986).

The finding of Mallery's body in 1999 sparked an interest in the two that may well have exceeded that which occurred when they first disappeared (which was considerable). One of the inevitable consequences was another spate of books. The 1999 expedition that went out in search of Mallery is the topic of three books: *Ghosts of Everest - The Search for Mallery and Irvine*, (Hemmler, Johnson & Simonson, 1999), *Lost on Everest: The Search for Mallery and Irvine*, (Firstbrook, 1999), and *The Lost Explorer: Finding Mallery on Mount Everest*, (Anker & Roberts, 1999). How this expedition justifies three books, I have no idea. How so much could be written with such superficial research and questioning of the ethical issues is even a bigger mystery.

Since this expedition took place in 1999, it could be considered as falling outside of the self-imposed scope of this article. On the other hand, through its objectives, the expedition does have a link to the earlier history. This is one reason that I am spending some time on it. The other reason has to do with how this expedition relates to the previous literature. These accounts aspire to be as much detective books, as they are books on climbing. As we shall see, this aspiration is somewhat diminished due to the authors shallow research.

One of the key pieces of the puzzle that helped guide the search for Mallery and Irvine was Irvine's ice axe. Wyn Harris had found this during the 1933 expedition, near the ridge just below the First Step. Its discovery was described in Ruttledge's official account, in Greene (1974), as well as in Smythe's, *Camp Six*. Significantly, Smythe's book includes an appendix specifically on the discovery of this axe, and what he believed it signified with respect to the fate of Mallery and Irvine. As confirmed by the discoveries of the 1999 expedition, Smythe's deductions were prescient: Mallery's body was found where he had predicted in this appendix. That Mallery died of exposure after a fall is now clear. What caused the fall and how Irvine died, are both still unknown, and are almost certainly unanswerable questions (at least, without finding the body of Irvine). If one adheres to Smythe's analysis (an analysis which we have just seen was supported by the find in 1999), then it is virtually certain that Mallery and Irvine did not get to the summit, and fell below the First Step. Nevertheless, and ethical issues aside, the discovery of Mallery is rather amazing, and just underlines Smythe's judgment and understanding of mountaineering.

This brings us back to *Ghosts of Everest*, *The Lost Explorer*, and *Lost on Everest*. In these books, much is made of the intense research that the expedition undertook to figure out where to look. This was the "great detective" part of the caper. But what about their research? Anyone trying to uncover the "mysteries" of the Mallery and Irvine should reasonably be expected to read everything available from the 1933 expedition, such as Shipton's, *Upon that Mountain*, and especially the appendix in Smythe's, *Camp Six*. After all, these were the first climbers on the ridge since the disappearance of Mallery and Irvine. They were climbers familiar with both Mallery and his approach to climbing, and they were the only people alive at the time that had first-hand knowledge of the location and context. This was also the expedition that found the ice axe.

From the perspective of history and scholarship, my view is that the specific issues (analyses, conjectures, theories, etc.) made in the 1933 expedition report, and especially Smythe's appendix must be directly addressed. Yet the only account that I found which cites, much less discusses,

Smythe's appendix is Breashears and Salkeld's *Last Climb* (1999). This failing even extends to the most recent biography of Mallory (Green, 2005), which has Smythe's book neither in the bibliography, nor Smythe in the index.

My sense is that any serious analysis needs to reflect a balanced analysis of the various interpretations or possibilities that might be drawn from the data. Sadly, enthusiasm trumps analysis in books such as *Ghosts of Everest* and *Detectives on Everest* (Hemmler & Simonson, 2002). This is too bad. As I said earlier, some of the findings in these expeditions are interesting. However, in my opinion, they deserve a more serious and less breathless analysis and presentation.

This general failure of most books on the disappearance of Mallory and Irvine suggests that their efforts are often more of a treasure hunt than scholarship or serious history. Hence, I have little interest in the large and growing volume of books speculating on, and romanticizing, Mallory and Irvine. "Romantic musings," rather than "research," is generally the most appropriate description for them, and there is too much worthy literature to read to spend so much time on this topic, as trendy as it may be.

But if you do want to read about Mallory and Irvine, consider going back to original sources. Besides Smythe, the little known, *The Irvine Diaries: Andrew Irvine and the enigma of Everest 1924*, (Carr, 1979), is one option. If you want a more recent overview, then I would recommend *Last Climb*, (Breashears & Salkeld, 1999). It is well written, researched, and beautifully produced. And, despite the shortcoming mentioned above, *The Wildest Dream*, (Gilman & Gilman, 2000) is a balanced and otherwise well researched and written biography of Mallory. If you are only going to read one book, I would recommend Hozel & Salkeld's, *First on Everest: The Mystery of Mallory & Irvine* (1986).

The Table

The following table covers the literature on Everest from the period leading up to the first British expedition in 1921, to the first ascent in 1953. It is based on that found in *Mountaineering and its Literature*, (Neate, 1978) and Salkeld and Boyle (1993). I have added some additional references. With a few exceptions, I have included books only, and books mainly by those directly involved in the expeditions, and mainly only those in English. Hence, I have largely excluded articles in periodicals, and accounts by third parties. Note, however, that the bulk of the early Everest journal articles were published in the *Journal* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* of London, of which the full text of every issue since inception in 1879 is on-line (JSTOR, 1879+).

Entries have the name of the author, followed by the date of publication. Those associated with more than a single expedition are indicated by the entry in the "Year" column showing a range (e.g., "1921-36").

A version of this table exists on the web in which clicking on table entries links you to the associated reference in the on-line bibliography. This can be found at:

<http://www.billbuxton.com/climbing.html#everest>

Year	Summary	Chief account	Other Accounts
1885	Dent suggests that man could climb Everest	Dent (1885)	
1886	Debate over name "Everest"	Walker (1886a), Freshfield (1886), Walker (1886b)	
1893	Bruce and Younghusband first suggest mounting expedition to explore Everest.	Bruce (1934), Younghusband (1926).	
1895	Collie visits Himalaya and refers to Everest as referring to it as <i>Devadhunga</i>	Collie (1902)	
1904	Rawling leads survey of region north of Everest.	Rawling (1905)	
1913	Noel's exploration of the Tibetan Approaches	Noel (1919, 1927)	Freshfield <i>et al.</i> (1919)
1916	Dr. A.M. Kellas publishes study on feasibility of climbing higher Himalayan peaks.	Kellas (1916)	
1921	British Reconnaissance Expedition	Howard-Bury (1922); Howard-Bury & Mallory (1991)	Gillman & Gillman (2000), Green (1990), Green (2005), Hozel & Salkeld (1986), Morshead (1982), Noel (1927), Pye (1927), Robertson (1969), Salkeld (2000), Styles (1967), Wollaston (1933), Wollaston (2003).
1922	British Climbing Expedition	Bruce (1923).	Bruce (1934), Finch (1922; 1924; 1925; 1930), Gillman & Gillman (2000), Green (1990), Green (2005), Hozel & Salkeld (1986), Longstaff (1950), Morris (1960), Morshead (1982), Noel (1927), Noel (2003), Pye (1927), Robertson (1969), Rodway (2008), Salkeld (2000), Somervell (1936; 1948), Styles

			(1967).
1924	British Climbing Expedition. Mallory & Irvine disappear	Norton (1925).	Carr (1979), Gillman & Gillman (2000), Green (1990), Green (2005), Hozel & Salkeld (1986), Nicholson (1975), Noel (1927), Noel (2003), Pye (1927), Robertson (1969), Salkeld (2000), Somervell (1936; 1948), Styles (1967), Summers (2000), Swinson (1971).
1921-24	Summary of first three expeditions	Younghusband (1926).	
1933	British Climbing Expedition	Ruttledge (1934).	Boustead (1971), Greene (1974), Longland (1940), Shipton (1943; 1969; 1985), Smythe (1937; 1941; 1949), Tharkay (1954).
1933	First Flight Over Summit	Fellowes, <i>et. al</i> (1933).	Clydesdale & McIntyre(1936), Douglas-Hamilton (1983), Etherton (1934; 1946).
1934	Solo Attempt by Englishman Maurice Wilson	Roberts (1957).	Russell (n.d.), Salkeld (1993), Shipton (1943)
1935	British Reconnaissance Expedition	Shipton (1936) / Astill (2005)	Bryant (1953), Norgay & Ullman (1955), Ruttledge (1937), Shipton (1943; 1969 1985), Temple (1969), Tharkey (1954).
1936	British Climbing Expedition.	Ruttledge (1937)	Morris (1960), Norgay & Ullman (1955), Shipton (1943; 1969; 1985), Tharkay (1954).
1921-36	Analysis of British Expeditions to date	Younghusband (1936).	
1938	British Light Climbing Expedition	Tilman (1948).	Norgay & Ullman (1955), Shipton (1943; 1969; 1985), Tharkay (1954).
1921-38	Summary of British Expeditions		Snaith (1938), Ullman (1947)
1942	Unauthorized US Flight over Everest.	Scott (1943).	Hagen <i>et al.</i> (1963), Kurz (1959)
1945	Secret flight over mountain by New Zealander, C.G. Andrews of 684 Squadron, RAF	Andrews (1947)	Hagen <i>et al.</i> (1963), Kurz (1959), Ward (2003)

1947	Secret flight over mountain by K.D Neame, RAF	Neame (1955)	Hagen <i>et al.</i> (1963), Kurz (1959), Ward (2003)
1947	Solo Attempt by Canadian Earl Denman	Denman (1954)	Kurz (1959), Norgay & Ullman (1955)
1950	Anglo-American expedition, led by Oscar Houston. First approach from Nepal by C Houston & Tilman.		Cowles (1953), Tilman (1952)
1951	Solo Attempt by Dane, R.B. Larsen		Hagen <i>et al.</i> (1963), Kurz (1959), Kurz (1953a), Unsworth (2000)
1951	British Reconnaissance of Western Cwm	Shipton (1952).	Bryant (1953), Hillary (1955; 1975; 1999), Murray (1953; 2002), Shipton (1955; 1966; 1969; 1985), Temple (1969), Ward (1972; 2003), Tharkay (1954).
1952	Spring Swiss Expedition, led by E. Wyss-Dunant and Fall Swiss Expedition, led by G. Chevalley.	Dittert, <i>et. al</i> (1954)	Kurz (1953b), Norgay & Ullman (1955), Roch (1952), Swiss Foundation for Alpine Research (1954)
1952	Unsubstantiated, and suspect Russian attempt from the north in fall.		Gippenreiter (1994), Kurz (1959)
1921-52	Summary of Attempts from 1921-52		Murray (1953)
1953	British First Ascent	Hunt (1953)	Band (2003), Bryant (1953), Evans (1955), Goswami (1954), Gregory (1954; 1993), Hillary (1955; 1975; 1999), Hunt (1954, 1978a; 1978b), Izzard (1954), Lowe (1959), Malartic (1954), Morris (1958; 1974), Norgay & Ullman (1955), Norgay & Barnes (1977), Noyce (1954), Noyce & Taylor (1954), Stobart, (1953, 1958a, 1958b), Temple (1969), Ward (1972; 2003).
1921-53	Summary of Attempts		Band (2003), Shipton (1955); Venables (2003), Ward (2003)

1921-99	The Definitive History of Everest	Unsworth (2000)	
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Conclusion

Reading is a bit like climbing. It has its ups, downs, dead-ends and pitfalls. Yet, with good luck, effort, and determination, there are gems to discover. If the above has provided useful beta to finding some of them, then it has served its purpose. Great climbing. Great reading.

Annotated Bibliography

Note: Entries followed by a “**” are not in my collection.

Alpine Club (1982). *Alpine Club Library Catalogue 1982, Vol. 1: Books and Periodicals*. London: Heinemann.

A significant bibliographic resource on the mountaineering literature.

Andrews, C.G. (1947). *Flight Over Everest*. Tararua, NZ: Wellington Tramping Club.*

An account of Andrews’ secret 1945 flight over Everest.

Anker, C. & Roberts, D.(1999). *The Lost Explorer: Finding Mallory on Mount Everest*. NY: Simon & Schuster.

This is one of the three accounts (along with *Lost on Everest: The Search for Mallory and Irvine*, by Firstbrook, and *Ghosts of Everest - The Search for Mallory and Irvine*, by Hemmleb, Johnson and Simonson), of the 1999 expedition, which found the body of Mallory on Everest. See the notes on the book by Hemmleb, *et al.* for more details on the expedition. Band G. (2003). *Everest: 50 Years on Top of the World*. London: HarperCollins.

Astill, Tony (2005). *Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance 1935: The Forgotten Adventure*.

Unlike all the others, the Mount Everest Reconnaissance Expedition of 1935 did not result in an expedition book; rather, the official account by Shipton appeared as an article in the *Himalayan Journal* in 1936. This recent volume by Astill is, therefore, the first book devoted to the expedition.

Band G. (2003). *Everest: 50 Years on Top of the World*. London: HarperCollins.

This is a new book that was published in association with the Royal Geographic Society, Alpine Club and the Everest Foundation. It claims to be “the official publication celebrating the 50th anniversary of the first ascent of Everest.” This is an interesting notion. It carries with it a bit too much of the imperialist flavour of the Everest Committee of old, who tended to regard the mountain as “theirs”. Regardless, Band was the youngest member of the 1953 British team, and this book is both a summary of the mountain’s history, and an account of the 1953 climb within this historical context. It has a good selection of photographs, but the maps are rather disappointing for a publication associated with the Royal Geographical Society. Ward (2003) is much better in this regard.

Bates, Robert (2000). *Mystery, Beauty, and Danger: The Literature of the Mountains and Mountain Climbing Published in English Before 1946*. Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall Publisher.

