

## Critical Views

In the same series

*The New Museology*  
edited by Peter Vergo

*Renaissance Bodies*  
edited by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn

*Modernism in Design*  
edited by Paul Greenhalgh

*Interpreting Contemporary Art*  
edited by Stephen Bann and William Allen

*The Portrait in Photography*  
edited by Graham Clarke

*Utopias and the Millennium*  
edited by Krishan Kumar and Stephen Bann

*The Cultures of Collecting*  
edited by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal

*Boundaries in China*  
edited by John Hay

*Frankenstein, Creation and Monstrosity*  
edited by Stephen Bann

*A New Philosophy of history*  
edited by Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner

*Parisian Fields*  
edited by Michael Sheringham

*Sculpture and Its Reproductions*  
edited by Anthony Hughes and Erich Ranfft

# VOYAGES AND VISIONS

*Towards a Cultural History of Travel*

Edited by  
Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés



REAKTION BOOKS

## *ad amicitiam*

Published by Reaktion Books Ltd  
11 Rathbone Place, London W1P 1DE, UK

First published 1999

Copyright © Reaktion Books 1999

All rights reserved. No part of this publication  
may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or  
transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic,  
mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise,  
without the prior permission of the publishers.

Series design by Humphrey Stone  
Printed and bound in Great Britain by  
Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data:

Voyages and visions : towards a cultural history of travel.  
– (Critical views)  
1. Travel 2. Voyages and travels  
1. Elsner, Jas 11. Rubies, Joan-Pau  
910

ISBN 1 86189 020 6

## *Contents*

Notes on the Editors and Contributors	vi
Introduction <i>Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés</i>	1
1 From Mt Ventoux to Mt Masaya: The Rise and Fall of Subjectivity in Early Modern Travel Narrative <i>Jesús Carrillo</i>	57
2 Futility in the New World: Narratives of Travel in Sixteenth-Century America <i>Joan-Pau Rubiés</i>	74
3 'Rubbing up against others': Montaigne on Pilgrimage <i>Wes Williams</i>	101
4 The Philosopher as Traveller: Bernier's Orient <i>Peter Burke</i>	124
5 Looking for Virgil's Tomb: The End of the Grand Tour and the Cosmopolitan Ideal in Europe <i>Melissa Calaresu</i>	138
6 Precision and Curiosity in Scientific Travel: James Rennell and the Orientalist Geography of the New Imperial Age (1760–1830) <i>Michael T. Bravo</i>	162
7 'The Ghost in Chapultepec': Fanny Calderón de la Barca, William Prescott and Nineteenth-Century Mexican Travel Accounts <i>Nigel Leask</i>	184
8 Partners: Guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s–1950s <i>Peter H. Hansen</i>	210
9 The European Journey in Postwar American Fiction and Film <i>Kasia Boddy</i>	232
10 <i>Per ardua ad astra</i> : Authorial Choice and the Narrative of Interstellar Travel <i>Edward James</i>	252
References	272
Select Bibliography	328
Acknowledgements	330
Photographic Acknowledgements	331
Index	332

## *Partners: Guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s–1950s*

PETER H. HANSEN

Victorian mountaineers described their first ascents as the ‘conquest’ of the Alps. Leslie Stephen, a man of letters and the father of Virginia Woolf, made the first ascent of the Schreckhorn in 1861 because ‘so long as Murray and Baedeker describe its wonders for the benefit of successive generations of tourists, its first conqueror may be carried down to posterity by clinging to its skirts’.<sup>1</sup> After nearly all the Alps were climbed in what later became known as the ‘Golden Age’ of mountaineering, Stephen predicted in 1868 that ‘the pleasure of discovery in the Alps will be reckoned amongst extinct amusements’.

When there is a railroad to Timbuctoo, and another through the central regions of Asia, our great-great-grandchildren will feel on a large scale the same regret for the old days, when the earth contained an apparently inexhaustible expanse of unknown regions, that the Alpine traveller now feels on a very diminutive scale.

Stephen suggested ‘travelling will not cease’, even though ‘the glories of Columbus or of Livingstone will be no longer amongst the possible objects of ambition’.<sup>2</sup>

Like other writers in the nineteenth century, Stephen distinguished his ‘travel’ from ordinary ‘tourism’.<sup>3</sup> To make this distinction, he described his travelling as a form of discovery and exploration, and his climbing as a form of conquest. But who was doing the conquering? Like ‘travel’ and ‘exploration’ in earlier periods or in other parts of the world, British climbers did not so much discover mountain summits as appropriate local knowledge to pursue goals which had meaning only in relation to their discourses of discovery. Local guides did the lion’s share of the work by finding paths, carrying loads or cutting steps in the ice. Leslie Stephen was honest enough to admit how much he owed his guides.

I utterly repudiate the doctrine that Alpine travellers are or ought to be the heroes of Alpine adventures. The true way at least to describe all my Alpine ascents is that Michel or Anderegg or Lauener succeeded in performing a feat requiring skill, strength, and courage, the difficulty of which was much increased by the difficulty of taking with him his knapsack and his employer.<sup>4</sup>

Although many nineteenth-century mountaineers later climbed without guides in the Alps, they usually took Alpine guides with them when they travelled outside Europe. From the 1920s, however, British climbers in the Himalayas left behind their Swiss guides and hired local porters who later became famous climbers, the Sherpas.<sup>5</sup>

When Tenzing Norgay, a Sherpa, and Edmund Hillary, a New Zealand bee-keeper, reached the summit of Mount Everest in 1953, the ‘conquest’ of Everest was widely celebrated around the world. Since the news was released on the day of Queen Elizabeth II’s coronation, the members of the British expedition were hailed as conquering heroes on their return to London. But the British were not the only ones to be so celebrated. Tenzing was received as a national hero in Nepal and India, and Hillary became an icon of a new national identity in New Zealand.<sup>6</sup> These multiple celebrations of the ‘conquest’ of Everest suggest the extent to which mountain climbing was made possible by the reciprocal relationship and dynamic dialogue between guides and climbers. From Stephen’s language of ‘conquest’ and warm testimonial for his guides, to competing versions of the ‘conquest’ of Everest, climbers and guides in the Alps and Himalayas have been engaged in a partnership that enabled them both to reach the top. As Tenzing noted of his climb with Hillary: ‘We were not leader and led. We were partners’.<sup>7</sup>

The partnership between climbers and guides exemplifies some of the dilemmas of ‘travel’ and ‘tourism’ since the nineteenth century. While travel has always confronted travellers with ‘others’, it has also created sites of transcultural exchange between hosts and guests.<sup>8</sup> The relationship British climbers enjoyed with their Alpine guides or Himalayan Sherpas sometimes resembled what Victor Turner has called ‘communitas’, a sense of egalitarian harmony and bonding that takes place between individuals who escape the social hierarchies of everyday life. On these occasions, many climbers – and even some of their guides or Sherpas – appear to be escaping themselves to become themselves, escaping the routines of home to construct new identities in nature and among the ‘other’. On other occasions, however, mountaineering reinforced social hierarchies or exposed a range of competing discourses that could not be easily reconciled.<sup>9</sup> Stephen’s language of ‘conquest’, for example,

emphasized the privilege of his position and remained in tension with his intimate experiences with his guides.

This essay discusses two periods of dialogue and exchange in the Alps and Himalayas. Beginning in the 1850s, British men from the professional middle classes climbed the Alps to represent their masculinity and British power at a time when each appeared to be threatened. These climbers and Alpine guides enjoyed a warm friendship that became more formal and distant during the nineteenth century as mountaineers regulated the guides and tourists overran the Alps. In the Himalayas in the twentieth century, the paternalism that British climbers initially showed towards their Sherpa porters moved in the opposite direction, as coolies became colleagues. The divergent paths that climbers took with guides or Sherpas may be explained in part by very different political contexts: the Alps of European state-building and nationalism enabled Alpine guides to assert their own agency much earlier than Sherpas living on the border of the British Raj in the Himalayas. As a result, mountaineers could not experience with Sherpas the same relationship that they had once enjoyed with Alpine guides until Sherpas invented their identity as climbing 'tigers of the snow'. In the years since the 1950s, Sherpas and Western travellers have sustained cultural differences among one another. In the late twentieth century, travellers and tourists and mountaineers continue to face the ambiguities of 'travel' with local guides and 'other' cultures.

