British Travellers in Switzerland,
with special reference to some Women Travellers
between 1750 and 1850,

by

Jean A. Mains,

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CONTENTS

Chapter 1. The Approach to the Alps.
Chapter 2. Travellers and Travelling Companions.
Chapter 3. Literary Signposts to Switzerland.
Chapter 4. Transport, Lodging and Cost.
Chapter 5. British Women and the Swiss Scene.
Chapter 6. Marianne Colston, or The Long Honeymoon.
Chapter 7. Mariana Starke, or The Shelf of Oblivion.

Bibliography.
Chapter 1.

* 2. 1799. Pope Pius VI crossing the Mont Genis as the prisoner of General Berthier. Opp. p. 29.

Chapter 2.


Chapter 4.

* 5. Replica of the "Limmat" in the Verkehrshaus at Lucerne. Opp. p. 27.

Chapter 6.

1. The Bridge of St. Maurice. Opp. p. 64.
3. The Goat's Bridge over the Lucina. Opp. p. 84.

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The subject of this thesis first suggested itself to the writer as an original field of study upon her discovery that, whereas considerable research had been done and a body of literature built up with regard to men travellers in Switzerland between 1750 and 1850, little or nothing had been done with regard to women. A preliminary survey of the suggested field showed it, however, as being more than original; as promising, in fact, a fresh view of the Swiss scene, its life and its people, and as providing new information on travel in Europe during a remarkable period of history. Further examination also proved its extent; greater than had been at first apparent. This thesis therefore does not attempt to do more than explore and indicate the possibilities of its theme.

Its subject matter has been drawn from three sources; the first, personal records of travellers as preserved in their writings, the second, historical records of the period as preserved in museum collections, and the third, the writer's own experience, which has enabled her to assess the first and to elucidate it further by the use of the second. As an aid to this study the use of museum resources cannot be overestimated, and, among other Swiss collections, the writer has found those of the P.T.T. (Post-, Telegraphen- und Telefonverwaltung) Museum at Berne and the Verkehrshaus at Lucerne particularly valuable. Moreover neither the place nor the time expressed in the title of the thesis are so remote, that the writer has not formed an acquaintance with the one in the course of her travels, or a knowledge of the other from family tradition and from friends, whose memories stretched back to the days when Basel was served by the horse-bus, and the diligence was still to be seen on the Gotthard.
Women travellers before 1750 might be thought too few, and, after 1850, too many, for a study of their travels and works like the present to be practicable. But its delimitary dates have been fixed rather by considerations of cultural and historical background. Culturally the main event of this remarkable epoch was the Romantic Movement. Historically its central event, both in importance and time, was the French Revolution, which, with the career of Napoleon, had the effect of dividing it into three distinct periods as far as our tourists were concerned. During the first of these three periods many visited Switzerland, until the outbreak of war with France in 1793 interrupted their travels. Few did so during the second, which lasted until the return of peace in 1815. Then the roads, built by Napoleon in the years between, encouraged increasing numbers of a nation, whom the Industrial Revolution had enriched, to resume their travels. As their numbers fluctuated, so did their output of relevant literature, which continued, however, to record their experiences and impressions, as they were gained and changed in Switzerland, under the mounting influence of the Romantic Movement between 1750 and 1850.

The plan of this thesis is first to outline the history and development of travel in the region of Switzerland by reference to one of the passes of the Alps. It is then to describe the tourists themselves, their motives for going abroad and their travelling companions, next to discuss their preparations, in the cultural sense, for visiting the country, afterwards to deal with practical matters such as the transport they used, the accommodation they found and the cost of their journeyings, and then to consider the reciprocal influence of British women and the Swiss scene. In conclusion the travels and writings of two are studied in detail; those of Marianne Colston as typical of British women travellers, and those of Mariana Starke as exceptional.
CHAPTER 1

A proper study of British travellers in Switzerland, having special regard to women tourists between 1750 and 1850, does not begin with the earlier of these dates but very much before it. Though increasing numbers of women as well as men extended their range of travel from the mid-18th century onwards, travel, as distinct from local comings and goings, began in western Europe with the roads and the roads began with the Romans. The routes followed by the earliest wayfarers were determined originally by the physical features of the Continent, of which the Alps were the most important. Such natural advantages as river valleys and mountain passes were skilfully exploited, when Europe's first road-system was constructed during Roman times. Subsequently, when her second was constructed in the 18th century, many of the new roads did not deviate from the line taken by the old, a continuity well exemplified in Switzerland by a section of the National Highway No. 1, which has followed the same line from Murten to Moudon since 1778, when it was laid over the remains of a Roman way, that ran from Moridunum to Minnodunum. In the following pages some attention is therefore given to routes and roads, for it is significant that the appearance of the modern woman traveller coincided with the construction of the modern road. We propose, in these pages, to trace the development of travel in the region of Switzerland by way of introduction to our theme. To do so by taking account of every route or road used by our travellers would be impracticable, if not impossible. Consequently, without excluding others from consideration, we have chosen to centre our study on one, the Mont Cenis Pass with its approaches on either side from Lyons, Geneva and Turin. There are several valid reasons for this choice.
Our most valid reason is the fact that of all routes in Europe, for whatever purpose they were used, this busy, international way across the Alps was the one most frequented by travellers from Britain. For them it was an ever open road save, as we learn from Sir John Reresby, in time of plague. We read of these men and women as early as the 7th century in the pages of Bede. Many of them were pilgrims bound for Rome. Their numbers mounted over succeeding centuries until reduced by the Reformation, but, besides the religious, other types of traveller favoured this pass. So there grew up in connection with it a tradition, rich in historical and literary associations for the British, and, when Samuel Sharp wrote his Admonition to Gentlemen who pass the Alps, a thousand years after Bede, it was with sole reference to the Mont Cenis. Of this tradition some account will be given, for it was inherited and its influence felt by women travellers of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Another reason for this concentration on the Mont Cenis is the wealth of information that exists concerning it, since many wrote a description of the pass and their experiences as they crossed it. Indeed, until the completion of the modern Simplon highway in the early 19th century, no other route in the region of Switzerland was so often and so fully described. Such first-hand accounts, which are alone considered here, provide a valuable source of information from which to trace the development of travel through the ages. Not only do these works disclose much about their writers, they also tell us much about the conditions they encountered. In this respect Sharp's work is particularly valuable in supplying details of transport, what forms of conveyance were available and what they cost. A comparison of Thomas Coryat's narrative with Horace Walpole's shows how little that
transport changed through long periods of time, while a comparison of Mary Berry's earlier and later accounts shows how much it altered when a modern carriageway replaced an ancient foot- and bridle-track. A study of Lady Mary Coke's letters, in relation to the improved road-systems of her century, also gives us some idea of the speed of contemporary travel. In addition these descriptions by our travellers make it clear that, on the Mont Cenis, travel in the region of Switzerland was first organised on modern lines. Here were found the first guides and travel agents, the marons and voituriers, and here James Boswell's diary touches on the provision made for wayfarers by an Alpine hospice. Long before the days of inns, before the Gotthard refuge was opened in 1131 or the St. Bernard established in 962, the hospice of St. Nicholas offered rest for the night and shelter from the weather, for weather was always the determining factor in travel, especially in a mountainous country. Something of the hazards it could create, particularly in winter, can be found in John Mayne's or Mrs. Colston's journal and something, too, of its beauties and enjoyments.

We have said that descriptions of this celebrated route tell us much about their writers. A considerable number of these were young men making the Grand Tour. By 1750 the Tour had changed from its origin in the Renaissance period and its prime in the 17th century, when Bishop Joseph Hall earnestly exhorted the young Earl of Essex that "there is nothing that can quit the cost and labour of Travel, but the gain of wisdom,"¹ James Howell's instruction to see France first² and Robert Dallington's method for travel³

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were still accepted, but the spirit of their acceptance had altered. By the 18th century the Grand Tour still meant a stay of six months in France followed by a journey over the Mont Cenis for a year's stay in Italy, but the emphasis had to some extent shifted from its cultural to its social aspect. The change may be seen in the career of Walpole at Paris and Rheims in 1739 and in that of Boswell at Turin some thirty years later. Our women travellers in general were of the same social class, whose young men customarily finished their education with a period of residence abroad. Therefore their introduction to travel usually came from the experiences and reminiscences of fathers, brothers, husbands and sons who had done so, and the Grand Tour continued to impose on them its cultural tradition until a challenge to its influence came in the form of the Romantic Movement. They then became aware of the new approach to Nature, which stirred in John Dennis and came to life in Thomas Gray amid some of the most impressive scenery in Europe, the varied landscape of Savoy with its smiling valleys and austere massifs, its ravines, peaks, lakes and torrents fed by glaciers and eternal snows. In their writings we may observe our travellers' aesthetic and emotional approach to the Alps.

In other ways, too, the story of the Mont Cenis repays study, for here in the Western Alps, dominated by Mont Blanc, the origins of Alpinism in word and deed may be discovered. The 16th century was notably productive of outstanding treatises by Swiss writers, valuable in that they were based not on legend or hearsay but on first-hand information, and remarkable in that they had an important influence on British writers. The most valuable were Sebastian Münster's authoritative *Cosmographia Universalis*, Johannes Stumpf's famous chronicle containing the oldest narrative extant of a tour in the Alps,
Aegidius Tschudi's *Galliae Comatae* with the earliest account of a tour of Switzerland, Ulrich Campell's topographical description of the Grisons and Thomas Schöpf's survey of the Bernese Oberland. All these works, in their own day and later, helped to rouse interest and to popularise tourism in Switzerland, but the most remarkable was Josias Simler's *De Alpibus* Commentarius, printed at Zürich by Christoph Froschauer in 1574. This was a milestone in Alpine literature, the first book to deal exclusively with the Alps, a standard work, on which many others were based, and still of great interest and historical worth. It influenced, among others, the works of the diplomat Abraham Stanyan, the historian William Wraxall and the geologist James David Forbes. For our present purpose we may notice that it contained descriptions of the principal routes through the Alps, including the Mont Cenis.

Lastly, in giving our reasons why an historical outline of travel should be made by special reference to this pass, we may point out that not only were the Western Alps the subject of the earliest Alpine literature, but they were also the object of the earliest Alpine climbs and scientific fieldwork, particularly in geology. Mountaineering as a sport dates only from the 19th century — the English Alpine Club was formed in 1857 — but, as early as 1358, Sir Bonifacio Rotario of Asti made the first recorded ascent of a high peak, the Rochmamon on the east side of the Mont Cenis. However the history of climbing in the Alps may be said to have begun with a young Englishman, visiting Geneva on his Grand Tour. In 1741 William Ashe-Windham organised a party of friends to explore the then remote valley of Chamonix. The account, which he afterwards wrote of it, the first in English, had far-reaching results. It did much to open up the region as a centre of
tourism, and it drew the attention of British scientists to the glaciers as much as the attention of British climbers to the peaks. Swiss men of science like Pierre Martel, Horace-Bénédict de Saussure and Jean-André de Luc led the way and many British followed, notably Professor John Playfair, Sir Charles Lyell and James David Forbes. As the Mer de Glace drew the scientists and the sightseers, so did the "monarch of mountains" attract the climbers. It was first conquered by Balmat and Paccard in 1786, then by de Saussure in 1787 and again, six days later, by Mark Beaufoy, an Englishman.

The ladies were by no means so far behind these pioneers as might be thought. In the literature of the Alps a Mrs. and a Miss Campbell are frequently cited as having, in 1822, crossed the Col du Géant in the Mont Blanc massif, though they failed in their ambition to scale the peak. But there is an even earlier instance of strenuous mountaineering by women. In the year of Balmat and Paccard's success three English ladies, the Misses Parminter, are known "to have mounted the top of Buet ... after a journey of two hundred leagues through the Alps of Switzerland and Vallais."\(^1\) To have climbed the Buet in the Haute-Savoie was no mean achievement. Its first recorded ascent had been made in 1770 by de Luc for purposes of scientific observation. There can be no doubt that 1786 saw its first ascent by British women. Unfortunately we have failed to trace any account of their journey written by the Parminters themselves. The more we research in this literary field, the more we discover a surprising intrepidity in British women travellers, especially in view of the many restrictions placed upon their sex in the 18th and 19th centuries.

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\(^1\) Scots Magazine, November, 1786, Vol. 48, p. 528.
The Mont Cenis, "this renown'd Passage of the Alps,"\(^1\) is situated towards the western end of the Alpine mountain system. Running north and south it cuts at right angles through the central range of the three which form the Graian Group of Alps, drained to the north and west by the Arc and Isère, tributaries of the Rhône, and to the south and east by the Stura, Orco and Dora Baltea, tributaries of the Po. To-day, in the second half of the twentieth century, travellers between France and Italy cross it quickly and easily by means of a modern highway, with a maximum gradient of "1 in 10" and a minimum width of sixteen feet, which compares favourably with other trans-alpine routes. On an average it is open to wheeled traffic from late April to early November but is closed again by the snows of Martinmas until St. George's Day. In this respect it falls short of the Mont Genèvre, a neighbouring pass of lower altitude to the south, accessible all the year, while it surpasses the Little St. Bernard, of higher altitude to the north, open only from mid-June to late October. The Mont Cenis, the Mont Genèvre and the Little St. Bernard connect and lie wholly within French and Italian territory, but to omit from an account of British travellers in Switzerland all mention of these passes in the west would be as inadmissible as to disregard, say, the Brenner or Pontebba in the east of this extensive mountain chain. Though they have changed hands many times in the course of the centuries, none of these passes has ever been in the hands of the Swiss. Yet their existence has often determined our travellers' movements, sometimes for unexpected reasons. Mariana Starke crossed the Alps by the Pontebba in 1798, because one of her family was an invalid and the low

altitude of this pass enabled them to make the entire journey by coach. Samuel Rogers and his sister travelled to Italy by the Simplon but returned in 1814 by another route at the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. The Brenner was further removed from the possible scene of renewed hostilities.

Similarly, in 1701, Joseph Addison used the Mont Cenis in order to avoid the fighting in Lombardy and to reach the safety of neutral Switzerland as quickly as possible.

As a means of communication between Switzerland, south-east France and the Plain of Lombardy, the Mont Cenis was known and used from prehistoric times. However, if we may judge by archaeological remains, by literary references and by its mention in both the Peutinger Table and Antonine Itinerary, the Romans rather favoured the Mont Genèvre. No doubt the accessibility of this pass at all seasons was the main reason why it was preferred to the Mont Cenis, though the historian Ammianus Marcellinus has left a grim account of mule-teams and ox-wagons struggling through the hard snow of winter and the soft slush of spring. His description of the Mont Genèvre, dating from 353 to 378 A.D., is, in fact, the most detailed of any Alpine pass in Roman times. The pass continued to be used for military, administrative and commercial purposes and to share the fortunes of the Empire until the 4th and 5th centuries, when the imperial power moved to Byzantium and the hordes of Alaric swept down on Rome. From this time, as far as international traffic was concerned, it was gradually eclipsed by the Mont Cenis, chiefly because the latter could be approached and crossed from either side by a single valley, unlike the Mont Genèvre where several adjacent valleys had first to be negotiated. Choice of route, especially in earlier times, depended on the ease with which its col or summit could be reached.
rather than on the altitude or topography of an Alpine pass. This explains the comparatively late development of other passes. It explains why traffic did not come to the St. Gotthard until the 12th century, when the Devil's Bridge was built over the Schäflenen Gorge to give access to the pass near Andermatt, and why the Great St. Bernard was preferred by early travellers to the Simplon, which, though lower of altitude, was more difficult of approach.

As for the hardy dwellers on the Mont Genis trail, who, since before Roman times, had earned a bare subsistence by their flocks and herds and by the mountainside cultivation which always excited the wonder of travellers, they now acquired a new source of income by serving the needs of those who used the pass in the capacity of innkeepers, porters and guides. On the French side of the pass Lanslebourg was known as a town of inns and stables, where travellers, proceeding up the valley of the Arc from the direction of Grenoble, Lyons or Geneva, were accustomed to sleep the night before tackling the steep, three-mile ascent to the summit in the morning. On the broad plateau at the summit itself stood the hospice, founded ad peregrinorum receptionem in 614 by Louis I, Emperor of the West. Thereafter, during the steeper, six-mile descent to the Valle di Susa on the Italian side, wayfarers could shelter in the Benedictine monastery at Novalesa, which carried on its good work from 726 until as recently as 1855. Or they could push on to another house of the same order at San Michele della Chiusa, which lay beyond Susa on the main road to Turin, while all along the route peasants, for a modest consideration, opened their doors to travellers of the humbler sort, whose reception was the warmer for the immediate proximity of their hosts' livestock. As guides and porters the inhabitants acquired the name of maron, which appears in many travellers' accounts and is preserved in a local saying, "marrons de la Novalèse, mulets
Their unique knowledge of the locality rendered them indispensable as guides while, as porters, their strength, speed and sure-footedness astounded foreigners as much as their tricks exasperated.

Over the centuries those who worked the pass seemed, indeed, to change less than those who used it. When a new Rome of apostles, priests and martyrs began to exercise an authority the Caesars never knew, one of the chief incentives to travel in mediaeval Europe was the practice of the Catholic faith. Pilgrims thronged the roads that led to the Eternal City or beyond to Jerusalem. Their persecution in the Holy Land brought the Crusaders in their wake and this volume of traffic was further increased by the constant movement of ecclesiastical officials, which the administration of the Church required. The existence of a hospice at the summit proves that much of this traffic flowed through the Mont Cenis. Whether the Venerable Bede himself ever visited Rome is doubtful, but his *Ecclesiastical History* describes how two West Saxon rulers, Caedwalla and Ina, giving up their crowns, went to end their earthly pilgrimage at Rome and how —

"The same thing, about the same time, was done through the zeal of many of the English nation, noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women." 2

The details given by the writer point to some of these travellers using the Mont Cenis. It was therefore natural that succeeding generations should follow a trail blazed by their countrymen and that the pass should become the traditional route of British travellers crossing the Alps. Cnut is thought to have crossed in 1027 and, concurrently, to have obtained guarantees from

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Count Humbert of Savoy that, for the future, his subjects, both English and Danish, should have safe conduct and exemption from tolls in the Pass. The numbers of pilgrims continued to increase, especially during the 11th and 12th centuries. These years saw, also, the first three Crusades. On his return from the third Philip Augustus of France used the Mont Cenis, but his hostility barred this direct, homeward route to Richard of England. The English king therefore sought another way through the Alps, probably the Brenner, where his little party would be less conspicuous to enemies on such a busy, international thoroughfare. From this period, when travel was steadily increasing in Europe, comes another incident of interest in the present connection.

A papal bull of Alexander III, in the Treasury of the Court of Exchequer, and an itinerary, preserved in a manuscript of Matthew Paris in the Bodleian, these are the souvenirs of what would seem to be the first, definite record of Englishmen on the Mont Cenis. About March, 1161, Richard de Anesty, despairing of satisfaction from the English courts in his attempts to recover certain family estates, prepared to invoke the Papal courts at Rome.