This is the 1946 PhD thesis of Bob Bates, who was a member of the dramatic 1953 US expedition to K2. It is a discussion of the literature on mountains in English up to the time of writing. Unlike Neate's, *Mountaineering and Its Literature*, the *Alpine Club Library Catalogue*, or *Climbing Mount Everest: The Bibliography*, by Salkeld and Boyle, this is not an annotated bibliography. Rather, it is a discussion of how writers wrote about mountains, and how attitudes changed in the literature, over the years. It includes a section on Everest. This is not a well-known book, but is well worth searching out by anyone interested in the literature.

Baume, Louis. (1978). *Sivalaya - the 8000-Metre Peaks of the Himalaya*. Goring, England: Gastons-West Col.

This is a chronicle of the history of the exploration of the 14 8,000 metre peaks in the Himalaya up to 1977, including early reconnaissance, attempts and first ascents. It also includes a comprehensive bibliography.

Boustead, Sir Hugh (1971). *Wind of Morning*. London: Chatto & Windus.

This is the autobiography of Col. Sir Hugh Boustead, who was a member of the 1933 Everest expedition. The interesting aspect of this book is in what it tells us about the type of man who participated in these expeditions, rather than their climbing, *per se*. This is also true of the book by Greene (1974), who was also part of the team in 1933. There is so little about climbing in Boustead's book, for example, that it is hard to figure out when and where he developed the technique that enabled him to traverse the Zemu Gap on the north-east shoulder of Kangchenjung in 1926, which paved the way for his participation in the Everest expedition. Here is a man who competed in the Olympics in the modern pentathlon, was a competitive boxer, as a soldier served on the western front in WW I, then in Russia and Sudan, and spent the bulk of his post military career far from the mountains in North Africa and South Yemen as an administrator. Boustead is the epitome of the accomplished gentleman amateur of the golden age of British climbing.

Breashears, David & Salkeld, Audrey. (1999). *Last Climb - the Legendary Everest Expeditions of George Mallory*. Washington: National Geographic Society.

An extremely beautifully produced book with some outstanding photographs, some in 3-page panoramas. It also is the only book that I have found on Mallory and Irvine that takes into account Smythe's appendix on the topic in *Camp Six*.

Bruce, Charles Granville. (1923). *The Assault on Mount Everest, 1922*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

This is the official account of the second expedition to Everest, and the first real assault. It has some wonderful photographs. Given how little experience there was at the time, one of the most interesting parts of the book is the chapter by Somervell on acclimatization and climbing at altitude without oxygen.

Bruce, Charles Granville. (1934). *Himalayan Wanderer*. London: Alexander Maclehose & Co.

This is an autobiography of Brig. Gen. Charles Bruce, who was one of the early pioneers of climbing in the Himalaya and Karakoram. It includes accounts of his expedition with Conway to the Karakoram, to Nanga Parbat with Mummery, and Everest in 1922 (on which expedition he was leader). It also covers a range of other travels and experiences. Bruce was larger than life, in many ways.

Bryant, Leslie Vickery (1953). *New Zealanders and Everest*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.

This is a brief (48 page) booklet giving the history of New Zealand's involvement with Everest, up to 1953. It was written by a member of Shipton's 1935 reconnaissance expedition (Shipton, 1936).

Carr, Herbert (1979). *The Irvine Diaries: Andrew Irvine and the enigma of Everest 1924*. Reading: Gastons-West Col Publications.

This is a small book, which is mainly made up Irvine's diaries of his 1923 expedition to Spitzbergen (only 7 pages) and Everest in 1924. There are also excerpts from some of Irvine's letters from this period. The final entry is June 5th. (O'Dell last saw Mallory and Irvine on June 8th.). The book also includes other material, including a brief biography of Irvine (written by his brother), a fairly superficial chapter by Frank Solari on the oxygen equipment used in 1922 and 1924, and a chapter on the "Irvine Travel Trust" at Oxford. While the diary entries are interesting, those interested in Irvine are generally far better directed to Summers' biography, *Fearless on Everest*, published in 2000. Carr does make one point of particular interest in this volume. He emphasizes that – despite the prevailing tendency to do so, it is incorrect and unfair to assume that if Mallory and Irvine died of a fall, that it was the less experience Irvine who fell, pulling Mallory to his death. This is germane, given the state in which Mallory's body was found.

Clydesdale, Lord Douglas & McIntyre, D.F. (1936). *The Pilots' Book of Everest*. Edinburgh: Wm. Hodge & Co.

This is an account of the 1933 flights over Everest by the British. See also Douglas-Hamilton (1983), Etherton (1946) and Fellowes, *et. al* (1933).

Collie, J. Norman (1902). *Climbing on the Himalaya and Other Mountain Ranges*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

This is an account of Collie's climbing in Britain, the Alps, Canada, and primarily, in the Himalaya, where in 1895, he, Mummery and Hastings made first attempt on Nanga Parbat. The book is about the Himalaya rather than Everest, but is included here as an example of how, even in 1902, the name "Everest" was not particularly well established – Collie referring to it as *Devadhunga* in his text, while giving the alternative names of *Gaurisanka* and *Everest* in an appendix.

This book was re-issued in 2003 under the title, *From the Himalaya to Skye*, by Ripping Yarns.com, of Findon, Aberdeenshire, in the UK.

Conway, W.M. (1894). *Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

This is an account of Conway's pioneering exploration of the Karakoram region in 1894. Their travels took them to the Hispar Pass, along the Biafo and Baltero Glaciers, K2, Skardo, etc., climbing a number of peaks along the route. Other than Godwin-Austen (1860-61) and Younghusband (1887), this region was essentially unexplored by Europeans.

Cowles, Elizabeth S. (1953). North to Everest. In Marcel Kurz (Ed.). *The Mountain World 1953: Everest 1952*. NY. Harper & Bros., 35-38.

This is an account of the 1950 Anglo-American expedition, led by Oscar Houston, into Nepal. The party included Charles Houston, William Tilman, Anderson Bakewell, as well as Cowles. Tilman and C. Houston spent a day reconnoitering the south side of Everest. This was the first time that Europeans had approached this close from the south. See also Timan (1952).

Denman, Earl. (1954). *Alone to Everest*. NY: Coward-McCann.

Earl Denman was a Canadian who immigrated to Africa. He was somewhat of an eccentric loner, who took a fancy to climbing mountains barefoot, with a minimum of fuss and company (largely due to his equally minimal means). He did some minor climbs in Africa, and then decided that he should climb Everest. In order to prepare, he set himself the goal of climbing the eight main peaks in the Virunga Mountains, on the border of the Congo and Uganda. This he did, against fairly strong odds, and from this success, he gained the confidence to follow through on his plans for Everest.

With minimum equipment, much of which he had made himself, hardly any funds, and no permit to enter Tibet, in 1947 he made his way to Darjeeling. There he was able to recruit Tenzing and another Sherpa, Ang Dawa, to make an illicit trip through Tibet to Everest. Again, despite serious odds, they not only made it to Rongbuk, but also nearly onto the North Col. There the reality of their situation, their equipment and the weather, became clear, and they withdrew. Such is the story recounted in this volume.

I have to admit that I approached this book not wanting to like it. After all, how could anyone climbing with Tenzing think of themselves as going "Alone to Everest." Were it not for Tenzing and Ang Dawa, for example, he would never have gotten near the mountain, much less into Tibet. However, my prejudices

were disarmed almost as soon as I began reading. It took him all of the first sentence to address the title of the book. And as I read on, I found a man who was extremely interesting and intelligent. Denman was a man of conviction, determination, and extremely strong character. And, compared to almost anyone that I have read, he treated his companions (natives in Africa, and Sherpa in Tibet) as peers, and with huge respect and sensitivity.

Denman was not a fanatic, like Maurice Wilson. While perhaps equally obsessive, he knew when to turn around. And in this book I found someone that I ended up respecting greatly, and would like to have known. And I am not alone, in that Tenzing clearly felt the same way. Despite believing the expedition hopeless, he wrote warmly about it in his autobiography, *Tiger of the Snow*.

Denman's writing is engaging and periodically wise. Perhaps this says more about me than him, but the following examples struck me as worth noting:

It is not men who go to high mountains who seek escape, but the people who never remove themselves from a crowded and noisy atmosphere of work and play.

...failure, though painful, is better than frustrated longing.

We cannot die without fear: either we must fear to die or we must be afraid of living.

This book is certainly worth reading for anyone who is interested in the future and spirit of mountaineering and exploration. I will end this review in the most suitable way that I can, with Denman's own ending to his book, which is as timely now as when it was written. From my bias, it should be required reading by anyone who thinks about "conquering" mountains:

There has been a shattering of idealism, but from the broken remnants some good may yet be resurrected. When the warriors have finished reshaping the boundaries of our world, then there will be freedom to come and go as we wish: when the perverters have finished with sex, and have left us with its sweetness, then there will be love: when the conquerors have come down from the mountains, then we shall be able to go to them again, simply and quietly.

Dent, Clinton. (1885). *Above the Snow Line. Mountaineering Sketches Between 1870 and 1880*. Longmans, Green. London.

Dent was the President of the Alpine Club in 1887. At the end of this book, he became what may be the first person to discuss the feasibility of actually ascending to the summit of Everest. He believed that it could be done.

Dittert, R., Chevalley, G. & Lambert, R. (1954). *Forerunners to Everest*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

This is an account of the two Swiss attempts on Everest from the south side in 1952. For another account of these expeditions, see also Tenzing's first autobiography, *Tiger of the Snow*. Also, see the companion volume, *Everest: The Swiss Expeditions in Photographs*, compiled by Swiss Foundation for Alpine

Research, the volume of photographs by Roch, and the volume of essays edited by Kurz.

Douglas, Ed. (2003). *Tenzing: Hero of Everest. A Biography of Tenzing Norgay*. Washington D.C.: National Geographic.

This is a new biography of Tenzing. See also Tenzing's autobiographies with Ullman, *Tiger of the Snow*, and with Barnes, *After Everest*. See also the earlier biography by Malartic, *Tenzing of Everest*, his son Jamling's book, *Touching My Father's Soul*, and Tashi Tenzing's *Tenzing Norgay and the Sherpas of Everest*.

Douglas-Hamilton, James (1983). *Roof of the World: Man's First Flight over Everest*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

This is an account of the 1933 first flight over Everest, written by the son of one of the pilots, Clydesdale (Clydesdale & McIntyre, 1936). It includes previously unpublished photographs and takes advantage of new material. For aerial photos of Everest from this expedition, however, my view is that the book by Clydesdale & McIntyre is the better. See also Etherton (1946) and Fellowes, *et. al* (1933).

Edney, Matthew H. (1990). *Mapping an Empire - The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

This is a recent academic study of the mapping of British India. Complementary to the shorter, more popularized history in Keay's, *The Great Arc*.

Etherton, Percy Thomas (1934). *The Last Strongholds*. London: Jarrolds.

This book was published shortly after the 1933 flight over Everest that Etherton was instrumental in organizing. It talks a bit about the flight, but its main focus is to give a portrait of the geography, people and culture of the Himalaya.

Etherton, Percy Thomas (1946). *All Over the World (50 Years of Travel)*. London: John Long Limited.

A travel autobiography of Col. Etherton who was one of the organizers of the first flight over Everest in 1933. Includes accounts of his travels in North America, China, Japan, and India, among others. Chapter 14 is about his experiences around the Everest flight, although it says nothing about the flight itself, but rather events on the periphery. What is most interesting, although having nothing to do with Everest, is the previous chapter that discusses his personal relationship with Hitler. See also Clydesdale & McIntyre (1936), Douglas-Hamilton (1983) and Fellowes, *et. al* (1933).

Evans, R.C. (1955). *Eye on Everest. A Sketch Book From the Great Everest Expedition*. London: Dobson.

A short book with a set of sketches, annotated cartoons really, done by Evans during the 1953 Everest expedition. Delightful, and worth seeking out.

Fellowes, P.F.M., Stewart Blacker, L.V., Etherton, P.T., Clydesdale (1933). *First over Everest: The Houston-Mount Everest Expedition*. London: John Lane.

This is an account of the first flight over Everest, which took place in 1933. It includes a number of photos, some in stereo for which a stereo viewer is included (but not in the "cheap edition", first published in 1935). See also Clydesdale & McIntyre (1936), Douglas-Hamilton (1983) and Etherton (1946).

Finch, George Ingle. (1923). Equipment for High Altitude Mountaineering, with Special Reference to Climbing Mount Everest. *Geographical Journal*, LXI(3), 194-207.

The first six pages of this article are made up of a speech made by Finch to the Geographical Society in November 1922, following his participation in the attempt on Everest that year. The rest transcribes the discussion that followed. Finch gives his thoughts and recommendations on equipment for subsequent expeditions, with the main focus, especially in the discussion on oxygen. However, it does include some interesting thoughts, including the benefit of smoking tobacco above 25,000 feet.

Finch, George Ingle. (1924). *The Making of a Mountaineer*. London: Arrowsmith.

This is a climbing autobiography by one of the heroes of British turn-of-the-century mountaineering. It includes accounts of his climbs in the UK, Alps, and Everest in 1922.

Finch, George Ingle (1925). *Der Kampf um den Everest*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

This is an account, in German, about the first three Everest expeditions, with an emphasis on that of 1922, of which Finch was a participant. Even if you read German, you may have trouble with this, since it is printed in the older gothic script. However, the photos are wonderful and are not all in the expedition book. For an English language edition of this book, see Rodway (2008). However, I recommend still seeking out the German edition as well, since the photos in the Rodway edition, while interesting, are not those in the original, which are very much worth having.

Finch, George Ingle. (1930). *Climbing Mount Everest*. London: George Philip & Son.