# I

In the 1880s, members of the Alpine Club published *Pioneers of the Alps*, a collection of photographic portraits and biographical sketches of Swiss guides. In a photograph on the frontispiece, an anonymous British climber sits hunched over in a posture of exhaustion – elbows on knees, head on ice-axe, and face hidden under a hat. Roped to the climber and flanking him are two guides: one pours a drink from a flask with a steady hand while the other guide reaches for the wine. Like this image, the essays in *Pioneers of the Alps* commemorated 'those who first conquered the great peaks, opened out the mountain highways, and who may fairly be said to have made possible that sport which so many of us enjoy each year in the Alps – men who are, or have been in their day, undoubtedly great guides'.<sup>10</sup> British mountaineers had been unstinting in their praise of their guides since the first volumes of *Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers* in the 1850s and 1860s. The following passage from the *Alpine Journal* in 1863 illustrates the intense camaraderie that developed between guides and climbers:

Dangers and difficulties shared and the exchange of thoughts and opinions, which must result from days and sometimes weeks of companionship, wonderfully diminish, for the time, at least, the gulf that exists, socially, between them; while the courage, presence of mind, endurance and unselfishness which is so often displayed in behalf of the traveller, makes him feel that his advantages of birth and education do not weigh so very heavily against native worth.<sup>11</sup>

'It is difficult', wrote a contributor to *Pioneers of the Alps*, 'to make those outside the magic circle understand the peculiar relationship that rapidly springs up between the Herren and their guides'.<sup>12</sup> *Pioneers of the Alps* offered a nostalgic record of that 'peculiar relationship' at a time when it was threatened by the advance of mass tourism in the Alps in the 1880s. As guides increased in number to meet the rising demand from thousands of tourists, relations between guides and climbers in the Alps became more routinized, formal and distant.

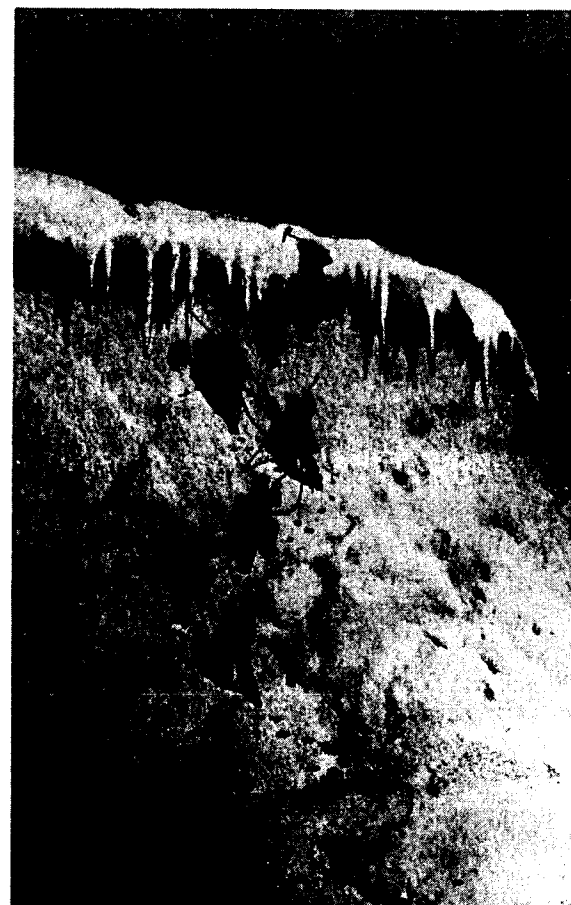
The earliest Alpine guides were pathfinders – sources of local knowledge who showed the way over unfamiliar terrain.<sup>13</sup> Guides had been leading travellers through Alpine valleys for centuries and, by the early nineteenth century, mountain guides were available in a few Alpine resorts. After an accident on Mont Blanc in 1820 resulted in the deaths



'Alpine climber and guides', from C. D. Cunningham and W. de W. Abney, eds, *Pioneers of the Alps* (London, 1888).

of their comrades, local guides formed the Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix in 1821.<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere, guides were most often hired through hotels. Guides impressed travellers with their social graces and local knowledge. 'A good guide is generally a very intelligent man', wrote Alfred Wills in 1856, 'with a great love of nature and of adventure, often, with a considerable amount of acquired information, and with manners more like those of a gentleman than are to be found amongst men of any other class, in the same rank of society'. Attentive to the comforts of the traveller, the guide acts as 'a sort of personal servant, almost a valet'. Guides served as intermediaries with other communities. 'On arriving at a town or village, he knows, or will find out, where the best accommodation can be had, and will supply any other kind of local information you may desire.' The guide also performed the role of porter and interpreter: 'He will carry your traps, and think nothing of it, and point out to you a thousand objects of interest, which, but for him, you would have overlooked.'<sup>15</sup>

Alfred Wills's famous ascent of the Wetterhorn in 1854 suggests that his guides also shared his desire to conquer the mountain. When Wills decided to climb the Wetterhorn, he had been travelling with Auguste Balmat, one of Chamonix's most experienced guides. Balmat arranged to hire Auguste Simond, a strong Chamonix guide then in Interlaken, and Ulrich Lauener, 'the most renowned guide of the Oberland'. Lauener in turn procured ropes, crampons and supplies as well as the services of Peter Bohren, a Grindelwald guide. Lauener and Bohren insisted on bringing their own 'flagge', a piece of metal two feet by three feet in size which they intended to plant on the summit. As the group ascended the mountain, they were joined by two peasants carrying a fir tree. 'They turned out to be two chamois hunters, who had heard of our intended ascent, and resolved to be even with us, and plant their tree side by side with our "Flagge".' After confirming that 'they should not steal from us the distinction of being *the first* to scale the awful peak', Balmat allowed them to join the party. The flag and fir tree were duly planted on the summit by the local men. Although the significance of these actions to local politics is unclear, the ascent was celebrated in Grindelwald, not for Wills's role as 'Der Wetterhörner Herr', but for the heroism of the Grindelwald and Chamonix guides who cut through the final ice cornice to the summit. After Wills returned to England, Balmat's journey from 'Interlaken to Chamonix, along which route he was well known, was like a triumphal progress'.<sup>16</sup> The two peasants who joined them with the fir tree, Christian Almer and Ulrich Kaufmann, later became two of the most celebrated guides in the Alps.



The ascent of the Wetterhorn, 1854.

Relations between climbers and guides were reciprocal. After attempting to climb the Matterhorn with John Tyndall in 1860, Vaughan Hawkins wrote of their guide, Johann Josef Bennen:

A perfect nature's gentleman, he is to me the most delightful of companions; and though no 'theory' defines our reciprocal obligations as guide and employer, I am sure that no precipice will ever engulf me so long as Bennen is within reach, unless he goes into it also – an event which seems impossible – and I think I can say I would, according to the measure of my capacity, do the same by him.