"Thereafter I got my clerks ready, and sent them to Rome — to wit, Sampson, my chaplain, and Master Peter de Littlebury, and one man to attend them."

As time, money and patience were running short with the plaintiff, he despatched his messengers by the expeditious, old-established route. Their

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itinerary is reminiscent of a mediaeval *livre des postes* with its daily stages, but it is necessary to quote here only the section from Lyons to Turin, with the posts given in correct sequence by the chronicler.


The month of their departure may be significant in that de Anesty probably knew, from common knowledge in circulation among travellers, that, by the time his men reached the most arduous part of their journey, seasonal conditions in the pass would be ameliorating. The urgency of their mission would grant the little party no more than a night's respite anywhere. Therefore the stretch from Lyons to Turin would be covered in eight days as the itinerary indicates, unless, of course, their stop-over at the summit hospice was due to bad weather and they were held up by one of the violent gales or sudden fogs common in the mountains. However, as their ride to the summit began not at Lanslebourg, at the foot of the ascent, but about twenty-five miles further back, at St. Michel de Maurienne, this is a likelier explanation of why they went no further that day. It is even probable that this halt was part of their plans from the first. As clerks in holy orders, Sampson and Peter would be sure of a welcome and of hospitality at this refuge, which, like others in the Alps, was conducted under religious auspices primarily for those whose journey was in any way connected with the Church and for those whose means were limited. The two clerks and their man therefore qualified for admittance under both headings.

Travel through the Mont Cenis actuated by spiritual motives or Church affairs has been considered first because of its volume and extent, but
commercial and political incentives were also operative. The concessions won by Cnut specified merchants as well as pilgrims, proof of the former’s numbers and importance as early as the 11th century. This was in line with the general trend of European commerce, which had declined with the Roman Empire but revived with the return of favourable conditions in the 10th century. Then, for example, the Saracen menace had been extirpated from the Alps. Then, too, Venice was in the ascendant and trading ventures through the Mont Cenis, which had dwindled to a local exchange of wine, cheese and oil between Savoy and Piedmont, gradually developed into an international exchange between the states of Venice, Lombardy and Tuscany on the one side and France, the Low Countries and Britain on the other. Venetian merchants could offer the drugs, silks and spices of the East to English merchants, who sold the finest wool in Europe. By the second half of the 17th century trade through the pass had increased to such an extent that Duke Charles Emmanuel II of Savoy found it worth his while to spend four million livres, blasting a quarter-mile long passage through the rocks at La Cave. This shortened the way besides making it safer and easier. A commemorative inscription, placed there in 1670, stated that this undertaking had been to promote trade. Since he received the entire benefit, for example, from tolls, the Duke improved the road and, since he owned the land at either end, the improvement did not lay him open to attack, a consideration which delayed the development of certain other Alpine pass-roads.

Yet busy as it was, the route, until the early 19th century, consisted of only a track so rough that at one part, near Aiguebelette, horses and mules were specially trained to make the ascent and descent by using footholes cut
Untrained animals had to be led by their dismounted riders. Contemporary descriptions of the road make much of how it was overhung by threatening crags and underhung by fearful precipices. Add to these the ever-present threat of landslide, avalanche, brigandage and inclement weather, and it will be readily understood why conducted travel schemes were in operation between Lyons or Geneva and Turin for the benefit of inexperienced or nervous travellers. The advantage to the traveller was obvious, and the system became very popular, though it had its critics, of whom, at a later period, one was William Hazlitt. Indeed it is evident from Simler's De Alpibus Commentarius that travel in the mountains was already well-developed and well-organized by the 16th century, and that a reading public existed for a book which, among other features, offered practical advice on how to cross the Alps. The author dealt in businesslike manner with hazards such as avalanches. These occurred every year in the same place and therefore, on this matter, travellers were advised to consult the local inhabitants. On narrow paths, often cut into the cliff-face at considerable altitude, the usual trouble was giddiness or the danger of being blown over the precipice on the outer verge during a storm or a sudden gust of wind. To avoid head-on encounters with herds or sumpters, travellers' movements on these paths were carefully timed, but, if the arrangements failed, there was a definite rule of the road as to who took the wall and who gave way. Guide-posts at regular intervals marked out the way, but could not always be relied upon. The marons were not above removing them in order to force their services on straying wayfarers. On glaciers the party had to go roped and, for icy surfaces, shoes with spiked

soles helped. A stout alpenstock was also recommended. Riders did well to fit their mounts with calcins. Against snow-glare, dark veils had best be worn or spectacles obtainable from pedlars en route. Against cold or biting winds, a good protection was a layer of paper or, better still, parchment, introduced between the wearer and his clothes, but the best defence of all was to keep on the move.

There was no mention in Simler's work of wheeled transport, for it was quite out of the question. The building of highways on such terrain was beyond the capabilities of engineers then.¹ As at other crossing-points on the Alps, tourists, using their own coaches, had them dismantled at one end of the pass, the sections carried over by pack animals and re-assembled at the other. Goods were also conveyed by sumpter, usually mules, which were also used for riding. They were tougher and less sensitive to danger than horses, and their smaller, narrower hooves, their greater patience under heavy loads, their skin, more resistant to the effects of sun and rain, made them better fitted for worse conditions. The year round, at assembly points like Lyons, they could be seen, each animal loaded with balancing twin panniers or casks, tossing its scarlet fly-fringes and jingling its many harness bells as, three or four beasts to a man, they ambled off free along the trail, averaging a load of 350 lbs. and a distance of twenty miles per day, rather slower than horses. Nor did the deepest snow or hardest frost of winter halt the mule-trains. Rather these elements expedited their passage by covering and sealing dangerous crevasses. Coming from a land where the beast of burden was the horse, our travellers saw these mules as a novel feature of the Alpine

scene, "picturesque beyond expression."\(^1\) Coryat and Pennant noted the details of their gay, attractive trappings but offered no comment on the utility of their bells, their tassels and their plumes. Women travellers, sensitive of eye like Dorothy Wordsworth, were no less struck by the appearance of these caravans, "winding like a creeping serpent along the side of the bare hill,"\(^2\) Forced by the declivity to walk her horse over one section of the Gotthard road, Helen Maria Williams had reason to admire the firmness with which mules trod the same path under their heavy burdens. Her words imply the practicability of mules as against horses in the Alps.\(^3\)

Besides those engaged in merchandise from other countries and our own, the Mont Cenis must regularly have witnessed the passing of our ambassadors and their suites, government officials and couriers as well as soldiers of fortune like the Scotch colonel, who entertained John Evelyn and his party at Milan. Perhaps our best-known visitors to this locality were young men on Grand Tour. Thomas Coryat, John Dennis, Joseph Addison, James Boswell, Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole have all left some record of their journey, each with its individual contribution to make to this study of British travellers. The fullest, liveliest and, in these respects, the best is unquestionably Coryat's, which includes descriptions of Lyons and Turin, terminal cities of the route.\(^4\) The account is written with his usual high degree of accuracy and keen observation, though an obvious desire to omit no point of interest occasionally

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\(^3\) H. M. Williams, A Tour in Switzerland; or, a view of the present state of the Governments and Manners of those Cantons; with comparative sketches of the Present State of Paris, London, 1798, Vol. 1, pp. 181-183.
interrupts the sequence of the narrative. Culled from his reading, personal observation and local hearsay, the information he sets down, in no particular order, gives details of the climate and scenery, the natural resources of Savoy with its vines, grains, timber and water supplies, phenomena of red snails and migratory butterflies, local dress and customs, historical, literary and religious associations wherever possible, old legends and recent news, tolls, currency restrictions, passport control and health regulations, fellow-travellers, pilgrims, marons, noblemen and their suites, laden mules and dun kine with collars round their necks. He displays, like so many of his compatriots abroad, a morbid interest in goitre and a curiosity with regard to Catholic ceremonies. He mentions items of topical interest to his readers, such as the Earl of Essex’s visit to Lyons or Edmund Campion’s portrait in the Jesuit College there, and he expresses himself in terms which his readers will understand — goitres, as big as an English football; precipices, as deep as “Paules tower in London” is high. Not the least interesting, perhaps the most amusing, part of his account relates how he was carried some of the way in an Alpine chair. Coryat’s is probably the earliest description in English of this form of transport, which lasted long in the Alps and became, as we shall see, very popular with our women travellers.

It is interesting to compare Coryat’s performance on the Mont Cenis route in 1608 with that of de Anesty’s men in 1661, though their itineraries were not entirely identical. Coryat took seven days to cover the ground as against their eight, but he had two advantages they may have lacked. First, he had the services of a voiturier all the way and, additionally, of local guides between Aiguebelette and Chambéry, since for once he had abandoned his usual practice of travelling solo and afoot. Sampson and Peter’s money
allowance was limited, so economy may have prompted them to do without the
marons. They may also have suffered the handicap of April weather and of bad
roads due to melting snow, while Coryat's second advantage was that he
travelled in June. Everything considered, the earlier performance was
probably the more creditable. In any case comparison with the later effort
shows travel through the pass unchanged in four and a half centuries.

Another century was to elapse before John Dennis followed in Coryat's
footsteps, at the same rate over the same route. It was customary for
travellers, who had crossed the pass, to draw breath, as it were, at Lyons or
Turin and to recollect their experience in letter or journal while it was
still fresh in their memory. Dennis's letter, dated October, 1688, and
written at Turin, gives a day-to-day account of his journey as one of a
conducted party from Lyons. The opening lines are matter-of-fact enough but,
as we read on, it becomes apparent that "it is not the height nor depth nor
wildness of the scene, but the impression that the whole panorama makes upon
him that matters most."\(^1\)

"... the unusual heighth in which we found our selves, the
impending Rock that hung over us, the dreadful Depth of the
Precipice, and the Torrent that roar'd at the bottom, gave us
such a view as was altogether new and amazing," wrote Dennis,
and continued, "... we walk'd upon the very brink, in a littoral
sense, of Destruction; one Stumble, and both Life and Carcass
had been at once destroy'd. The sense of all this produc'd
different emotions in me, viz. a delightful Horrour, a terrible
Joy, and at the same time, that I was infinitely pleas'd, I
trembled."\(^2\)

It is remarkable that he was less amazed by the mountains than by the
conflicting emotions which the sight of them aroused in him. His transports
of mingled joy and horror reached their climax at the head of the pass.

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1 C. D. Thorpe, "Two Augustans Cross the Alps: Dennis and Addison on Mountain
Having dined at the town, the party exchanged their horses for *mules de Lanslebourg* for the crucial stage of their journey and began their ascent to the summit.

"And here," he wrote, "I wish I had force to do right to this renown'd Passage of the Alpes. ... I am delighted, 'tis true at the prospects of Hills and Valleys, of flowry Meads, and murmuring Streams, yet it is a delight that is consistent with Reason, ... But transporting Pleasures follow'd the sight of the Alpes, and what unusual transports think you were those, that were mingled with horrous, and sometimes almost with despair?"¹

If not the earliest writer, Dennis shows himself to be one of the first to express delight in the beauty of mountains. In his letter are thoughts and feelings which would not surprise us if they belonged to the age of Wordsworth and Byron. Coming from the age of Dryden, they assist in making a study of Alpine travel literature well worth while. These romantic tendencies are also to be found in Joseph Addison, who, thirteen years later, made the same journey though in the opposite direction. It has been said that this passage of the Mont Cenis made a great impression upon him.² It has been claimed that he deserves a place beside Dennis and Shaftesbury as a prominent 18th century literary man, who, long before Gray had seen the Alps, found mountain scenery not only interesting and pleasant, but also productive of that aesthetic delight he was later to call sublime.³ These statements are valid only if all that he ever wrote about the Alps is taken into account.

There is little foundation for them in what he wrote in 1701. Corresponding at the time with Edward Wortley Montagu, he confined his description of the

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 361.
3 Thorpe, op. cit., p. 482.
journey to a brief mention of its physical discomforts and passed on to the
more important subject of the poem, composed en route for the gratification of
his patron.

"I am just now arriv'd at Geneva by a very troublesome
Journey over the Alpes where I have bin for some days together
shivering among the Eternal Snows.  My head is still Giddy with
mountains and precipices and you cant Imagine how much I am
pleas'd with the sight of a Plain.  ... During my passage o'er
the mountains I made a Rhiming Epistle to my ld Halifax, ...  

It is significant, however, that a copy of A Letter from Italy was not
enclosed in the letter to Montagu but only promised.  We may therefore infer
that it was still unfinished or, at least, that it had not received its final
form.  In any case it seems hardly likely that the polished couplets, which
Johnson and Macaulay considered his finest poem, were composed riding a
dangerous mountain trail in the middle of the winter.  No doubt A Letter
from Italy was projected long before the writer ever reached Susa, and its
inspiration and composition owed little to the Alpes.  If Addison admired
mountain scenery, it was when distance lent enchantment to the view.  The
relationship in which he stood to the approaching Romantic Movement has been
well expressed in these words.

"He stands at the very turning-point in the history of a
certain mode of thought, ... the change from an age when men
frankly hated and feared all those things in Nature which are
neither sensuously pleasing, useful, safe, symmetrical, or
gaily coloured, to an age when men love and actually seek out
mountains, waste places, dark forests, cataracts, and storm-
beaten coasts.  What was once the ugly has become a department
(even the major department), of the beautiful." 

The first conflict between the old and new taste had received striking
expression while Addison was still a child.  In his Telluris Theoria Sacra,

Thomas Burnet could not entirely conceal a certain joy in the awfulness of the Alps. Yet his very argument depended on the conception that they were deformities. When we turn to what Walpole and Gray wrote of their travels in the Alps, we realise that the new taste has won its conflict with the old.

In 1739, after the shared intimacy of Eton and Cambridge days, the two young friends - Gray was twenty-three and Walpole a year less - embarked on the Grand Tour. In contrast to Sampson, Peter, Coryat, Dennis and Addison, they travelled in leisurely fashion and as comfortably as the conditions of the times allowed, in a postchaise, at the wealthier man's expense, attended by his servants. Typically they spent six months in France, at Paris in sightseeing and society and at Rheims in learning the language. They then set out for the zenith of the Tour, following the traditional route to Italy but pausing, as was the custom, at Lyons to visit places of interest, to make a week's excursion to Geneva and a day's visit to the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, the principal tourist attraction of the locality. It was this last occasion which gave them their "first tast of the Alps."

Rather than the Mont Cenis, it drew from them both their finest, most enthusiastic descriptions of the mountains so that, like Dennis, Walpole feared his correspondent's scepticism.

"This sounds too bombast and too romantic to one that has not seen it, too cold for one that has," he wrote to West.

On the contrary, his friend congratulated him with, "You can give such a

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Some weeks later he was to read a second description of the scene, this time from Gray.

"I own I have not, as yet, any where met with those grand and simple works of Art, that are to amaze one, and whose sight one is to be the better for: But those of Nature have astonished me beyond expression. In our little journey up to the Grande Chartreuse, I do not remember to have gone ten paces without an exclamation, that there was no restraining: Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff, but is pregnant with religion and poetry: ... . The week we have since passed among the Alps, has not equalled the single day upon that mountain."2

Upon Gray, the effect of this experience was profound. At the time he wrote no fewer than four descriptions of it, in his journal, to West, to Wharton and to his Mother, declaring that these scenes had been the most solemn, the most romantic and the most astonishing he had ever beheld.3

Eighteen years later it was to furnish the wild, romantic setting of The Bard. As for the Mont Cenis, it seemed to him to carry "the permission mountains have of being frightful rather too far."4 Apart from a few topographical errors, he wrote Mrs. Gray an excellent description of his eight days' journey from Lyons, as he rested in the Auberge Royale at Turin. The most exciting stage came as he crossed the summit.

"... the chaise was forced to be pulled to pieces, and the baggage and that to be carried by miles: We ourselves were wrapped up in our furs, and seated upon a sort of matted chair without legs, which is carried upon poles in the manner of a bier, and so begun to ascend by the help of eight men. It was six miles to the top... . The descent is six miles more, but infinitely more steep than the going up; and here the men perfectly fly down with you, stepping from stone to stone with incredible swiftness in places where none but they could go three paces without falling."5

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1 Ibid., Vol. 13, p. 185.
2 Gray, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 128.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 122, fn. 1, 128, 140, 122-123.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 129.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 126.
Walpole's description, as well as Gray's, shows the chair-lift unchanged over the hundred and twenty-odd years that had elapsed between Coryat's defeat by the marona and their own, rather terrifying experience with these "Alpine savages." ¹

In contrast to Walpole and Gray, in apparent indifference to the Alps, we find Boswell on his way from Switzerland to Italy in 1765. Boswell enjoyed travel, the new acquaintances, the novel experiences and the release it brought from the conventions and restrictions of life at home. In this respect he resembled many of those men and women, who left our shores to tour abroad. His journal reveals how men and manners stirred his emotions rather than Nature in the sense understood by the Romantics. The entries covering 1st to 7th January are in the main a record of human contacts made between Geneva and Turin. He elected to travel in what was probably the pleasantest way of all, by contracting with a voiturier, who, for a fixed price, undertook to convey and convoy, board and lodge him from one city to the other. It was slower than travelling by post but more economical and certainly safer on this particular route. Boswell had no complaint to make of his voiturier. Like the majority of his class he was out to do the best for his client once the bargain was struck. This functionary provided a chaise, a light, four-wheeled carriage able to take Boswell's valet as well if he did not choose to ride. Preoccupied with thoughts of his recent interviews with Rousseau and Voltaire, the young Scotsman prepared to cross the Mont Cenis. By the fourth day of his journey he was deep among the Alps, but more amused to see the Savoyards than Savoy. On the fifth, he lay at Lanslebourg and, on the sixth, rose

¹ Walpole, op. cit., Vol. 13, p. 188.
before dawn to pass the Mountain. It was Epiphany, and the marons insisted on Mass before departure. Lack of sleep and possibly the intense cold and the altitude induced in him a faint, but, by six o'clock in the morning, he had recovered and "mounted the Alps machine," borne by four chairmen and accompanied by two reserves to take their turn at the poles. The snow, at places, was six feet deep but well trodden down along the road by previous travellers. Boswell, therefore, reached the summit without much difficulty and halted at the "Hôpital des Pèlerins," maintained by the King of Sardinia. There he found a chapel "with a good bold bell," which was tolled at regular intervals for the guidance of travellers in bad weather, and a priest, who "lived as a kind of hermit to take care of the pilgrims and say Mass." Boswell "heard part of the service with a good deal of devotion," then sat down to an excellent meal of wine, bread, cold capon and partridge pie before a very comfortable fire in the priest's kitchen. The next evening was passed in very different circumstances. Arrived at Turin, he "put up at the Bonne Femme, a most magnificent auberge," and, all travel-stained as he was, plunged straight into the gay, social life of the town.

