the mood of the evening: '…although nothing was said when he sat down, (everybody was too surprised to say anything) when he got up to make a short speech about the paper he was very strongly applauded. It seemed to me that he had the sympathy of the room.'[18]

Herbert gained a different impression and wrote to Graham Brown: '…the general feeling after your statement was that it was a pity… that it should have been made.' [19] Later, he recalled that Graham Brown took his dismissal 'very badly' and 'for some years refused to speak to me or even to acknowledge my presence… [but] …suddenly one day out of the blue I had a little note from him saying that we were far too old friends to quarrel, and what about having lunch together? We lunched at the Athenaeum as though nothing had happened and our friendship was thus resumed.' [20]

Acknowledgement

We thank the Alpine Club and National Library of Scotland for permission to reproduce quotations from material in their possession.

Notes

a E S Herbert (1899-1973) fatefully introduced Graham Brown to F S Smythe at Montenvers in 1927.
b T S Blakeney (1903-1976) Salaried assistant secretary of the Club. In 1928, at Smythe's invitation, he had joined him and Graham Brown for an attempt on the Route Major.
c C R Greene (1901-1982) A lifelong friend of Smythe.
d G E Howard (1877-1956) Known for his wit and vice-president 1952-3.
e A H Lunn (1888-1974) 'had an almost mystical apprehension of eternal beauty as he contemplated his beloved mountains.' [21]
f D L Busk (1906-1990) Old Etonian and diplomat. Together with Smythe, he had formed the 'Young Shavers', a ginger group which sought to challenge the 'Old Stagers' and reform the Alpine Club.
g T A Brocklebank (1908-1984) Eton schoolmaster. A celebrated oarsman and a member of the 1933 expedition to Everest.
h C A Elliott (1888-1973) Headmaster and Provost of Eton – nicknamed 'The Emperor'. During the First World War he served in the Friends' Ambulance Unit with Young, who was best man at his wedding.
i W H Murray (1913-1996) was a passionate believer in 'Uplift'. His friend, Bill Mackenzie, thought that Murray 'saw an angel in every pitch'. [22]

References

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2. GB to T Blakeney 30 Sep 1948; NLS Acc 4338/12
3. GB to F Oughton 7 Oct 1948; NLS Acc 4338/12
4. GB to A Malcolm 11 Oct 1948; NLS Acc 4338/8
5. T Longstaff to GB 11 Feb 1950; NLS Acc 4338/9
6. A Lunn to GB 15 Aug 1949; NLS Acc 4338/9
7. G Winthrop Young to C Elliott 17 Feb 1950; NLS Acc 4338/9
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15. W H Murray to E Herbert 1 Dec 1953; AC Archives B59 (1)
16. D Busk to E Herbert 2 Jan 1954; A.C. Archives B59 (1)
17. E S Herbert to GB 28 Jan 1954; NLS Acc 4338/13
18. R W Lloyd to E Herbert 10 Mar 1954; AC Archives B59 (1)
19. E S Herbert to GB 8 Mar 1954; NLS. Acc 4338/13
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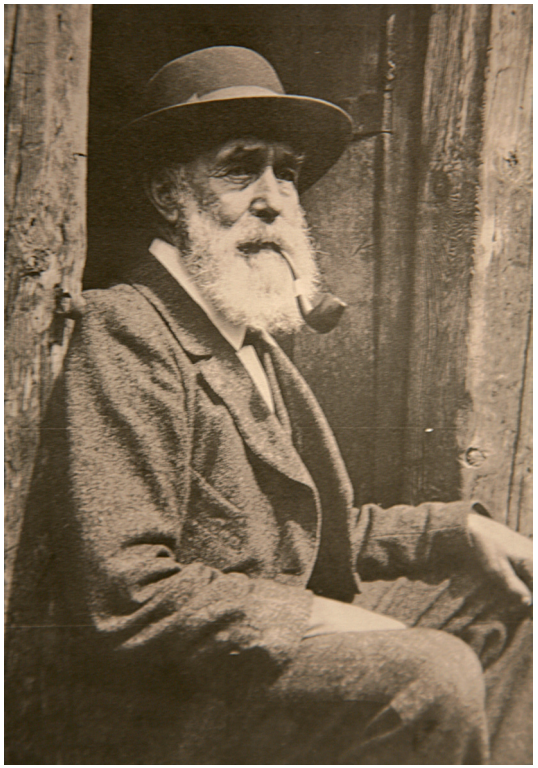
KOEN VAN LOOCKE