During the same attempt on the Matterhorn, Tyndall told him: 'You are the Garibaldi of guides, Bennen', to which Bennen replied, 'Am I not?' ('Nicht wahr?').<sup>17</sup> In 1861 Bennen thanked Tyndall for his faith in him and

looked forward to serving him again: 'I will be always ready for you and your friends and you have only to command'.<sup>18</sup> Although the traveller who employed the guide usually stepped onto the summit first, Tyndall insisted that Bennen take this honour during their first ascent of the Weisshorn. Tyndall wrote of the moment when they neared the summit:

The man who had been in the rear of our little party during the day here stepped forward, and set his foot upon the ridge, with the apparent intention of going to the top. His progress was arrested by a rather emphatic exclamation of 'Back! – not you'. Johann Joseph Bennen – the best and bravest climber I have ever met – had been my leader throughout. Him I ordered to the front, and he it was who first planted a foot upon the summit of the Weisshorn.<sup>19</sup>

The ambiguities of leadership are evident in the shifts in Tyndall's language from one sentence to the next: Bennen was 'my leader throughout. Him I ordered to the front'. After this ascent, Tyndall wrote in Bennen's *Führerbuch*: 'He is a man of approved courage, strength and caution. He is also tender and kind. In short he bears much the same relation to the common run of guides as a Wellington to an ordinary subaltern.'<sup>20</sup>

Although many mid-Victorian climbers described their favourite guides as generals, they also gave them commands. Tyndall thought Bennen was a Garibaldi or Wellington, and to other climbers Melchior Anderegg was the 'Napoleon' of guides.<sup>21</sup> Yet the climber's deep respect for these elite guides remained in tension with their attempts to regulate their conduct. Tyndall's testimonial to Bennen, for example, was written in his *Führerbuch*. In these 'guide's books', each traveller wrote a brief evaluation of the guide's performance which was then shown to prospective employers. In the 1850s, these books were transformed from personal scrapbooks into regulatory devices. In 1856, the Swiss government issued *Führerbücher* to guides in the Oberland, and they were renewed annually for guides in good standing.<sup>22</sup> Only the most senior guides, who had already made their reputation in the small world of climbers, refused to use such books. At the age of 33, Franz Andermatten said in 1856: 'I'm too old for those little books: if anyone doesn't know me or doesn't trust me, they can take someone else'.<sup>23</sup> For the younger generation of guides, who came of age after Alpine climbing had become popular, recommendations in their book – even if the book was unofficial – were crucial to their prosperity. Consider how Josef Imboden of St Niklaus became a guide in the mid-1850s:

I was never a porter, but when I was fifteen years old, and had saved twenty francs, I went and stayed at the Riffel, and asked gentlemen to take me as guide. They all asked me, 'where is your book, young man?' I showed them my book, but there was nothing written in it. The twenty francs were nearly spent when I persuaded an Englishman to let me take him up the Cima di Jazzi. He was pleased, and the next day I took him up Monte Rosa alone. We then went to Chamonix together, and afterwards he wrote a great deal in my book; since then I have never wanted a gentleman to guide.<sup>24</sup>

The rules governing guides and the use of *Führerbücher* varied from place to place. Christian Kluckner, who began leading climbs in 1874, was not officially registered as a guide in the Engadine until 1908.<sup>25</sup>

In Chamonix, guides regulated themselves, and the Alpine Club, founded in London in 1857, tried repeatedly to change their rules to favour the traveller instead of the guide. The Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix fixed the price of an ascent, the minimum number of guides, and the procedure for hiring guides in strict rotation. In 1858 the Alpine Club petitioned the government of the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia to alter the rules in order to extend 'the regime of individual liberty.' Although the Chamonix rules were modified to accommodate experienced climbers, lax enforcement meant that these changes had to be reaffirmed by the French government after it annexed the region in 1860. In 1874, the Alpine Club successfully advised the French government to wrest control of the Compagnie des Guides from the guides themselves:

Nowhere in the Alps, except at Chamonix, is any restriction placed upon the free choice of a guide by the traveller; and they can conceive of no principle, except that of communism pure and simple, which can justify the deliberate suppression by law of the natural rewards of superior intelligence, manners, goodwill, vigour, or capacity.

The Alpine Club recommended a published register of guides compiled from employers' recommendations as a 'wholesome stimulus to competition, and offer to them the legitimate rewards of superiority'.<sup>26</sup>

Yet as the number of tourists increased in the Alps, so too did the number of guides. In the 1780s Chamonix had been visited by 800 to 1,200 visitors annually. A century later, railways and steamships enabled nearly one million tourists of American, English, German or Russian nationality to visit Switzerland.<sup>27</sup> Many of these new visitors wanted to emulate the climbers of the Alpine Club. One tourist on Thomas Cook's first Swiss tour, for example, entitled her diary 'the Proceedings of the Junior United Alpine Club, 1863'.<sup>28</sup> Alpine Clubs were soon founded in

Switzerland (1863), Italy (1863), Austria (1869), Germany (1874) and France (1874). These clubs improved access, built huts, offered insurance and expanded the number of guides. Although it had been impossible to find a single guide in the Pelvoux massif in 1872, for example, the French Alpine Club noted with satisfaction that, as a result of its efforts, over 100 guides, porters or aspirant guides were available in the district in 1880.<sup>29</sup> In 1884, an English climber noted that, while the Alpine Club had worked for thirty years to regulate guides, now the guides were in the control of local groups. 'We did all we could for the protection of travellers while the duty lay on us. It has now passed into other hands'.<sup>30</sup> By the 1890s, guides rules, regulations and fees were standardized by national clubs dominated by local elites throughout the Alps.<sup>31</sup>

Some mountaineers began to climb without guides in response to the increasing numbers of tourists and their new relationship with guides in the Alps. The professionalization of Alpine guides led climbers to change the language they used to describe themselves from the 'traveller' to the 'amateur'.<sup>32</sup> As tourists flooded the Alps, guideless climbers also searched for an appropriate language to describe their position. Arthur Cust defended his guideless ascent of the Matterhorn in 1876 by noting that, while the number of climbers had increased, the number of good guides remained steady. 'The competition between the old aristocracy of the Alps, to use metaphorical language, and the moneyed upstarts has resulted in a rise in prices.' Since thousands of people now climbed in the Alps, 'the only way real mountaineers would be able to differentiate themselves would be by banding together to go without guides'. Cust's desire to climb without guides stemmed from his desire to escape tourists. 'What will be the feeling of genuine lovers of the Alps', Cust asked, 'when hustled at every turn by creatures whose development has reversed Darwin's process?'<sup>33</sup>

In similar language, A. F. Mummery highlighted the class distinctions which had been erected in the Alps between climbers and guides. After climbing the Aiguille des Charmoz without guides in 1892, Mummery speculated about the changes in guides since the 1850s.

The guide of the 'Peaks, Passes and Glaciers' age was a friend and adviser; he led the party and entered fully into all the fun and jollity of the expedition; on the return to the little mountain inn, he was still, more or less, one of the party, and the evening pipe could only be enjoyed in his company.

But, Mummery argued, times had changed:

The swarming of the tourist has brought with it the wretched distinctions of class, and the modern guide inhabits the guides' rooms and sees his Monsieur only when actually on an expedition. Cut off from the intercourse of the old days, the guide tends more and more to belong to the lackey tribe, and the ambitious tourist looks upon him much as his less aspiring brother regards a mule.<sup>34</sup>

Guides rushed through climbs and followed predictable routes, according to Mummery. 'The skill of the traveller counts for absolutely naught; the practised guide looks on him merely as luggage.'