Meanwhile, in London, another traveller of a different sort was packing his bags. Samuel Sharp, a middle-aged surgeon of international repute, had prescribed for himself the sovereign remedy of the well-to-do invalid, a visit to the South. Recollecting his apprenticeship years, spent partly in Paris

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2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 24.
where he had met Voltaire, he decided to travel via Switzerland and renew the acquaintance at Ferney, "now that he is become the topic of conversation in almost every village in Europe." In those days this meant crossing the mountains by the Mont Cenis rather than by the Simplon or the Great St. Bernard as it did in later times. Though he encountered the usual hazards, Sharp relished the experience.

"Some parts of the Alps," he declared, "exhibit a most delightful and tremendous prospect, and were the first great object I met with amongst the marvellous."2

Already noted for his medical works, Sharp now broke fresh ground with a work of travel, which took the form of Letters from Italy. Two of these letters, dated 1766, describe his outward and homeward journeys over the pass. He wrote of the usual topics, of the chair-lift and the marons, "like goats, they seldom make a false step,"3 of the weather, as it affected the traveller in the mountains, and of coasting down by sledge from the summit of the pass to Lanslebourg. From a point well-named La Ramasse one could toboggan down, steered by a maron, in fifteen minutes. This was one of the thrills adventurous tourists looked forward to on the Mont Cenis, and Arthur Young was another writer who described it. Of accommodation at wayside inns like La Ramasse Sharp remarked that, among the Alps, he was "often astonished at the excellence of their diet"4 but would "not boast of the bedchambers."5 Of goitre and cretinism among the local people he thought, like Gray, that "the very sight of them turns the stomach,"6 but, as a medical man, he

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1 S. Sharp, Letters from Italy, describing the Customs and Manners of the Country, In the Years 1765, and 1766. To which is Annexed An Admonition to Gentlemen who pass the Alps, in their Tour through Italy, London, 1767, p. 2.
2 Ibid., p. 67.
3 Ibid., p. 291.
4 Ibid., p. 46.
5 Ibid., p. 297.
6 Ibid., p. 300.
Earliest extant illustration of travel in the Alps. 1310. The Emperor Henry VII travelling to Italy over the Mont Cenis, from the Codex Balduini Treverensis.
examined their cause and ascertained they were not congenital. Like Coryat he was struck by the country's immense hydrological resources, and noted how water-mills utilised the power which would one day supply the greatest hydro-electric scheme in Europe. Like the earlier traveller, too, Sharp satisfied his curiosity at the likeliest source by questioning local residents. Conversation with a servant girl at an inn gave him an idea of what life was like in the pass during winter. A monk furnished him with much information about local history, social and economic conditions, what taxes and revenues were levied and how the more able-bodied of the mountain folks worked as smallholders at home in the summer and as emigrant labourers in France during the rest of the year. Sharp admired their staunch patriotism, though his generally disparaging attitude towards foreigners was typical of his nation and age. He made one curious topographical error in his description of the Mont Cenis - "the descent on the Italian side is not so steep as that on the side of Savoy." It is equally curious that his statement is contradicted by the earliest extant illustration of travel in the Alps.

To these descriptive epistles Sharp, on the basis of his own experience and long before Mariana Starke or John Murray published their first guidebooks, appended his useful Admonition, which must have materially assisted the sale of his book.

Thus, "I would advise no Gentleman," he wrote, "to hire horses by the day, and pay for his diet, lodging, and passage over Mount Cenis, as he will be much imposed on in many of these articles." It was better at Lyons or Geneva to contract with a voiturin and, though

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1 Ibid., p. 290.
2 Ibid., p. 309.
His Sardinian Majesty did lay down certain ordinances to prevent disputes and impositions, to hold out for the best terms. If travellers were few, the voiturins were sometimes very reasonable. For the services of a man and two horses the traveller, with his own chaise, might expect to pay eight to eleven guineas, plus a tip of at least half a louis at the end of the journey. The average charge was eight to nine guineas and cheaper if one used a chaise provided by the voiturin. The chair-lift, however, was still the easiest way to travel, but strict regulations now governed its use.

"Every person who is carried over Mount Cenis in a chair, is obliged to employ six chairmen, or, if he be lusty, eight; or extremely corpulent, ten; of which, and, indeed, of all disputable matters, the Syndics are appointed by his Majesty absolute judges."

The Syndics were two magistrates, the one living at Lanslebourg and the other at Susa. On the arrival of tourists at either town, they summoned the muleteers and the porters from their work in the fields by ringing a bell. As always, Sharp advised, it paid to travel light.

"The pay for a mule to carry over a servant is forty sous, about two shillings and a penny. The pay for each mule which carries the baggage is fifty sous ...."^2

Regular users of the pass had their own special, light chaises, easily dismantled, transported and rebuilt. Sharp recommended his readers to use coaches without a perch, if they took their own. As for posting over Cenis, he considered it was "attended with some trouble," and he would not advise anyone "to drive fast on the edges of these precipices."^3

It will have been observed that Sharp addressed himself to gentlemen, but gentlemen were frequently accompanied by their families, as he had been by his

1 Ibid., pp. 309-310.
2 Ibid., p. 310.
3 Ibid., p. 311.
daughters. By his time increasing numbers of women were going abroad, and we begin to hear of them on the Mont Cenis. Single ladies, excepting the older ones, went *en famille*, but it was quite in order for married ones to go alone. Thus when Lady Mary Coke had crossed the pass and was changing horses twelve posts beyond Lyons, she met the Duchess of Northumberland driving south to Marseilles.

"... 'tis amazing, with all her infirmities, that She has the courage to take such long journeys," Lady Mary noted.¹

A detailed and intimate portrayal of life in high society at Turin precedes the account in her Journal of how she crossed the Mont Cenis in 1774. Its pattern had not altered in the decade between Boswell's visit and hers. When she reached the city at the end of January, the court was in mourning, but there seemed to be no curtailment of the balls, receptions, operas, coach-rides and card-parties that had diverted Boswell and the Sharps. Meantime the snow continued on the ground, freezing hard every night, and Lady Mary waited till the season would be far enough advanced for her to cross the pass to Lyons. Though the very thought of the journey was horror to her mind, she wished to be in England and began to watch for signs of spring, buds on a white thorn, rain succeeding snow, birdsong and the leafing of the elder. At last, on Easter Sunday, she took her leave of the Royal Family, left Turin on Monday, crossed the pass on Tuesday, reached Lyons on Friday and wrote an account of her journey at her lodgings on Saturday, 9th April.

"... I was remarkably unlucky in the weather," she wrote, "it snow'd & blew very hard all the day."²

Though she does not specifically say so, it is clear that she was carried

Section of the Peutinger Table, 4th century, showing Switzerland: original in the National Library of Vienna.
in a sedan. By the 18th century some concession had been made to the age, rank, wealth or frailty of travellers by the introduction of covered chairs. "... the snow," she went on, "had cover'd all the tracks, & the men did not know where to tread; they were often above their knees in snow, & fell down more than once. I really thought I run a very great risk of being precipitated down some of these terrible precipices ... ."

But, between Lanslebourg and Lyons, Lady Mary travelled, no doubt as she usually did, by post: that is, by hiring fresh horses stabled in readiness at official relay-stations every six or seven miles along the post-road. To cover this stage of her journey in three days was good going, in an age when ordinary traffic found it hard to maintain fifteen miles of progress per day. It was apparently twice as fast as her friend, Walpole, who took six days over the same road in 1739. It will, of course, be remembered that Walpole chose a leisurely pace whereas she was anxious to be home. Actually a chronic suspicion of all servants as potential thieves and murderers made her avoid putting up at an inn, if she could manage to drive on through the night. Her rate of travel was, therefore, not so fast as at first appears, especially when we consider the assistance lent it by the marked improvement in roads, which took place in her century. The difference, which this improvement made to travel, makes it appropriate to interpolate some account of it here, with particular notice of the roads our travellers used in the region of Switzerland.

The year 1716 had seen the creation in France of the Corps des Ponts et Chaussées, a body of road and bridge experts and engineers. In 1747 came the foundation of its training school, the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées. As

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1 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 329.
Section of the Peutinger Table, 4th century, showing Switzerland: original in the National Library of Vienna.
a result of this and of the work of engineers like Perronet and Trésaguet, France, by the middle of the century, possessed the best road-system in the world, with almost twice as many highways as in Roman times, 15,000 miles as against 8,500.

"If the French have not husbandry to show us, they have roads," said Arthur Young. ¹

These fine roads were imitated by other continental countries, especially the German states and also Switzerland. In the latter, after the subjugation of the Swiss tribes in the century before Christ, the Romans had been the first to construct highways, usable in all weathers and at all seasons. Primarily they were to ensure communications between the central authority at Rome and the provincial governors, officials and legions stationed north of the Alps, but they were also to facilitate travel and trade. The Peutinger Table shows Switzerland to have had as comprehensive a road-system as local topography allowed and the conditions of the times required. This takes no account of the many side or secondary roads used by local traffic. Centring on Roman settlements like Augusta Raurica, Aventicum and Vindonissa, the network was most extensive in the north and west, in the Alpine foreland and the region of the Juras. In common with other provinces of the Empire after its decline, Switzerland continued to use the imperial highways throughout the Middle Ages, but never to renew or effectively repair them until the 18th century. By then, as even to-day, sections of these roads were still in use in every part of the country. Travellers were still driving through the rocky archway of the Pierre Pertuis on the road from

¹ A. Young, Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789, ed. Miss Betham-Edwards, London, 1900, p. 7.
Tavannes to Sonceboz in the Juras and riding over the Julier Pass between the famous "milestones," which feature in so many 17th and 18th century prints. It was left to Berne to take the initiative in a programme of modern road-building.

In 1740 Friedrich Gabriel Zehender drew up his Memoriale and presented "Aux Avoyers de Berne" his petition in favour of new roads for wheeled traffic. On his advice the project was put in hand. Sometimes following the line of the old Roman roads, the new highways radiated in all directions from the capital and crossed the cantonal boundaries to connect with the roads of other parts of Switzerland. They ran north to Solothurn, north-east to Burgdorf, Langenthal, Aarau and Baden and from Aarau to Brugg and Zurzach, north-west to Aarberg with branches to Biel and Neuchâtel, south to Thun, east to Konolfingen and Lengnau, south-west to Fribourg and, most important of all, west-south-west to Murten, Payerne, Lausanne, Moudon and by the lakeside to Geneva. This great highway, which left Berne by the ancient city gateway of the Murtentor, was constructed by the engineer and topographer, Pierre Bel of Payerne. A law of 1757 laid down standard dimensions for these roads: a width of 30-36 pieds⁴ - at certain places 40 pieds - for main roads like the one to Geneva, and 20-24 pieds for secondary roads like the one to Thun or Lengnau. The Bernese roads were a model and a stimulus to the other Swiss cantons and a delight to those who travelled on them. They were an invitation to tourists.

Lying between France and Switzerland and crossed by routes connecting them, Savoy, too, looked to her roads. In the year that Boswell drove over them,

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1 The original document may be seen in the archives of the P.T.T. (Post-, Telegraphen- und Telefonverwaltung) Museum, Berne.
2 An old measure of distance: 1 pied = 33 cms.
Pennant could note that they "were in most places thro' the whole Dutchy very bad, but many attempts are made here and there to repair them effectually." 1

Contemporaneously with the changing condition of the roads may be seen the changing attitude to Nature, the new-found delight in mountains and scenery already noted in connection with Dennis, Addison, Walpole and particularly Gray. This change of attitude is generally and rightly attributed to their influence and to that of other writers of the 18th and 19th centuries like Haller, Gesner, Rousseau, Goethe, Wordsworth and Byron, all of whom knew Switzerland and the Alps. Some credit, however, must also be given to those, unknown to fame, whose useful toil made possible the smoother, safer roads on which our travellers, free as never before from accident and discomfort, could enjoy the beauty of Nature and record it in their writings.

Still, in Haller's words, "no wheel had crossed the Alps" until Napoleon decreed the construction of highways over the Simplon in 1800, the Mont Genèvre in 1802 and the Mont Cenis in 1803. By 1805, 1807 and 1810 respectively, the old, rough tracks were at last transformed into carriage- or rather gun-carriageways as a result of Marengo. None knew better than an ex-artilleryman like himself the importance of good roads in the consolidation of military gains and the protection of political interests. Not economic but strategic and political considerations brought about the construction of these transalpine roads, for their cost outweighed any economic advantage to be gained. Napoleon was not the first to possess this knowledge, but he was the first to act upon it since the Romans. Therefore, in 1803, he was prepared to spend 20,000,000 francs in modernising the Mont Cenis. The old Roman method

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of Alpine road-making had favoured a steep climb with a minimum of bends.
Napoleon's engineers reversed this by constructing the new highway in a series
of great loops - there were six, for example, between Lanslebourg and the head
of the pass - so that travellers gained in time what they lost in reduced
mileage. One other technical detail is worth mentioning. From its
inauguration in 1810 this transmontane road remained unsurpassed in width by any
other between Vienna and Nice until the thirties of the present century. Nor
was Napoleon content to stop at the construction of the road itself. As in
the case of his other highways over the Alps, he made provision for its future
maintenance, established refuges at regular intervals, restored the pilgrim
hospice, which had stood beside the summit tarn for a thousand years, and
offered generous tax concessions to any prepared to settle along the route.
About forty families are known to have taken advantage of his offer. With
these changes - though the weather and the sharp descent to Susa still called
for vigilance - the old, renowned passage of the Mont Cenis disappeared for
ever.

If there were regrets for its passing - though we hear of none - they
must have been purely sentimental. Those who worked the pass had nothing to
lose by the changes. Those who used it - even the British - blessed the
name of Napoleon, as their carriages rolled over his splendid road for the
first time in 1814. Few, indeed, of their nation had been seen there or
anywhere else in the region of Switzerland since the outbreak of war in 1793.
History, however, was to repeat itself. As in 1802, an apparent end of
hostilities, a false sense of security, an easing of war-time restrictions and
Europe's most enthusiastic nation of travellers were off on another post-war
rush abroad. This time the rush, if checked by the Hundred Days, was redoubled
by Waterloo. It was remarkable how the new era of travel brought a break with tradition for, in consequence to a large extent of the new, romantic attitude to Nature and the interest of travellers in scenery, the popularity of the Mont Cenis began to decline. In the opinion of British tourists its scenery was "not at all so magnificent as that on the Simplon, nor so diversified." Nevertheless numbers of them continued to use it and, from their writings, we learn what travel was like under the new conditions created by the genius of Napoleon.

Among the first of the post-war tourists was a small party from Ireland, consisting of John Mayne, his brother and sister-in-law. The diary Mayne kept, in detail and episode, minute and humorous, presents a rare picture of travel as it then was. If without personal knowledge of its former perils and difficulties, he was fully appreciative of the new state of affairs on the pass. He saw the passage of the Mont Cenis performed with the greatest facility and the safety and convenience of travellers well consulted. He observed how carriages of every kind could cross with ease, except after a heavy fall of snow, when sledges and chairs had to be used and carriages taken to pieces as formerly. He counted twenty-five houses of refuge, located where they were likeliest to be needed and within bell-sound of each other. They were inhabited, he wrote, by seventy-five persons, whose sole employment it was to attend to the repairing and clearing of the road and to assist travellers. At the commencement of winter these houses were well stocked with flour, salt provisions and other necessities. Mayne's account, however, makes it clear that the unpredictable, unpreventable factor in travel remained, that of the

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weather. When he and his friends crossed, the mountain was covered with snow many feet deep. Fortunately it was frozen so hard that their wheels seldom sank into it more than a few inches. Still they took the usual precaution of hiring out-walkers to accompany their coach and hold cords attached to the roof to save an upset, should the snow prove anywhere treacherous. On this occasion the descent to Lanslebourg was alarming, partly owing to the state of the road and partly to the manner of its construction.

"... the precipice is quite open and unprotected," he wrote, "and the road not being an exact level, but (in order to throw off the water) sloping gently to the outer edge, our wheels were every minute sliding towards the precipice, and often so near as to try the strength of our nerves." ¹

If Mayne was impressed by the new road as a feat of engineering, he was more deeply affected by the beauty of the surrounding scene, viewed under circumstances to satisfy the most ardent romantic of his day. Arriving there about seven on a February evening, he and his companions intended to sleep at Susa, but a large party of English filled the inn. Consequently, the sky being perfectly clear, they determined to enjoy the novelty of ascending the Mountain by moonlight. Mayne afterwards declared he had never been "more completely gratified"² than by this journey. He recalled the solemn stillness of the hour, the tremendous scenery of rocks, torrents and precipices, the winding road and the long, interminable line of Alps, covered with snow and illuminated by the moon - "all this awakened in us ideas that must be felt to be understood."³

Mayne's reaction to the new passage of the Mont Cenis may be taken as fairly representative of contemporary travellers. Mary Shelley wrote of the

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., p. 283.
³ Ibid.
scene as "desolate and there is something dreadful in going on the edge of an 
overhanging precipice."\textsuperscript{1} Shelley compared the rocky defile of La Cave with 
the scene described in the \textit{Prometheus} of Aeschylus. Claire Clairmont, who 
accompanied them, told how they dined on the top of Cenis and blessed Napoleon, 
"for the passage must have been dreadful before the new road was made."\textsuperscript{2} Mary 
Berry thought it was impossible to see a road more beautifully constructed. In 
her opinion, one of the most mountainous passes in Europe was "now rendered 
capable of being crossed as quickly as the same space of plain."\textsuperscript{3} This was 
perhaps to exaggerate, but, unlike the Shelleys or Mayne, the writer had 
memories of the pass as it was in the old days. This, doubtless, influenced 
her opinion. Miss Berry has left several descriptions of the Mont Cenis, 
written at the time of her several crossings. On the first of these occasions, 
in 1783, she wrote a lengthy account in which, travelling towards Susa, she 
described the road the whole way from Montmélian as "most romantic and 
beautiful" and "in no respect dangerous."\textsuperscript{4} Being transported by chair, she 
observed it was carried so near the ground that, were the porters to fall, "one 
could hardly be hurt."\textsuperscript{5} The scene seems never to have bred satiety in her. 
The sublime beauties of every inch of the way made a hardly less strong 
impression upon her at her third crossing, in 1790, than they did at her first. 
The passage of the Mount never failed to be for her "a most agreeable day's

\textsuperscript{1} Mary Shelley's Journal, ed. F. L. Jones, Norman, U.S.A., 1947, p. 95. 
\textsuperscript{3} Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the year 1783 
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 34, 37. 
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.
journey, "1 but, not unnaturally, what she remarked on most in 1816 was the change in the road and the consequent effect upon travel.