Salkeld & Boyle (1993) describe this small softbound book as "Basically, a transln [sic.] of his 1925 German book." (See the prior entry.) However, this is only very marginally accurate. For example, the German book is 208 pages, and the English one 78. It covers the expeditions of 1921, 1922 and 1924, but the emphasis is on the 1922 expedition in which Finch was a participant. Do not confuse this book, *Climbing Mount Everest*, with articles published by the same name by Finch in, *Boys Annual*.

Firstbrook, P. (1999). *Lost on Everest: The Search for Mallory and Irvine*. Chicago: Contemporary Books.

This is one of the three accounts (along with *The Lost Explorer: Finding Mallory on Mount Everest*, by Anker & Roberts, and *Ghosts of Everest - The Search for Mallory and Irvine*, by Hemmleb, Johnson and Simonson), of the 1999

expedition, which found the body of Mallory on Everest. See the notes on the book by Hemmleb, *et al.* for more details on the expedition.

Freshfield, Douglas W. (1886). Further notes on "Mont Everest". *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, 8(3), March, 176-188.

This is part of a debate about the naming of Everest. See Walker (1886a).

Freshfield, Douglas W., Kellas, Dr., Farrar, J.P. & Younghusband, Francis (1919). A Journey to Tashirak in Southern Tibet, and the Eastern Approaches to Mount Everest: Discussion. *Geographical Journal*, 53(5), 303-308.

This is the famous discussion following Noel's presentation (Noel, 1919) which led to the formation of the Mount Everest Committee and the first Everest expedition in 1921.

Gillman, Peter. (Ed.)(1993). *Everest: The Best Writing and Pictures from Seventy Years of Human Endeavour*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

This book is a rare thing: a coffee table type book that is as interesting to read as it is beautiful to look at. It is a compilation of writing that traces the history of Everest from its first "discovery" by Europeans, up to 1992. It is a wonderful companion to Unsworth. This volume has fantastic images of some of the most important climbs discussed by Unsworth, generally accompanied by first person accounts. See also the excellent and extensive anthology edited by Lewis (2003)

Gillman, Peter & Gillman, Leni. (2000). *The Wildest Dream: The Biography of George Mallory*. Seattle: The Mountaineers.

This is the most recent biography of Mallory. It is well researched and makes extensive use of Mallory's correspondence, much of it only recently available. The book is well rounded and does not just focus on Mallory as a climber. It does the best job of any of the biographies of painting a portrait of the times and the social milieu in which Mallory lived. The Everest climbs occupy only the last four of the thirteen chapters. And, despite being written after the discovery of Mallory's body, the book avoids any of the sensational speculation that too often surrounds any discussion of Mallory and Irvine. The book is balanced, and well worth reading. It is certainly the best volume available in terms of the early biographical details of Mallory's life. Despite this, however, my feeling is that the biography by Holzel, & Salkeld (1986), gives an augmented, if not stronger, sense of the man. These two volumes together paint the best portrait Mallory. See also the biographies by Pye (1927), Styles (1967), Robertson (1969), Green (1990) and Salkeld, (2000).

Gippenreiter, Yevgeniy (1994). Mount Everest and the Russians, 1952 and 1958. In Joanna Merz (Ed.). *The Alpine Journal*. 99(343), 109-115.

This is a discussion of the reported/rumoured Russian expedition of 1952 to the north side of Everest. As the story goes, the attempt was led by Pavel Datshnolian. They made their attempt in November/December, and reportedly made their last camp at 8,200 metres. All six members of the assault team disappeared without a trace, including the leader. Speculation is that they were

swept away by an avalanche. Gippenreiter's case is that there is no evidence or hearsay within the Russian climbing community that this ever took place. One would think that if the expedition did take place, that evidence of it would have been found on the mountain by now. While there are certainly reports of unexplained, or hard to explain bodies and tent remains high on the mountain (for example, see Hemmlleb, et al, 1999, and Hemmlleb & Simonson, 2002), none of these have been tied to a 1952 Russian expedition.

Goswami, S.M. (1954). *Everest Is It Conquered?* Calcutta: Indian Press.

I include this reference for conspiracy theorists, and those who still want to make the first ascent of Everest, since what is argued in this book is that the British did *not* summit the mountain in 1953. The book argues that the whole thing was faked in order to enhance the prestige of Britain at a critical time in her history, namely after she had had to leave India (an end) and the time of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (a beginning). The arguments are as compelling as those, which "prove" that the Americans faked Armstrong's visit to the moon. But while easy to dismiss the arguments, less so the social and cultural tensions that defined the context in which it was written. For the glimpse of the times that it provides, the book is worth reading.

Graham, W.W. (1885). "Up the Himalayas." In D. MacLeod (Ed.). *Good Words*. London: Isbister and Company, 18-23, 97-105, 172-178.

This is a 3-part essay. See next entry.

Graham, W.W. (1887). "Climbing the Himalaya." In J. Thomson, W.W. Graham & A.H. Markham, *From the Equator to the Pole: Adventures of Recent Discovery by Eminent Travellers*. London: Isbister and Company (Isbister's Home Library series), 54-131.

Graham was the first person that we know of to climb in the Himalayas for the purpose of pleasure. He begins with an account of his trip into the Kumaon district in 1883, including his attempts on Nanda Devi, and a second trip that same year into Sikkim, to the area around Kangchinjanga (sic.), including an assault on Kabru, which he claims to have summited. Some of his claims are not taken seriously today, but nevertheless, his accounts helped seed the development of climbing in the region.

Green, Dudley (1990). *Mallory of Everest*. Lancashire: Faust Publishing.

Yet another biography of Mallory. See also the biographies by Pye (1927), Styles (1967), Robertson (1969) and Gillman & Gillman (2000). As well, see Holzel & Salkeld (1986).

Green, Dudley (2005). *Because It's There: The Life of George Mallory*. Stroud: Tempus.

This is an expanded biography of Mallory compared to Green's previous one from 1990. Among other things, it takes into account the finding of Mallory's body.

Greene, Dr. Charles Raymond. (1974). *Moments of Being: The Random Recollections of Raymond Greene*. London: Heinemann.

The sub-title is a pretty accurate description of what this is. The book is less a biography than a number of interesting, well-written anecdotes from the brother of the novelist Graham Greene. Reading it was what I imagine it to have been like sitting beside a charming dinner guest in an English country home 50 years ago, where there was a certain culture, class, education, and attitude that included the ability to keep the conversation going with a good story. One example is his account of having recorded his BBC announcement of the conquering of Everest by Hillary and Tenzing before they had actually done so. Most of the book is not about climbing. However, towards the end, he does talk about his introduction to Himalayan climbing, which was with Smythe on Kamet in 1931. And then, there are four chapters at the end that discuss his experience as a climber and medical officer on the 1933 Everest expedition. Written well after the fact, there is some distance that lets him be somewhat more candid than had he written in the 1930's, and yet, some of the attitudes of that earlier time, which would today be seen as politically incorrect, still remain.

Gregory, Alfred (1954). *The Picture of Everest*. London: Hodder and Stoughton

This is a collection of colour photos by Alfred Gregory, of the 1953 Everest expedition. See also Gregory's more recently published, *Alfred Gregory's Everest*, and Hunt's, *Our Everest Adventure*.

Gregory, Alfred (1993). *Alfred Gregory's Everest*. London: Constable.

This is a wonderful collection of black and white photos by Alfred Gregory, of the 1953 Everest expedition. Being a recent publication, the quality of the reproductions is better than that found in Hunt's, *Our Everest Adventure*. It is also a larger format book.

Hagen, Toni, Dyhrenfurth, Günter Oskar, von Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph & Scheider, Erwin (1963). *Mount Everest: Formation, Population and Exploration of the Everest Region*. London: Oxford University Press.

This is an English translation (by E. Noel Bowman) of a volume that first appeared in German in 1959 under the title, *Mount Everest - Aufbau, Erforschung Und Bevölkerung Des Everest - Gebietes*. Each author contributes one chapter. Hagen's is an introduction to the geological structure of the massif. Dyhrenfurth provides yet another summary of the exploration in the region. Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf writes on the anthropology of the Sherpa (see also Ortner, 1999). Finally, the book includes a large fold-out map, which is introduced in the final chapter by and Schneider. The chapters by Hagen and Scheider are what most make the book worth searching out. In terms of mapping and maps, see also Washburn (1988) and National Geographic (2003).

Hawley, Elizabeth & Salisbury, Richard (2004). *The Himalayan Database: The Expedition Archives of Elizabeth Hawley*. Seattle: The Mountaineers Books.

Elizabeth Hawley is a journalist who has acted as the unofficial archivist of Himalayan climbing. Since the first American Everest expedition in 1963, she has kept records on expeditions that have climbed in Nepal or on its border peaks, including Everest. Among other details, these include peak, climber,

expedition, success/failure, nationality, conditions, seasons, and causes of death. This is a searchable database on CD-ROM that has been built from Hawley's archives, which also includes a table detailing the literature that relates to the expeditions in the database.

The database is extremely good – certainly the most comprehensive that I am aware of. However, given its scope, it is not surprising that it has errors and omissions. For example, Ang Tharkey (Angtharkey), was on the British expeditions to Everest in 1933, 1935, 1936, 1938 and 1951, as well as the sirdar on the 1950 French expedition to Annapurna I, among others. Yet the database only includes his 1951 Everest reconnaissance expedition with Shipton. This is more a caution than a criticism.

Hemmler, J., Johnson, L. & Simonson, E. (1999). *Ghosts of Everest - The Search for Mallory and Irvine*. Seattle: The Mountaineers.

As most students of Everest know, Mallory and Irvine disappeared on the mountain in June 1924, during a summit bid via the Northeast ridge. Since that time, two questions have plagued mountaineers: "What happened to them?" and "Did they reach the summit?" In the intervening years, small pieces of information have emerged. Irvine's ice axe was discovered in 1933 below the First Step. (This discovery by Wyn Harris is described by Smythe in *Camp Six*, which also has an appendix speculating on the implications of the discovery.) In 1975, a member of a Chinese expedition claimed to have found a body near their Camp VI that appeared to be English, and likely either Mallory or Irvine. With this and other evidence spurring them on, in 1999 a team of climbers went to the North side of Everest with the objective of searching for the remains of Mallory and Irvine, and the hope of answering the two long-standing questions. To some extent their research paid off, and as most people now know, they succeeded in finding the body of Mallory. He was, by the way, almost exactly where Smythe predicted he would be (which did not help this expedition, since they were not guided by the appendix to his book, despite Smythe having been part of the expedition that found the Irvine's ice axe, and the first expedition on the mountain after the disappearance of Mallory and Irvine!) They did not find one key thing that they were hoping to find, however, namely the camera that Mallory and Irvine were known to be carrying.

One valuable discovery however, was an oxygen bottle from the 1924 expedition. It was found just below the First Step, slightly higher than where Irvine's ice axe was found. It provides solid evidence that Mallory and Irvine were there. It also sheds some light on the route that they were pursuing, and that they had gotten at least that much higher than the ice axe. But the conclusions drawn from this discovery, at the exclusion of consideration of other possibilities, is a good example of one of the reasons that I found the research and analysis in the book disappointing.

This book is one of the three accounts that I am aware of this expedition (the other two being, *Lost on Everest: The Search for Mallory and Irvine*, by Firstbrook, and *The Lost Explorer: Finding Mallory on Mount Everest*, by Anker & Roberts). It is well written and very well illustrated, especially when one considers how quickly they got it out to print. Like the other two books, the discussion on the ethics of this expedition ranges from shallow to nonexistent, and one really has to wonder how this expedition warrants three books. So, if you are only going to get one, this volume by Hemmler *et al* is probably the best bet.

Hemmler, J. & Simonson, E. (2002). *Detectives on Everest: The 2001 Mallory & Irvine Research Expedition*. Seattle: The Mountaineers.

This is an account to a follow-on expedition to the one described in the previous citation. They made some minor discoveries on the mountain, such as locating old camps and uncovering some interesting artifacts. However, the big “discovery” reported in the book came on a trip to China where they met with some of the participants in the 1960 Chinese expedition. Here they were told of them finding a dead body in a sleeping bag at 8,200 metres, that is, above Mallory & Irvine’s last camp. My sense is that the level of critical analysis that they bring to this report is better found in a dime-store detective novel than serious research. The fact that the body was reportedly in a sleeping bag – something that the authors acknowledge Mallory and Irvine would almost certainly not have carried with them – is dismissed by speculation that perhaps the Chinese were mistaken. They do not consider that the altitude could have been wrong, or any one of many other explanations that might apply.

This is an over-padded book that has been carried by obsessive enthusiasm that has clouded objectivity. There is material of merit here, but my opinion is that a journal article, rather than a book, would have been more than adequate, and more appropriate, to convey it to the reader.

Hillary, E. (1955). *High Adventure*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, Inc.

This is an early autobiography of Hillary. The first half covers his early climbs in New Zealand, and his participation in the *Mt. Everest Reconnaissance Expedition of 1951*, led by Shipton, and the 1952 training expedition (also under Shipton) to Cho Oyu. The second half of the book is his account of the successful 1953 expedition, where he and Tenzing became the first to summit Everest.

Hillary, E. (1975). *Nothing Venture, Nothing Win*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

This is the second autobiography of Hillary.

Hillary, E. (1999). *View from the Summit*. London: Corgi Books..

This is the most recent autobiography by Hillary. The first chapter alone makes it worth reading. It is a description of the 1953 climb from the South Col to the summit of Everest, which is material previously covered by Hillary, most notably in a chapter of Hunt’s, *The Ascent of Everest*. But while the version in Hunt deals with the details of the climb, the version in this book deals with the people as well. It is all the more interesting for it. While not airing dirty laundry, Hillary, nevertheless makes clear that the team was made up of humans with personalities, strengths and weaknesses. Among other things, he also speaks candidly about his ambition to be on the summit team, and how he positioned himself accordingly. He admits, for example, that he purposely distanced himself from his regular climbing partner, Lowe, since he felt it unlikely that two New Zealand climbers would be selected as a team. Rather, he looked for the strongest climber to team up with, and that was Tenzing.