By the early twentieth century guides were often treated like children or commodities. In *Mountain Craft*, a standard climbing handbook of 1920, Geoffrey Winthrop Young described the Alpine guide as 'hill-born, hill-bred – that is, a child, with a child's capacity for becoming much what we make him – a companion, a valet or a machine – and with a child's suspicion and shyness, which he hides under the appearance of professional reserve or formal politeness'. Young urged amateur climbers to get to know their guides as human beings: 'The better a man knows his child-guide, the more he will know how to manage him, so as to get the best out of his mountaineering precocity'.<sup>35</sup> In addition, as tourists travelled to mountain regions in other parts of the world, Swiss guides were exported with the other commodities of Alpine resorts. The Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, imported Swiss guides to promote tourism in the Canadian Rockies. Guides paraded in lederhosen and climbing gear through the streets of Canadian cities as they travelled to the mountains. In the Rockies, the railway built a mock Swiss village called Edelweiss, where guides lived in homes built in the style of Swiss chalets.<sup>36</sup>

Guides could turn the tables on their employers, even if their roles were only very rarely reversed. C. E. Mathews recalled the occasion when he led Melchior Anderegg, usually his guide in the Alps, to the top of Snowdon. 'I hesitated for a few seconds. Melchior instantly forged to the front and proffered his services, which I emphatically declined. "No," I said, "I am guide today, and you are the Herr".'<sup>37</sup> Guides' autobiographies from the early twentieth century show that they wanted to escape the social conventions that regulated mountaineering in the Alps. Conrad Kain, a guide who climbed in the Alps, New Zealand and Canada, often told the story of becoming a gentleman for a day by wearing a new Norfolk jacket and hiring a guide to climb the Gross Glockner. 'Seeing myself in this new suit, I thought here was my chance to travel as a tourist.' Kain remained incognito until he signed his recommendation in the book of his guide.<sup>38</sup> Guides had long fantasized about writing their own *Herrenbücher*, in which they could record their opinions of the

*Herren* who employed them: 'It is only reasonable that the guide, when invited by a stranger to convoy the latter up a difficult peak, should be entitled to some information about the aspirant in the shape of the candid opinions of his former guides.'<sup>39</sup> Christian Kluckner was one of the few guides to offer candid assessments of the abilities of his *Herren* in his autobiography.<sup>40</sup>

The most famous autobiography by an Alpine guide was written by Mattias Zurbriggen, whose climbs in the Alps, Himalayas, New Zealand and South America made him an international celebrity. Zurbriggen had worked as a shepherd, miner, construction worker, carriage driver, served in the Italian military, ran his own shop, joined a Swiss gentleman on a trip to North Africa, and considered emigrating to South America, before contacts with hoteliers resulted in work as a guide. Although he worked for several well-known climbers, he never left any doubt about who was in charge: 'The guide ought to act as captain of the vessel: however distinguished may be the persons who commit themselves to our charge it is for us alone to direct and govern'. Zurbriggen also required all his 'patrons' to prove themselves on lesser peaks before he would allow them to tackle big ones. When Martin Conway invited the guide to join his expedition to the Karakoram in 1891, Zurbriggen had already climbed with all the members of the party except Lieut. C. G. Bruce, a Gurkha officer. 'It being my custom to test the powers of any climber to whom I was going to act as guide, this led to Mr. Bruce's coming to Zermatt for a month.'<sup>41</sup> Zurbriggen led Conway, Bruce and others up Pioneer Peak on Baltoro Kangri, possibly a height record at the time. In India, Zurbriggen shared British prejudices towards the local population and he also acted like a Sahib.

Despite Zurbriggen's position of authority on the mountain, relations between employer and guide, even one of Zurbriggen's calibre, remained ambiguous. For several years Zurbriggen's main 'patron' was E. A. FitzGerald, a wealthy adventurer. Before Zurbriggen could undertake employment with other climbers, he first had to obtain FitzGerald's consent. Yet Zurbriggen's ambitions and abilities surpassed those of FitzGerald. In 1894, they climbed together in New Zealand and, while FitzGerald rested, Zurbriggen made the second ascent of Mount Cook, the highest point in New Zealand. When they travelled to South America in 1896, FitzGerald fell ill and Zurbriggen went on alone to make the first ascent of Aconcagua, the highest peak in the Americas. Zurbriggen returned to a hero's welcome in South America, as well as in Europe after his return. He recorded the following events at the dinner hosted by the Swiss ambassador in Buenos Aires in his honour:

The champagne flowed freely, and cries of 'Evviva' and 'Lebehoch' alternated with those of 'Helvetius', and 'Zurbriggen and the FitzGerald Expedition'. I was afterwards invited by the *Schweizer Männerchor* to a large gathering where we had instrumental music, and there was a ball in honour of Aconcagua and of the guide who had been the first to climb it.

In Argentina, German and Italian-language newspapers gave his ascent as much coverage as did newspapers in Europe. In later years Zurbriggen climbed primarily with Italian 'patrons' in the Alps and with Fanny Bullock Workman and her husband in the Himalayas. Zurbriggen's final ambition was to climb Mount Everest. 'I should like to ascend Mount Everest. Every great mountain has a good way, and I am sure that there is a good way up Mount Everest – the greatest of them all.'<sup>42</sup>

## II

Swiss guides were not given the chance to climb Mount Everest until the 1950s. When British climbers went to Mount Everest, beginning in the 1920s, they refused to take Swiss climbers or guides with them because they wanted the expeditions to be 'all British'.<sup>43</sup> They rejected the Swiss partly because such large-scale expeditions of 'exploration', whether to the Antarctic or the Himalayas, had become expressions of British nationalism. In response, German, French, Italian and Swiss national expeditions were mounted from the 1930s into the 1950s. But the British also rejected the Swiss in the 1920s because Swiss guides had by then achieved parity if not superiority with the British as climbers. Thus, the British took to Everest not Alpine guides but local porters drawn from the 'hill tribes' of the Himalayas.

Since few climbing expeditions had taken place in the Himalayas before the 1920s, the earliest Everest expeditions hired their porters from among Tibetan, Bhotia and Sherpa labourers who lived in Darjeeling, India, the starting point for many expeditions.<sup>44</sup> Initially, the British did not distinguish between different ethnic groups but treated them all as 'coolies'. During the first Everest expedition in 1921, for example, George Mallory photographed 'coolies wearing snow shoes for the first time' while another British climber showed them the ropes. As porters learned the rudiments of climbing, established camps on Everest and made great personal sacrifices, the climbers soon developed a deep respect for their porters' strength and stamina. In 1922, as a large group of porters and climbers ascended to the North Col of Everest after a snowstorm, an avalanche struck the party and buried many of the porters. Although two





'Mr Bullock and coolies wearing snow shoes for the first time, July 10th' during the first Mt Everest expedition (1921).

porters were dug out of the snow alive, seven died and remained buried in the glacier's crevasses. T. H. Somervell, one of the British survivors, regretted that only porters had been killed.

I remember well the thought gnawing at my brain. 'Only Sherpas and Bhotias killed – why, oh why could not one of us Britishers have shared their fate?' I would gladly at that moment have been lying there dead in the snow, if only to give those fine chaps who had survived the feeling that we shared their loss, as we had indeed shared the risk.<sup>45</sup>

Such sacrifices raised the hopes of climbers that these porters would one day develop skills that matched those of Alpine guides. Also in the 1920s, the British began to single out Sherpas as the best high-altitude porters. In 1924, for example, General C. G. Bruce, the Everest leader who had previously climbed in the Alps and Himalayas with Zurbriggen, compared their Everest porters to Swiss guides.

We have tested, and found not wanting, a race of people who seem to be practically impervious to cold and fatigue and exposure, and in whom we also discovered, although as yet in an early stage of development, the seeds of those great qualities which are so clearly distinguishable in the great pioneers of the Golden Age of Alpine Exploration – cheerfulness under all conditions and a willingness to undertake any task for employers in whom they have confidence.<sup>46</sup>

Everest climbers began to refer to the high-altitude porters as 'Tigers', and the French Olympic Committee awarded the Prix d'Alpinisme to several porters, along with the British members of the Everest expedition, during the Winter Olympics in Chamonix. But alongside such respect for the porters was an ambivalent paternalism. Lt.-Col. E. F. Norton, who succeeded Gen. Bruce as leader in 1924, wrote that the porters were 'singularly like a childish edition of the British soldier, many of whose virtues they share'.<sup>47</sup>

Although relations between British climbers and Sherpa porters were still governed by the conventions of British imperial rule in India, their paternalism began to evolve into a closer partnership. As porters assumed more responsibility in the Himalayas during the 1930s and 1940s on German, French and Swiss expeditions – countries whose climbers often carried fewer assumptions from the Raj in their rucksacks – the relationship between Sherpas and Sahibs was transformed. In the 1930s, the British struggled to describe the position of their porters – as coolies, guides, climbers or 'tigers' – and they regulated Himalayan porters much as they had attempted to regulate Swiss guides in the Alps.