"The passing of Mont Cenis has always been to me an agreeable day, even when the manner of transport was so little convenient; now it is a delicious drive, upon the best of roads."2

Her words make a fitting conclusion to this outline of how travel developed in the region of Switzerland and the Alps up to the earlier part of the 19th century.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 227.
CHAPTER 2

Having sketched the development of travel in the region of Switzerland from the time when, perhaps, the first women from our islands to cross the Alps were wives of the legionaries or slaves, bound for the market at Rome, we are ready to turn our attention to some of those who travelled there between 1750 and 1850. In each of the two concluding chapters of this thesis, we propose to study one of those women individually, but, in the present chapter, we shall consider them rather as a group. The members of this group are diverse, yet they have one thing in common. A literary account of their travels has been written by women as different as a governess and a duchess, a squire's daughter, a poet's sister and a parson's wife, a German ambassadress British by birth, a Quaker missionary of French extraction, a young bride, a disconsolate widow and a middle-aged spinster, a political refugee and a grand tourist, a social reformer, a celebrated authoress, an invalid, a scientist and mathematician and a leader of London society.

Within this group we notice a wide age range. There are young girls like Maria Josepha Holroyd, some, like the Wynnes, still at their lessons and others, like Beaujolais Campbell, under the charge of a governess. Their letters and diaries can stand comparison with those written by adults. They are rarer, too, than recollections of childhood, composed long after the events they describe, and are entirely different from them in character and content. In her contemporaries' opinion, the early letters of Maria Josepha Holroyd had a merit that deserved preservation. Gibbon described them as "incomparable," and her correspondent and aunt, Selena Holroyd, wrote of them

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in later years —

"As I think it is likely some of your younger children may be poor, if your letters are collected they might make one of them rich!" ¹

Eugenia Wynne at the age of nine and her elder sister, Elizabeth, at the age of ten began to fill, in the case of the first, twenty volumes and, in the case of the second, no fewer than forty-one with intimate and original details of their life and times. Letters, hotel bills, poems, recipes, quotations and notes about distances and routes supplement a record in their pages of travel and prolonged residence abroad, between 1789 and 1857. These priceless diaries tell us that, in 1792, they and their family were staying at Wartegg as guests of the Marquis de Bombelles and his wife, most prominent of the enigrés, whom the Swiss diet had permitted to shelter in Switzerland after the French Revolution. Their description of a three-years' stay in this pleasant region of north-east Switzerland is uncommon in the sense that, at this period, the district was seldom visited by British tourists and therefore seldom described. The account of a journey through Switzerland and over the Simplon to Italy, in 1817, by Beaujolois Campbell is another exercise full of shrewd observation, naïvely delightful comment and youthful thoughts upon life. It is a period piece, that captures the spirit of the time and sheds light on the subject of British tourists in Switzerland. At the opposite end of this wide range, which characterises our group of literary travellers, come those whose mental energy enabled them to begin or continue their writing at an advanced age. Mrs. Pickering, in 1900, was recollecting Switzerland as she saw it in 1840. Miss Berry, in her eighties, was successfully endeavouring to recall the many years left far behind. Mrs. McTaggart, in a sprightly

¹ Ibid.
preface to her memoirs, was assuring her readers that, being in her seventy-seventh year, "it is not probable she will trouble the public again." In making a critical study of their works, it is, however, noticeable that the best writing comes generally from women travellers in the middle years, twenty to fifty.

Their was a time of sharp social divisions. Looked at from this angle, it would appear that those, who by birth or marriage were of the nobility, saw less of Switzerland than travellers in any other social category. This surprises us, until we remember that the tradition of the Grand Tour lay most heavily on members of this class. Conventionally they embarked on tours of France and Italy, which took in Switzerland incidentally, if at all. Consequently, like Lady Blessington's *Idler in Italy*, their accounts of Switzerland form only a minor portion of their works. We must remember, too, that British women of rank were readily accepted and well received in foreign society. Since it was in cities and towns rather than on country estates that society gathered, it is at Geneva or Lausanne that we find Lady Charlotte Campbell and the Duchess of Northumberland or Lady Holland and Lord Sheffield's young daughters. In these surroundings they tended to stay, enjoying the kind of life to which they were accustomed. Lady Frances Shelley made a venturesome exception on her trip to Chamonix and the Tête Noire. As a result their contributions to travel literature deal with urban rather than rural life in Switzerland. Were the wives and daughters of the gentry any more enterprising or less bound by convention in their travels? One, at least, would seem to say "yes."

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"My Grandfather," wrote Mrs. McTaggart, "was of an ancient family in Scotland—some of our relations call it noble, but I am contented with gentility."¹

In 1789 this lady made an eventful tour, unusually extended for those days. She contemplated the Rhone at Geneva but was disappointed in the glaciers at Chamonix. She rode on muleback over the Col de Balme and inspected the dungeons of Chillon. She lost her way on the road from Berne but eventually reached Lucerne. Zug, Albis and Zürich, where she called on Lavater, were included in her itinerary. She was saved, by the prompt action of a friend, from slipping into the Rheinfall at Schaffhausen. It seems a pity, her book being now so rare, that we have been able to trace only one lending library in Britain that possesses a copy.²

Written by a member of the same class but privately printed only, the memoirs of Squire Stanhope's daughter of Cannon Hall in Yorkshire deserved a wider circulation. They contain, among other interesting passages, a picture of Switzerland unspoiled by tourism as, in the opinion of the authoress, it still was towards the middle of the 19th century. Then "there were no railways or funiculars, no omnibuses or great caravansaries, one exactly like another, filled with nothing but English and Americans."³ Travel was then more of an adventure than it later became. If daughters of the landed gentry, like Anna Pickering or Charlotte and Jane Waldie, show initiative in the scope of their travels, they were not exempt from the influence of the Grand Tour. As a result of their tour of the Continent shortly after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, Charlotte Waldie, better known perhaps as Mrs. Eaton, published

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 1.
² Brighton Public Library.
Continental Adventures. A Novel. This was a thinly veiled account of the Swiss sojourn of the Shelleys and their circle in 1816. Jane Waldie, her younger sister, wrote, as she travelled, in the tradition of the Grand Tour, which regarded France and Italy as the main objective and Switzerland merely as part of the route. Therefore, though France is fully and Italy minutely described, it is not until the writer leaves Domodossola and crosses the Simplon that we read of Switzerland, towards the end of the fourth volume of her descriptive sketches. Maria Edgeworth comes under the same social grouping as the Waldies. If the tour arranged by her Swiss friends to suit her interests and tastes was conventional in so far as it took her to Chamonix, the Berner Oberland, Lucerne and the environs of Lake Geneva, her visits to educational establishments, like "Fellenburg, Pestalozzi, and Père Gérard's schools,"¹ were certainly out of the ordinary for a woman of her class.

Schools, hospitals, prisons and charitable institutions in Switzerland were more often visited by women who belonged to the middle ranks of British society. The rise of this class to wealth and power was a feature of the 18th century which had an important effect upon tourism. On the strength of fortunes amassed by trade, commerce and banking in the City or the provinces, or perhaps overseas in the Indies as planters or nabobs, they could afford to vie with the nobility and the gentry and copy their way of life, including the habit of foreign travel. In this way Mrs. Beaufoy, of a prosperous family of brewers, Mrs. Godwin, wife of a retired servant of the East India Company, and the Wynnes, daughters of a successful "Hamburg" merchant, were enabled to visit Switzerland. We note, too, how the journal of Mary Berry opens with a

reference to an improvement in her father's financial position, which brought travel within the reach of her and her sister. We see these women as a class distinguished by greater intellectual curiosity and social conscience. We number among them Margaret Somerville and Elizabeth Fry. We place in the same category the wives and daughters of men who enjoyed professional status or held executive office. We instance Eliza Bray, widow of an artist - the younger Stothart - and later the wife of an Anglican vicar, Helen Maria Williams, daughter of an army officer, and Mariana Starke, whose father was governor of Madras. Finally we observe, from a comparative study of their works of travel, their tendency to go further, see more and write better of Switzerland than women of the other two classes we have already mentioned.

What brought so varied a company of women to Switzerland? Did they travel because it was the fashion? This was a powerful incentive to many, if not most. Did they come as literary pilgrims to sentimentalise over Julie's bower at Clarens or the worn flagstones of Chillon? The writings of Rousseau and Byron directed the steps of many in Switzerland. Had they an interest in the political or economic structure of the country? In general, not: women writers dealt little with these subjects as compared with men. Were they anxious to meet the people? Outside the larger towns contacts of this kind were fleeting. Were they not rather anxious, as lovers of Nature, to enjoy the scenery? This purpose was to outlast and outdo all the others and, in the long run, to inspire most of the books that our travellers wrote. Their motives, in fact, were as varied as themselves. It was seldom, too, that a single purpose inspired them. A holiday alone may have been Mrs. Baillie's objective. Lady Charlotte Campbell's was more complex. Ostensibly her children must have the advantage of foreign travel, but she kept to herself the
knowledge that she needed to economise, that she wanted to end her association with the Princess Caroline of Wales, that she was on the brink of marriage with her son's tutor and that all these intentions could be realised more easily in Geneva than London. With her own relish for foreign parts, Mrs. Boddington gave it as her opinion that those, who said they travelled for their children's education or some such cultural reason, nine times in ten kept the true reason hid at the bottom of their heart. There, "in a half-starved voice," it whispered "economy, or love of change; or perhaps the anticipated pleasure of home-loving folks ... ."¹ It is true that many ended an account of their travels with a patriotic sigh of relief to be back in Britain, but it was most probably love of change that first took them abroad. As Mrs. Boddington said, it must seem odd to foreigners that we should maintain there was "nothing like England"² and then run away from it. It was indeed, and Continentals had difficulty in reconciling the addiction to home with the mania for travel displayed by the English.

As one, who had lived among them, wrote, "There is some radical vice either in the character, domestic organization, or customs of the English, for they are contented nowhere: they appear tormented by a rage of locomotion ... . It is a matter of little moment to them," he declared and he knew them well, "whether they shall be happier at this place or that; their great object is, not to be to-morrow where they are to-day."³

This mania he found not confined to individuals but common to families of all classes, fortunes and ranks. He went so far as to say that often it lacked any apparent motive. On the spur of the moment they set off for Italy, Germany, Scotland or France - he might have said Switzerland too - without

² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 7.
any precise object in view. They imbibed this taste for travel in early youth and retained it till old age. Mary Berry relates in her journal how she acquired it as a child of eight. When two aunts returned from a residence of several years abroad, the account her young ears heard of the beauties and charms of Italy first impressed on her mind a desire to see what they described. Lady Frances Shelley tells us how she and her husband toured abroad in their younger days that they might have something pleasant to talk about in their age.

The common excuse of travellers was that they went to profit by the cultural and educational facilities and the social polish obtainable only abroad. Always the raison d'être of the Grand Tour, these advantages had formerly been the prerogative of youths but, after 1750, more and more we see them enjoyed by girls. Parents, like Mrs. Ashton Yates, began taking their daughters abroad when they left the schoolroom, and when they began to require more advanced tuition in literature, languages, music and art. It is instructive to find Martha Macdonald Lamont, after a term at a finishing school in Paris, visiting Switzerland under the wing of a family of friends and referring to herself as "making the grand tour to improve in sense and judgment ... to rub off in every way possible, the rust of English prejudices."¹ Even the most confirmed Swissophiles had to admit that the country was not to compare with Italy or France for the study of literature, history and the arts. After Italy, as Mrs. Colston was in a position to say, the traveller would find little to interest him in architecture, sculpture or painting in transalpine cities. In the opinion of Mrs. Strutt, historical associations

¹ M. M. Lamont, Impressions, Thoughts, and Sketches, during two years in France and Switzerland, London, 1842, p. 22.
seldom presented themselves to British tourists in Switzerland. They allowed, however, that Lausanne and Geneva, in particular, were excellent centres for the study of music and languages. Protestant parents too — and most of our writers were strongly of this persuasion — preferred them to other places on the Continent, where the Catholic influence was greater. Often, of course, the tradition of the Grand Tour prevailed, and, as they crossed the Alps to Italy, the British saw Switzerland coincidentally, more as a matter of geography than of choice. This tended to cut down their descriptions of the country. Mrs. Yates ought therefore to be mentioned for this exceptional difference. The two volumes, written as a consolation for her younger children left at home, were devoted almost entirely to Switzerland and came to an end as the writer crossed the Simplon and approached Domodossola.

But times were to change and fashions in travel to alter. In Mrs. Eliza Bray we recognise the new, now familiar type of tourist, who went to Switzerland, as the title of her book implies,1 to enjoy its mountains, lakes and other natural beauties. In contemporary literature there was no longer to be found the indifference of earlier travellers towards natural scenes, expressed in one of Addison's earliest references to the Alps as a barrier, which must be surmounted but need not be regarded as of any particular aesthetic import. By the end of the 17th century it is evident from the works of Dennis that a certain pleasure, not to be easily accounted for by those who felt it, was beginning to be mingled with the horror, which often accompanied this indifference. In the 18th century a pre-romantic discovery of the grandeur of mountains, already noticeable in the letters of Walpole and Gray, resulted from

extensive travelling in the 'sixties by men like Thomas Pennant and Samuel Sharp and in the 'seventies and 'eighties by Thomas Martyn, John Moore and William Coxe. The Duchess of Northumberland's remark must have been one of the last of its kind when she wrote —

"A rude kind of Magnificence appears in the stupendous works of Nature. The Clouds at Times were manifestly under our feet. At the same Time that one could not see, without a sentiment of Horror, Rocks suspended over one's head."1

A delight in Nature gradually replaced the earlier, less sympathetic response, as the Romantic Movement gathered force and momentum. Consequently Wordsworth's pedestrian tour of 1790 was neither original nor novel except in the important respect of its literary results. First in the Descriptive Sketches, then in the Prelude and ultimately in Dorothy's Journal is to be seen the full expression of the new, romantic approach to Nature. Less emotionally inhibited than men, some women writers of this new era of travel drew on themselves the derision of others. Clarissa Trant scornfully refused to spare time or space in her journal for "all the raptures which every one feels, or fancies they feel"2 as Switzerland opens to their view. She was in the minority, however, in declining to describe scenery. Lady Blessington, who had made the same vow, waived it as she descended the eastern slopes of the Juras. To the beauty of the scene was added an experience, similar to that of Dorothy and Mary Wordsworth at the castle of Lenzberg, a journey through clouds of mist which, passing along the mountainside with inconceivable rapidity, assumed in their flight a thousand fantastic forms. The sensations produced in the writer by this scene stimulated, yet were almost

beyond, her powers of expression: a reaction we find typical of women.

There was more than one way of looking at Nature as their works disclose. In general women tended to see it with the eye of reality, to look at objects for their own sake and not, for example, as Samuel Rogers did, his view obscured by the associations, literary, historical or artistic it produced in his mind. Augusta Becher's visual approach was that of a child, recollected in adult life, it is true, but simple and direct.

"And then crossing the Jura - snow still lying, and through the snow the lovely purple crocus and blue gentian peeping out; and then, at a certain turn of the road I so well remember, mother set me facing - such a sight - and said, "What do you think that is?" I said, "The sea." But it was the Lake of Geneva so lovely, to lie before my delighted eyes all that summer ... "

Louisa Costello observed with an artist's eye the splendid effects of light and shade in the production of rich colours, the blues or greens of the Swiss waters, depending on the seasons at which they were seen. Maria Edgeworth was inclined to see Nature in Switzerland and elsewhere in relation to human life and activity. Martha Macdonald Lamont, unusually discoursive on the subject, gazed at the glaciers as "a great laboratory of nature." A disciple of Lyell, she saw mountains, rivers, lakes and plains "as being full of alteration, as eternal only in change." In a memorable passage describing her visit to the source of the Arveyron, Dorothy Wordsworth, with a poet's sensitivity of eye and ear, saw it too under aspects of eternity.

2 Lamont, op. cit., p. 81.
3 Ibid., p. 85.
"I could have sate the day through to look only and listen, and dream of the underground workings, the obscure passages to be concealed for ever from human eye. No spectacle that I ever beheld - not even the ocean itself - has had an equal power over my mind in bringing together thoughts connected with duration and decay - eternity, and perpetual wasting - the visible and invisible power of God and Nature."¹

As the sublimest views in Switzerland were those afforded by the Alps, and their only rivals, in this respect, were the glaciers or the Rhine Fall at Schaffhausen, it is of them that we read the most in observing the effect produced on our travellers by natural scenes. Characteristically the initial effect on most women was one of complete incredulity.

"Can this be real?" asked Mrs. Godwin, "on seeing for the first time a distant range of the higher Alps."²

"Their immensity staggers the imagination," wrote Mary Shelley, "... it requires an effort of the understanding to believe that they indeed form a part of the earth."³

At Geneva Lady Campbell kept going to the window to look at Mont Blanc, as if it was about to run away and she would never see it again. As the visitors grew accustomed to the sight of snowy pinnacles, initial disbelief gave way to other feelings, to intense delight, to wonder, to sensations of peace and repose and commonly to religious emotion in characters as contrasted as Lady Blessington and Mrs. Fry. To Mrs. Yates it seemed that the Creator of all this beauty could not be forgotten among his own stupendous works. "He must be present to every mind."⁴ On some the effects were overwhelming. When

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³ M. Shelley, History of a Six Weeks' Tour through a part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland; with Letters descriptive of a sail round the Lake of Geneva, and of the Glaciers of Chamouni, London, 1817, p. 44.
Mary Berry arrived at Chamonix, after being for hours surrounded by new and astonishing views of Nature, she sat down "perfectly absorbed in a confusion of ideas."¹ She could neither speak herself nor wish to hear others speak on the subject. George Eliot compared the effect of all this beauty to that produced by mesmerism or chloroform.

"I feel sometimes as if I were sinking into an agreeable state of numbness on the verge of unconsciousness and seem to want well pinching to rouse me."²

On several occasions Miss Lamont even experienced a sense of oppression and a nervous excitement she called "this Alp fever."³ She reacted physically with bursts of tears, violent headaches, exhaustion and prostration. Yet, for all that, neither she nor any of the others would have willingly forgone or wished undone their tour of Switzerland, the chief end of which was the contemplation of Nature.

So great is Swiss repute in the field of medicine to-day, that we are apt to assume many invalids must have resorted to the country in earlier times. This is a natural assumption, when we reflect on a wealth of mineral springs - over six hundred - many of them famous since Roman times, and on the fact that the founder of modern balneology, Paracelsus, was himself a Swiss. The late Middle Ages saw the heyday of the baths, with thousands flocking from every airt to enjoy their social as well as their therapeutic amenities. Their fame had not greatly waned by the 18th and 19th centuries. Therefore we read of the Wynnes at Schinznach and the Trants at Baden, two of the most popular spas. In order of age and importance the baths were, in fact, one of

¹ Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the year 1783 to 1852, ed. Lady Theresa Lewis, London, 1865, Vol. 1, p. 30.
³ Lamont, op.cit., p. 80.
1780. The great bath at Leukerbad, from an engraving by A. S. von Fischer.
the first reasons why people thronged to Switzerland. It was at fashionable watering-places like Pfäffers, St. Moritz and Leukerbad that tourism took root and flourished. In the period of which we write, however, physicians in Britain recommended Italy, France or the Peninsula to their patients. The 19th century was well begun before they started to advise Switzerland. It was not until 1838 that Harriet Martineau undertook her journey "chiefly for the sake of escorting an invalid cousin to Switzerland,"¹ not until 1844 that Mrs. Godwin came in a last, ineffectual effort to restore her health and not until the winter of 1849-50 that George Eliot stayed at Geneva for recuperative reasons.