Holzel, Tom & Salkeld, Audrey (1986). *The Mystery of Mallory and Irvine*. London: Jonathan Cape.

This is the first of the “modern” biographies of Mallory, that is, biographies that have appeared that have had access to a larger body of Mallory correspondence. In many ways, it is also the best. It is extremely well written, and for the most part, the research is excellent. In general, the newest biography by Gillman & Gillman (2000) has far more biographical detail, especially concerning the period prior to 1921, and far more candid about the circle of friends, such as with “Sayles Menagerie,” that he cultivated at Cambridge. Despite this, this volume by Holzel and Salkeld seems to do a better job of placing Mallory in context. A chapter on “The Two Georges”, Mallory and Finch, is just one example. While shorter on biographical detail around the pre-Everest period, I have a stronger feeling for the person in this volume than that by the Gillmans.

There are two other comments worth making about this volume. First, Holzel has put forward the theory that Irvine and Mallory split up at the top of the Second Step, with Mallory continuing on, while Irvine went back alone. However, this is contained in a separate chapter, and in no way slants the perspective in the rest of the book. Second, the book has a peculiar structure in that the biographical details of Mallory’s life at Cambridge, and prior to 1921 occurs out of sequence, at the end of the book, after the account of the 1924 climb. Strange, but not an issue.

In addition to the volume by Gillman & Gillman (2000) see also the biographies of Mallory by Pye (1927), Styles (1967), Robertson (1969), Green (1990). See also the biography of Irvine by Summers (2000), and Irvine’s diaries (Carr, 1979).

Howard-Bury, Charles K. (1922). *Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance, 1921*. London: Longmans. Green and Co.

This is the official account of the first expedition to Everest, and includes chapters from a number of the expedition members, including Mallory and Wheeler. The expedition was by a British team led by Howard-Bury, and was to the north side of the mountain, approached from Tibet. As the first expedition to the mountain, the objective was to do a reconnaissance, rather than attempt a summit (although Mallory was hoping for the latter, regardless). The expedition was a success in a number of ways. First, they made a good reconnaissance of the mountain and identified a route, via the North Col, that looked feasible. Second, they (Wheeler) found the entrance to the East Rongbuk Glacier, which would provide future expeditions a good route to the base of the North Col. Third, they were able to ascend to the top of the North Col (Chang La), and establish that this part of the route was feasible. The book is a treasure.

Howard-Bury, Charles K. & Mallory, George Leigh (1991). *Everest Reconnaissance: The First Expedition of 1921*. London: Hodder & Stroughton.*

Reissue of the previous item, with new biog. Material by Marian Keaney, and extracts from Howard-Bury’s 1920 diaries. Without original appendices. (Annotation from Salkeld and Boyle, 1993.)

Hunt, J. (1953). *The Ascent of Everest*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. (US edition entitled: *The Conquest of Everest*. Reprinted in paperback in 1998 under the UK title by The Mountaineers, Seattle.)

This is an account of the first ascent of Everest written by the expedition's leader, John Hunt. It is an interesting, but somewhat dry account. It reads like a report by a senior military staff officer, which is what it is. While it lacks the passion of the writing of Terray or Messner, it is solid and compelling nevertheless. The same matter-of-factness that makes some of the prose less than gripping, also gives the reader appendices that provide a great sense of the details and logistics of such an expedition. Contrast the chapter by Hillary on the final stage of the ascent in this book with his treatment of it in his 1999 autobiography. The latter is far more frank and it makes for interesting reading when the two are read back-to-back. In addition, see Noyce's classic *South Col* for a wonderful and personal account of this expedition. Finally, also read the account in Unsworth, which discusses issues not covered in the first person accounts, such as the problems due to the treatment of the Sherpas at the beginning of the expedition (as Unsworth states, perhaps Hunt's one big mistake.)

Hunt, J. (1954). *Our Everest Adventure*. Leicester: Brockhampton Press.

This is a short companion to Hunt's *The Conquest of Everest*. It is a photo essay that serves as a pictorial history of the climb. It has a number of interesting photos and diagrams. The text of the volume is also much less formal and rigid than that in the companion account. This little book is definitely worth seeking out if you are interested in Everest, in general, or the 1953 British expedition, specifically. Also, see *Alfred Gregory's Everest*, a more recent publication of photos by the expedition's official photographer. This is a larger format volume, which has been published more recently and therefore has better reproductions.

Hunt, J. (1978a). *Life is Meeting*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The autobiography of the leader of the 1953 Everest expedition.

Hunt, J. (Ed.)(1978b). *My Favourite Mountaineering Stories*. London: Lutterworth Press.

An anthology that includes excerpts from writings by Noyce and Hillary.

Izzard, Ralph (1954). *An Innocent on Everest*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co.

As co-sponsor, *The Times* of London - represented on the mountain by the journalist James Morris (Morris, 1958) - had an exclusive on the story of the 1953 British expedition. However, a number of competitors tried to break its monopoly.

One such interloper was Ralph Izzard, who was working for the London *Daily Mail*. This is his account. Rather than cover the story from Katmandu, as did most journalists, Izzard trekked up to base camp. However, he stayed for less than a day, and this was right at the start, when the expedition had just started to work in the ice fall.

This book is far more about Izzard's trek than it is about the Everest expedition itself. But it does provide a well-written description of the country, and the conditions along the way. As well, traveling with a very small support team, his

comments on his porters is better than most. There is, as seems standard for many books of this period, the inevitable chapter on the *yeti*, (Izzard argues for its existence). But there is also some good discussion about the post-expedition politics that surrounded Tenzing, the claims on his nationality and the arguments about his role in the climb (ranging from who summited first, to his dragging Hillary to the top).

The book is very readable. For someone wanting to know about the climb, it is not of interest. But for those curious about Nepal, its people, the route to base camp, and conditions at the time, it is a worthwhile account written by an experienced and sensitive writer.

JSTOR (1879+). *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London / Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*.
<http://www.jstor.org/journals/0266626X.html>

A significant number of the primary sources on Everest, especially the early days, were published in the Proceedings or the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. The good news for any student of Everest is that all of these issues, dating right back to the first in 1979, are on-line. While there is a charge to access the journal from the web site above, most good university research libraries have a license with JSTOR and provide access to the site for free, if you have an access card for that library. Highly recommended to explore.

Keay, John. (2000). *The Great Arc: The Dramatic Tale of How India was Mapped and Everest was Named*. New York: Harper Collins.

See also Edney's, *Mapping an Empire*.

Kellas, Dr. A.M. (1916). "A Consideration of the Possibility of Ascending the Loftier Himalaya." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. London: Royal Geographical Society, 26-48.

Kellas was one of the pioneer climbers in the Himalaya. Through his expeditions, and articles such as this, he paved the way for British high altitude mountaineering in the Himalaya. He was part of the first expedition in 1921, but died on the trek in to the mountain.

Kellas, Dr. A.M. (1918). The Possibility of Aerial Reconnaissance in the Himalaya. *Geographical Journal*, 51(6), 374-382.

See Kerr *et al* (1918) for the discussion resulting from this paper.

Kerr, M., Freshfield, Lees, T.O., Holdich, T., Swinton, Capt., Taylor, G.I., Grant, Lieut. & Kellas, Dr. A.M. (1918). The Possibility of Aerial Reconnaissance in the Himalaya: Discussion. *Geographical Journal*, 51(6), 382-389.

Commentary and discussion on Kellas (1918).

Kielkowski, Jan (1993/2000). *Mount Everest Massif: Monograph, Guide, Chronicle*. Gliwice, Poland: Explo Publishers.

Think of the guidebook for your local crag, with all of its route maps, descriptions, history of ascents, and other beta. This is that for the whole Everest massif. It is a little known book that has an unbelievable amount of research behind it. The route maps and diagrams are outstanding, and of great value and interest to anyone interested in gaining a better understanding or perspective of the history of climbing on the mountain. Note that the 2nd 2000 edition is enlarged and updated.

Kurz, Marcel (1953a). *Mount Everest – A Century of History*. In Marcel Kurz (Ed.) *The Mountain World 1953: Everest 1952*. NY. Harper & Bros., 17-34.

Included in this essay is one of the few accounts of the illicit 1951 attempt by the Dane R.B. Larson, who went to the mountain accompanied by four Sherpas.

Kurz, Marcel (Ed.)(1953b). *The Mountain World 1953: Everest 1952*. NY. Harper & Bros.

This volume of *The Mountain World* is mainly dedicated to 17 essays on the Swiss attempts on Everest in 1952. In this regard, see also *Forerunners to Everest*, *Tenzing Norgay's Tiger of the Snow*, *Roch's Everest 1952*, and the volume of photographs from the Swiss Foundation for Alpine Research.

Kurz, Marcel. (1959). *Chronique Himalayenne. L'âge d'or 1940 - 1955*. Zürich, Fondation Suisse Pour Explorations Alpines.*

The bible of Himalayan activity in its day. Everest gets due and frequent mention. Particularly good for Swiss expeditions, first ascent and bibliographic references. (Annotation from Salkeld and Boyle, 1993.)

Kurz, Marcel. (1963). *Chronique Himalayenne: Supplément*. Zürich, Fondation Suisse Pour Explorations Alpines.*

Supplementary second volume to the previous entry.

Lewis, Jon (Ed.)(2003). *The Mammoth Book of Eyewitness Everest*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers.

This is an edited anthology of first person accounts from expeditions to Everest. It begins with Noel's 1913 trip to the region, and has one or more pieces from pretty much all of the important expeditions up to the finding of Mallory's body in 1999. There is a good general introduction at the start, and brief introductory paragraphs for each of the 32 selections. There are also a number of interesting appendices and an excellent bibliography - all in an inexpensive pocket book. Value for money, this is one of the best ways to get a first person overview of the mountain. See also the anthology by Gillman (1993).

Longland, J.L. (1940). "Caught in an Everest Blizzard." In Sir Alan Cobham (Ed.). *Tight Corners: Tales of Adventure on Land, Sea and in the Air*. London: Allen & Unwin.

This is an essay by J.L. Longland, who was a member of the 1933 British Everest expedition, contained in a collection of stories of true-life adventures by a number of authors.

Longstaff, T. (1934). Mount Everest. In Sydney Spencer, (Ed.). *Mountaineering*. Volume XVIII of the Lonsdale Library Of Sports, Games and Pastimes. Philadelphia: J.B. Lipincott Co., 275-277.

Longstaff, T. (1950). *This is my Voyage*. London: John Murray.

For me, this is one of the classics of the literature, along with Smythe's *Camp Six*, Terray's *Conquistadors of the Useless*, and Noyce's, *South Col*, for example. It is the climbing biography of one of the great British explorer/mountaineers of the early 20th Century. I first came across Longstaff when reading Shipton and Tilman's accounts of their expeditions to Nanda Devi, since they referred to his pioneering exploration in the area.

This book covers his experiences in the Garhwal , around Nanda Devi, as well as the Karakoram, Hindu Kush, Spitzbergen and Greenland. There is also (surprisingly brief) coverage of his participation in the 1922 British Everest expedition. On the other hand, there is a great chapter on his experiences climbing in Canada. The writing is fantastic. Some of his descriptions verge on being poetry. And while the scope of the man's climbing and exploration career is inspirational, the book goes beyond that. Like some of the other men of his time, like Tilman, Younghusband, and Shipton, Longstaff was multidimensional. Besides climber and explorer, he was also an intense naturalist, geographer, and scholar. There was a balance between the physical and the intellectual. There is also a sense of the times. For example, this "naturalist" thought nothing of shooting three grizzlies for sport, something that raises eyebrows today, but not then. But for me, history has more to do with learning about how people thought, rather than simply what they did, and by this measure, this book is wonderful history.

Extremely well read, it is clear that Longstaff's trips were thoroughly researched. Often this comes out in interesting ways, such as his following up on some of the geographical questions posed by Younghusband's early trip through the Karakoram, his debunking of some of the outlandish claims of Henry Savage Landor, and his case against some of the first "discoveries" of the Swede, Sven Hedin. (For more on this, since Longstaff played a larger role in the Hedin case than he lets on in this book, I highly recommend reading Allen's, *A Mountain in Tibet*.)

The only thing that is somewhat frustrating (for me, at least) is that he has organized the book by region, rather than chronologically, which results in things that happen in late chapters actually occurred before things that you read about several chapters prior. The book has some wonderful photographs and maps that help establish a sense of place, and establish a context for the text. It is highly recommended.

Lowe, George (1959). *Because it is There*. London: Cassell. (1961 US edition by St. Martins entitled, *From Everest - to the South Pole*)

Malartic, Yves (1954). *Tenzing of Everest*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc.

This is an English translation of a French language biography of Tenzing that was written shortly after his ascent of Everest. It is based on minimal interviews. If you are going to read only one (auto)biography of Tenzing, this is probably not the one to rely on. Consequently, see Tenzing's autobiographies, the first with the help of Ullman, *Tiger of the Snow*, and the second with Barnes, *After Everest*. As well, see Norgay and Coburn's *Touching My Father's Soul*, Tashi Tenzing's *Tenzing Norgay and the Sherpas of Everest*, and the most recent biography, *Tenzing: Hero of Everest*, (Douglas, 2003).

Morris, C.J. (1960). *Hired to Kill: Some Chapters of Autobiography*. London: R. Hart-Davis and Cresset Press.

This is an autobiography of C.J. (John) Morris who was transportation officer with the 1922 and 1936 expeditions (although the book does not mention the latter). Morris is extremely candid, both about himself, and those around him. In the process, he sheds a lot of light on the times and the character of the participants of these early expeditions. Well worth reading.