During the Everest expeditions, Sherpas also constructed a heroic identity for themselves that inspired younger Sherpas to become climbers. In their autobiographies, for example, Ang Tharkay and Tenzing Norgay, two of the best known Sherpas of the 1950s, both said that they decided to become climbing porters after hearing about the Everest expedition from other Solu Khumbu porters. As Ang Tharkay recalled:

I was little more than 20 years old when I met one of my village comrades, Nim Tharkay, who was returning from the expedition with General Bruce, and came to see me at our home in Khunde, carrying all of his climbing equipment. He strutted about from house to house as if he had accomplished a remarkable feat. Being his junior, my imagination was fired by the extravagant descriptions he gave us of his adventures, so much so that I was not long in feeling a mad desire to follow his example and to seek to join an expedition in my turn.<sup>48</sup>

Tenzing Norgay heard similar stories from Sherpas who had been to Everest. Although priests told Tenzing of terrors which guarded the heights, Tenzing said that he knew men among his own people who had climbed on the other side of Chomolungma: 'What I wanted was to see for myself. This was the dream I have had for as long as I can remember'.<sup>49</sup> Ang Tharkay and Tenzing each left Solu Khumbu for Darjeeling around 1933 hoping to join the next Everest expedition.

Sherpas distinguished themselves on expeditions to Kangchenjunga,

Kamet, Everest and Nanga Parbat, sometimes literally carrying the European climbers on their backs. By the early 1930s, Chettan and Lewa, two Everest porters in the 1920s, were considered to be almost equal to guides. Lewa had been one of the porters rescued from the avalanche on Everest in 1922. Chettan, known familiarly as 'Satan', had been taught to use an axe and rope on Everest in 1922 and later joined expeditions to Nanda Devi, Garhwal and Kangchenjunga. When Frank Smythe chose porters for an international expedition to Kangchenjunga in 1930, he found them carrying tattered letters of recommendation from General Bruce 'testifying to their courage and loyalty':

The men we had were all hard-bitten 'Tigers', as tough, hardy and weather-beaten as the Old Guard of Napoleon. They were not merely porters, but genuine mountaineers and adventurers, who enjoyed a tussle with a great mountain as much as we did, and were as keen as we were to get to the top.<sup>50</sup>

The Kangchenjunga expedition was periodically strafed by avalanches, one of which struck a climbing party and killed Chettan. Chettan's obituary in a climbing journal harkened back to the partnerships with early Alpine guides: 'He understood what mountaineering means to us and shared our interests to the full. He was on the road to be a guide, with all that word implies among mountaineers, which is that the servant becomes a companion and a friend.'<sup>51</sup>

Lewa reached the summit of Kamet with Smythe in 1931. As they walked to the base of the mountain, Lewa and the other Darjeeling porters were by then so experienced and well paid that they hired their own local porters to carry their loads to the mountain. 'In their own estimation', Smythe wrote of the high-altitude porters, 'they were great men specially picked to climb Kamet, and also selected by the Sahibs as their personal servants. Strolling along like Sahibs, able to pay for substitutes to carry their loads, their prestige in the valley would be enormously enhanced.' But the prestige of the British climbers also rose as they gained altitude: 'after the insolent stares of the "Congress Wallahs" of the lower hills and plains, it was pleasant to be greeted with a respectful and friendly "Salaam, Sahib" or "Salaam, Huzoor" from the villagers we met on the path'. When, at last, Smythe and the first climbing party reached the last few steps to the summit: 'We seized hold of Lewa and shoved him on in front of us . . . And so he was first to tread the summit. It was the least compliment we could pay to those splendid men, our porters, to whom we owed the success of our expedition'.<sup>52</sup> Lewa lost several frost-bitten toes during this ascent, yet served as Sirdar, head porter, for a



'Birnie being brought down from Camp II' during the 1933 Everest expedition.

British expedition to Everest in 1933 and a German expedition to Nanga Parbat in 1934.<sup>53</sup>

The deaths of many Sherpas during several German expeditions to Nanga Parbat cemented the heroic self-image of the climbing Sherpa. In 1934, four Germans and six porters were killed during storms and avalanches on Nanga Parbat. Fritz Bechtold did not exaggerate when he wrote that many of the porters 'had done superhuman feats: no mere porter-service, but comradeship in the purest sense of the word, loyalty even to death'.<sup>54</sup> In the most famous story of such sacrifice, two porters, Ang Tsering and Gaylay, were descending during a lull in the storm when they found two of the German climbers weakened by fatigue. After one of the Germans died in his sleep, the three survivors, including Willi Merkl, the expedition leader, descended until Merkl again collapsed. Gaylay and

Ang Tsering dug an ice-cave for shelter where Gaylay chose to remain with the dying Merkl, even though he was still strong enough to descend with Ang Tsering. Gaylay died huddled next to Merkl. Ang Tsering was later given the Medal of Honour and the German Red Cross. In his autobiography, Tenzing Norgay reported that among the Sherpas in Darjeeling in 1934, 'all the talk was of the German expedition of the past summer to Nanga Parbat'. Tenzing heard first-hand accounts from Dawa Thondup and Ang Tsering who told him how Gaylay had sacrificed himself to stay with Merkl: 'Even though I had not yet been on a mountain', wrote Tenzing, 'such a story made me, too, proud to be a Sherpa.'<sup>55</sup>

If such tragic events contributed to the Sherpa construction of a heroic identity as climbers, they also led to the regulation of porters by the British in India. The members of the Himalayan Club, founded in India in 1928, wanted to pay tribute to the porters who died on Nanga Parbat. When Joan Townend, wife of a member of the Indian Civil Service and the Himalayan Club's representative in Darjeeling, attempted to do so, she discovered that few details were known about the porters. As she and others compiled the porters' obituaries, they also began to develop rules and regulations to govern them. The Himalayan Club compiled a list of the porters and 'each Sherpa was to be issued with a "chit book" containing his photograph and wrapped up in a mackintosh case'.<sup>56</sup> At the end of each expedition, the leaders wrote recommendations in each 'chit book', which served the same purpose as the *Führerbuch* in the Alps.

For the next twenty years, all climbers in the Himalayas were dependent on the Himalayan Club in Darjeeling for the supply of porters. The club established recommended rates of pay, rations, disability compensation, examples of appropriate equipment, and so forth, in addition to publishing a list of porters in its journal with summaries of their character and ability compiled from their 'chit books'. In 1938 the Himalayan Club issued the first 'Tiger Badges' to Sherpas who reached the highest camps on Everest or accomplished similar feats on other peaks. While there was some dissatisfaction with the term 'Tiger', no suitable alternative was found:

'Climbers' is a term already used for Europeans of the party; 'guides' would give a false impression, for it is most undesirable that the porters should be looked upon as guide in the Swiss sense; and since the name 'Tiger' has been fairly constantly used since the Mount Everest expedition of 1924 for the picked porters who have gone high, it has been adopted as the best name put forward.<sup>57</sup>

Many porters earned this recognition, even if some Sherpas still received their tributes only posthumously. In 1937, for example, another seven Germans and nine Sherpas were killed on Nanga Parbat, and yet more Sherpas died on K2 a year later.<sup>58</sup>