The Shaping of Nineteenth Century Guiding

The guides at Meiringen. Developing guiding standards was harder in less famous Alpine resorts. *(Meiringen Museum)*

Nowadays mountain tourism is immensely popular. Between 120 to 170 million people visit mountain regions around the world annually, taking up 15 to 20 percent of the global tourism market, and their number continues to grow.[1] Around the world, more than 6000 official mountain guides lead a fraction of these people in the mountains,[2] allowing people to climb objectives or explore regions they otherwise would not. In a mountain guide they find someone who is capable of leading them safely, hopefully in good company. This article examines how this profession began and developed throughout the nineteenth century, and looks at the influence of mountaineers, and Alpine associations, in particular the Alpine Club and Swiss Alpine Club (SAC). My focus will be on Chamonix in France (before 1792, and between 1815 and 1860 it was part of the kingdom Piedmont-Sardinia), and to a lesser degree Valais (Wallis) and the Bernese Oberland in Switzerland. The most important period is between the 1850s and the



Melchior Anderegg, among the greatest of Victorian guides. *(Meiringen Museum)*

1870s.

We are familiar with the idea that from early times until the nineteenth century, most people tried to avoid the Alps, believing them inhabited by dragons and demons. People only crossed the Alps when it was really necessary for trade or pilgrimage and they remained largely unexplored. Local peasants explored their surroundings, and occasionally climbed mountains, but they wrote almost nothing about their exploits and the Alps remained truly a terra incognita to foreigners.[3]

At the end of the eighteenth century, thanks to the Enlightenment and then the fashion for the sublime, more people started to find their way to the Alps, in this period mostly to Chamonix. Thanks to the era's scientists, poets, artists and philosophers, people changed their view of mountains. They began to appreciate mountains as places of beauty. Because of this new fascination for the mountains by wealthy and mostly upper middle class people, the Alps became a more dynamic region.

Most people who came to Chamonix wanted to take a look at the mighty glaciers and the stupendous scenery surrounding the village and, because tourists were not at all familiar with mountain hiking, they hired local peasants to guide them and it is here that the origins of the profession of mountain guiding is found. Local people now had an extra source of income and improved their precarious economic situation. During the first half of the nineteenth century, mountain tourism was concentrated in Chamonix. Other important places, mainly in the Bernese Oberland and Valais, would not catch up with Chamonix until the 1850s and 1860s.

Chamonix was visited by between two and three thousand tourists annually at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and so more and more local people could earn extra wages as mountain guides.[4] The more challenging tours provided were those towards or on glaciers. The hardest excursion was the ascent of Mont Blanc, first summited in 1786.[5] This ascent gave a

boost to tourism in Chamonix and would lead to the creation of the first professional organization for mountain guides: La Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix (CGC), in 1821.[6]

The main reason for establishing the first mountain guides association in the world was the success of mountain tourism but was triggered by an accident in 1820, known as the Hamel accident, on the slopes of Mont Blanc when three local guides perished. The accident made it clear that there was an urgent need for clear rules about who was able to act as a mountain guide, a mule driver or a porter, and who was not qualified for any of those tasks. Elsewhere it would take at least until the 1850s and 1860s before similar rules were introduced.

Besides its qualifications, the CGC also had some important rules. Best known was the *tour de role*, a rotation system in which all guides had the same opportunity to guide on different excursions. Furthermore, the CGC decided the number of guides a tourist was obliged to hire, and the rates of all excursions they offered were fixed. Thanks to this rotation system, each guide had the same opportunities to guide on financially more attractive trips. When tourists came to Chamonix, they could not choose a guide or decide how many guides they wanted. It was the CGC who assigned him or her one or more guides, depending on the complexity of their trip.[7] Finally, the CGC had a monopoly in the Chamonix-Mont Blanc region on mountain guiding. Foreign guides were not allowed to guide people within this region.

Although in this period the first steps were taken towards a more professional approach to mountain guiding, until the middle of the nineteenth century it was still not possible to speak of a true professionalism. Mountain guides remained farmers or herdsmen who occasionally guided tourists on smaller mountains, glaciers or on hiking trips. Even the guides who served in the CGC were not full-time guides. They spent only a small, albeit financially important amount of time in the mountains guiding tourists. And because they did not spend much time climbing, they did not feel the need to improve themselves much, and therefore their climbing abilities remained mediocre. It would take until the 1860s for this situation to change.