Morris, J. (1958). *Coronation Everest*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

This is a reissue of an 1958 book written by the correspondent assigned by *The Times* of London to cover the 1953 Everest expedition led by Hunt, which saw the first ascent by Hillary and Tenzing. This is not, however, a reworking of Morris' dispatches, nor is it a description of the climb by an outside observer. Far from it. Rather, it is a wonderful portrait of Nepal in the early 50's - of the place, and especially of the people. Morris is an engaging writer. Hillary, Tenzing, Hunt, and the others weave in and out of the Narrative. But image that results is one of a place and people at a time, which in many ways began to be lost as a result of the very same expedition that formed the catalyst to this description. The book was reissued in paperback in (2000) by Key Porter Books.

Morris, J. (1974). *Conundrum*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

This is the autobiography of Morris, who was the correspondent assigned by *The Times* of London to cover the 1953 Everest expedition (see *Coronation Everest*, above). Morris was a trans-sexual, who began life as James, and became Jan. The underlying theme of the book is the story of this transition. The book includes a, consequently, rather unique chapter discussing the experience of being on Everest.

Morshead, Ian (1982). *The Life & Murder of Henry Morshead: a true story from the days of the Raj*. Cambridge. The Oleander Press Ltd.

This is a biography of Henry Morshead who a member of the 1921 and 1922 Everest expeditions. Morshead an officer of the Survey of India. He went to Kamet with Kellas in 1920 and was the head surveyor on the 1921 Everest expedition. In 1922 he participated as a climber and was badly frostbitten above the North Col. Later, he was posted to Burma, where he was murdered in 1931 (along with Wollaston, one of two members of the 1921 expedition to die this

way). This book is sort of three books in one, a biography, a “detective tale” trying to uncover information about Henry’s murder, and a diary of his 1980 trip to India and Burma to try and find out what happened. The book is not that satisfactory on any of these three counts. Much of the diary section is irrelevant to the detective part, and not particularly interesting in its own right. Yes, he met Karma Paul, but his account of this shed little light on his father, and contributes little of interest. As a biography, the book is more a chronology and a scrapbook than what one would normally expect. Perhaps as Henry’s son, the author is too close to his subject. Or, perhaps it is just that he is not a particularly skilled writer or biographer. Perhaps my main disappointment was with the fact that – despite the book’s title - it sheds little, if any, light on why Henry was murdered. That being said, one part of the book, even on its own, makes it worthwhile to the student of Everest: Chapter 10. This contains Henry’s letters from Everest in 1922. These have a degree of candor not found in published accounts at the time. See also the next entry.

Morshead, Ian (1990). *The Life & Murder of Henry Morshead: The Postscript*. Westcott, Surrey: Nower.*

This is an 11 page follow-up to the previous entry. I have not been able to locate it so am unable to comment on whether it helps bring the tale to a more satisfactory conclusion.

Murray, W. H. (1953). *The Story of Everest 1921-1952*. New York: Dutton.

This is an summation and analysis of the attempts on Everest from 1921 to the Swiss expeditions in 1952. Murray was on the Everest Reconnaissance Mission led by Shipton in 1951. The theme of the book is to show how each of the attempts built upon one another and pave the way for eventual success on the mountain.

Murray, W.H. (2002). *The Evidence of Things Not Seen*. London: Bâton Wicks.

An autobiography by Murray, who was part of the 1951 reconnaissance expedition.

National Geographic (2003). Map Supplement: Mount Everest. *National Geographic*. 203(5), May, insert page.

This is a special issue of *National Geographic*, celebrating the 50th anniversary of the mountain’s first ascent. Included is a large format map of the region south of the mountain, Sagarmatha National Park. On the other side of the map is a large aerial photograph of the south-west side of the mountain. What is shown in this photo is available on-line in 3D at:

<http://magma.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0305/>

This is well worth exploring. See also Washburn (1988) and Hagen *et al.* (1963).

Neale, Jonathan (2002). *Tigers of the Snow: How One Fateful Climb Made the Sherpas Mountaineering Legends*. London: Little Brown.

This is a book, which attempts to tell the story of mountaineering from the Sherpas perspective. The centrepiece of the book is an account of the German attempt on Nanga Parbat in 1934, which the author argues was a turning point in how the Sherpa perceived themselves, relative to the European mountaineers who employed them. The book includes considerable detail on Sherpa life and customs.

Neame, K. (1955). Alone Over Everest. In Marcel Kurz (Ed.). *The Mountain World 1955*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 133-141.

An account of the author's flight around Everest in 1947. While on assignment to take aerial photographs of the area around Kangchenjunga, Neame flew around (not directly over) Everest, taking photographs from the cockpit. Strangely, none of the photos are reproduced here, but four appear (uncredited) at the start of Shipton (1952), *The Mount Everest Reconnaissance Expedition, 1951*.

Neate, W.R. (1978). *Mountaineering and Its Literature*. London: Carnmor Print & Design.

This is a comprehensive annotated bibliography of the mountaineering literature. This is the 1st edition. There is a 2nd edition, which was published in 1986.

Nicholson, Nigel (1975). *The Himalayas*. (World's Wild Places Series). Amsterdam: Time Life International.

This is a picture book with accompanying text covering the history, geography, flora and fauna of the Himalaya. Of particular interest is a section, pp 148-157, in Chapter 6, which include a number of colour reproductions of photographs taken by Captain John Noel during the 1924 Everest expedition.

Noel, J.B.L (1919). A Journey to Tashirak in Southern Tibet, and the Eastern Approaches to Mount Everest. *Geographical Journal*, 53(5), 289-303.

This is a brief account of Noel's 1913 exploration of the eastern approaches to Mount Everest (see Noel, 1927). This presentation, and the ensuing discussion (Freshfield, *et al*, 1919) led to the formation of the Mount Everest Committee and the first expedition in 1921. It is interesting in that Noel mentions the potential and value of conducting an aerial survey of the route, following a thread started by Kellas the previous year (Kellas, 1918).

Noel, J.B.L (1927). *The Story of Everest*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. (UK edition entitled *Through Tibet to Everest*. London: Edward Arnold & Co)

Noel may well be the one who first suggested mounting an expedition to scale Everest. It was at a talk given by him in 1916 that the idea was initiated of the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club forming the Mount Everest Committee, with the objective of scaling the mountain. This book covers his early travels in Tibet and the Himalaya in 1913, and the first three Everest expeditions, of 1921, 1922 and 1924. He was the photographer on the 1922 expedition and cinemaphotographer in 1924. Hence, the photographs in this volume are outstanding.

Noel, Sandra (2003). *Everest Pioneer: The Photographs of Captain John Noel*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing.

This is a collection of photographs by John Noel, many of which have not been previously published. They are mainly from his trips to Everest in 1922 & 1924.

Norgay, J.T. & Coburn, B. (2001). *Touching My Father's Soul: A Sherpa's Journey to the Top of Everest*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Jamling Norgay is the younger son of Tenzing. This is an account of his experience climbing Everest in the spring of 1996 as part of the Everest IMAX film. I confess that I resisted this book at first. I was not a big fan of the Imax film, and especially how Jamling was portrayed. It was just too staged and precious. The result was that the whole Buddhist aspect just felt disingenuous. To its credit, none of this carried over to the book, which I found extremely interesting.

Interwoven with the story of the Imax climb are two far more interesting stories. The first of these is a meditation on his father, to and from which the story cuts throughout. The second is a seemingly quite sincere attempt to explain Sherpa culture. Again, this tread is woven into the book from beginning to end. For me, the appreciation of these aspects of the book were greatly enhanced by having read Ortner's book on Sherpa culture. I suspect the reverse would also be true

Norgay, Tenzing & Ullman, J. (1955). *Tiger of the Snow*. New York: G.P. Putnam's and Sons.

This is an autobiography of Tenzing Norgay Sherpa. See also his second autobiography, *After Everest*. As part of the 1953 expedition led by John Hunt, along with Hillary, Tenzing was the first to summit Everest. While Tenzing could neither read nor write, he was clearly an exceptional man, not only for his climbing, but for his character and intelligence in general. While his story has been put down on paper by Ullman, his voice and thoughts come through convincingly.

This is clearly a motivated man. He climbed and traveled in Chitral, Kashmir, Garhwal, and Tibet. His finding himself on the top of Everest was also no accident. He had been to Everest 6 times before: to the North Side in 1935 with Shipton, 1936 with Ruttledge and 1938 with Tilman; and to the South Side in the spring of 1952 with Swiss team led by Wyss-Dunant, and back again in the autumn on their second attempt led by Chevalley.

As Ortner points out, virtually all of our history of Himalayan mountaineering comes from the westerners, since they were the ones with the skills and means to write the books. From the earlier period, there are only three accounts "from the other side," this one by Tenzing, that by Ang Tharkay, and finally the remarkable *Servant of Sahibs*, written in 1923 by Ghulam Rasul Galwan, who had worked for Younghusband, among others. Due to their scarcity, insights, and perspective, these books make fascinating reading.

What is interesting about this book is that it spends very little time writing about the actual climbing in 1953. Tenzing simply says that others have written extensively about it, so there is no need to cover the details of the expedition, other than to shed light on things that have been neglected. What he does do, which Hunt (perhaps understandably) does not, is discuss not only the issues of

conflict between the Sherpa and "Sahibs", but also the repercussions (since many of these caused much controversy under the spotlight that fell on the expedition after its success.) He also talks a lot about the impact of the whole thing on his life, which was significant, given the attention given to the expedition.

Finally, one cannot read this book without being touched by the love that he had for the mountains, and the bond that he shared with those of similar spirit (not the least of whom was Lambert, of the 1952 Swiss team, with whom - despite a language barrier - he clearly had an outstanding bond.) In this there are strong echoes of Rébuffat's fellowship of the rope. For me, this spirit extended beyond the printed page, bonding author to reader.

See also Tenzing's son Jamling's book, *Touching My Father's Soul*, Tashi Tenzing's *Tenzing Norgay and the Sherpas of Everest*, Malartic's early biography, *Tenzing of Everest*, and the most recent biography, Douglas' *Tenzing: Hero of Everest*.

Norgay, Tenzing & Barnes, Malcolm. (1977). *After Everest: An Autobiography*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

This is a second autobiography that covers Tenzing's life after climbing Everest (where the previous autobiography with Ullman, *Tiger of the Snow*, left off. See also Tenzing's son Jamling's book, *Touching My Father's Soul*, Tashi Tenzing's *Tenzing Norgay and the Sherpas of Everest*, Malartic's early biography, *Tenzing of Everest*, and the most recent biography, Douglas' *Tenzing: Hero of Everest*.

Norton, E.F. (1925). *The Fight for Everest: 1924*. London: Edward Arnold & Co.

This is the official account of the 1924 expedition. It includes writings of other expedition members and Mallory's letters, for example.

Noyce, Wilfrid (1954). *South Col: One man's adventure on the ascent of Everest, 1953*. London: William Heinemann.

This is one of the classic climbing books. Highly recommended. Noyce was scrupulous in keeping his journal, and this is a great account of a climber's perspective of the trip, from planning and packing right through to the end. My sense is that if one were going to read only one book on the 1953 expedition, this is likely it. It describes not only the march and the climb in, but what one wore, ate, felt, and talked about - all written in wonderful to read prose. Being written immediately after the fact, however, the book very much characterizes the expedition as one happy team working together. Consequently, it is nice to balance this account with the shorter but more recent one of Hillary, which is as self-critical as it is honest, in terms of some of the interactions and behaviours among the team.

Noyce, Wilfrid & Richard Taylor (1954). *Everest is Climbed*. Harmondsworth: Puffin (Puffin Picture Book, No. 100).

This is a brief (30 page) soft-cover picture book for children. The text is by Noyce, and the images are all drawings by Taylor.

Ortner, S. (1999). *Life and Death on Mt. Everest : Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.

This is one of the more informative books that I have read in a while. Despite the title, it is not really a book on climbing, mountaineering or Mount Everest; rather, it is an anthropological study of the Sherpa people. Specifically, Ortner examines the influence that climbers and mountaineering have had on Sherpa life and culture since the first expedition in 1921. She gives an excellent overview of the religious, economic, domestic and political structure of the society before the first expeditions, and then traces the impact on these and other cultural aspects of the society up to the present, as a result of the influx of mountaineering. While Ortner personally has little interest or patience for climbing, this is *not* a biased treatise on how Sherpa culture is being destroyed by the influx of climbers and trekkers. Her point of view is as objective as it can be, and it is clear that there are good and bad aspects to the changes that have occurred. This is an excellent source for those interested in Sherpa culture, and in many ways, should be mandatory reading for anyone going to the region on a trek or expedition. But it also sheds good insights into the changes in the culture of the climbers themselves. The writing is not gripping in the sense of a great climbing book, but it is an outstanding and compelling source for those interested in more than a superficial view of the Sherpa people, and the social ecology of climbing.

Pye, David (1927). *George Leigh Mallory, a Memoir*. London: Oxford University Press.

This is the first of many biographies of Mallory, although in many ways it is more of a eulogy than a biography. From a factual perspective, there is little here that does not appear in the later volumes – one exception being that Pye reprints most of Mallory's 1914 *Climber's Club Journal* essay, "The Mountaineer as Artist." However, biographical detail is not the reason for reading this book. This is the only biography written by someone who knew Mallory intimately. While lacking in the objectivity that one ideally obtains from a biography written from more of a distance, this book tells us things about Mallory that cannot be conveyed by factual details or vivid descriptions, no matter how well researched or written. By what he chooses to say, and by how he says it, Pye tells us as much about himself, his values and his times, as he does about Mallory, his close friend. And, by reflection, this tells us volumes about Mallory in a manner that no later biographer has or could.