By the time Himalayan climbing resumed after World War II, many Sherpas had internalized the desire to conquer the mountains. Ang Tharkay joined the first ascent of Annapurna with French climbers in 1950 and Tenzing Norgay 'conquered' Everest with Edmund Hillary in 1953. Tenzing's experience from the 1930s to the 1950s illustrates the rapid transition made by the Sherpas. Tenzing was born at Tsa-chu, Tibet, and grew up as a farmer and yak-herder in the shadow of Everest, or Chomolungma (Goddess-Mother of the World) as it was known locally. After leaving Nepal for Darjeeling to seek work as a porter, he joined seven Everest expeditions from 1935 to 1953. When Tenzing looked from Tibet into Nepal from the Lho La pass on Everest in 1938, he could almost see his hometown: 'Far below I could see yaks on the slopes near the Khumbu Glacier, and there was one man with them, and I wondered who he was'. Tenzing joined a Swiss party in Garhwal in 1947, and 'even though there was much language difficulty, I had felt truly close to them, and thought of them not as sahibs or employers, but as friends'. In 1950 he reached the summit of Nanda Devi East with a French expedition, and, in 1952, the Swiss Everest expedition made him a full member of the climbing team, 'the greatest honour that had ever been paid me'. Tenzing developed a close friendship with his climbing partner, Raymond Lambert, a famous Swiss guide. Although Tenzing and Lambert shared reputations as great guides, they only spoke a few words of each other's language. As Tenzing recalled, 'When things were good it was *ça va bien*! And when they weren't it was *ça va bien* just the same'.<sup>59</sup> During the Swiss expedition in 1952, Tenzing and Lambert reached within 800 feet of the summit, the highest elevation ever.

By 1953, Tenzing was one of the most experienced Himalayan climbers anywhere. 'In the beginning', Tenzing later noted, 'as novices, we were a little more than load-bearers – what in the East, for long ages, have been called coolies'. Although they still took pride in their ability to carry loads, Tenzing continued, 'Over the years we have learned much about the methods and skills of mountaineering, until we are now able to help other ways, such as in the finding of routes, the cutting of steps, the handling of ropes, the choosing of camp-sites'.<sup>60</sup> The Swiss recognized these skills and treated the Sherpas as equals. These experiences transformed the Sherpas' relationship with British climbers on Everest in 1953.

As the Darjeeling secretary of the Himalayan Club told Col. John Hunt, the expedition's leader: 'As Tenzing knows the route on Everest like the palm of his hand, he is the man to go'.<sup>61</sup> Hunt recognized the importance of Tenzing and recruited him as Sirdar, head porter, and a member of the climbing team. Tenzing also earned twice as much as he had been paid by the Swiss, equalling four times as much as had been usual before that.<sup>62</sup> Even ordinary porters earned a fortune compared to what they could earn in agricultural labour. 'Base camp porters made as much as seven times the daily wage of field workers and the high altitude porters who carried loads up onto the mountain itself were still better paid.'<sup>63</sup> After minor misunderstandings concerning housing and equipment at the start of the expedition, the British climbers and the Sherpa porters worked closely together and their teamwork enabled Hillary and Tenzing to reach the summit.

After the ascent, Tenzing, Hillary and Hunt became national heroes and global celebrities. When they returned from the summit, the world's



Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay after the 1953 ascent of Everest.

press wanted to know who had 'conquered' the peak: did Hillary or Tenzing 'step on the summit first'? This question had not occurred to the climbers during the expedition, since they had reached the summit only through a team effort and shared in a feeling of 'communitas'. Yet Hillary's and Tenzing's ascent became a source of nationalist contention in Nepal, India, Britain and New Zealand. After a few newspapers reported that Tenzing had been first on top, the two climbers issued a joint statement that they had reached the summit 'almost together'.<sup>64</sup> This attempt to finesse the issue (Hillary had been first on the rope) maintained a useful ambiguity. Although they reached the summit together as partners, their experiences on the summit and their descriptions of the 'conquest' were remarkably different. On the summit, Tenzing buried an offering to the gods in the snow and thanked the mountain in a prayer: 'I am grateful, Chomolungma'. Hillary took photographs, urinated onto the peak and told another climber: 'We knocked the bastard off'.<sup>65</sup>

### III

Since the first ascent of Everest in 1953, Sherpas have steadily assumed more responsibility and control over climbing expeditions. Tenzing became the head of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, established in Darjeeling in his honour, and turned the Sherpa Buddhist Association into a direct competitor to the Himalayan Club for the distribution of porters. In 1954, the Himalayan Club advised climbers to contact the Sherpas themselves for future expeditions:

As it was never the intention of the Club that the Hon. Local Secretary in Darjeeling should permanently be responsible for organising Sherpa porters for expeditions and as there are now Sherpa Sirdars able themselves to accept this responsibility, the Committee recommends that members should apply directly to the Sirdars.

By the 1970s, Sherpas no longer kept chit books, and Sherpas living in Nepal competed with Sherpas based in Darjeeling for control of the expedition market. Sherpas themselves owned a number of trekking and climbing agencies by the 1980s. By the late 1990s, individual Sherpas had climbed Everest upwards of ten times.<sup>66</sup>

By the late twentieth century, Sherpas had become accomplished climbers just as Alpine guides had been in the late nineteenth century. But relations between Sherpas and travellers have not followed the same pattern as in the Alps. Although friendships with guides still develop in the Alps, guides usually remain distant from their clients. Climbers and

tourists hope to find guides who are friends and companions, yet the steadily increasing number of tourists makes this ideal ever more difficult to attain. According to a recent report on the guides of Chamonix:

The mountain guide has evolved from porter and humble servant to a highly trained, dedicated and superbly fit companion. Even so, one of Chamonix's top guides admits: 'Sometimes it's really just advanced babysitting.' . . . The fact that today a tourist will commit himself to an ascent on Mont Blanc after only a cursory telephone conversation with his guide (Guide: 'Are you fit?' Client: 'How much does it cost?') is testimony to the progress that associations like the Compagnie des Guides have made in opening the peaks to the people.<sup>67</sup>

In the Alps, the response by many climbers/travellers to this 'opening up the peaks' by guides has been to climb without guides. Despite the increasing numbers of tourists in the Himalayas, climbers have not attempted to climb without Sherpas to the extent that they have done in the Alps.

On the contrary, one of the attractions of post-war mountaineering, trekking and adventure tourism in the Himalayas since the 1950s has been the contact between the tourist/climber and Sherpas or other indigenous peoples. The Catholic peasants of the Alps who became guides had also once been objects of fascination for British tourists. In consequence of the regulation of guides and the commercialization of tourism by the early twentieth century, British climbers came to see Swiss guides as less 'other' and perhaps more 'white' than they ever did with Sherpas. In the Himalayas, Western tourists and Sherpas have remained engaged in a complex process in which Sherpas attempt to retain the 'otherness' that the Western tourist and climber desires. In this process, the cultural practices and reciprocity of Sherpa Buddhism may be both the 'otherness' that travellers are looking for among Sherpas and the resource that has enabled Sherpas to assert their agency in this relationship. The climbers' desire to preserve such 'difference' may also be part of the wider phenomenon of 'ethnic' tourism around the world.<sup>68</sup>

Paradoxically, mountaineers have attempted to recover the friendship and sense of 'similarity' and 'communitas' that had once characterized their relationship with Alpine guides by developing collaborative relationships with Sherpas that preserve their cultural 'difference'. Recent deaths on Mount Everest in the 1990s have been controversial in large part because they were *guided* ascents with 'Western' guides. Fatal climbs with or by Sherpas do not appear to raise the same concerns. Yet these Western guides share with Sherpas in a broader legacy. On Everest in 1996, Rob Hall, a celebrated New Zealand guide, chose to stay near the summit and

die with his client, just as Gaylay did on Nanga Parbat in 1934 and as several other Sherpas have continued to do in the years since.<sup>69</sup> To be sure, as the ascent of Everest becomes a 'guided' climb, in which travellers pay to be taken up Everest by either Western guides or local Sherpas, mountaineers in the Himalayas inevitably attempt to distinguish themselves from other tourists by climbing without guides or Sherpas. In many ways, such 'guideless' or 'Sherpaless' climbing is merely another response to the dilemma that climbers and travellers, and even anthropologists and historians, have faced since the nineteenth century: to experience cultural difference even as that difference is transformed by the traveller's presence.