From the 1850s onwards more mountaineers came to the Alps to climb successfully almost all the still unclimbed peaks. For several reasons, between 1855 and 1865, British mountaineers took a dominant position in the Western Alps (Table 1 and 2).[8] This inflow of mountaineers would have some major consequences on mountaineering in general, but more specifically, they had a large influence on the profession of mountain guides.

First of all, mountaineers wanting to climb new peaks persuaded some mountain guides to improve themselves and to develop their climbing capacities. In order to keep guiding these mountaineers, many guides had to start climbing on a level much higher than before. If they did not, they risked losing their clients. The establishment of the AC in 1857 also influenced the professionalisation of mountain guiding, albeit rather indirectly.

The AC was the first mountaineering association, and though the Club was not directly linked to guiding, it was the example for other Alpine associations founded in the decades after 1857.[9] Unlike the AC, these new clubs actually were linked to mountain guiding.[10]

Gradually they started to organize and professionalise mountain guiding, by organizing courses to test the qualities of guides and establishing official mountain guide qualifications and certificates, by handing over *Führerbücher* to licensed guides as a way to check on their progress, drafting rules of conduct and offering insurance to guides.[11] Insurance was first implemented by the CGC to support injured guides or the families of dead guides. Later, Alpine associations would offer this kind of insurance to mountain guides. The idea, however, was not an immediate success, as many guides remained uninsured. In Switzerland only around one hundred guides were insured in the 1870s, and not more than four hundred towards the end of the century. Furthermore, the compensation insured guides received was often not sufficient, and most guides, in case of an accident, depended on charity from mountaineers and Alpine associations.[12] This would only change rapidly after the establishment of mountain guides associations at the end of the century.

In Switzerland, cantonal authorities were to a large extent responsible for the organization and control of mountain guides.[13] Regulations were first implemented in Bern in 1856, in Valais in 1857 and these were followed by other cantons.[14] SAC, after its establishment in 1863, took some responsibilities towards mountain guides, offering mountain guide courses, through its sections, and trying to get as many guides as possible insured.[15]

Only from the 1870s onwards were local mountain guides associations established in the Alps. It would take until the beginning of the twentieth century before regional or cantonal mountain guides associations were established.[16] One of their main purposes, besides improving and promoting mountain guiding, was – and is – to look after the interests of the affiliated guides. The interests of Alpine associations and those of mountain guides did not always correspond with each other. By organising themselves, mountain guides were better able to look after their own interests.[17]

The AC was not located within the Alps, and therefore had no official connection with guiding, which meant the Club could only influence it indirectly, by collaborating with other Alpine associations, not least the SAC, and regional authorities. The AC had another impact on the professionalisation of mountain guiding; it was thanks to such associations that mountaineering became better known and more widely accepted. Although the AC was only a small association (Table 3), it had a major impact on the number of British people travelling to the Alps. Many members of the AC were enthusiastic writers producing books and journals about the Alps, which gave many people across Europe the stimulus to go there.[18] Simultaneously, these writings contributed to the image of mountaineering as something dominated by the British, even though there were many tourists of other nationalities as well. In Chamonix the number of tourists rose from c1500 in 1800 to 3000 in 1830, and 12,000 in 1865.[19] A look at numbers of members of different Alpine associations confirms the increasing flow of tourists and mountaineers to the Alps (table 3). This increase gave mountain guiding a boost.[20] However, at first this development did not have a positive effect on the quality of mountain guiding.[21]

In the 1850s and 1860s, there was a considerable gap between the level of guiding in well-known districts like Zermatt, Grindelwald, or Chamonix and lesser-known districts like the Dauphiné, the Val d'Hérens or the Val d'Aosta. The reason for the early success of the former villages can to a large extent be traced back to their surroundings. The presence of Mont Blanc, the Matterhorn or the massif of the Wetterhorn, Eiger and Jungfrau gave these villages a huge advantage over others. These mountains, because of their height, distinct shape and majesty attracted more tourists than other villages in the Alps could hope for. As more tourists went to these districts, they needed to develop at a faster rate than other districts, no matter how beautiful or pristine these were and so guiding developed more slowly in less visited regions.