By all means read one of the later biographies first. I would recommend starting with Hozel & Salkeld (1986). But then read this one. It is easy to obtain, since it was re-released in 2002 by Orchid Press, Bangkok, Thailand. However, for the full benefit of this volume, make the effort to find a first edition. It is simply a beautiful little book, on wonderful paper, with tasteful typography, and outstandingly reproduced photographs. Aesthete that he was, Mallory would have approved.

For the later biographies, see Styles (1967), Robertson (1969), Hozel & Salkeld (1986), Green (1990) and Gillman & Gillman (2000)..

Rawling, Captain C G. (1905). *The Great Plateau. Being an Account of Exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905.* London: Edward Arnold.

In 1904, attached to the Younghusband mission to Tibet, Rawling made and extensive survey of Western Tibet, including territory within 60 miles of the north side of Everest.

Roberts, D. (1957). *I'll Climb Mount Everest Alone: The Story of Maurice Wilson.* London: Robert Hale Ltd.

This is an account of the strange solo attempt on Everest in 1934 by Maurice Wilson. Wilson was driven to climb Everest by a desire to show that faith and diet (including fasting) would enable one to overcome any obstacle. His initial plan was to fly solo to the mountain, crash land on its lower slopes, and then climb to the summit. (How he was to return in this scenario was never spelled out.) There were only two problems: he did not know how to fly, and he knew nothing about climbing or mountains. Despite this, he spent a few months learning to fly, bought a plane, spent a weekend walking in the Lake District, and with great fanfare and publicity, set off. His successful solo flight to India, in itself, would have been proof enough of the power of faith and determination for most people. But for Wilson, it was just the preamble to his real objective. Running out of money and into administrative obstacles, he sold his plane in India, and decided to hike in to the north side of the mountain from Darjeeling. Not having permission to enter Tibet was not going to stop him. He engaged 3 Sherpa and then set off in disguise, often traveling at night and avoiding villages. Despite never having seen a glacier before, without using crampons, and not knowing how to use the ice axe that he had, he actually managed to get almost to the foot of the North Col (the 1933 expedition's Camp III) from base camp, on his own. Exhausted, he returned to the Rongbuk Monastery to recover. He then set off again, this time with two of the Sherpa, who agreed to go as far as Camp III with him. Wilson made repeated attempts to get to the North Col, and got way further than his lack of experience should have ever brought him, but that was still not enough for him. The summit was his objective. The Sherpa refused to go further, so he asked them to wait while he made another attempt. But you can only tempt fate so many times, and the inevitable happened. The Sherpa returned home and Wilson's body was found in 1935 by Shipton, and subsequently buried in a crevasse on the East Rongbuk Glacier (this is described in Shipton, 1943)'s *Upon that Mountain*).

This is not a particularly engaging or well-written book. But being based on the meticulous diaries that Wilson kept, it is a good (and the only) detailed chronicle of Wilson's attempt. It is a curious footnote to the history of Everest that is worth reading, despite the frustrating absence of any references, bibliography or list of sources. See also Salkeld (1993), Shipton (1943), and especially Russell (n.d.).

Robertson, David (1969). *George Mallory.* London: Faber and Faber.

This is the third of five biographies of Mallory. See also Pye (1927), Styles (1967), Green (1990) and Gillman & Gillman (2000), as well as Hozel & Salkeld (1986).

Rodway, George W. (Ed.)(2008). *George Ingle Finch's The Struggle for Everest*. Hildersley: Carreg Ltd.

This is an English language translation, by Klaudioa Schaller and a team from Kent State University, of Finch's 1925, *Der Kampf um den Everest*. (See separate entry). The text of Finch's original book is augmented by relevant passages from his diary. As well, the book contains a discussion of Finch's rejection from the 1921 expedition on medical grounds, including copies of the original medical reports. The book is well illustrated, but it is worth noting that the photos used are not those in the original. On the positive side, for example, this volume is much better in terms of illustrating the oxygen apparatus used – something that Finch was intimately involved with. On the other, the photos in the original edition were stunning. For true enthusiasts, I recommend getting both volumes.

Roch André (1952). *Everest 1952*. Genève: Editions Jeheber.

This is a wonderful collection of black and white and colour photographs, with accompanying essays, from the 1952 Swiss expeditions to Everest. It is the Swiss counterpart to Alfred Gregory's *The Picture of Everest*. See also *Everest: The Swiss Expeditions in Photographs*, compiled by Swiss Foundation for Alpine Research. For more information on the Swiss expeditions, see *Forerunners to Everest*, which is the official account, as well as Kurz's *The Mountain World: Everest 1952*. Tenzing's account of this expedition is especially positive, and can be found in his first autobiography, *Tiger of the Snow*.

Russell, A.J. (n.d.). The Lone Climber of Everest. In Anonymous (Ed.). *Fifty Great Adventures that Thrilled the World*. London: Odhams Press, 124-133.

This is an account of the 1934 solo attempt on Everest by Maurice Wilson. The author, A.J. Russell was a London newspaper editor who was associated with a religious organization called *The Oxford Group*. It is likely that Russell was known to Wilson due to a religious book which he had edited in 1932, *For Sinner's Only*. Regardless, Wilson wrote a long letter from India (largely reproduced here), explaining his objectives, and trying to engage Russell's support in getting permission to proceed to Everest. This account is interesting in that (perhaps due to their shared strong religious bent), this is the only account of Wilson's exploits that treats him as a hero, referring to him as "one of the most gallant adventurers this generation has produced." (Contrast this, for example, with Salkeld's 1993 account, which is titled "The Mad Yorkshireman.") See also Roberts (1957) and Shipton (1943).

Ruttledge, Hugh. (1934). *Everest 1933*. London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.

This is the official account of the 1933 British expedition to Everest. For other accounts of this expedition, see also Smythe and Shipton's personal accounts.

Ruttledge, Hugh. (1937). *Everest: The Unfinished Adventure*. London:, Hodder & Stoughton.

This is the official account of the 1936 British expedition to Everest, led by Hugh Ruttledge. It also includes a short chapter on the 1935 Reconnaissance Expedition of 1935, led by Shipton. As with all previous expeditions, these expeditions approached Everest from the north side, from Tibet. Because of weather, in 1936 they made essentially no headway on the mountain at all.

Salkeld, Audrey (1993). The Mad Yorkshireman. In Peter Gillman (Ed.) *Everest: The Best Writing and Pictures from Seventy Years of Human Endeavour*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 47-48.

This is an account of the 1934 solo attempt by Maurice Wilson. See also Roberts (1957), Russell (n.d.) and Shipton (1943).

Salkeld, Audrey (2000). *Mystery of Everest: A Photobiography of George Mallory*. Washington: National Geographic.

This is a short (64 page) children's book. It is a collection of photos, along with a narrative, covering Mallory's life from childhood, up to the time of the discovery of his body in 1999.

Salkeld, Audrey and Boyle, John (1993). *Climbing Mount Everest: The Bibliography. The Literature and History of Climbing the World's Highest Mountain*. Clevedon, Avon: Sixways Publishing.

This has to be the definitive bibliography on mount Everest, up to the time of its publication. This book is not well known, rarely cited, but in my opinion absolutely essential for anyone who is seriously interested in the literature around the mountain. It builds on Neate, and makes a significant contribution.

Scott, Robert L., Jr. (1943). *God Is My Co-Pilot*. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Scott was a US Air Force pilot stationed in Burma. In 1942 he flew a P-43A, following the Brahmaputra River, into Tibet, over Lhasa (which he photographed in colour), then circled Kangchenjunga, then over Makalu and Everest, which he photographed (although the photograph labeled "Everest" in the book is actually Makalu, which brings into question whether he flew over Everest at all).

Shipton, Eric (1936). "The Mount Everest Reconnaissance, 1935", in Kenneth Mason (Ed.). *Himalayan Journal*, VII, 1-13.

This is the official account of the 1935 reconnaissance expedition led by Shipton.

Shipton, Eric. (1943). *Upon that Mountain*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd.

This is an early climbing autobiography. It covers a number of Shipton's climbs and experiences, starting with his first forays into the Alps as a young boy, up to his explorations in the Karakoram in 1939, right before W.W.II. There is quite extensive coverage of his experiences on Mt. Kenya with Wyn Harris, and later Tilman, as well as his trips to Everest in 1933, '35, '36, and '38. What is interesting is that he does not discuss at all his first expedition to the Himalaya, the 1931 first ascent of Kamet, led by Smythe.

Shipton was an unusual man (for perhaps a trivial, but nevertheless typical example, he is may be the only person that I have read who claims to actually have liked Tibetan-style tea - tea mixed with salt and yak butter.) His book is as interesting in what it says about him and the development of his views as it is about mountains or the exploration of geography. He is extremely articulate, for example, in his chapter arguing the merits of the small expeditions in the

Himalaya. And, despite his participation in four Everest expeditions, even in 1943 he confesses his hope that the mountain is never climbed.

The story of his development is a movement from the goal-driven activity of ascending mountains, to one of exploring unknown valleys in an unencumbered style, yet with meticulous technique of navigation, living, and mapping. He is an amazing man who paid the price for being true to his beliefs, but also reaped the benefits. This book has been re-released in the anthology, Shipton (1985).

Shipton, Eric. (1952). *The Mount Everest Reconnaissance Expedition, 1951*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This is an account of the 1951 expedition led by Shipton to make the first reconnaissance of the south (Nepal) side of Everest. A key achievement was that they showed that one could gain access to the Western Cwm through the Khumbu Ice Fall, which from the north side, had appeared that it may have been impregnable. This expedition also included Hillary, who eventually made the first ascent in 1953. This book has been re-released in the anthology, Shipton (1985).

Shipton, Eric. (1955). *Men Against Everest*. Englewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice-Hall. (UK Edition entitled: *The True Book About Everest*. London: Muller)

This is mainly a young adult's book, which gives a personalized history of the mountain from discovery to its first ascent.

Shipton, Eric. (1966). *Mountain Conquest*. New York: American Heritage.

This is a book on the history of mountaineering. Coverage includes the story of climbing in the alps (especially Mont Blanc the Matterhorn), Mt. McKinley, Nanda Devi, K2, Annapurna, and Everest. It is highly illustrated.

Shipton, Eric. (1969). *That Untravelled World: An Autobiography*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Shipton's second autobiography. Includes accounts of 1933 and 1935 Everest expeditions.

Shipton, Eric. (1985). *The Six Mountain Travel Books*. Seattle: The Mountaineers.

This is an anthology of 6 books written by Shipton about his mountain travels: *Nanda Devi* (1936), *Blank on the Map* (1938), *Upon That Mountain* (1943), *Mt. Everest Reconnaissance Expedition 1951* (1952), *Mountains of Tartary* (1951), and *Land of Tempest: Travels in Patagonia 1958-62* (1963). Appendix I includes a section of his paper presented on the 1935 Everest Reconnaissance. For the full account see Shipton (1936). The good news about the anthology is that it makes these out of print books accessible. However, for enthusiasts, it is still worth searching out the originals, since the anthology is cumbersome, and does not include many of the photos that are in the originals, and those that are included, are often reproduced poorly, or smaller in size than in the original.

Smythe, Frank S. (1937). *Camp Six: An Account of the 1933 Everest Expedition*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

This is an exceptionally readable account of the 1933 expedition to Everest. This was the first expedition since 1924, when Mallory and Irvine were lost, and one of the interesting side stories in this account is around Wyn Harris finding Irvine's ice axe below the First Step. (In an Appendix Smythe discusses what he feels the implications of this are - implications that appear well founded based on the later finding of Mallory's body, described in *Ghosts of Everest*.) The account of the march in through Tibet, alone, is enough to parch your throat and make you want to wipe the grit off of your teeth. But for me this book holds some of the best descriptions of what it must have been like at the high camps at the time. Note that this first edition has many more photographs than some later editions.

Smythe, Frank S. (1941). *The Mountain Vision*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Accounts of climbing in the Alps and Himalaya, including a chapter on Everest 1933.

Smythe, Frank S. (1949). *Mountains in Colour*. London: Max Parrish & Co. (US Edition: Behold the Mountains: *Climbing with a Color Camera*, NY: Chanticleer Press.)

This is an account of Smythe's travels in the mountains and hills of the Himalaya, Great Britain, Switzerland and North America. The text is accompanied by colour photos. The section of the Himalaya includes an account of Smythe's participation in the 1933 Everest expedition, including six colour.

Snaith, Stanley. (1938). *At Grips with Everest*. London : Oxford University Press.

This is an early popular book for "young people." The first half tells the story of the early expeditions to Everest. It briefly covers 1921, 1922, 1924 and 1933 with a postscript on Tilman's 1938 reconnaissance expedition. The second half tells of the 1933 flight around Everest's summit, as well as give brief accounts of other Himalayan expeditions, including those to Kangchenjunga, Nanda Devi, and Nanga Parbat. There is a brief foreword by T. Howard Somervell.

Somervell, T.H. (1936). *After Everest: the Experiences of a Mountaineer and Medical Missionary*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

These are the memoirs of Somervell, a veteran of both the 1922 and 1924 expeditions to Everest. (I have the second edition from 1938.) Even amongst the extraordinary people who made up the early Everest expeditions, Somervell stands out. In addition to his climbing ability, he was an accomplished artist, whose watercolours appear in the 1924 expedition book (Norton, 1925). He was also a skilled musician, who transcribed Tibetan folk tunes during the march to and from the mountain, and then adapted them for the soundtrack of the expedition films by Noel. But Somervell's skills as a surgeon (largely honed during WWI), and how he chose to apply them, are what most distinguish him. After the 1922 expedition he chose to tour India. A visit to the mission hospital in Neyyoor, in Travancore, southern India, convinced him to give up his career in Britain and devote the rest of his life to addressing the needs that he saw there. He returned to Britain in order to secure equipment, and prepare his affairs, and then returned and eventually took over direction of the Neyyoor hospital. About two thirds of this book are about his experiences there.