Duty, service or employment brought limited numbers of British to Switzerland. Baroness Bunsen came as the wife of the German ambassador, and Anna Jameson as one of that unfortunate race, that Mrs. Carey criticised² and Miss Lamont commiserated³ - the governess. Mrs. Elizabeth Strutt accompanied her husband and son, both artists, and as a result produced one of the best books on the country written by a woman at this time. The nature of her husband's occupation, as a portrait painter, enabled her to give an unique account of places like Rossinière in Vaud. Here, as her husband executed a portrait of their beloved pastor, she studied the life of the people, who had commissioned it.

"It is certainly in this district," she wrote, referring to the same locality, "that we see the genuine Swiss pastoral character, and the scenes that surround them are not only of exquisite mild beauty, but have also the great advantage of being free from the crowd of strangers ... ."⁴

³ Lamont, op.cit., p. 87.
As interpreter to a party of Quaker missionaries, Christine Alsop had the doubtful distinction of provoking a riot at Aigle. In her autobiography we are told that, though they feared a disturbance of their meetings at places predominantly Catholic, they had no idea of what was to happen when they engaged the salle-à-manger of their hotel, and a respectable company of about a hundred assembled to hear them. Presently it was whispered through the room that a hostile crowd had surrounded the house and brought with them the local fire-engine. None, who attended the meeting, was able to leave without being drenched by the hose, amid the vociferations of the mob. Mrs. Elizabeth Fry encountered this opposition in a milder form when, some fifty-odd years after John Howard, she made a similar tour of the prisons, to study the preventive and reformatory methods employed with criminals by the Swiss. At Geneva she visited the already condemned Evêché prison and "was much struck with the completeness of the Maison Penitentiare." To her sorrow, at both institutions, the Catholic chaplain did not allow his flock to be present when she addressed the inmates. Elsewhere, at Lausanne and Berne, she was also favourably impressed by what she saw, though she considered there were still "some things wanting." After inspecting the female prison at Zürich, she took the bold step of making suggestions for its improvement to the authorities. How these criticisms were received by the Swiss, we are not told. Her zeal may have outrun her tact. We are told, however, that her pursuits in Switzerland "were, as usual, such as tended to promote the well-being of the inhabitants," and that, before the end of her month was up, she established a library "for the

1 M. Braithwaite, Memorials of Christine Majolier Alsop, London, 1881.
3 Ibid.
use of the labouring classes\textsuperscript{1} at Brienz.

It was Cavour, in the same position himself, who once described Switzerland as a hospital for the politically wounded. As far as the British were concerned, this was perhaps the most infrequent reason of all for their presence in that country. We do not refer to those who fled from a storm not of their own making, to Clarissa Trant and her relatives posting north from Italy at the news of the escape from Elba, or Mrs. Boddington and her family withdrawing from Paris and the revolution of 1830. We refer to the unusual case of Helen Maria Williams. In her memoirs of the reign of Robespierre, begun if not completed in Switzerland, she describes her involvement in the fall of the Gironde. In an earlier work\textsuperscript{2} she had made a personal attack on their political opponents. In consequence she spent the winter of 1793-4 at Paris with the knife of the guillotine suspended over her by a frail thread. These dramatic circumstances were further complicated by her relations at this time with John Hurford Stone. A full account has never been written. The slight interest her life and works have excited since her own day has been centred on her political and literary activities in France, in spite of the book, \textit{A Tour in Switzerland}, which her enforced sojourn at Basel produced.

This account of our travellers would not, however, be complete without some mention of those who accompanied them, and who are frequently mentioned in their writings. Not that all travellers had servants, but, generally speaking, those whose means permitted did not choose to forego the practical assistance, the added status and the companionship which good ones could provide. Servants taken on tour were, in fact, usually better than good. For obvious reasons

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\textsuperscript{1} Memoir, op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 347.
they were hand-picked. In this connection it is relevant to recall the cramped accommodation then customary at town hotels and country inns, master and man or mistress and maid sharing the same room all night after sharing the same coach all day. There was also the question of expense, illustrated in the case of a valet or a lady's-maid, whose "place" might be worth fifteen to twenty guineas per annum at home,¹ and who could expect a substantial bonus when abroad, with "presents" to follow, in the form of cash or cast-offs, at the end of the tour. For this outlay employers looked for some return. They therefore chose with a care that was extended to include other types of attendants as well, for upon tutors, couriers, footmen, coachmen and postillions the success, or otherwise, of a journey could greatly depend.

Before their departure prospective travellers consulted friends, register offices and press employment columns in order to secure servants, British or native to the countries on their itinerary. Or they might decide to recruit foreign staff locally, after their arrival. This was what an experienced traveller like Misson advised - "to take such as are of the Country."² As he pointed out, they were acquainted with the inhabitants and their customs, while, at the same time, they spoke the language and were under an obligation to perform their duty better than if they were strangers. Much, of course, depended on the nature of the service required. A courier or coachman, familiar with routes and the routine details of Continental travel, might be found more

readily across the Channel. There, at ports like Calais and Hāvre or Rotterdam and Hamburg across the North Sea, travellers, who arrived, took on servants as regularly as those, who departed, paid them off. On the other hand it was probably better to engage a valet or a lady's-maid in this country. The first requirement in such a close, personal attendant was a character at once agreeable and reliable. This could be ascertained more readily at home, but there seems to have been no hard and fast rule. For their part prospective servants consulted similar sources of information. A fellow-servant, the landlord of a coaching inn, a London chairman, hairdresser or wine merchant with a select clientèle might know of a place,\(^1\) while register offices were a feature of the capital on which foreign visitors, like Archenholz,\(^2\) remarked. Agencies such as these had functioned, much as they do to-day, since the early seventeenth century, but, often suspect of doubtful practices, they were consequently regarded as a less respectable source of employment than the advertisements, which were a regular feature of the press.

In retrospect we tend to see servants as minor characters on the stage of eighteenth and nineteenth century life, relegated to the background or the wings. Occasionally they step forward to influence the plot, but few are articulate like John Macdonald, though his times were productive of several literary domestics from the eminently successful Dodsley, author of *Servitude*, to versifiers like Mary Leapor and Elizabeth Hands. Our knowledge of them comes from other pens than theirs. Information is plentiful but fragmentary and scattered through contemporary literature, novels, poetry and plays, memoirs, correspondence,

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journals and periodicals. Yet these individuals played an important, if inconspicuous, rôle, so it is appropriate to give some account of them with special reference to our travellers.

During the particular period of which we write, domestics constituted a large occupational section of the working class. At home in Britain the maintenance of a household and equipage, numerous and magnificent to the utmost limit of their resources, had for centuries been a distinguishing mark of the upper class. By 1750, under an expanding national economy, their way of life was emulated by the middle class, whose culture and social aspirations were growing steadily with their wealth. They, in turn, were imitated by the professional class and well-to-do tradesmen. At all these social levels servants had an honorific as well as a practical value. They were visible proof of affluence at a time when wages were going up, and the Government was levying a "servant" tax on those who paid them. By their numbers alone they enhanced the prestige of their masters, though "the price of an equipage" crippled many a family estate, a topic which Shenstone dealt with risibly in his poem of that name. Their numbers were greatest at precisely those social levels from which our tourists were principally drawn. Abroad, too, his liveried attendants, no less than his golden guineas and emblazoned coach, ensured for the English milord and his lady that obsequious welcome, which his imperious nature everywhere demanded. A man of modest means like Thomas Gray recognised his good fortune in sharing the equipage of a man of wealth like Horace Walpole on the Grand Tour.

Naturally the great majority of domestics with British masters and mistresses were British themselves, but to employ foreigners conferred a certain distinction, because hitherto the nobility and gentry alone had done so. This
kind of pretentiousness was common enough in society to attract the attention of contemporary satire.

"... I hate any thing that's to be had like a Pound of Sugar at every Grocer's ..." declares Cibber's Lady Dainty. "... are you not struck," she asks her friend, "with the Magnificence of a foreign Equipage? as Swiss Porters, French Cooks and Footmen, Italian Singers, Turkish Coach-men, and Indian Pages?"¹

Foreign servants were not, however, to be found in families below the middle class, who usually employed them only to a limited extent, in imitation of their betters or under special circumstances like going abroad. As regards nationality preference was for the French. The only other foreign servant groups of any considerable size were the German, the Italian and the Swiss.²

To judge by contemporary sources of information, German servants were in much less demand than Italian or Swiss. The close relations, which existed between the British Royal Family and the princely houses of Germany following the Hanoverian accession, seem to have advanced their interests or popularity no more than their predominantly Lutheran background did. As much if not more than their acquaintance with local conditions, their command of the language made them useful to British travellers as well as to government officials, messengers or diplomats accredited to German courts. Though all prized a knowledge of French, the language of good society everywhere, and many took pride in their Italian, most of the British appeared to disdain German.

With an attitude surprising to-day, Sir William Temple, one of these diplomats, wrote, "The Almain is a language I should never learn unless 'twere to fright children when they cry, yet methinks it should be good to clear a man's throat that were hoarse with a cold."³

As Italy, rather than Germany and Switzerland, was at first the chief resort of our tourists, its natives were in more demand especially as couriers. During the period under review, when the business of travel organisation was not yet established, let alone functioning as it is to-day, it is proof of this demand and their initiative that an Italian couriers' club existed in London at Golden Square, where its members were open to engagement and their credentials to inspection by prospective employers. When ordered to Italy for his health in 1776, James Coutts, the London banker, followed the practice of taking an Italian courier with him. John Macdonald, unacquainted with the country or the language, was therefore given warning and "Mr. Rosi" hired in his stead.

As to the Swiss, if we are to believe contemporary references, they often served as porters or doorkeepers on account of a reputation for dependability and stout physique, qualities which, allied to their bilingual, often trilingual ability, would seem to have made them also ideal travelling companions. One such reference occurs in a farce by Samuel Foote, when Sir Charles Buck parades the foreign equipage with which he has returned from Paris.

"There's a fierce figure to guard the gate of an hotel," says he, introducing his Swiss porter from Berne. "... for intrepidity in denying a disagreeable visitor; for politeness in introducing a mistress, acuteness in discerning, and constancy in excluding a dun, a greater genius never came from the Cantons."2

More seriously Horace Walpole, commenting on the extravagance of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, mentions their "Swiss porters"3 in a letter to

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1 Macdonald, op.cit., p. 186.
Sir Horace Mann. His own household included two Swiss brothers, James and Philip Columb, respectively footman and valet, Maria Columb, Philip's eldest daughter, and Elizabeth, another member of the family, who held the position of cook. The valet in particular exemplified his countrymen's tradition of fidelity and strength, serving his master at home and abroad, long and faithfully to the end. The names of all four appear as legatees in Walpole's will.

Besides acting as porters, footmen and cooks, the Swiss, with equal success, filled situations as valets and lady's-maids, the type of servant by whom travellers were most often attended. We read, for example, of a Swiss woman in search of a place, who approached Lady Mary Coke in 1768, and of a certain Jacob Hänni, who waited upon Boswell. Indeed Boswell and the servants he had, during his time abroad, illustrate very well several of the points we have made with regard to domestics. Leaving this country for Holland, he waited till he reached Utrecht before taking a man-servant. He intimated his standards of taste and fashion by choosing a Frenchman. As two servants were better than one for the sake of social prestige, Boswell hired a valet de louage when he went to The Hague. It was customary for a man in his position, moving from place to place, to engage temporarily, or even only by the day, a local servant, whose main function was to act as a guide. "... among the Boswell papers at Yale is a leaf on which he has recorded the names of as many of these valets de louage as he could remember at the end of his tour ... " Some months later he engaged Hänni, "a Bernois, who spoke French and German." Thereafter

3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 266.
those who met him "looked at me," he tells us, "with a much more respectful eye." Boswell was "much pleased" with the Swiss, "a genteel, active fellow ... always alert and ready to put everything right ... quite sober." Hanni, according to his master, possessed "good Christian principles and even generous sentiments." He knew, also, how to counter with his wit Boswell's melancholy.

To his master's "I should not like to go to Switzerland in this humour," Hanni's reply was, "Ah, Sir, when you see the peasants with their great breeches and long beards, the humour will pass off quickly enough."

It is interesting to surmise that their first acquaintance with Switzerland must have come to many of our tourists through their Swiss servants. It was so with the Baillies. Like Hanni, Christian, their travelling valet, hailed from Canton Berne, but he had gone to school in Lausanne and was therefore fluent in French as well as German and a form of English, which his mistress delighted to quote. A noticeable feature with Christian was his national pride. Mrs. Baillie relates how, when travelling through France a postillion commended the view, the Swiss "did not seem to approve" and "could not refrain from throwing out a hint, that we should see much finer things in his country." Once in Switzerland, "the poor fellow was in a state of continual ecstacy," and Mrs. Baillie was long to remember his "national enthusiasm," which "burst forth at every step." A friend, who accompanied the Baillies, frequently took a share of the dickey with Christian for the sake of the view. He, too,

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 38.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 167.
5 Marianne Baillie, First Impressions on a Tour upon the Continent in the Summer of 1818, through parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, the Borders of Germany, and a part of French Flanders, London, 1819, p. 73.
6 Ibid., pp. 288, 287.
discovered a fund of endless amusement in this artless amour de pays.

"Ah! there are de cows with bells round their necks! How I love those bells! There be de neat cottages, all of wood: dey builds very pretty ones in my country," the Swiss would cry and, knowing "Mr. W." as an amateur of the popular hobby of "spars and fossils," he would constantly draw his attention to pebbles on the road. "There be a pretty stone now, Mr. V.!' Very pretty stones all in my country!"¹

This was by no means his only merit in the eyes of the three travellers he served. Mrs. Baillie praises him as "honest" and "so useful, particularly where the different patois is spoken,"² and, when the two gentlemen set off on their own to see Chamonix, Mr. Baillie did not hesitate to leave his wife "under the guard of our Swiss at Geneva."³

However all other aliens in British service were far and away outnumbered by the French. Politically distrusted by the more national-conscious middle and lower classes, disliked by their British colleagues as competitors in the labour market, they were prime favourites with the world of rank and fashion. In the 18th century the culture of France had never been so sedulously adopted by the leaders of society in Britain. The tendency lasted long, and French servants were therefore a sign of the times, though unpopular, with all but their masters, as the Germans, Italians and Swiss never were. Demand so far exceeded their supply that a servant, not of French extraction but "much puzzled to find out a place," might have recourse to "an honest artifice" that served as "a pas par tout."⁴ Foote exposes and exploits this trick in The Lyar, where, asked his motive for posing as a Frenchman, plain John, alias Papillion, explains how he opened his melancholy tale of unemployment to "a little bit of Swiss genius."⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 288.
² Ibid., p. 232.
³ Ibid., p. 253.
⁵ Ibid.
"... to strive here," advised the Swiss, "you must study the folly of your own country. ... you will find all de doors dat was shut in your face as footman Anglois, will fly open dehmselves to a French valet de chambre."¹

Smollett also satirises this affectation of French manners. Who of his readers can sympathise when Dutton, with his smattering of the tongue, his bows, grins, shrugs and snuff-taking à la mode de France, is soundly thrashed by Humphry Clinker?

Principally, the French were engaged as cooks, valets and lady's-maids. We have already spoken of Boswell's François Mazérac, who took over the management of his domestic affairs in Holland and later followed him to Germany. Female counterparts appear many times in the letters and journals of Lady Mary Coke. Constantly involved in trouble with her staff, on one occasion she wrote —

"I am trying to compose my Family of honest Servants; God knows whether I shall succeed. I brought a french Maid over with me, & she has behaved herself very well, but the terrible Ones I've had from that Country has made me a little prejudiced against them."²

Whether to employ foreign domestics or British remained a problem. Lady Mary's prejudice and experience were shared by not a few, and we find that, up to and increasingly after the mid-19th century, the majority of our travellers preferred to be accompanied by servants of their own nationality.

The types of servant we hear most of in works of travel are the tutor and governess, the courier, footman, postillion and coachman, the valet and maid. Of these the tutor was chosen with the most anxious care by parents or guardians, when a young man embarked on his Grand Tour. His was a position of

¹ Ibid.
² Coke, op.cit., Vol. 4, pp. 372-373.
responsibility and special trust. Consequently, when Roger Ascham was asked his opinion on the advisability of young Englishman going abroad, he replied that to do so, unless "under the kepe and garde of such a man, as both by wisdome can, and authoritie dare rewle him," was "mervelous dangerous." From this period onwards many books, addressed to great men's sons, were published on the art of travel. Writers like Dallington and Howell repeated Ascham's words, and Lassels conclusively summed up the character of the ideal "governour" on the basis of his own experience in the same capacity. He must be prepared, said this author, for nothing less than to "play the part of the Archangel Raphael to young Toby," and, in homelier phrase, he observed that, to a young man, his governor was like his shirt -

"... allvayes next unto his skin and person; and therefore as young Nobleman are curious to have their shirts of the finest linnen: so shall they have their Governours of the finest thread, and the best spun men that can be found."2

Having described this paragon in some detail, Lassels stipulated he must be "an Englishman, no stranger."3 With this few parents disagreed. Their choice often fell on university men of irreproachable character, perhaps impecunious scholars, for whom this was the only way to travel abroad themselves, or perhaps ambitious men, hopeful of contacts that would bring them preferment in Church or State. Switzerland saw many of these itinerant teachers with their charges, particularly at Geneva, which, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, was a focal point of political, social and educational interest for the British. During 1737-43 Benjamin Stillingfleet

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2 Richard Lassels, The Voyage of Italy: or a Compleat Journey through Italy, Paris, 1670, Preface.
3 Ibid.
was there with William Ashe-Windham. Their excursions in the Alps had important literary results we have earlier mentioned. In 1774 Adam Ferguson arrived with the Earl of Chesterfield. An offer of £400 a year, during his pupil's minority, and a subsequent annuity of £200 had tempted the professor to risk the loss of his chair, which, at this time, brought him a mere £100; an interesting sidelight on academic emoluments in 18th century Scotland.

Other tutors were less fortunate. Whatever Addison received for the pupils he escorted through Switzerland at the beginning of the century, he was aggrieved at what he considered the beggarly hundred guineas later offered him for similar duties by Lord Somerset. As another example of how a spell of private teaching might initiate the career of an eminent man in those days, we have Thomas Martyn, whose tour of the country with William Hartopp in 1779 produced the first English guidebook to Switzerland, and also Peter Mark Roget, of Thesaurus fame, who piloted the two sons of a Manchester merchant through south-west Switzerland in 1802-3.