Criticism of guides from less developed districts in the Alps was not exceptional. Mid nineteenth century travel stories, guidebooks or diaries of mountaineers often refer to the low quality of tourism and mountain guiding.[22] In time, due to the efforts of the alpine associations and the influx of tourists this would change gradually. There was also frequent complaining about the CGC. The reasons can be found in their rules, with which many mountaineers and Alpine associations did not agree.[23] First, there was the rotation system. One great advantage was that it created equality among mountain guides. It had, however, several disadvantages. When mountaineers wanted to make more difficult excursions, they wanted someone they knew and trusted, or at least someone they had heard of. In Chamonix this was not possible; the CGC would assign one or more guides to the mountaineer.[24] The system often created incompetent guides, or guides were assigned to excursions they were not suited for. Not many guides were completely inept, but they often lacked the required skills on certain types of terrain. Some guides preferred climbing on ice or snow, while others preferred rocks. Due to the rotation system, guides could not choose their clients or their excursions. If everyone had the same opportunities to guide on tougher or easier jobs, why would one invest in trying to improve? Moreover, less competent guides were sometimes assigned to difficult climbs, endangering themselves, their clients and the image of mountain guiding in general. [25]

These shortcomings became increasingly noticeable.[26] In the 1870s, under pressure from both the AC and SAC, which even took this issue – among others – to the regional government in Annecy and the French ministry of the interior, the CGC would eventually, albeit reluctantly, abolish this rotation system, at least partially, in 1879: 'travellers are free in the choice of their guides; when they don't have a preference, guides will offer their services based on the rotation system.'[27] In the 1860s, there

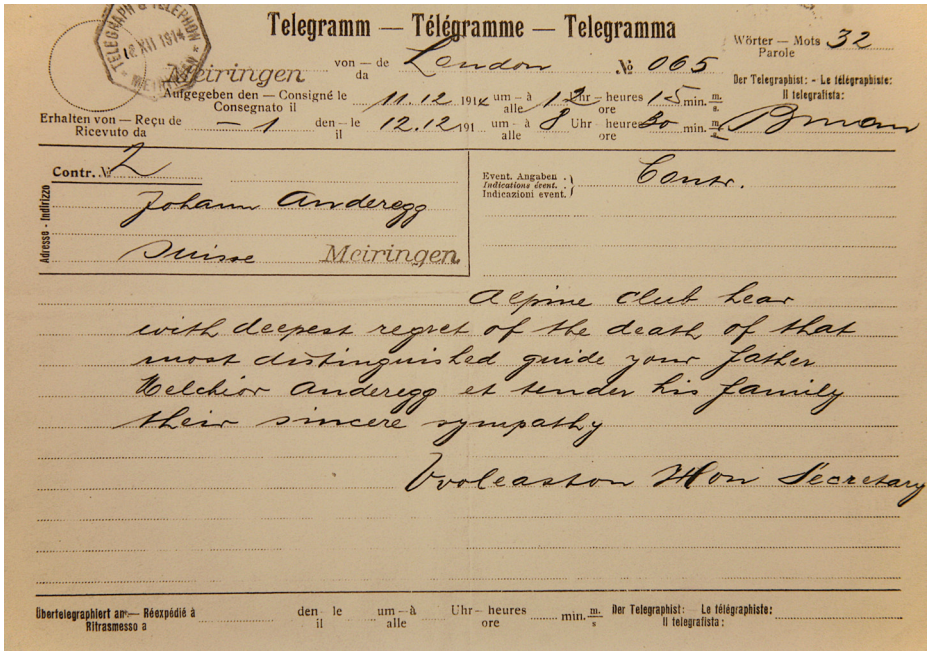
were already some exceptions to this rule. Experienced mountaineers and members of the AC could choose their guides and the number they considered necessary.[28]

Another source of frustration for many mountaineers, guides and Alpine associations was the monopoly on mountain guiding of the CGC around Chamonix. Before the 1860s, guides who were not affiliated with the CGC were not allowed to guide anyone in the region. Mountaineers who wanted to scale mountains in this region with foreign guides were not allowed and they were obliged to hire local guides. Only later was this rule made less strict; after around 1860 foreign guides were allowed, although often reluctantly.[29]