- 74 Stephen Bann (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Frankenstein, Creation and Monstrosity* (London, 1994), pp. 7–13.
- 75 Bullock, *Six Months' Residence*, p. 272.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 483.
- 77 *Correspondence*, p. 239.
- 78 John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas & Yucatan* (1841; London, 1988), p. 57.
- 79 Prescott, *Conquest*, I, p. 211.
- 80 *Quarterly Review*, LXXVI (June–Sept. 1845), p. 98.
- 81 *Correspondence*, p. 150.
- 82 *Correspondence*, p. 240.
- 83 *Life*, p. 12.
- 84 *Correspondence*, p. 128.
- 85 *Life*, p. 357.
- 86 *Life*, p. 357.
- 87 *Life*, p. 748, note 3, and *Correspondence*, pp. 116–17, 122, 128.
- 88 *Conquest*, I, p. 212.
- 89 *Conquest*, II, p. 327, but see also I, p. 367, where Prescott builds on Fanny's description of Chapultepec without citing her.
- 90 *Life*, p. 114.
- 91 *Conquest*, I, p. 367.
- 92 *Life*, p. 114.
- 93 Fernanda Núñez Becerra, *La Malinche*, pp. 21–41.
- 94 Thomas, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 173.
- 95 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 173.
- 96 Jean Franco, 'La Malinche y el Primer Mundo', in Margo Glanz (ed.), *La Malinche sus Padres y sus Hijos* (UNAM, Mexico, 1994), pp. 157–8 (whence the quote); 165.
- 97 *Life*, p. 114.
- 98 *Life*, p. 401.
- 99 *Byron's Poetical Works*, p. 242.
- 100 Becerra, p. 107; Prescott, *Conquest*, II, p. 327.
- 101 *Correspondence*, p. 251.
- 102 *Correspondence*, pp. 315, 329.
- 103 *Conquest*, II, p. 327.
- 104 Becerra, pp. 106–7.
- 105 *Conquest*, II, p. 327.

#### 8 Peter H. Hansen: Partners

This article was made possible by fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities and Clare Hall, Cambridge. I am grateful for helpful comments at the Anthropology of Travel conference in Cambridge and from Jas Elsner, Sherry Ortner and Joan-Pau Rubiés.

- 1 Leslie Stephen, *The Playground of Europe* (London, 1871), pp. 73–4.
- 2 Leslie Stephen, 'Alpine Climbing', in *British Sports and Pastimes*, ed. Anthony Trollope (London, 1868), pp. 274–5.
- 3 See James Buzard, *The Beaten Path: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1993), and Peter H. Hansen, 'Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies* xxxiv (1995), pp. 300–24.
- 4 Stephen, *Playground of Europe*, p. 76.
- 5 See Peter H. Hansen, 'Vertical Boundaries, National Identities: British Mountain-

- eeing on the Frontiers of Europe and the Empire, 1868–1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, xxiv (1996), pp. 48–71, and Peter H. Hansen, 'The Dancing Lamas of Everest: Cinema, Orientalism, and Anglo-Tibetan Relations in the 1920s', *American Historical Review*, ci (1996), pp. 712–47.
- 6 See Peter H. Hansen, 'Tenzing's Two Wrist-Watches: the Conquest of Everest and Late Imperial Culture, 1921–1953: Comment', *Past and Present*, 157 (1997), pp. 159–77, Peter H. Hansen's unpublished essay, 'Confetti of Empire: the Conquest of Everest in Nepal, India, Britain and New Zealand', as well as the television programme 'Hillary and Tenzing: Everest and After', broadcast on BBC2, 18 June 1997.
- 7 Tenzing Norgay, *Man of Everest: the Autobiography of Tenzing told to James Ramsay Ullman* (London, 1955), p. 266.
- 8 See Valene Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, 1989), Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992), and James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1997).
- 9 Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (Oxford, 1978), and John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (eds), *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London, 1991), p. 5.
- 10 C. D. Cunningham and W. de W. Abney (eds), *Pioneers of the Alps* (London, 1888), p. iii. See also Francis Gribble, 'Mountaineering as a Profession', *Idler*, xxiii (1903), pp. 131–7, Louis Spiro, *Guides de Montagnes* (Lausanne, 1928), Carl Egger, *Pionere der Alpen: 30 Lebensbilder der Grossen Schweizer Bergführer von Melchior Anderegg bis Franz Lochmatter, 1827–1933* (Zurich, 1946), and Ronald W. Clark, *The Early Alpine Guides* (London, 1949).
- 11 *Alpine Journal*, I (1863), p. 44.
- 12 Cunningham and Abney, *Pioneers of the Alps*, p. 89.
- 13 See Erik Cohen, 'The Tourist Guide: the Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role', *Annals of Tourism Research*, xii (1985), pp. 5–29.
- 14 See Daniel Chaubet, *Histoire de la Compagnie des Guides de Chamonix* (Montmélian, 1994).
- 15 Alfred Wills, *Wanderings Among the High Alps* (London, 1856), p. 330.
- 16 Wills, *Wanderings Among the High Alps*, pp. 269, 277, 290–01, 311.
- 17 F. Vaughan Hawkins, 'Partial Ascent of the Matterhorn', in *Vacation Tourists and Notes on Travel in 1860*, ed. Francis Galton (London, 1861), p. 291.
- 18 Joseph Bennen to John Tyndall, 21 July 1861, B48, Alpine Club Archives, London.
- 19 *Athenaeum* (14 December 1861), p. 808.
- 20 John Tyndall in J. J. Bennen, *Führerbuch*, 3 September [1861], K15/12, Alpine Club Archives, London.
- 21 *Alpine Journal*, xxix (1915), pp. 68, 72.
- 22 See *Reglement für die Bergführer und Träger*, 12 May 1856, in surviving *Führerbücher* such as A Facsimile of Christian Almer's *Führerbuch*, 1856–1894 (London, 1896). Other *Führerbücher* are held in the Alpine Club, London, the Swiss Alpine Club collection, Zurich, the Museo Nazionale della Montagne, Turin, and in microfilm M421–2, British Library, London.
- 23 Quoted in Clark, *Early Alpine Guides*, p. 41.
- 24 Quoted in Cunningham and Abney, *Pioneers of the Alps*, pp. 97–8.
- 25 Christian Kluckner, *Adventures of an Alpine Guide* (London, 1932), pp. 10–11.
- 26 For the Chamonix rules, see Chaubet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Guides de Chamonix*, and C. E. Mathews, *Annals of Mont Blanc* (London, 1898), pp. 248–60. For the Alpine Club petitions, see John Ball, to Marquis d'Azeglio, n.d. [1858], AC3S 1, Alpine Club Archives, London, and *Alpine Journal*, vi (1874), pp. 425–6.
- 27 Michael G. Mullhall, *Mullhall's Dictionary of Statistics* (London, 1884), p. 453.