Of governesses we hear less, probably because, unlike boys with their tutors, when girls went abroad it was under the escort of parents, responsible relatives or friends as well. Frequently, unlike tutors, governesses were not of British nationality. They were often Swiss. Lady Shelley, for example, relates how she was cared for at boarding-school by "a dear old Swiss woman," whom she loved "as a mother," and how, as a girl, she was educated by "a good Swiss governess." Beaujolois Campbell's journal gives glimpses of another,

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1 J. Small, Biographical Sketch of Adam Ferguson, L.L.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1864, pp. 17-20.
the dominating figure of Marie-Charlotte de la Chaux, who reared her and her five sisters and then remained with the family as their devoted friend and confidante. "Tiranna," as the girls called her, appears as a woman of strong character; clever and handsome, according to her mistress, Lady Campbell; clever and talkative, according to Eugenia Wynne, who saw her at Inveraray in 1806. She was also a woman of action and resource. In 1803, when the French were arresting British citizens in Switzerland, she contrived the escape of Lord John Campbell, Beaujolais's uncle, by lending him women's clothes and passing him off as a maid under the nose of Marshal Ney. She finally left the family in a fit of jealous resentment when her mistress married Mr. Bury. Mademoiselle had a long run, from 1769 till she died at her native Yverdun in 1864. If a British counterpart is to be mentioned, it must be Anna Brownell Jameson. The literary ability, which ultimately raised her from a menial position to one of fame and success, was first seen in *The Diary of an Ennuyée*, based on a visit to the Continent in a serving capacity. The section dealing with Switzerland is probably the poorest of the work. A description of places in the neighbourhood of Geneva and of a journey over the Simplon is marred by vagueness of style, improbabilities, undue pathos and overdone rhapsodies on natural scenes. Under these circumstances, fortunately it is brief.

As tutor or governess was indispensable to the children, so was the courier to their well-to-do parents. He offered a service backed by a long tradition, which derived in part from the proudest days of ancient Rome, when the messengers, or couriers, of the *cursus publicus* took priority over all traffic on imperial highways, and in part from the years of her decline and fall, when roads were neglected and became unsafe, the system of rest-houses and post-stations broke down, organised travel was disrupted and men were
needed, who knew how to help travellers over these difficulties. In the travel literature of our period of study, the courier par excellence is found in *Praeterita* - the "indispensable" Salvador, whose function it was "to save the family unbecoming cares and mean anxieties besides the trouble and disgrace of trying to speak French or any other foreign language."¹ Dickens, in high holiday mood, has also left an account of a courier's modus operandi in *Pictures from Italy.*² An efficient courier could save his employer time, trouble and expense, but his charges and commissions were high. Therefore, to the liberal or nervous traveller, he appeared no less than guide, philosopher and friend, but, to the parsimonious or self-reliant, no more than a rapacious vulture forever on the look-out for pickings. Lady Mary Coke's complaints of victimisation by servants, postillions, boatmen and innkeepers prove how invaluable an honest courier could be to a woman travelling alone. Yet to appreciate her distress is not to mislike Walpole's facetious account of how Philip Columb, "in his night-cap, sputtering and fussing," roused him at five in the morning. To his question whether the house was on fire, the Swiss replied no but "Miladi Coke" was below, "tout éplorée."³ When Walpole went down, "what a blaze followed ... it transpired that Lady Barrymore had enticed away her confidential courier and factotum."⁴ Set against this, we have the uncompromising attitude to couriers adopted by Mariana Starke, who counselled her readers to dispense with so troublesome a domestic. His place could always be supplied by "a good post-book, some knowledge of French, and an

² "Going Through France."
⁴ Ibid.
honest active English Man-Servant.\textsuperscript{1} Misson was also ready with advice on how to handle these gentry, whose only business it was to get their money with as little trouble and delay as possible. He urged tourists "to speak peremptorily, without seeming to be irresolute or uncertain what to do; and at the same time to promise 'em some Gratuity."\textsuperscript{2} Normally the courier's business was to arrange for accommodation and transport \textit{en route}, to deal with customs and passport formalities, to act as interpreter, to handle exchange and so to ensure a safe and agreeable journey. But he was, besides, a reliable source of information on routes, shops, places of worship, local sights and entertainments, physicians, apothecaries, postal communications and "the custom of the country": in short, on all the traveller needed to know. Of all servants he was necessarily the most knowledgeable and nimble-witted, of genteel appearance and good address, an expert swordsman and a dead shot.

More numerous than couriers were the footmen, a corps of whom were kept, often in comparative idleness, by every family with social pretensions. Success in this sphere called for a fine figure and good looks, set off to advantage by a smart livery provided by the employer. The duties of the position were multifarious. A footman laid the covers, served at table, delivered messages, carried parcels, rode at the back of his master's coach and walked in front of his lady's chair, dispelling darkness with his \textit{flambeau} and footpads with his club. The value placed on these services averaged £5 per annum at the beginning of the 18th century and treble that amount by the end,\textsuperscript{3} and, since a good footman was as useful abroad as at home, a favourite

\textsuperscript{2} Misson, \textit{op.cit.}, Vol. 2, p. 337.
\textsuperscript{3} Hecht, \textit{The Domestic Servant Class}, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 144-145.
often accompanied his master or mistress to the Continent. We refer to the days when Mrs. Radcliffe could describe a German highway, leading to Switzerland, as "paved and called a chaussé" but more like "the pavement of a street torn up by a plough, and then suffered to fix itself, as it had fallen." There, where the dubious state of the roads made accidents and delays of common occurrence, the footman was invaluable for such tasks as putting his shoulder to a wheel stuck fast in the mud or heaving a capsized coach back onto the road, while the sight of his sturdy figure, perched on the box, made highwaymen pause. He was the prototype of innumerable literary characters - Joseph Andrews, Humphry Clinker, Charles J. Yellowplush - and, round him and his fellow-servants, Townley wove the plot of High Life Below Stairs. The best example from life, however, was the Soots postillion, footman, valet all in turn - John Macdonald.

While footmen could be dispensed with by travellers, coachmen and postillons could not, so long as travel depended on horses instead of horsepower. These functionaries, whose life was the open road, the crack of the whip and the rousing clatter of hooves and wheels, formed an exclusive set, with their own freemasonry of slang, signs and sanctions. The coachman's main business was to handle the "ribbons", and, as a shrewd judge of horseflesh, get the best out of the "cattle." Prepared for the hazards of the road, he joined to these skills a working knowledge of farriery, could dose a sick horse or replace a cast shoe, effect emergency repairs to wheels, springs or harness and supervise the changing of relays. Autocratic to ostlers, postillons and passengers alike, he was traditionally of jovial disposition and as enviable a

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figure to the younger generation of his day as drivers of trains and pilots of aircraft were to be to their descendants. The responsible nature of his post on the one hand and the comparative inexperience of his passengers on the other conspired to bring out the tyrannical side of his character.

"In vain you threaten, coax, or bribe
This smoking, dozing, self-will'd tribe,"¹

wrote Richard Sharp, describing, for the amusement of his ward, Maria Kinnaird, the cocher who drove him to Switzerland. Mrs. Radcliffe was also critical of the taciturnity of foreign drivers, whose speech was limited to "Jah, Jah," and whose only spur was the "trinkgeld."² Bitterly, too, she complained of their smoking habits — "every whiff flies into the faces of the passengers behind."³ Mrs. Jameson, however, had nothing but good to say of the men who operated the German post system. Though the burly German postillion did not, in her opinion, present the neat, compact turn-out of the English post-boy, nor his horses have anything like the speed of "Newman's grey" or the "Brighton Age," still the travelling regulations all over Germany were so precise, admirable, cheap and strictly enforced, that nowhere could an unprotected female journey with more complete comfort and security.⁴

It should, incidentally, be noted that, depending on their construction, carriages might be postillion-driven or require a coachman. Travellers' accounts sometimes fail to distinguish between them. Mrs. Radcliffe fails to do so when she describes the German "drivers,"⁵ but Mary Shelley correctly uses

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2 Radcliffe, op.cit., p. 283.
3 Ibid.
5 Radcliffe, op.cit., p. 282.
the word "postillons," since on their third visit to the Continent, in 1818, the Shelleys used a calèche. Like racing jockeys, postillons were chosen of light build to avoid tiring the horses, though Dickens once jested that, in France, all the little men were soldiers and "all the big men postillons." British travellers usually made the acquaintance of these characters at their port of arrival on the Continent and were variously inspired by astonishment or hilarity at the sight of their unfamiliar figures.

"The costume of the post-boy," Mrs. Baillie noted at Calais, "... is whimsical enough; it is usually the royal livery: a shabby, dirty, short-waisted blue jacket, turned up with crimson, and laced sometimes with silver; boots resembling those of our heavy cavalry, and a thick clubbed pigtail, swinging like a pendulum from beneath a rusty Japan hat." It was not, however, till Abbéville that she met with "the celebrated genuine grosses bottes." Upon these few of our tourists failed to remark. The postillion's place was mounted on the left "leader", while a second post-boy might ride the corresponding "wheeler", or shaft-horse, of a four-in-hand. From this position he helped to guide the team over uneven roads and, with his pistols, to serve as an added defence against highway robbery. His professional expertise often drew praise from our travellers but often, also, reproach. Mrs. Radcliffe maintained that postillons considered their passengers "only as so many bales of goods," which they were under contract with the postmaster to deliver at a certain place and within a certain time. Mary Shelley complained that "Swiss drivers" were "very slow;" a criticism,

2 Dickens, op.cit., "Going Through France."
3 Baillie, op.cit., pp. 3-4.
4 Ibid., p. 4.
5 Radcliffe, op.cit., p. 283.
6 M. Shelley, op.cit., p. 61.
in this case, quite unfair because it was made while she crossed the Juras by a particularly difficult route. No one, however, had a word to say against the music of the postillions' horn. Those employed in the Swiss postal service were noted for their musical skill. Their official repertoire included seven "calls." Blown on a brass horn, cored and tasselled with the national colours, these notes could announce the arrival or departure of a stage, distinguish a special from an ordinary coach, exercise "right of way" on the road, signal the number of passengers and horses approaching the post-house and thus expedite from afar both meals and relays. Besides these practical uses, the execution of traditional airs on the post-boys' horn could beguile a tedious journey. The certificates, issued by the Swiss authorities to satisfactory postillions, were awarded for general excellence in the discharge of their duties but also for skill in blowing their horn.

Last, but not least in importance to their employers, there remain to be mentioned the personal servants, valet and maid. To describe the latter is enough, since both were alike in status and function and since the main interest of this study is directed towards women travellers. The first duty of the waiting-woman was to care for her mistress' person and personal belongings, to prepare her for the social round as Betty did Pope's Belinda. Sometimes, discreet in second place, she shared her lady's pleasures. Often of good family, an indigent gentlewoman or poor relation, perhaps a simple country girl, she assumed something of her airs and graces as she assumed her mistress' cast-off clothes. In fact, if we are to believe Captain d'Archenholz, it took an experienced eye to distinguish the mistress, for the typical English maid was well put on and looked quite the lady.¹ His

¹ Archenholz, op.cit., Tome 2, p. 138.
countryman, Pastor Moritz, struck by the well-dressed look of the London crowds compared with those of Berlin, remarked that "... the poorest maid is careful to be in the fashion."\(^1\) Even an Englishman could find the distinction difficult to make. Defoe, attacking servants and their behaviour, related how he was put to the blush by the general titter that arose in a friend's house, when, on being requested to salute the ladies, he kissed the chamber-maid into the bargain for she was as well-dressed as the rest.\(^2\) The difference became more apparent when mistress and maid travelled. Then the latter acted as trusted custodian of jewels, luggage, letters and lap-dogs. Her seat was usually on the outside of the coach. The Ruskins, in fact, had a dickey specially built on to their coach to convey their Anne and the courier, Salvador. Dorothy Wordsworth mentions her "Jane" and "her seat on the Dicky."\(^3\) The earliest recorded instance of a woman-servant in Switzerland seems to be the anonymous lay-sister, who accompanied Mary Ward to her audience with Gregory XV at Rome. In pilgrim attire they struggled on foot through the snows of the Gotthard Pass in the winter of 1621. More famous was Sarah Kemble, though it was as the incomparable Mrs. Siddons that she visited the glaciers in 1821. As they were often educated and usually literate in the period of which we write, it is matter for regret that none of these women appears to have left a literary record of her experiences, comparable, for example, to the memoirs of John Macdonald. But, if they have been unable to do so for themselves, several of their mistresses have done it for them.

A tableau of her maid appears in Mrs. Beaufoy's journal, the earliest

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2 D. Defoe, *Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business*.
description in English of a tour in the Bernese Oberland written by a woman. Coming to Switzerland as a young bride in 1787, Mrs. Beaufoy lived there for several years. It was a time of unprecedented enquiry into every aspect of pure and applied science, and Mark Beaufoy's interests were ardently shared by his wife. As he measured the height of the Staubbach and plumbed the depth of Lake Thun, she assisted him in the recordings and calculations involved. She did not, however, accompany him on his excursion to the Wengernalp but set off, with her maid, to explore the old silver and lead mines in the Lauterbrunnen Valley. Part of their journey was made on horseback.

"My maid," she tells us, "mounted first, and from the hight of her horse, the breadth of his Back &c. together with her dress, I thought she never would have accomplished it. However," she goes on, "after about 5 minutes in the most risible postures imaginable, I saw her safely seated close to his tail. It required another 5 to lug her on the saddle, and to be sure a curious figure she cut. I had lost my strength in laughing at her."[1]

We first hear of Lady Frances Shelley's maid amid storm and flood on a French highway. There, when their coach bogged down on the way to Switzerland, Sir John, his man-servant and Angélique put their shoulders to the wheels and pushed it bodily up the hill. Later, arrived at Chamonix, Lady Shelley was determined to visit the glaciers in spite of atrocious weather. Sir John declined to set foot outside the hotel but yielded to his wife's persuasions to let her go, on condition of being accompanied by two of the most celebrated local guides. Everyone warned that she would bitterly repent her rashness except Angélique, who had resolved to share her fortunes. Accordingly mistress

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and maid dressed themselves in the hats and coats of the peasants and, mounting their mules, set off under the care of Pierre Balmat and Marie Couttet. The sight of the Mer de Glace and the sound of the distant avalanches Lady Shelley describes in her journal as "a sublime experience" but one not without its perils. On the descent of the Montanvert, assisted by Balmat and "his pointed stick," she was forced to run to escape some large boulders rolling down the mountain. Angélique was a little behind and they waited for her to catch up. In reply to their warning she coolly remarked that she had heard the stones and regretted not seeing them fall. The words were scarcely out of her mouth, when a second shower of stones followed the first.

"... an immense block of granite came bounding past her. She covered her eyes. Angélique had no wish to see any more stones; and we hastened our pace down the zig-zag paths." But Angélique's adventures were by no means over. The next day, regardless of the persistent rain, the two set out again with the guides to view the picturesque Tête Noire. Smothered in plaids and great-coats, they must have cut strange figures. Small wonder that, as they passed some chalets, the inhabitants flocked to their doors to have a good look at them. Presently they began to descend steps cut out of the rock, the mules jumping first with their front feet and then with their hinder ones.

"Angélique's straw hat had got so out of shape from the rain," wrote Lady Shelley, "that it now had four angles from which the water poured copiously. Her white, terrified face made such a contrast to her droll habiliments and stiff attitude, that I nearly fell from my mule in a paroxysm of laughter." Seaside in a storm on Lake Lucerne, capsized in a coach on Mont Cenis, Angélique's

1 Lady Frances Shelley, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 244.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 245.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 246.
"invariable good humour, under very trying circumstances, has been quite delightful," declared her mistress.¹

But our travellers' companions were not always humans. Occasionally they were dogs, the commonest sort of animal to accompany their owners to the Continent in the pre-quarantine days of our period of study. As a fruitful source of incident and anecdote they, too, deserve mention. Readers of Evelyn's diary know how much his adventurous crossing of the Simplon owed not to his own "faithful Spaniell,"² Piccioli, but to a companion's "huge filthy Curr," which, as they neared the summit of the pass, "hunted an heard of Goates downe the rocks, into a river."³ Events moved fast after this mad prank. Presently the party of Englishmen were confronted by a young giant, "demanding mony for a Goate, Cap: Wrays Dog (he affirm'd) had kild."⁴ There was no arguing with the "halfe a Score grimm Swisse"⁵ who backed him up. Held for a time in custody and threatened with their lives, the writer considered that he and his friends were lucky to escape with a fine. In the correspondence of Horace Walpole some poignant lines derive from the strange fate of his dog on another Alpine pass. As the horses toiled up the Mont Genis, the spaniel waddling by the side of the chaise, there darted out a wolf from among the trees. Before the postillions had time to do more than shout, it had seized poor Tory by the throat, sprung up the rocks and carried him off. Tragedy also befell Juno, whose accident on the road between Ulm and Augsburg is recorded in the Wynne diaries by both Elizabeth and Eugenia. In such close

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¹ Ibid.
³ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 511.
⁵ Ibid.
confinement animals could be "very tiresome in the coach,"¹ as the former once said of another journey from Yverdun to Berne. It was therefore usual for carriages of the period to be built with a special box beneath for the dogs. Such was the Wynnes', and this, indirectly, was the death of Juno. Probably upset by the loss of a litter, which George, the groom, had drowned as mongrels, she contrived to bite through her chain and fall out.

"... as we were going quietly along," Eugenia wrote of the incident, suddenly we heard cries and barking from the dogs. Mama looked out of the window. What a spectacle for Papa! His best bitch, Juno, stretched out in the middle of the road. The wheels had gone over her ... ."²

The Wynnes were typically English in their regard for dogs, as many passages in their diaries testify, and they were not alone in their habit of touring Europe accompanied by their pets. Tizzy, a lap-dog of unspecified breed, accompanied the Duchess of Northumberland to Switzerland in 1772. At Payerne she had a narrow escape from a horrible end, and it is strange to think how a glimpse of economic conditions in a small Swiss town, during the late 18th century, should be given us through the medium of a dog.