An extra reason for contesting this monopoly was that the CGC offered only a small, not very challenging number of excursions and climbs. From the 1850s onwards, more mountaineers were climbing harder mountains; this rule made it impossible to climb such mountains around Chamonix. The growing influx of tourists in Chamonix and elsewhere from the 1850s onwards also had an effect.[30] An increased demand for mountain guides combined with lax admission requirements only intensified existing problems concerning the quality of mountain guiding in Chamonix. In the 1870s, the AC claimed several Chamonix guides did not meet the requirements to become a mountain guide, but still became one, even showing tourists false certificates of ascents they had supposedly made. After these allegations, CGC regulations were tightened.[31] An important consequence of all this was that the lead in guiding the CGC had established in earlier years was now diminishing. Thanks to the efforts of the SAC and the AC, alterations were made to the, often outdated, regulations of the CGC.[32] From then on relations between the CGC, and the AC and SAC improved considerably.

The danger of hiring incompetent guides did not only exist in Chamonix. Most districts in the Alps had bad or incompetent guides, or even impostors. To avert the danger of hiring incompetent guides, measures were taken by Alpine associations and local authorities. Guide courses and certificates and also *Führerbücher* were meant to fight these problems. The latter were booklets, kept by mountain guides, in which clients had to write down their experiences with their guides. When a client wanted to hire a guide, he could consult these booklets before he decided whether this particular guide had the right capabilities for his ambitions. Guides were obliged to have them always to hand.[33] These booklets made it increasingly difficult for incompetent guides or impostors to keep guiding tourists which, in time, led to a general improvement of guiding standards.

In Britain, the AC tried to do the same by making lists of guides, in which members could write down their experiences with a particular mountain guide.[34] Even though most of these descriptions were very stereotypical, often praising the courage or strength of mountain guides, comments from fellow mountaineers could prevent climbers or tourists from hiring incompetent guides as well as help guides to make a career.


Telegramm — Télégramme — Telegramma

Wörter — Mots Parole 32

Meiringen von — de da London № 065

Der Telegraphist: - Le télégraphiste: Il telegrafista:

Aufgegeben den — Consigné le Consegnato il 11.12.1914 um — à alle 1 Uhr — heures ore 15 min. m. s

Erhalten von — Reçu de Ricevuto da — 1 den — le il 12.12.191 um — à alle 8 Uhr — heures ore 30 min. m. s

Contr. № 2

Adresse - Indirizzo: Johann Anderegg Suisse Meiringen

Event. Angaben / Indications évent. / Indicazioni event.: Contr.

Alpine Club hear with deepest regret of the death of that most distinguished guide your father Melchior Anderegg et tender his family their sincere sympathy

Woolleaston Hon Secretary

Übertelegraphiert an — Réexpédié à Ritrasmesso a

den le il um — à alle Uhr — heures ore min. m. s Der Telegraphist: Le télégraphiste: Il telegrafista:

The Alpine Club's telegram to Anderegg's son following Melchior's death in 1914. In 2014 the Club was present at the unveiling of a new statue of Anderegg and his client Leslie Stephen. *(Meiringen Museum)*

Despite the flaws and criticism of the CGC one should not forget its importance and influence on mountain guiding. It was the first of its kind and had a major impact on the development of the profession. In addition, problems with incompetent guides were not restricted to Chamonix. On the contrary, compared to many other districts in the Alps, the average mountain guide at Chamonix was better skilled.

Furthermore, most tourists who came to Chamonix did not encounter any problems with their guides, or with the rules of the CGC.[35] Criticism came more often from experienced mountaineers, in whose opinion guides needed to excel in their profession. Many guides did not meet the high requirements these experienced mountaineers set, even though they were perfectly capable of leading tourists on less challenging tours. Elite mountaineers were, however, most often heard, and their criticism often overshadowed the positive remarks given by clients who were less demanding. This has led to an overly negative view of the CGC.

There was an enormous gap between the guides hired by tourists at the end of the eighteenth century and the mountain guides who were active between the 1860s and 1880s. These first guides were more peasants than guides, with only limited mountaineering skills. Only around the middle of the nineteenth century did things started to change as more and more tourists started visiting the Alps. The subsequent demand for mountain guides

made it clear there was a need to find a way to guarantee that mountain guides had the appropriate skills and capacities to guide tourists and mountaineers in the mountains.

With the establishment of Alpine associations in the 1860s, after the example of the AC, guiding professionalism received a boost, with courses, certificates and *Führerbücher*. They set rates for excursions as well as rules of conduct for guides. They reported mischief and fraud and criticised the policy of certain mountain guides associations to improve their services. The AC, which is often neglected in regard to mountain guiding, influenced mountain guiding in an indirect way. They often urged or assisted other Alpine associations in dealing with issues they thought needed improvement.