You cannot read this book without shaking your head. This man had balance, and despite what he encountered in his mission, he managed to keep it. Partially, I suspect, through his music, painting and climbing. But foremost through his faith. This is someone who was a devoted Christian, and who came from a family of missionaries. And it was in his expression and opinions on his faith that I found the most refreshing aspects of this book. I say this by way of contrasting his approach to the style of self-righteous publicly pious style of fundamentalist Christian views that seem all too prevalent in many of our public (and private) figures today. My sense is that Somervell would have had no time for any of that. (He was an opinionated man who did not mind expressing his views on such matters.) His actions were consistent with his faith, and he was a pragmatist, who had little time for dogma. Instead of being a fundamentalist, he took his religion to its fundamentals, and acted on them. This is a remarkable book, which in this time of the Iraq conflict, etc., is more relevant than ever.

Somervell, T.H. (1948). *The Top of the World*. In Peter Scott (Ed.), *The Lasting Victories*. London: Lutterworth Press, 39 – 44.

This is a brief account, intended for young adults, of the first three Everest expeditions, the last two of which Somervell was a member. He speaks with candor about the avalanche of 1922 and the disappearance of Mallory and Irvine in 1924, as well as his own experiences in those years.

Steele, P. (1998). *Eric Shipton - Everest and Beyond*. London: Constable.

Along with Tilman, Shipton was one of the great mountaineers who explored the Himalaya, as well as Patagonia. Shipton and Tilman are as, or more, significant for how they explored, as what they explored. This is a good biography, but one still would want to read Shipton and Tilman's own books. Shipton's early climbing autobiography, *Upon that Mountain*, is especially recommended for those interested in the man. However, this book is a good place to start in order to get an overview and some background. As well, it contains some excellent discussion of topics not covered in Shipton's own books, such as the circumstances of his not leading the 1953 successful British expedition to Everest.

Stobart, Tom (1953). "The Conquest of Everest." On, *Into the Thin Air of Everest: Mountain of Dreams, Mountain of Doom*. Goldhill DVD.

This is an available copy of the feature-length documentary on the 1953 ascent of Everest, shot by Stobart. It is available on DVD along with a lot of other archival footage from earlier expeditions.

Stobart, Tom. (1958a). *Adventurer's Eye: The Autobiography of the Everest Film-Man Tom Stobart*. London: Odhams Press Ltd.

This is the autobiography of Tom Stobart, who was the cinematographer on the 1953 Everest expedition. The book is well written and very readable, however it tells far less about Stobart himself than the times that he lived in. In his descriptions of his travels to the Himalaya, Romania, Africa, Antarctica and Australia before the Everest expedition, I could not be struck by how much times have changed since then. While describing his time in Antarctica, for example, it is hard to imagine any writer today talking about a rare species of seal, the Ross seal, and then after having shot one as a specimen, having shot two more. Be

clear, Stobart was not the person doing the shooting. It is just the notion of shooting and trapping wild animals for "science" that pervades the book that feels so foreign. But then, if books are about getting a sense of the times, then this one does a good job of it. I enjoyed the read, but was frustrated by how little he actually revealed.

Notes: (1) The feature-length documentary, *The Conquest of Everest*, shot by Stobart, is available on the DVD, *Into the Thin Air of Everest: Mountain of Dreams, Mountain of Doom*, Goldhill DVD. (2) An abridged version of this book appears as Stobart (1958b).

Stobart, Tom (1958b). *I Take Pictures for Adventure*. New York: Doubleday.

This is an abridged version of Stobart's autobiography, above: *Adventurer's Eye*.

Styles, Showell (1967). *Mallory of Everest*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

There are several biographies of Mallory. See, for example, those by Pye (1927), Robertson (1969), Green (1990) and Gilman & Gilman (2000), as well as Hozel & Salkeld (1986). You are probably better to go to them rather than this one. Styles' biography was written for the young reader. That in itself is not bad. However, this book is written in a particular "Boys Own" style. It is all about glory, and heroism. The reason that I find this so off-putting is exemplified by Styles' description of the infamous Younghusband mission to Tibet in 1903-4 as, "... to drive out the Tibetans [from Sikkim] and having done so, establish trade with Tibet. This difficult and hazardous purpose was triumphantly achieved" (pp 17-18). This is nationalistic distortion of history at its worst, but sadly, all too typical of the mindset that Styles brings to his subject. Mallory would have been outraged, and he certainly deserved better.

Styles, Showell (1970). *The Forbidden Frontiers: The Survey Of India From 1765 To 1949*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

This is a small book that is interesting despite many flaws. If you want to know the actual history of the Survey of India, you are much better to read Keay's, *The Great Arc* or Edney's *Mapping an Empire*. One problem with this book is that it is less about "The" survey of India, and more about the general build-up of knowledge about the country through the contribution of travelers and explorers, such as William Moorcroft. This could be a good thing, but in Styles hands it becomes more of an excuse to become diverted from his topic, with the result that you don't get a very good account of the traveler's explorations, nor of their surveying. My second problem with the book has to do with his not letting a good story get in the way of research or accuracy. The big flaw here is that he falls into the trap of devoting a significant amount of space to the exploits, and contribution to the mapping of India by Alexander Gardner, right down to telling, yet again, the discredited story about his being born in the US and his subsequent exploits. So, having misplaced so much space to Gardner, the reader is correct in being cautious about placing too much trust in the research in the rest of the book. Having said this, the book is still interesting to read as a secondary source.

Summers, Julie (2000). *Fearless on Everest: The Quest for Sandy Irvine*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

This is a biography of Sandy Irvine by his great niece. Other than the brief biographical sketch by Irvine's brother, Alexander, that appears in Carr's, *The Irvine Diaries* (1979), this is the only biography on Irvine that has appeared (in comparison to six or more on Mallory). While related to Irvine, Summers appears to have been as objective as possible in her treatment of her subject. She is quite candid, for example, about Irvine's affair with the step-mother of one of his friends. This biography is a welcome compliment to those on Mallory. In some ways, it is interesting to see the parallels between two, as superficial as they may be. Both lived in the same town, neither "found" climbing by their own devices, both were of a certain class, and both had (wealthy) close friends marry their sisters. If you were to read only two books on Mallory and Irvine, my recommendation would be this one and Holzel & Salkeld (1986).

Swinson, Arthur (1971). *Beyond the Frontiers: The Biography of Colonel F.M. Bailey, Explorer and Secret Agent*. London: Hutchinson.

Bailey began as a surveyor, and with Morshead (who was a surveyor with the 1921 and 1922 expeditions), surveyed the Tsangpo river in SE Tibet in 1913, and determined that it was continuous with the Dihang and Brahmaputra rivers. He was also one of a team of four who led a survey of southern Tibet (including the area north of Everest) as part of the Younghusband "mission" of 1904-05. (See the entry for Rawling, 1905, who was also one of the team.) He was fluent in Tibetan, and in 1921 was appointed Political Officer at Gangtok in Sikkim. It was with Bailey and his wife that General Bruce recuperated after he had to withdraw from leading the 1924 expedition. The expeditions of 1921, 1922 and 1924 caused some problems in Tibet. The straw that broke the camel's back were the "Dancing Lamas" that had returned to the UK to perform as an accompaniment to the film of the 1924 film shot by Noel. Bailey voiced the Tibetan objections, but was met by the obstinacy of A.R. Hinks, Secretary of the Everest Committee. The fall-out of all of this was the main reason that there was not another expedition until 1933.

Swiss Foundation for Alpine Research (Compiled by). (1954). *Everest: The Swiss Expeditions in Photographs*. New York: E.P. Dutton.

This is an excellent collection of photographs (mostly black and white) taken during the 1952 Swiss expeditions to Everest. The volume makes a good companion to the account of the climb, *Forerunners to Everest*, by Dittert, Chevalley and Lambert. The photos are well captioned, and cover the trek in, as well as wonderful shots of the mountain.

Temple, Philip (1969). *The World at Their Feet, The Story of New Zealand Mountaineers in the Great Ranges of the World*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs.

This includes accounts of Bryant's participation in the 1935 reconnaissance, and Hillary and Lowe's participation in the reconnaissance of 1951 and expedition of 1953.

Tenzing, Tashi (2001). *Tenzing Norgay and the Sherpas of Everest*. Camden, Maine: Ragged Mountain Press.

This is a new biography of Tenzing Norgay, as well as a brief history of a number of the other Sherpa involved in the earlier era of climbing in the Himalaya, including Ang Tharkay, written by Tenzing's grandson. It is a good companion to Tenzing's autobiographies.

Tharkay, Ang (1954). *Mémoires d'un Sherpa*. Paris: Amiot-Dumont.

Ang Tharkay is one of the most famous and important of the Sherpa involved in the early days of Himalayan mountaineering. He accompanied Shipton on no less than eight of his expeditions and was sirdar on the 1952 French expedition to Annapurna. He was also Tenzing's landlord, as well as the first person to hire him on an expedition. While hardly known to the English language community, (partially because it is in French, and partially because it is hard to find), this is a really important book. It is one of only three first person accounts by Sherpa involved in the early days of mountaineering, and the other two are both by Tenzing Norgay. Along with the Tenzing autobiographies, this book was a major source in Ortner's anthropological study of the influence of mountaineering on Sherpa culture.

Of all of the books in my collection, this one has been the hardest to find. Despite being originally transcribed in English by a Basil P. Norton, it has only been published in French. The translation was by Henri Delgove.

Tilman, H.W. (1948). *Mount Everest 1938*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This is an account of the 1938 expedition led to the north side of Everest by Tilman in 1938. This expedition was distinguished by the relatively lightweight style of the expedition, being about the quarter of the size of previous ones.

Tilman H. W. (1952). *Nepal Himalaya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This is an account of Tilman's travels in Nepal during the postwar period, when the country was beginning to open up to foreign travel. This is mainly a travel, rather than climbing book. The bulk of it is about his 1949 trip to the Langtang region, and his 1950 trip to the area around Annapurna (including an attempt on Annapurna IV). It also includes his participation, at the end of his 1950 trip, in the American expedition to the Everest region of Nepal, led by Oscar Houston. This was a short expedition, which afforded Tilman and Houston's son, Charles, a day to make a superficial reconnoiter of Everest's south side. They could not see the South Col, the South Ridge, nor the head of the Western Cwm. They were limited by time, and the fact that Houston, due to lack of acclimatization, could not climb about 18,000' to gain a better vantage point. Their conclusion was that the south did not offer much of a prospect for a route, although they also acknowledged that they saw very little. Like most of Tilman's books, this one is a pleasure to read. I find his dry humour refreshing. But for me, the biggest mystery in this book is how he could have been Tange, 10 miles away, and not visited Mustang! See also Cowles (1953).

Ullman, James Ramsey (Ed.)(1947). *Kingdom of Adventure: Everest*. New York: William Sloane Associates.

Sub-titled "A Chronicle of Man's Assault on the Earth's Highest Mountain Narrated by the Participants and with Accompanying Text by James Ramsey Ullman." This is a compilation of excerpts of writings by those involved with Everest up to and including the 1938 expedition, including the 1933 flights over the mountain. Writings from Blacker, Bruce, Finch, Houston, Howard-Bury, (R.L.G.) Irvine, Mallory, Noel, Norton, Odell, Ruttledge, Scott, Shipton, Smythe, Somervell, Tilman and Younghusband are included. These are accompanied by overviews and introductions by Ullman.

Unsworth, W. (1981/2000). *Everest - The Mountaineering History (Third Edition)*. Seattle: The Mountaineers.

This is the definitive history of Everest. It is up to date and documents the history of the mountain and its exploration from the beginning. It is a large book, 789 pages, but is fluently written, informative, and a great read for anyone interested in mountaineering or Everest. It is a monumental work and well worth reading from cover to cover. The first edition was 1981. The most recent is the 3rd edition, published in 2000.

Venables, Stephen (Ed.)(2003). *Everest: Summit of Achievement*. London: Simon & Schuster.

This is a coffee-table book that was produced by the Royal Geographical Society in London to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the first summit. As such, one of its strong points is the collection of photographs included, and the quality of reproduction. It includes a history of the mountain by John Keay, the area by Ed Douglas, the climbing history from 1921-53 by Venables, the Sherpas by Tashi and Judy Tenzing, and the future by Venables and Reinhold Messner. For me, perhaps the most interesting contribution is a list, including thumbnail photo and brief biography, of the expedition members (including key Sherpa) of the expeditions from 1921-53, compiled and written by Sue Thompson and Mike Westmacott. While containing a few errors and omissions, this is the only such index that I am aware of, and it contains some biographical information that I had not seen previously. To find a complete list of expedition members, see Hawley & Salisbury (2004). For a list of the expedition members up to 1953, see the Appendix to this current document.

Walker, General J.T. (1886a). Notes on Mont Everest. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, 8(2), February, 88-94.

This is the first in a series of three articles where Walker, the past Surveyor General of India, argued with Freshfield, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, that the local names "Gaurisankar" or "Devadhunga" were not legitimate, that there was no local name, so the name "Everest" should hold. See also Walker (1886b) and Freshfield (1886).

Walker, General J.T. (1886b). A Last Note on Mont Everest. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, 8(4), April, 257-263.

See Walker (1886a) and Freshfield (1886).

Ward, F.K. (1972). *In This Short Span: A Mountaineering Memoire*. London: Gollancz.

Ward was member of the British 1951 reconnaissance and medical officer on the 1953 first ascent. This book is essential reading for any student of Everest. It provides a history of each expedition to the mountain until 1953, including aerial, and his research and references are as thorough as they are outstanding. The book excels in two areas. It provides the best summary of the history of the evolution of high altitude medicine, and by far the best history of the exploration and mapping of the Everest region, that I have seen in the general literature.