"Provisions being dear at this Time," records her mistress, "all the poor Dogs by order of the Police were put to Death by the Executioner. I trembl'd for poor Tizzy but by good Fortune she escaped safe."³

Tuft was Josepha Holroyd's companion going to Lausanne in 1791. This, no doubt, is the small dog, with the look of an unclipped poodle, that sits at her feet in the portrait by Edridge.⁴ He proved "very fidgetty" in the coach en route but reached Switzerland "in very good health ... ."⁵

² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 19.
³ Northumberland, op.cit., p. 179.
⁴ Holroyd, op.cit., opposite p. 234.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 59, 74.
Though "I cannot say in high preservation," wrote his owner, "as great part of his coat was rubbed off in the journey." Tuft did not take kindly to the place. "... he does not enjoy this Country as much as he ought, as he does not get much exercise."1

Were we to criticise the character either of the dogs or of their description in books by women, it would be to remark that both generally offer an insipid contrast to those we discover in books by men, travelling in Switzerland. Less read to-day than most of the works of travel we have mentioned with reference to dogs, the Observations of John Milford contain a more readable canine biography than any. The subject of this pithy account is feelingly introduced by his master as "a friend, who not only deserves my particular regard, but who has been my constant companion for five years, and during all my rambles through a great part of Europe ... ."2 Such was his description of his valuable pointer, Nelson. On the march of our peninsular army through Spain, he was posted missing for three weeks but re-joined the ranks near Vittoria. His eventful history nearly came to an end at a cross-roads between Brussels and Antwerp, where he was jolted off the barouche-box and the wheels broke two of his ribs. He was stolen for a week at Rome, and once, in Switzerland, Milford traced back a journey of twelve miles to find Nelson, in deep despondency, tied up in a stable. These adventures he survived to attract more attention and afford more amusement than most tourists in the region of Switzerland, according to his master's humorous relation. During this part of his travels he was accommodated in a wicker basket, oval as the best basket for a dog should be, suspended beneath the coach and having an

1 Ibid., p. 74.
2 J. Milford, Observations, Moral, Literary, and Antiquarian, made during a Tour through the Pyrenees, South of France, Switzerland, the Whole of Italy, and the Netherlands, In the Years 1814 and 1815, London, 1818, p. 38.
opening "for the advantage of his enjoying ad libitum the picturesque."¹

Further, on "journeys over Mount Cenis, the Simplon, &c., he was furnished with a shaggy red cap of wool, tied under his chin; and when, on passing through villages, or on changing horses, curiosity induced him to pop up his head from the basket, he never failed to excite the astonishment and laughter of all the children and peasants."²

It was Byron who wrote in praise of "the watch-dog's honest bark," but, in Switzerland, its "deep-mouth'd welcome" would appear to have been reserved for its owner. A more inhospitable, ungenerous set of quadrupeds than this species did not exist in civilised Europe according to Latrobe, on his walking tour of the Engadine.

"I hardly saw one," he wrote, "in my whole walk through the valley, from Silva Flana to the Martinsbruck (and they seem attached to every house), which did not fly at my heels ... ."³

Mary Shelley records in her journal how one savage brute attacked Percy at night, coming home from the Villa Diodati.⁴ Wherever Byron resided, there were always dogs. One at the Villa was a bob-tailed fellow, "Mutz by name and Swiss by nation,"⁵ of whom his master was proud. "very ugly" and "très méchant,"⁶ he was bought as a guard-dog, sleeping in Byron's carriage at night when he travelled. Working dogs like Mutz were more than a mere "flea-trap," as Wordsworth jocularly called the "rough-coated Scotch terrier" that travelled with him on his second visit to Switzerland.⁷ They had a long and honourable

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¹ Ibid., p. 41.
² Ibid.
³ C. J. Latrobe, The Pedestrian, London, 1832, p. 34.
⁴ M. Shelley, op. cit., pp. 56-57.
1840. Monks of the Great St. Bernard with their dog rescuing the victims of an avalanche.
pedigree. The bones of their ancestors with those of the wild or domestic animals they once hunted or protected, are among the lacustrine deposits dredged up from the Neolithic Pfahlbauten of Zürich, Biel and Neuchâtel and lodged in the ethnological collections of the local museums. A fresh strain entered their blood with the Molossian hounds, attached to the Roman military stations established in Switzerland during the reign of Augustus, and popularly regarded as the ancestors of the famous St. Bernards.

A word on one of the world's most noted breeds is called for here, because hardly a British tourist visited Switzerland without mentioning the dogs. Their powerful build, their docile, intelligent temper, their strongly implanted instinct to save won them legendary fame. They had also an uncanny ability to locate the buried victims of avalanches; an ability never equalled by any scientific device of man. One of the first and best descriptions of the St. Bernards, written by a woman traveller, was Jane Waldie's. In one of the best and most original chapters of her book, she tells how she was "particularly desirous of seeing the dogs of St. Bernard and paid them a visit at their own habitation."¹ She describes them as "not unlike our mastiffs, but much larger";² a sound comparison for, in general appearance, Barry and his short-coated fellows resembled their Molossian forebears more than the shaggy specimens of the breed usually seen outside Switzerland, whose long coats would only hamper the dogs if on rescue duty in the snow. Many were the heroic tales told of individual dogs, but Barry's were legend. This celebrated animal, whose working life on the St. Bernard Pass

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¹ J. Waldie, Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the years 1816 and 1817 with a brief account of travels in various parts of France and Switzerland in the same years, London, 1820, Vol. 4, p. 313.
² Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 313-314.
covered the extraordinary span of twelve years—1800 to 1812—retired, in human terms, at the age of eighty-four to spend his last years peacefully at the house of his order in Berne. From the literary point of view this was not good copy. Writers preferred to believe and repeat the story, that Barry met a dramatic and tragic end on the Alps. After coming to the rescue of no fewer than forty persons, he was shot by the forty-first in mistake for a wolf. Tourists, who arrived too late to make his personal acquaintance, had to be content with a view of his "skin." Displayed in the Natural History Museum in the capital, it became one of the world's most popular examples of the dermoplastic art. Still in the same collection his place of honour is now in the new building, completed in 1934.

We have said that, occasionally, our travellers' companions were dogs. Occasionally, too, they were horses, usually for riding, not draught. For either purpose, however, it was generally found more convenient and often, in the long run, also cheaper to hire post-horses. In this way travellers avoided the problems of stabling and maintenance and escaped the consequences of sickness and accident to the animals on the road. One notable exception to this rule was Arthur Young. For his particular purpose there was no better form of transport. He began his second survey of French agriculture, in 1788, mounted on a favourite mare that was blind. Between 1750 and a century later there were many British horsemen to be seen abroad in Europe, like Arthur Young in France or William Coxe in Switzerland. If fewer in number there were horsewomen too. It was the fearlessness of one—Lady Frances Shelley—that inspired Scott's description of Di Vernon. But, while we read of many who used horses—or mules—for short excursions like the ascent of Rigi,

it was Mrs. Dalkeith Holmes, who distinguished herself by making a complete
tour of Switzerland on horseback. Much of the novelty, interest and
adventurous nature of her journey derived from this unusual mode of travel for
a woman. Yet, though we might expect otherwise, the fact, that her tour in
the summer of 1839 was made mounted, seems to have resulted in an itinerary
little different from that of many other British tourists, apart from the
section referred to by the writer as "the romantic route of the Simmenthal." 1
Readers of Mrs. Holmes' descriptive letters might justifiably take the writer
for the heroine of the tale. The lady herself concedes the rôle to Fanny, a
bay mare with all the spirited temperament of a thoroughbred. Her sagacity,
her stamina, her affectionate disposition are the subject of her mistress'
endless praise. Her presence to a great extent and her stablemate, Grizzle's,
to a lesser, were responsible for Mrs. Holmes and her husband's passage of the
Simplon proving one of the most exciting and exacting Alpine journeys made by
our travellers.

At Martigny they learned the disquieting news that the Rhone, swollen by
torrential rains, had burst its bounds and cut the main road between Sion and
Sierre. Even the diligence with the mails had been halted. The next day,
as they splashed on towards Riddes, frogs croaked and leaped from beneath the
horses' hooves. Where the water had receded, the road lay deep in sludge.
Where they did not sink to the fetlock, the animals, repeatedly, almost
brought down their riders with themselves. Near Sierre the road had been
literally washed away, and the Holmes had to ford a flood. At Brig they

1 Mrs. Dalkeith Holmes, A Ride on Horseback to Florence through France and
Switzerland. Described in a Series of Letters, London, 1842, Vol. 2,
p. 76.
heard rumours that the pass was closed, roads damaged, bridges broken by the recent violent storms. However the courier, arriving with the mails from Milan, brought word it was open again. Within three hours of leaving Brig the Holmes were paying toll at the summit, after an ascent practically devoid of incident. The descent was to prove more eventful. At the Simplon inn they found many British and Americans, their carriages immobilised by the state of the road, but the Holmes, with their horses, were able to proceed to Gondo. Here one of Fanny's sudden starts nearly put an end to her rider's story. A sharp turn brought them suddenly on a cascade, bounding down a cleft in the rock and crossing the road. The mare swerved violently towards its edge.

"The curb-stone was slippery with the spray," Mrs. Holmes relates, "and we were within a foot of it; so close that I said, "We are going over;" but at the same time, from instinct, struck poor Fanny with all my force, and the pain made her bound forward, and pass the peril."1

Even this experience did not prevent the writer from admiring "the superb waterfall of Frascinodi thundering down its immense volume from the high glacier"2 to join the Doveria raging below. The Holmes' worst difficulties began when they were in sight of Iselle. Recent avalanches of rock and gaps in the highway made them almost turn back in despair. At this point they chanced on the local priest, who suggested they should take another path, used only by smugglers and fugitives, being high above the reach of authority on the normal route. This they did, the priest's young brother acting as guide and leading Fanny, while her mistress, at times on hands and knees, scrambled in their wake. She admits that, at one stage of this perilous and fatiguing

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 122.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 123.
"I believe I was going to scream, but I thought better of it, and seized a pine branch and arrived at ... safer ground."¹

She was rewarded with an unexpected insight into life in the mountains. Wood-cutters, whom they met, "opened their dark eyes wider in wonder at the apparition of English horses there"² but lent a helping hand. Their womenfolk, "good looking and picturesquely attired,"³ offered milk and small, sweet apples to the strangers. They, too, gazed in wonder at the horses for they had never seen one before, though they lived within three hours' journey of one of the busiest routes in Europe. The boy guide having brought them as far as he could, his place was taken by a young Italian, whose quiet courage and knowledge of the region brought them safe to Domodossola. Mrs. Holmes' enjoyable book makes us wish that more British women had taken their saddle-horse to Switzerland.

¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 141.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 143.
Chapter 3

What preparations in the cultural sense did our travellers make for going abroad and, in particular, for visiting Switzerland? Some of the more important books they read before leaving home, or included in their travelling library, are the subject of this chapter. It must be remembered that many excellent accounts of the country available today were inaccessible between 1750 and 1850. Evelyn's, Boswell's and Pennant's are examples. Others, such as Coryat's, Lithgow's and Fynes Moryson's, by the middle of the 18th century were out of print, not to be re-issued for at least a century and a half. The four notebooks containing Rogers' journal were lost, not to be recovered and published for more than a hundred years after they were filled. Among women writers the journals and correspondence of Mary Berry, Dorothy Wordsworth, Josepha Holroyd, Clarissa Trant and Lady Mary Coke were not in print till after 1850 and those of the Duchess of Northumberland, Lady Holland and the Wynnes, Lady Charlotte Campbell and her daughter not until the present century. Between 1750 and 1850, by comparison with those on Italy or France, few books were produced by British writers on Switzerland, though it lay athwart the main travel routes of western Europe, and was constantly traversed by our tourists. If, however, we would know the most popular and instructive books available to our travellers, Addison tells us in the preface to Remarks on Italy. Though his reference is to what these authors said of Italy, it applies with equal force to what they said of Switzerland. They were Ray, to be commended for "his Observations on the Natural Productions of the Place," Burnet, for "his masterly and uncommon Observations on the Religion and Governments," Misson, for his "Correct Account," and Lassels. With the publication of his own work in 1705 Addison's name was added to their number by succeeding generations of tourists.
"I had Addison's Travels with me," wrote Boswell on the grand tour. "I shall compare his Remarks with every place which I visit."1

All five authors named by Addison shared the same concept of travel, that of the grand tour. We shall therefore find that they treated Switzerland to shorter notice than they did Italy and France, or even Germany and Holland, though it does not follow that this notice failed to be informative, reliable or, in general, favourable to Switzerland. All five - Catholic priest or Huguenot judge, man of science, public servant or statesman and Anglican bishop - were men of learning, who had travelled and seen what they described. Each, in an age when forbearance and compromise entered little into questions of religion and politics, discovered in Switzerland a state of affairs unique in Europe, if not in the entire civilised world of the 17th and 18th centuries. Here people of two religions, three races and four languages lived peaceably side by side. By character and calling, from differing motive and circumstance, each - Misson when translated - made an individual contribution to literature on the country written in English, even though, in spite of their efforts to appear original, we may, for example, descry Misson drawing upon Burnet and Addison deriving from both. These writers we now propose to review, since what they wrote inevitably informed the minds, coloured the outlook and directed the steps of our travellers, both men and women.

Chronologically the first was Richard Lassels' Voyage of Italy, published posthumously in 1670. The work was based on his experience, some thirty to forty years earlier, as travelling tutor to several of the English nobility

and was intended for youths of this class, making the tour of France and the giro of Italy. A sound knowledge of the subject informed its remarkable preface, "concerning travelling," which was addressed in a witty, persuasive vein to parent, pupil and "governour" alike. Its quality of content, distinctive literary style and lively manner of narration ensured an immediate and lasting success for this book, notwithstanding its pronounced Catholic bias. It was translated into French in 1671, and reprinted in English in 1698. Lassels knew Italy much better, but he also knew Switzerland fairly well, from having frequently crossed the second country in order to reach the first. Specifying "the several ways by which a man may go into Italy," he stated his preference for the Mont Cenis on the grounds of "speed and conveniency," but mentioned as alternative routes, useful in time of war or plague, the Brenner, the Simplon and through the Grisons and Valtelline to "pop up at Brescia." On a later page he also mentioned "Le Splug" and "S. Godard," and made it clear that he knew them all. It was as part of his third and fourth "voyages" to Italy that he wrote of Switzerland.

Having arrived at Geneva, on the earlier occasion, he followed his usual practice of visiting the local cathedral. Mounting St. Peter's steeple he saw a fair bell with a crucifix cast upon it, "shewing whose it was," and four good pieces of ordnance, "that none may say, the Church of Geneva wants Ecclesiastical Cannons." He found little to please him in the stronghold of Farel and Calvin except the political gibe, with which he answered some of its citizens. "From

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 58.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 447.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 47.
the top of this Church you have a fair prospect upon the lake and neighbouring Countryes; which makes them brag here, that they can see from their steeple, into six several principalities, to wit, their own, France, Savoye, Swisserland, the Valesians, and the FrancheCounty: But I told them, it would be a greater brag, to say, that they could see into no other Country or Dominions but their own."

"Having thus seen the little All of Geneva," he shook off its dust, and reserved his praise for its lake — "absolutely the fairest I have seen" — by the side of which he rode to Lausanne. Between Lausanne and Solothurn he observed how "here Catholick and Protestant Villages are mingled together," and had the effect of making "the Country look like the back side of a pair of tables, chequered with white and black." In the choice of colours the perciptient reader will take Father Lassels' point. "... and yet they live civilly and neighbourly together without quarrelling about Religion" he could not but admit. Not content, as most travellers were, to comment on the grim relics at Morat he added an account of Duke Charles' dramatic escape from the battlefield and of his page’s murder, pointing a moral to adorn his tale: "Nothing is so dangerous to man, as man." At Zürich he opined the Arsenal was the best thing to see. The people were "Swinglians" there, and he seized the occasion to ridicule them in an anecdote of a French duke, who showed himself in his combing-cloth at a window of the Hôtel Épee, and, being mistaken

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2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 49.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 54.
7 Ibid., i.e. disciples of Zwingli.
for a priest robing for Mass, touched off a near-riot in the town. Next it was Chur and the religious tolerance of its townsfolk that he described. An amusing memory of the Grisons was a cheese served up by his host, the village mayor. It "was an hundred years old: a Venerable Cheese indeed." Then it was on to the Valtelline and Italy over the bleak Bernina Pass. To those who would avoid its snows, he recommended the Splügen as an alternative route.

His fourth "voyage" to Italy took him again to Geneva, but this time, keeping the lake on his left, he crossed the domains of the Duke of Savoy to reach St. Maurice and enter the Valais. There were no "Swinglians" here but "all Catholicks, sincere honest men of stout courage, yet of innocent lives, much snow quenching their lust and high mountains staving off from them all rude and Vanity, the harbingers of Vice." Though he wrote at a time of religious revival in the canton, he did his co-religionists less than justice, for this was the age of von Stockalper. His commercial genius had won from Milan the monopoly of the pass in 1634, trade was flowing richly over the Simplon, and the Valais had never been more prosperous, or less cut off by its high mountains from the rest of Europe. The antique cut of Valaisian clothes amused Lessels, who described it as if "taken out of old hangings and tapestry." The wearers he wrote of, both men and women, as "great and massive, and not easily to be blown away," and he quoted Cardinal Bentivoglio's saying, that they were "good for the Alpes, and the Alpes for them." He extolled the happy relations existing between his subjects and the Prince-bishop of Sion, "like the

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 58.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 60.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 61.

The Cardinal's remark was actually made of the people of the Gotthard Pass.
Body natural in man, where the soul and the body being friends together, the Soul directs the body, and the Body defends the Soul." Travelling by Leuk he arrived at Brig, and there stayed "at the Colonels house (the best Inn here)." The following morning he began to climb "one of the great Staircases of Italy," and arrived, tired and hungry, at the Simplon inn to find but a poor dinner. Philosophy at his elbow reminded him he was "the lighter in purse, as well as in body, to walk well that afternoon," and walk he did, leading his horse down the dangerous track running above the Diveria to Domodossola. He absolved himself from a long description of crossing the Alps, since it "were able to make my pen sake in writing it, as well as my legs in walking it." Such was the Swiss section of the work, which, on its being reprinted in 1698, Misson damned with faint praise as containing "some Observations that are not contemptible," adding with the bitterness born of religious persecution, that it abounded in "unexactnesses, puerilities, gross ignorances, and false Relations." Father Lassels' shafts had found one mark: even his enemies were reading him.

Another notable account of Switzerland, available to British tourists from the latter part of the seventeenth century, was written by John Ray, whom Albrecht von Haller described as "the greatest botanist of all time." In 1658,

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 62.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 63.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 63-64.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 64*.
6 M. Misson, A New Voyage to Italy: with Curious Observations on several other Countries, as Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, Geneva, Flanders, and Holland. Together, with Useful Instructions for those who shall Travell thither, London, 1699, Vol. 2, in an appended letter, its pages unnumbered, "To Samuel Waring, Esq;"
in pursuance of natural history studies, he had made the first of several "itineraries" in this country, alone or accompanied by his friends, Philip Skippon and Francis Willughby. When the last-named proposed an extension of these scientific expeditions to the Continent, Ray "was easily induced to accompany" him, Skippon and a fourth Cantabrigian, Nathanael Bacon, "on a Voyage beyond the Seas." In April, 1663, they sailed for France, and Ray was home again three years later to the month. As a result of this grand tour he designed "to publish a Catalogue of all (plants) not native of England that I had observed." In the event he did something more, for he "added thereto a brief Narrative of our whole Voyage, with some Observations Topographical, Moral and Natural ... ."