The AC's pressure in reshaping the CGC in the 1860s and 1870s is a perfect example of how the Club altered the outlook of mountain guiding. Not only the Alpine associations and local or regional governments influenced this development, but mountaineers themselves, by their numbers or by their skills and urge to explore the Alps. This process continued until the end of the nineteenth century, when a number of important changes impacted on guiding: the growing number of guideless climbers, which was 'not done' beforehand;[36] the decline of long engagements, when before engagements of several weeks were not exceptional; and the beginning of skiing, which made it possible for the first time to be a mountain guide all year round. These and other changes altered the outlook of mountain guiding profoundly.

Table 1. Ascents on Mont Blanc between 1786 and 1878 by nationality

Nationality	Number of mountaineers	Percentage
British (& Irish)	448	57.4
French	132	16.9
German	36	4.6
American	76	9.7
Swiss	39	5
Italian	19	2.4
Others*	31	4
Total	781**	100

* Spain, Belgium, Poland, Sweden, Russia, Austria, Netherlands and Norway.
** Mont Blanc was climbed 629 times by 781 mountaineers in this period. These numbers do not bring into account the number of guides who climbed Mont Blanc with their clients.
Source: La Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix.

Table 2. Number of tourists in Chamonix by nationality in 1865

Nationality	Number of tourists	Percentage
British (and Irish)	3669	31.1
American	3004	25.5
French	2747	23.3
German	1097	9.3
Italian	214	1.8
Belgian	227	1.9
Others*	831	7.1
Total	11789	100

* Russia (173), Switzerland (119), Netherlands (108), Spain (43), Turkey (4), India (2), Not Classified (382). Source: Paul Guichonnet, 'La Saison Touristique de 1865 à Chamonix', *Revue de géographie alpine* **32**, no. 4 (1944): 604-605.

Table 3. Members of different European alpine associations

Year	SAC	CAF	DAV*	ÖAV*	CAI	AC
1863	257			643	200 (1864)	158 (1861)
1870	1191		1070	1400	400	298 (1871)
1874	1988	607	3682		2011	361 (1875)
1878	2106	2535	7600		3459	
1883	2560	4688	11086		3683	
1888	2831	5497	21661		4409	509 (1891)
1896	4992	5868	38442		4213	611 (1901)
2013	142787	88000	1037922	470000	311641	1529

* The *Deutscher Alpenverein* and *Österreichischer Alpenverein* merged in 1874 to form the *Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein* (DuÖAV). After the Second World War DuÖAV split up again in to the Austrian Alpine Club (ÖAV) and German Alpine Club (DAV). Sources: Jahrbuch der Schweizer Alpenclub, Annuaire du Club Alpin Français, The Alpine Journal, Zeitschrift des Deutschen und des Osterreichischen Alpenvereins, William AB Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, London (1908), p440.

Notes

1. Data according to UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) and ICIMOD (International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development). Ester Kruk, *Two Decades of Mountain Tourism in ICIMOD*, 1989-2009 (2010)
2. In 2012 there were 5986 official IFMGA (International Federation of Mountain Guides Associations) guides. IFMGA 'is the only organisation that represents the profession of the mountain guides worldwide.' There are, however, several national mountain guides associations around the world, which are not affiliated with the IFMGA. Worldwide, consequently, there are more mountain guides than those 5986, most of which are active in Europe and North America. International Federation of Mountain Guides (2012), 2.2
3. Reto Furter, Urbanisierung – Transitverkehr – Bädetourismus – Alpinismus. Indikatoren zum Hintergrund des Alpendiskurses 15. Bis 19. Jahrhundert, Chur (2005), pp147-148.