Ward, Michael P. & Clark, P.K. (1992). Everest, 1951 Cartographic and Photographic Evidence of a New Route from Nepal. *The Geographical Journal*, 158(1), 47-56.

Reprinted in Ward (2003).

Ward, Michael P. (2003). *Everest: A Thousand Years of Exploration. A Record of Mountaineering, Geographical Exploration, Medical Research and Mapping*. Glasgow: The Ernest Press.

A very recent book on the history of Everest that has perhaps the best collection of maps as well as the best accounts of the early exploration of the mountain. A must have for the student of Everest by one of the members of the 1951 and 1953 expeditions.

Washburn, Bradford (1988). Mount Everest: Surveying the Third Pole. *National Geographic*, 174(5), November, 652-659.

This article describes the making of what is the most detailed map of the Everest region. A copy of the large-scale map is included with the issue, which also includes a number of other articles and photos on Nepal, Everest and the Himalaya. See also Hagen, *et al* (1963) and National Geographic (2003).

Wollaston, Mary (Ed.)(1933). *Letters and Diaries of A.F.R. Wollaston*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wollaston was a member of the British 1921 Everest expedition. He was a naturalist, mountaineer, and medical officer who had made a reputation as an explorer in New Guinea, Ruwenzori, before being invited to joint the team. He was murdered in 1930 by a Cambridge undergraduate, where he was a tutor. These letters and diaries were edited by his wife, Mary.

Wollaston, Nicolas (2003). *My Father Sandy*. London: Short Books.

This is a book of A.F.R. "Sandy" Wollaston by his son Nicholas, who was only 4 years old when Wollaston was murdered in 1930. It is a type of biography, but that of a son trying to discover a father that he did not know, rather than any kind of objective analysis. What it does do is provide yet another example of the extraordinary people who made up the early Everest expeditions (Wollaston was the medical officer on the 1921 reconnaissance expedition). Wollaston was by vocation a medical doctor, but in reality a naturalist who traveled widely in Europe, Asia, Africa and South America. For those wanting insights on Everest, there are few, and the book devotes only one chapter to the topic. On the other hand, one cannot not be struck by the contrast between our times and

Wollaston's, where the prime thing that a naturalist did was kill the things that one was interested in order to stuff them and bring them back for zoological collections - and the more rare the specimen, the better. These were different times, and this short book is worth the read. My only real frustration is not only the lack of an index (inexcusable in this age of computers), but also the lack of a table of contents.

Yakushi, Yoshimi, (Ed.)(1994). *Catalogue of the Himalayan Literature*. 3rd Edition. Tokyo: Hakusuisha Publishing Company.*

This is the ultimate bibliography of the Himalayan region. It specializes on climbing and exploration, and includes the surrounding ranges, as well as exploration in the general region. It includes over 9,000 entries, and covers books published in essentially all languages. It is expensive, and not so easy to find.

Younghusband, F. (1926). *The Epic of Mount Everest*. London: Edward Arnold & Co.

Younghusband was a pioneer in exploring the Karakoram region, and then went on to be the first chairman of the Mount Everest Committee of the Royal Geographic Society, which co-sponsored the early British expeditions to Everest. This book covers the British expeditions of 1921, 1922, and 1924, and is essentially a condensation of the books that resulted from these expeditions. One of the most interesting things in this book is the discussion on the use of supplemental oxygen, which was first used in 1922. Younghusband's views expressed in Chapter 9 are consistent with what are now considered "fair means."

The original hard cover edition is rather hard to find, and expensive when you do. However, the good news is that the paperback edition released in 2000 by Pan Books has all of the photos found in the original, and they are well reproduced. As well, there is a copy of the book on-line, along with images, at:

<http://www.mountain-portal.co.uk/text/everest/FYHEVRST.HTM>

Younghusband, Francis. (1936). *Everest: The Challenge*. London: Nelson.

Consistent with the title, this book is an analysis of the attempts on Everest to date. (The first edition covered the expeditions up to 1933, while the second edition, which is the one that I have, includes a chapter on the 1936 expedition as well.) However, it goes beyond that, and looks at the state of and prospects for, high altitude mountaineering in general. This includes a discussion of the experience of German expeditions on Kangchenjunga and Nanga Parbat, and the ascent of Kamet, led by Smythe. The better part of the second half of the book has to do with the spirit of mountaineering and the Himalaya, in general, rather than Everest, specifically.

APPENDIX: Members of British Expeditions to Everest 1921-1953

The following table captures the membership of the various British expeditions to Everest from 1921 until 1953. It does not include “unofficial” attempts on the mountain, such as those by Wilson or Denman, attempts by non-British teams, such as the Russians or Swiss in 1952, nor any of the aviation expeditions.

The table does include one expedition not to Everest, namely the 1952 expedition to Cho Oyu, as this was a critical to providing scientific information that made a major contribution to the British success on Everest the following year.

I believe that the list is complete with respect to the European participants. This is certainly not true as concerns Sherpa or other non-European members of expeditions. However, I have done my best to include some of the key non-Europeans, especially key people such as Tenzing Norgay and Ang Tharkey.

The table is largely ordered chronologically in terms of expedition, Expedition members are listed only with the first expedition in which they participated. For any year, those who participated in the most expeditions are listed first. While harder to find individual participants (since they are not listed alphabetically), I believe that the format used provides more insight as to the patterns of participation.

Finally, for brief biographies of most of the participants, see the chapter by Thompson and Westmacott in Venables (2003). While it has some errors and omissions, it is quite good. Finally, I have checked this list against both the Royal Geographical Society web page and the database of Elizabeth Hawley (Hawley & Salisbury, 2004). European’s whose names do not appear in one or the other appear in bold face. As well, I include a number of non-European members that do not appear in either, or appear in one or the other, but not for all expeditions that I cite. I believe, therefore, that this list is more complete than either, but still has significant room for improvement.

Name	21	22	24	33	35	36	38	51	52	53	Role	Comments
Bullock, Guy Henry	*										Climber	
Heron, Alexander	*										Surveyor	Surveyed area north of mountain
Macmillan												
Howard-Bury, Col. Charles	*										Leader	
Kenneth												
Kazi, Gyalzen	*	*	*								Interpreter '21; Sirdar '22 & '24	RGS does not mention participation or role in 24. Check.
Kellas, Dr. Alexander	*										Climber	Died during approach march at Kampa Dzong, 1921.
Khan, Abdul Jaili	*										Surveyor	
Mallory, George	*	*	*								Climber	Died on mountain, 1924.
Morshead, Maj. Henry	*	*									Surveyor	
Treise												
Raeburn, Harold	*										Climber	Leader. Became ill during approach march. Retired before reaching mountain.
Singh, Gujjar	*										Surveyor	
Singh, Turnubaj	*										Surveyor	
Thapa Lalbir Singh,	*										Surveyor	
Wangdi, Chheten	*										Translator	
Wheeler, Edward Oliver	*										Surveyor	Also filled in as climber.
Wollaston, 'Sandy' Alexander Frederick Richmond	*										Medical Officer	
Antarge Sherpa		*									Porter	Killed in avalanche en route to North Col, 1922
Bruce, Gen. Charles Granville		*	*								Leader	Became ill during approach march in 1924. Retired before reaching mountain. Leadership passed to
Bruce, John Geoffrey		*	*								Transportation Officer	Despite lack of previous experience, ended up climbing higher than most in 1922. Joined the 1924 expedition as a climber...
Crawford, Colin G.		*		*							Transportation officer	Bruce considered him useless as transport officer.
Finch, George Ingle		*									Climber	Selected for 1921 but rejected due to health. In charge of oxygen, 1922.
Lhakpa Sherpa		*									Porter	Killed in avalanche en route to North Col, 1922
Longstaff, Dr. Tom		*									Medical Officer & Naturalist	

Name	21	22	24	33	35	36	38	51	52	53	Role	Comments
Morris, C.J. (John)		*									Transportation Officer	
Narbu Sherpa		*									Porter	Killed in avalanche en route to North Col, 1922
Noel, Capt. John Baptist		*	*								(Cinema)photographer	Film in '24
Lucius												
Norton, Maj. Edward Felix		*	*								Climber/leader	Took over leadership in 1924 when Bruce withdrew due to illness. First person to use crampons on expedition. (check)
Pasang Sherpa		*									Porter	Killed in avalanche en route to North Col, 1922
Paul, B. Karma Sherpa		*	*	*	*	*	*				Translator	
Pemba Sherpa		*									Porter	Killed in avalanche en route to North Col, 1922
Sange Sherpa		*									Porter	Killed in avalanche en route to North Col, 1922
Somervell, Dr. Theodore		*	*								Climber	
Howard												
Strutt, Col. Edward Lisle		*									Deputy Leader	
Temba Sherpa		*									Porter	Killed in avalanche en route to North Col, 1922
Wakefield, Dr. Arthur		*									Climber	
William												
Beetham, Bentley			*								Climber	
Hazard, John de Vere			*								Climber	
Hingston, Maj. Richard			*								Medical Officer	
William George												
Irvine, Andy Comyn			*								Climber	Died on mountain, 1924.
Macdonald, John			*								Tibetan Translator	Not listed on RGS biography website or Hawley Database
Manbahadur Gurkha			*								HA Porter	Died of frostbite and pneumonia
Odell, Neil Ewart			*				*				Climber	
Shamsher Gurkha			*								Gurkha NCO	Died of stroke, related to altitude.
Shebbeare, Edward			*	*							Transportation officer	
Oswald												
Thapa, Harry Singh			*								Surveyor	
Tsering, Lhakpa			*								HA Porter	
Tshering, Ang			*	*							HA Porter	
Bhuta, Pasang			*	*	*	*					HA Porter	Tiger of 1933
Birmie, Eugene St. John				*							Transport Officer / Climber	

Name	21	22	24	33	35	36	38	51	52	53	Role	Comments
Boustead, John Edmond Hugh				*							Climber	
Brocklebank, Thomas Anthony				*							Climber	
Greene, Charles Raymond				*							Medical Officer / Climber	
Longland, John Laurence				*							Climber	
Maclean, William				*							2nd Medical Officer	
Ondi				*		*					HA Porter	
Rinzing				*	*	*					HA Porter	Tiger of 1933
Ruttledge, Hugh				*	*	*					Leader	
Shipton, Eric. Earle				*	*	*	*	*	*		Climber, Leader '35, '51, '52	
Smijth-Windham, William Russell				*		*					Signals Officer	
Smythe, Francis "Frank" Sydney				*		*	*				Climber	
Tharkay, Ang				*	*	*	*	*	*		HA Porter	RGS says 33, 35, 38 & 51. Check 36.
Tharkey, Tsering				*	*	*	*				HA Porter	
Thompson, E.C.				*							Signals Officer	not listed on RGS biography website.
Tsering, Da				*		*	*				HA Porter	Tiger of 1933
Wager, Lawrence Rickard Wager				*							Climber	
Wood-Johnson, George				*							Climber	
Wyn-Harris, Percy				*		*					Climber	
Bryant, Leslie Vickery				*	*	*					Climber	
Kempson, Edwin Garnett Home				*	*	*					Climber	
Norgay, Tenzing				*	*	*	*			*	Climber	Also with Denman (1947) and Spring and Fall Swiss expeditions (1952)
Spender, Michael				*							Surveyor	
Tensing, Sen				*	*			*			HA Porter	
Tilman, Harold William				*	*		*				Leader ('38)	
Warren, Dr. Charles B.M.				*	*	*	*				Medical Officer	

Name	21	22	24	33	35	36	38	51	52	53	Role	Comments
Wigram, Edmund Hugh Lewis					*	*					Climber	
Gavin, James Merricks Lewis					*						Climber	
Humphreys, Gordon Noel					*						Medical officer	
Nursang					*						Chief Sardar	
Oliver, Peter R.					*	*					Climber	
Sahi, Lachiman Singh					*						Assistant accountant	
Tewang					*						Sherpa orderly	to Rutledge
Tsering, Ang					*						Mess Orderly	
Lloyd, Peter						*					Climber	
Phuter, Ang						*		*			HA Porter	Brother of Ang Tharkey
Bahadur, Lieut. Chandra								*		*	Climber	In charge of oxygen, '53
Bourdillon, Tom								*	*	*	Geologist	From India / Not listed on RGS biography website or Hawley Database
Dutt, Dr.												
Hillary, Edmund								*	*	*	Climber	
Murray, William								*			Climber	
Hutchinson												
Nima Sherpa								X			HA Porter	
Pasang Sherpa								*			HA Porter	
Riddiford, Harold Earle								*	*		Climber	Left early in '52 due to sickness and Shiptons unwillingness to approach from Tibet
Ward, Michael Phelps								*		*	Climber / Medical officer	
Colledge, Ray								*				
Evans, Charles								*	*	*	Deputy Leader	
Gregory, Alfred								*	*	*	Photographer	
Lowe, Wallace George								*	*	*	Climber	
Pugh, Dr. Lewis Griffith								*	*	*	Scientist	Studies on high altitude medicine
Cresswell Evans												
Secord, Campbell									*		Climber	
Band, George Christopher										*	Climber	
Gombu, Nawang										*	HA Porter	Tenzing's nephew
Hurt, John										*	Leader	

Name	21	22	24	33	35	36	38	51	52	53	Role	Comments
Morris, James (Jan)										*	Reporter	Went up through Western Cwm, so included
Noyce, Wilfred Frank										*	Climber	
Nyima, Ang										*	HA Porter	Other than Tenzing, only Sherpa to carry to top camp. Also with Swiss Spring & Fall, 1952.
Stobart, Thomas Ralph										*	Cameraman	
Tenzing, Dawa										*	HA Porter	
Westmacott, Michael										*	Climber	Kept Khumbu Icefield open
Horatio												
Wylie, Charles Geoffrey										*	Climber/organising secretary	