- 28 See Jemima Morrell, *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal: the First Conducted Tour of Switzerland* (London, 1963).
- 29 'Organisation des compagnies de guides', *Annuaire du Club Alpin Français*, VII (1880), p. 604.
- 30 C. D. Cunningham, 'The Decline of Chamonix as a Mountaineering Centre', *Alpine Journal*, XI (1884), pp. 459-71.
- 31 See Dominique Lejeune, *Les 'alpinistes' en France à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle (vers 1875-1919)* (Paris, 1988), and Rainer Armstädter, *Der Alpinismus: Kultur, Organisation, Politik* (Vienna, 1996).
- 32 Compare F. C. Grove, 'Comparative Skill of Travellers and Guides', *Alpine Journal*, V (1872), pp. 87-95, and C. T. Dent, 'Amateurs and Professional Guides of the Present Day', *Alpine Journal*, XII (1886), pp. 289-300.
- 33 Arthur Cust, 'The Matterhorn Without Guides', *Alpine Journal*, VIII (1877), pp. 244-7.
- 34 A. F. Mummery, *My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus* (London, 1895), pp. 110-11.
- 35 G. W. Young, *Mountain Craft* (London, 1920), pp. 125, 128, 136-7.
- 36 See John Marsh, 'The Rocky and Selkirk Mountains and the Swiss Connection, 1885-1914', *Annals of Tourism Research*, XII (1985), p. 428, and Beat Nobs, *Vom Eiger in die Rockies: Berner Oberlander Bergführer im Dienste der Canadian Pacific Railway* (Berne, 1987).
- 37 *Alpine Journal*, XXIX (1915), pp. 58-9.
- 38 'The Millionaire Guide', in Conrad Kain, *Where Clouds Can Go* (New York, 1935), pp. 427-42.
- 39 *Alpine Journal*, XX (1900), p. 150.
- 40 Christian Kluckner, *Erinnerungen eines Bergführers* (Zurich, 1930) and *Adventures of an Alpine Guide* (London, 1932).
- 41 Mattias Zurbriggen, *From the Alps to the Andes: Being the Autobiography of a Mountain Guide* (London, 1899), pp. 38, 41, 50, and Felice Benuzzi, *Mattias Zurbriggen, Guida Alpina: Le sue imprese, i suoi uomini, i suoi monti* (Turin, 1987).
- 42 Zurbriggen, *From the Alps to the Andes*, p. 260. He committed suicide in 1917.
- 43 On the exclusion of Swiss climbers, see Unsworth, *Everest*, pp. 22, 38, and Alan Hankinson, *Geoffrey Winthrop Young* (London, 1995), p. 227.
- 44 Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations of the British Raj* (Berkeley, 1996), Sherry Ortner, *High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism* (Princeton, 1989).
- 45 T. H. Somervell, *After Everest* (London, 1936), p. 64.
- 46 C. G. Bruce, 'Third Everest Expedition', *Times* (28 January 1924).
- 47 E. F. Norton, *The Fight for Everest: 1924* (London, 1925), p. 39.
- 48 Ang Tharkay, *Mémoires d'un Sherpa* (Paris, 1954), p. 47.
- 49 Tenzing Norgay, *Man of Everest*, pp. 39-40, 42.
- 50 F. S. Smythe, *The Kangchenjunga Adventure* (London, 1930), pp. 97, 341-2.
- 51 T. G. Longstaff, 'In Memoriam, Chettan', *Himalayan Journal*, III (1931), p. 117. See also Kenneth Mason, *Abode of Snow* (London, 1955), pp. 187-8, and Smythe, *Kanchenjunga Adventure*, pp. 254-6.
- 52 F. S. Smythe, *Kamet Conquered* (London, 1932), pp. 96, 205.
- 53 Mason, *Abode of Snow*, p. 202.
- 54 Fritz Bechtold, *Nanga Parbat Adventure: a Himalayan Expedition* (London, 1935), p. 51.
- 55 Tenzing, *Man of Everest*, p. 51. On Ang Tsering, see Champak Chatterjee, 'Ang Tsering', *Himalayan Journal*, LII (1996), pp. 186-90.
- 56 See *Himalayan Journal*, XXV (1976-8), p. 17. On these Sherpas, see *Himalayan Journal*, VII (1935), pp. 159-60; VIII (1936), pp. 175-6; VIII (1936), p. 179; IX (1937), pp. 198-202, XII (1940), pp. 155-6; XVI (1950-51), pp. 132-3.

- 57 *Himalayan Journal*, XII (1940), p. 141; XI (1939), p. 217; XVI (1950-51), pp. 121-33; and XXVII (1966), pp. 188-9.
  - 58 For the obituaries of these Sherpas, see *Himalayan Journal*, X (1938), pp. 189-92; and XII (1940), pp. 134-6.
  - 59 Tenzing, *Man of Everest*, pp. 60, 35, 50, 72, 111, 197, 208, 205; and Tashi Tenzing interview.
  - 60 Tenzing, *Man of Everest*, p. 140.
  - 61 Henderson to Hunt, 2 January 1953, telegram; EE/68/Himalayan Club file, Royal Geographical Society Archives, London. See also Tenzing, *Man of Everest*, p. 222.
  - 62 Tenzing, *Man of Everest*, p. 227. Also EE/68/Himalayan Club file, RGS Archives.
  - 63 Stanley F. Stevens, *Claiming the High Ground* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 359.
  - 64 See Hansen, 'Confetti of Empire', and Hansen, 'Tenzing's Two Wrist-Watches'.
  - 65 See Tenzing, *Man of Everest*, pp. 270, 315; Unsworth, *Everest*, p. 337; 'Hillary and Tenzing: Everest and After'; and Edmund Hillary interview.
  - 66 *Himalayan Journal*, XVIII (1954), pp. 191-2; James F. Fisher, *Sherpas: Reflections on Change in Himalayan Nepal* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 117; and Vijay Jung Thapa, 'Lords of Everest', *India Today*, XXII (7 July 1997), pp. 54-6.
  - 67 *Independent on Sunday* (24 March 1991), p. 46.
  - 68 See Vincanne Adams, *Tigers of the Snow and Other Virtual Sherpas: an Ethnography of Himalayan Encounters* (Princeton, 1996), Vincanne Adams, 'Dreams of a Final Sherpa', *American Anthropologist*, XCIX (1997), pp. 85-98, Sherry Ortner, *Making Gender: the Politics and Erotics of Culture* (Boston, 1996), pp. 181-212, Sherry Ortner, 'Thick Resistance: Death and the Cultural Construction of Agency in Himalayan Mountaineering', *Representations*, 59 (1997), pp. 135-62, and Pierre L. van den Berghe, *The Quest for the Other: Ethnic Tourism in San Christobal, Mexico* (Seattle, 1994).
  - 69 See Jon Krakauer, *Into Thin Air* (New York, 1997).
- 9 Kasia Boddy: *The European Journey in Postwar American Fiction and Film*
- 1 The title of the first section of *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris, 1955), translated by John and Doreen Weightman (London, 1973).
  - 2 Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford, 1980), p. 41.
  - 3 Fussell is drawing on Daniel Boorstin's concept of 'pseudo events'. See *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (Harmondsworth, 1963). Boorstin writes that, 'while an "adventure" was originally "that which happens without design; chance, hap, luck", now in common usage it is primarily a contrived experience that somebody is trying to sell us' (p. 86).
  - 4 See Jean Baudrillard's seminal discussion on the re-creation of France's prehistoric Lascaux caves in *Simulations*, trans. Philip Beitchmann (New York, 1983). See also *America*, trans. Chris Turner (London, 1988), and 'Simulacra and Simulations', in *Selected Writings*, ed. Mark Poster (London, 1988), and Umberto Eco, 'Travels in Hyperreality' (1975), in *Faith in Fakes*, trans. William Weaver (London, 1986), pp. 3-58.
  - 5 P. J. O'Rourke, 'The Innocents Abroad, updated', in *Holidays in Hell* (London, 1989), pp. 15-21 (p. 19).
  - 6 *If It's Tuesday, It Must Be Belgium* (1969), directed by Mel Stuart.
  - 7 George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society* (Thousand Oaks and London, 1993), p. 83.
  - 8 Other brand names are also ubiquitous. Some talk of 'Coca-colonization', while Boorstin quotes Conrad Hilton as saying that each of the hotels in his chain is 'a little America', *Image*, p. 106.