4. Fabrizio Bartaletti, 'What Role Do the Alps Play Within World Tourism?' (2008). http://alpsknowhow.cipra.org/background_topics/alps_and_tourism/alps_and_tourism_chapter_introduction.html (accessed 15 February 2014)
5. First summited by Dr Michel-Gabriel Paccard and Jacques Balmat, two local people from Chamonix (the latter hired by Horace Bénédict de Saussure from Geneva). The following year, de Saussure himself ascended Mont Blanc. Horace-Bénédict De Saussure, *Voyages Dans les Alpes: Précédes d'un Essai Sur l'Histoire Naturelle des Environs de Genève* vol 4 (Neuchâtel, 1803), p474.
6. Created in 1821 and ratified by the Sardinian Government in 1823.
7. 'Règlement des guides de Chamonix,' Bulletin du C.A.F. 2 (1879): pp59-62; John Ball, *A guide to the Western Alps* (London, 1866), p194.
8. Between 1851 and 1900 around 1000 mountains were first ascended in the Alps. Approximately 350 of those were completed by British climbers, 100 between 1861 and 1867. Between 1854 and 1865, the Golden Age of mountaineering, British mountaineers climbed 31 4000m peaks, compared to only four by other nationalities. Furter, Urbanisierung – Transitverkehr – Bädetourismus – Alpinismus , pp109-148; Daniel Anker, Come nacque l'alpinismo. Dall'esplorazione delle Alpi alla fondazione dei Club Alpini (1786–1874): Erstbesteigungen in den Schweizer Alpen 1740-1850 (Varallo, 2014), pp1-3; Peter H. Hansen, 'Albert Smith, the AC, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain,' *The Journal of British Studies* 34, no. 3 (July, 1995): pp300-324.
9. Letters relating to formation of AC: 1857-1858, AC Archives, 1922/B65. In 1862 the Österreichischer Alpenverein, in 1863 the Schweizer Alpen-club /Club Alpin Suisse (SAC/CAS) , also in 1863 the Club Alpino Italiano (CAI), the Deutscher Alpenverein (DAV) in 1869 and the Club Alpin Français (CAF) in 1874.
10. Direction Centrale, 'Rapport Annuel de la Direction Centrale,' Annuaire du Club Alpin Français 1 (1875): pp483-485; M Ulrich, 'Statuten des Schweizer Alpenclub,' *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 6 (1870): p565.
11. Rules of conduct were drafted for guides as well as tourists in order to protect both against misbehaviour. These rules are a clear indicator of the social differences that often existed between mostly upper middle-class mountaineers and lower class guides: Peter H Hansen, 'Albert Smith, the AC, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain,' *The Journal of British Studies* 34, no 3 (July, 1995): p310; C S Bennet, *The Golden Age of Mountaineering*: 1850-1870, 1950, 1922/C146, AC Archives; Rousseau, Règlement et Tarif de la Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix , pp5-26; Abel Lemercier, 'Le Règlement des Guides de Chamonix,' *Bulletin du CAF* 8 (1885): pp291-293; *Gesetz, Reglement & Tarif für den Fürherdienst im Canton Valais* , pp3-22; Andrea Hungerbühler, 'Vom 'Ignoranten' zum Idealschweizer,' in *Helvetia Club: 150 Jahre Schweizer Alpen-Club SAC*, ed Daniel Anker (Bern, 2013): pp82-85.
12. Gidl, Die Städter Entdecken die Alpen, 166; H, 'Personation of a Guide,' *Alpine Journal* 1 (1864): pp44-45; Douglas W Freshfield, 'Alpine Notes: Insurance for guides,'; *Alpine Journal* 9 (1880): p49; William A B Coolidge, 'Alpine Notes,' *Alpine Journal* 10 (1882): pp278-279; *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub*, vol. 11-7 p33, 1875-1897; J E Grob, 'Chronik,' *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 22 (1887): p495; Douglas W. Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes: Insurance for guides,' p49.
13. Gesetz, Reglement & Tarif für den Führerdienst im Canton Valais, Article 1; Rousseau, Règlement et Tarif de la Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix, p24 ; Rousseau, Règlement et Tarif de la Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix , pp13-14; Gesetz, Reglement & Tarif für den Führerdienst im Canton Valais, Article 17; p22.
14. Andrea Hungerbühler, *Könige der Alpen: Zur Kultur des Bergführeberufs* (Bielefield, 2013), p76.
15. M Ulrich, 'Chronik,' *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 6 (1870): p547; M Ulrich, 'Statuten des Schweizer Alpenclub,' p565; J E Grob, 'Chronik,' *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 20 (1884): pp549-550; J E Grob, 'Chronik,' *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 23 (1888): p646.
16. F.A. Monnier, 'Rapport du Comité Central,' *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 32 (1897) : 402.; Hungerbühler, *Könige der Alpen*, pp84-89: In Switzerland, cantonal associations were only established at the beginning of the twentieth century in Valais, Bern, Graubunden, and Uri (founded between 1904 and 1909). A national mountain guides association Schweizer Bergführer Verband (SBV) was established in 1942, followed by the Syndicat National des Guides de Montagne (SNGM) in France in 1946. Similar associations were founded in 1966 in Austria Verband der Österreichischen Berg- und Schiführer (VÖBS), and in 1968 in Germany Verband Deutscher Berg- und Skifuührer (VDBS).
17. Hungerbühler, *Könige der Alpen*, p442.
18. Douglas W Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes,' *Alpine Journal* 6 (1874): p312.
19. Of which one in three was British or Irish. Guichonnet, 'La Saison Touristique de 1865 à Chamonix,' pp603-604.
20. In Chamonix, the number of guides rose from 46 in 1821 to 156 in 1845, to 298 in 1898. In Switzerland we can assume a similar increase in the number of mountain guides. This can be deduced from the growing number of tourists in the Alps and members of the different Alpine associations during the second half of the nineteenth century, as well as the increasing number of insured mountain guides in Switzerland. Due to the lack of guides associations in the Alps during the nineteenth century, hardly any official numbers were registered before the turn of the century, which makes it very difficult to give an exact number.
21. Karl Baedeker, *Switzerland with the Neighbouring Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy and the Adjacent Districts of Piedmont, Lombardy and the Tyrol*. Handbook for Travellers, London, (1863), XXIX.
22. Thomas G Bonney, *The Alpine Regions of Switzerland*, Cambridge (1868), p177; Leslie Stephen, *The Playground of Europe* (1871); Alfred Wills, *Wandering Among the High Alps* London, (1858), p85.
23. Freshfield (ed.), 'Alpine Notes' (1874), p312.
24. Ronald W Clark, *The Early Alpine Guides*, London (1949), p74.
25. Clark, *The Early Alpine Guides*, p79; Freshfield, 'Alpine Notes,' (1874): p312.
26. Chaubet, *Histoire de la Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix* , pp76-79; Centralcomité des Schweizer Alpenclub, 'Elfter Geschäftsbericht des Centralcomité des Schweizer Alpenclub,' pp664-665; Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes' (1874), p314.
27. M Ulrich, 'Die Sektionen', *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 6 (1870): pp553-554; Centralcomité des Schweizer Alpenclub, 'Elfter Geschäftsbericht des Centralcomité des Schweizer Alpenclub', *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 10 (1875): pp664-665; Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes' (1874), p311; Douglas W Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes,' *Alpine Journal* 7 (1876): pp42-43; 'Règlement des Guides de Chamonix,' pp59-62; Douglas W Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes,' *Alpine Journal* 9 (1880): p308; Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes' (1876), p42.
28. During the 1870s, the AC and SAC suggested an division of mountain guides in different classes to tackle this issue. This categorisation would never be implemented. The abolition of the rotation system, as well as better and stricter courses to become a guide made this categorisation redundant. Ball, *A Guide to the Western Alps*, p194; Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes' (1874), pp306-315.
29. Trevor Braham, *When the Alps Cast Their Spell: Mountaineers of the Alpine Golden Age* (Glasgow, 2004), p150.
30. Guichonnet, *La Saison Touristique de 1865 à Chamonix*, pp603-608; Baedeker, Switzerland with the Neighbouring Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy and the Adjacent Districts of Piedmont, Lombardy and the Tyrol, XXIX.
31. Chaubet, *Histoire de la Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix* , pp77-78; Freshfield, 'Alpine Notes' (1874), p311.
32. Douglas W Freshfield (ed), 'Alpine Notes' (1880), p308; 'Règlement des guides de Chamonix', pp59-62.
33. *Gesetz, Reglement & Tarif für den Fürherdienst im Canton Valais*, p1
34. List of Guides, c1866, AC Archives, 1922/C88; A Roth, 'Gletscherfuührer'; *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 1 (1864): pp572-581; SAC likewise published in its annual journal a non-exhaustive list of guides, classified by district, with the ascents accomplished during the last year. SAC, 'Gletscherführer'; *Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclub* 2 (1865): pp529-542.
35. Ball, *A Guide to the Western Alps*, pp193-194.
36. Tyndall, *New Fragments*, London, (1892), p457; William A B Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, London, (1908), p327; Braham, *When the Alps Cast their Spell*, p168.