His first impressions of Switzerland came on August 2nd, 1663, when, following the left bank of the Rhine from Strasburg, he rode into Basel, and from his description of that "large and fair" city, it is clear they were favourable. He described in detail - a century earlier than Coxe - the city's "Civil Government" and its university, with lecture lists for the current academic year containing names as closely associated with Basel as Burckhardt, Fesch, Iselin, Wettstein and also Bauhin, whose works Ray recommended to students of botany. He described, too, the religious

2 Ibid., Preface, second page.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 96.
5 Ibid., p. 97.
establishment of the canton and the relics of the great Erasmus there preserved. A week's stay enabled him to visit the minster, to inspect the public library and Dr. Flatter's "Musaeum," to observe the costumes worn by the different social classes, to note the main features of the town - its hilly streets and many fountains, its fortifications and great Rhine bridge - and to study "what Plants grow wild about Basel." As divine, scholar, university teacher and scientist, who grew to manhood during a period of strife and intense political activity in his own country, Ray must have been interested in what he recorded of Basel. It gives a good idea of what he recorded of other large towns in Switzerland, such as Zürich, and of smaller ones, such as Augst, Brugg, and Baden, by way of which he travelled on August 10th and 11th. Matters of science engaged his attention everywhere, from "little green Tree-Frogs" to Alpine hydrology and, with a spark of humour, the trade in fakes passed off as genuine fossils on tourists. To scenes of natural beauty, however, he seems to have been indifferent, for, of the great "Wasserfall" at Schaffhausen, passed as he rode from Zürich to Constance on August 12th and 13th, he had no more to say than the names of plants growing beside it.

All his itineraries, at home and abroad, were characterised by incursions into generally untrodden ways. On his second and longer visit to Switzerland, in 1665, he crossed what is now the frontier at the Ofen Pass. This was a less frequented transalpine route of only local importance, but offering the easiest way from the upper Adige to the lower Engadine, for Ray was bound for the Grisons, of which and of its people he left a long and interesting account.

1 Ibid., p. 100.
2 Ibid., p. 101.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 105.
That March the appearance of three Englishmen, (Willughby having stayed behind in Italy), must have been quite an event in this remote corner of Switzerland, where bears, wolves and chamois roamed the mountains, and cattle were snow-bound in their stalls for six months of the year - all but the bulls. Here he observed that to draw their sleds over the snow, instead of Oxen they make use of Bulls, one Bull drawing a little sled. 

Inns being few, he and his friends sought a lodging and found a welcome in homes, where their hosts spoke Romansch to each other, and Italian and "Dutch" to the guests. He meant, of course, "Deutsch", but Skippon, whose account of the journey supplements Ray's, was more interested in the least spoken of the four Swiss tongues. "... the inhabitants," he noted, "... speak an odd language, called Romansch... compounded of high Dutch, Italian, Spanish, French, and their own idiom," and he copied down their form of the Lord's Prayer, and compiled a small, representative vocabulary. As for the people themselves, all of them, wrote Ray, "(as far as we had experience or could judge of them in the short stay we made among them) we found to be honest, hearty and civil, and the common sort very mannerly."

Their ultimate destination was Geneva, and it took them a difficult month to reach it. Much of the way "it snowed exceeding fast... we could see no way at all... our horses were almost up to the belly in snow...", and the three travellers suffered the miseries of frostbite and snow-blindness. According to

1 Ibid., p. 412.
2 Ibid.
4 Ray, op. cit., p. 412.
5 Ibid., pp. 416-417.
Sklppon, Ray lost his sight for several days, and his fingers were so benumbed with cold that he did not recover the use of them for some time. Leaving Chur, where crocus and squills were already showing their heads on the mountain pastures above the town, they went on to Wallenstadt and Glaris, Ray making notes of the local fauna. They passed through Näfels, and, within sight of Rapperswil and its long, wooden bridge, to Einsiedeln with its pilgrims, its alley of booths selling holy medals and beads, and "an incredible number of 1 Beggars continually waiting." Their way now lay through Schwyz to Altdorf, where they saw the statue and heard the story of Tell, to Stans, after seeing the fall of an avalanche, and then part of the way by water to Lucerne, in its "great Church ... the greatest Organ that ever I saw." By April 6th they were in Zug, Ray compiling a list of the fish in its lake, and they pushed on through Zürich, Aarau, Solothurn and Berne, where he was impressed by the minster and the bears, past Fribourg, Moudon, Lausanne with its university and, coasting the lake, to Geneva on the 19th. There they "rested and sojourned near 3 months," and had leisure to collect many species of plants in places, where, a century later, another great Cambridge botanist would trace their steps in the Bois de la Bâtie and on the Sâlève.

Ray's impressions of Switzerland hold interest so long as they rest on personal observation, but tedium sets in, when their author, for example, draws too heavily upon Simler for his sketches of local government in the cantons. From first to last, however, his impressions remained favourable, and that he was not a man given to simulation may be seen by any, who choose to read and compare

1 Ibid., p. 423.
2 Ibid., p. 428.
3 Ibid., p. 432.
4 De republica Helvetiorum libri duo, Zürich, 1576.
his unfavourable reaction to Scotland in 1661. A reprint of his travel notes, without the "Catalogus Stirpium", in Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels in 1705, the year of Ray's death, and of his Observations in 1738 argues their continued popularity with readers. However, the latter reprint may have owed something to the publication we have noted, six years earlier, of Skippon's account, longer and particularly informative on the later, including the Swiss, stages of the journey they made together.

Few enough to be counted on the fingers of a reader's hands, seventeenth century British writers on Switzerland included another, who was widely read and is worthy of mention beside Lassels and Ray. Gilbert Burnet travelled abroad, like Ray, in his prime, though, unlike him, not entirely by choice. The accession of James II had brought him loss of preferment and favour at court, and, till their recovery under William of Orange, he remained on the Continent. There religion and politics remained his principal interests, and, as such, are seen in his Letters. There were four of these "letters," dated 1685-6 and addressed from Zürich, Milan, Florence and Nijmegen to his friend, Robert Boyle. The opening lines of this able narration of his travels disclosed an independent, enquiring mind, that presaged well for its success. Having had opportunities that did not offer themselves to all that travelled, and possessing a curiosity to match, Burnet promised to avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary books. He had no inclination to copy others.

His first tour of Switzerland began at Geneva, and was introduced by the
expression of a feeling for scenes of natural beauty, hinted at by Lassels, not
to be found in Ray and seldom in other writers on that country much before the
middle of the following century. The banks of Lake Geneva he represented as
"the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined, for they look as if
they had been laid out by art ... a more delighting prospect cannot be seen
anywhere." His promise of originality was thus quickly fulfilled. But
Burnet's purpose in writing was not to describe scenery. It was to expose
popery and tyranny. Consequently his narrative of Switzerland was encumbered
with the tale of a fraud, practised by Dominican monks at Berne in the 15th
century. He represented it to his reader as "one of the most signal cheats,
that the World has known," and its exposure as no small contribution to the
cause of the Reformation, but it makes dull reading to-day. The religious
differences of the cantons he made the subject of another "digression." "The
peace of Switzerland," he noted, "is chiefly preserved by a Law agreed on among
all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what regulations concerning Religion
they think fit, without prejudice to the general league." In his opinion,
however, the merciful spirit of the Gospel was to be observed more in the
Protestant than in the Popish cantons, especially as regards their treatment of
those who changed their religion. He instanced Zürich and Schwyz. At the
same time he acknowledged that, in Glaris and Appenzell, "both Religions are

1 Some Letters Containing, An account of what seemed most remarkable in
Switzerland, Italy, &c. Written by G. Burnet, D.D. to T.R.R.R., Rotterdam,
1686, p. 13.
2 Ibid., p. 30.
3 Ibid., pp. 26-29.
tollerated, and are capable of equal privileges." Similarly, in the subject states conquered in common by Berne and Fribourg during the wars with Savoy, the two cantons appointed the bailiff, or governor, in turns, while, in their churches, they had Mass and Sermon under the same roof "without the least disorder or murmuring." He deplored what he called the "extrem bigotry" of Fribourg and Solothurn, "two of the Chieff of the Popish Cantons," as beyond anything seen in Italy or France. But he praised the moderating, unifying influence of Catholic Lucerne, for "all the Switzers," he rightly admitted, "see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding one with another."

On the constructive side of his religious activities abroad Burnet took every opportunity to prosecute theological research. He therefore found the library of Basel "by much the best in all Switzerland," and the archives of Zürich particularly rich in documents relating to the Reformation - "no inconsiderable instruction to one, that intends to write the Historie of that time." Even more his pastoral work at Geneva, short-lived as it was, deserves to be remembered, for there he passed the winter of 1685-6 "with more satisfaction than I had thought it was possible for me to have found anywhere out of England." In his spiritual description of how he gathered together the tiny English community of twelve or fourteen persons, formed a congregation and founded a church, he is at his best. In the sphere of international relations

1 Ibid., p. 27.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 44.
4 Ibid., p. 43.
5 Ibid., p. 44.
6 Ibid., p. 266.
7 Ibid., p. 53.
8 Ibid., p. 258.
his mission also achieved some success. "... there being," he tells us, "a considerable number in Geneva that Understand English and in particular some of the Professors and Ministers wee had a great many strangers that met with us: and," he continues, "the last Sunday I gave the Sacrament according to the way of the Church of England, and upon this occasion I found a generall joy in the toune, for this that I had given them an opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our Church, and as in their publike praieres they alwaies praised for the Churches of Great Brittain, as well as for the King, so in private discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our Constitutions." But with the departure of their chaplain went his cohesive zeal, so that, by the time Misson described the foreign congregations that he found in Geneva two years later, he wrote of the "English Church" as one that had existed "formerly."

To an Englishman - and in outlook and sympathies Burnet was essentially one - there was food for thought in a country smaller even than his own. In Switzerland areas, often no bigger than an English county, had not only their own religion but even their own political constitution. Therefore, in common with other English writers like Ray, Addison, Stanyan, Coxe and Moore, he was deeply interested in Swiss forms of government. To appreciate what he wrote, for example, of the government of Geneva or Berne, it must, however, be remembered that, at the end of the seventeenth century, what is now known as Switzerland then consisted of a Helvetic League of thirteen cantons - Zürich, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Underwalden, Zug, Glaris, Basel, Fribourg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen and Appenzell - and of their allies - the Grisons, Neufchâtel, the Abbot and town of St. Gallen, the Valais, the republic of Geneva, the towns

1 Ibid., p. 259.
3 A scion of the house of Crathes, he was born in Edinburgh.
of Bienne and Mulhausen — divided among themselves, united among others. It must be remembered, too, that, if the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had witnessed the rise of the Swiss nation, the seventeenth had seen the political decline of the League. As in most other states of Europe aristocracies and oligarchies had arisen, usurping the old democracies of the cantons, and tyranny was not far to seek in a country over which France, ruled by Louis XIV, exerted a powerful influence. Of this influence Burnet was fully aware. He remarked signs of it everywhere, and devoted several passages in his Letters to Franco-Swiss relations, representing the Swiss as having been outwitted and outmanoeuvred by the French. Their failure to prevent France gaining control of the Franche Comté had laid Geneva open to attack. Intrigue backed by French gold had undermined Berne. Basel felt its security threatened by the powerful fortress of Hüningen. The cantons were in a state of alert against French aggression. "... the Switzers see their danger now," wrote Burnet, "when it is not easie to redress it." But plans for mobilisation and defence were well forward. Though Basel had "nothing to trust to, humanly speaking, but its Union with the other Cantons," Geneva had ready a well-stocked arsenal, with more arms than there were men in the state. As for Berne, said he, "The whole State is disposed for War, for every man that can bear Armes is listed, and knows his post and armes, and there are Beacons so laid over the Countrey, that the signal can run over the whole Canton in a night: And their military lists are so laid, that every man knows whither he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general summons." Even smaller cantons like Baden,

1 Burnet, op. cit., p. 270.
2 Ibid., p. 262.
3 Ibid., p. 21.
though "much less than Bern ... reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, ... ."

Burnet found Switzerland in good heart, and was constrained to remark upon something "too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection." This was the contrast afforded by Switzerland with her neighbours, France and Italy, which, though possessed of richer natural advantages, were yet, in general, poorer and depopulated "as can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it." "On the Contrary," he wrote, "Switzerland is extream full of people, and in every place in the Villages, as well as in their towns one sees all the marks he can look for of plenty and wealth, ... ." Their houses and windows, he observed, for this was where it showed, were in good case, their highways maintained, their people well clothed and everyone lived at his ease. This happy state of affairs prevailed, to his surprise, even in the Grisons, where, as he was not the only British visitor to remark, limited resources and an austere climate appeared to offer no more than a bare subsistence. "... yet," he wrote, "those valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease ... ." Burnet ascribed this impressive contrast to political causes.

No such political observations appeared in the work of Maximilien Misson, who qualified as an authority on his subject after acting as travelling tutor to Charles Butler, later Earl of Arran, in 1687-88. Addison's praise of his work, which we earlier noted, and which was incorporated in a fifth edition of A New Voyage of Italy published at the Hague in 1722, served only to increase its

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1 Ibid., p. 47.
2 Ibid., p. 42.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 43.
already deservedly great reputation. Originally composed in his native tongue, the work was "done out of French" in answer to popular demand in his adopted country. The allusions, that follow, are to the second English edition of 1699, which the author regarded as "much more correct," "more ample" and therefore more to be preferred than earlier ones. But, however authoritative he might be on Italy, Misson on Switzerland was not so considerable, since, in the manner of his age, he deemed it no essential part of the grand tour. To him it was merely a place to be viewed in transit as he saw it, travelling from Italy to the German States by way of the Mont Genis, Geneva, Morges, Lausanne, Morat, Berne, Solothurn and Basel during three weeks of July, 1688. Like Burnet he chose to express himself in the letter form. As he pointed out, both in his preface and in the epistle answering his critics, an author in familiar letters to friends was not in the least obliged to insert all that was to be said of the places he visited, but only what he thought fit to mention. So of the thirty-six letters, which made up his book, we find that he spared only a portion of two to describing his journey through Switzerland. When it came to works of travel, he had a sovereign contempt for "romance" and "Travels writ in the Chimney-Corner." Therefore, as the best commendation of his own work to the reading public, he warranted its veracity. "Only I relate what I have seen or heard from Persons of unquestion'd Credit ... ,"

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1 Misson, op. cit., title-page.
3 This assessment of "three weeks" is based on the dating of three of his letters: Vol. 2, pp. 259, 273, 283.
6 Ibid., Vol. 2, appended letter.
7 Ibid., Vol. 1, preface.
said he. In this respect he was unlike more audacious travellers of earlier
times, Coryat, Lithgow, Reresby or Moryson, who were as ready to base their
assertions on hearsay as on personal observation, and were never afraid to
glean opinion and fact from high and low, whom they met on their way. Misson,
with his judicial habit of mind, was more discriminating, and therefore more
often missed the chance to interest or astonish his reader. Besides what he
learned by word of mouth, he had recourse to literary sources, and frequent
marginal notes attest to his study, for example, of Burnet and Simler.

Bearing in mind these points, as well as his endeavour to be both correct and
original and his fleeting acquaintance with the country, let us see what he had
to say about Switzerland, because, however inconsiderable, it formed part of
one of the most widely read travel books of the later seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries.

Let us notice first that he was silent on politics and systems of
government. In reply to criticism he justified this omission very reasonably,
by arguing that to do otherwise required more time and more access to inside
information than were available to a transient visitor, who was also a foreigner.
It was better to leave the discussion of political matters to those in a
position to do so, to ambassadors and envoys, for example, resident abroad, who
had their own sources and ways of obtaining information. He had other
criticisms to face. He had, for instance, taken scarce any notice of social
manners and customs. Certainly at Geneva he had described the annual celebration
in memory of the Escalade. Echoing Burnet he had remarked how impossible it was
for a visitor to depart from the town without reluctance, for the conversation of
the inhabitants was "very familiar and easie," the common people were "clownish,
but honest," and persons of note "extreamly kind, civil, and ingenious." At

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 265.
Lausanne he had complimented the people on their civility, and at Basel
described the national custom of welcoming strangers of quality with a formal
speech and a present of wine. But of Swiss manners and customs this was
practically all he had said. As before he pleaded lack of opportunity and
time to do justice to the subject. He was "also upbraided with other Neglects." 
A native of Berne expressed his surprise that Missen "had not made the least
mention of the Sculptures on the Portal of the great Church there, so much
admired by the thirteen cantons ... ." The writer, who does not seem to have
suffered censure gladly, replied rather ungraciously that the said sculptures
"were but in very little esteem with People who understood these things."

Missen, in fact, preferred to dwell on other aspects of Switzerland. He
cited an inscription on the townhouse, commemorating the Reformation, as "one
of the most remarkable things in Geneva." As a Huguenot refugee he could not
pass over the asylum generously granted by Switzerland to the victims of
religious persecution. He wrote of the "Compassion and Charity," with which
his own people and the Waldensians had been received at Geneva. From Berne he
quoted another mural inscription in memory of the "hospitable Entertainement"
there given to the Huguenots. Though his tour was restricted to parts of the
country most frequented and therefore most often described by British tourists,
he found something original to say, when, fascinated as few failed to be by the
Lake of Geneva, he described its trout fisheries at some length. These were a

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, Advertisement.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 266.
valuable source of revenue to Geneva, and, by means of a simple diagram, he demonstrated how the fish were netted, as they migrated between Rhone and Lake at certain seasons of the year. He made the suggestion that all objects of artistic and historic worth - "Medals, Urns, Lamps, Statues, Basso-relievo's, ancient Inscriptions, and other Monuments that have been discover'd in and about the Town" - then dispersed throughout Geneva, should be brought together under the roof of the Library to form one considerable collection, that could be "an Honour and an Ornament to the City." The idea was not entirely original, being inspired by what he had seen elsewhere on his travels south of the Alps. It was nevertheless practical, and later put into effect by the Genevans. He gave some indication, as he left the city, of finding pleasure in the contemplation of landscape. "There cannot be a more pleasant way than the Road between Geneva and Lausanne," he wrote. "... We rarely lost sight of the Lake; and sometimes on the other side we saw Piles of lofty and forked Mountains glittering with Snow." As we shall see, to read Mason is to strip Addison of some of his originality.

"... it is very well worth a Traveller's while to look into all that lye in his Way" was the latter's motto.

But, though observant of all he could see, Addison was selective of all that he wrote, for his main purpose, in Remarks on Italy, was not to play guide to other travellers, nor to increase his reputation for learning and letters, but to prove he had made good use of the Treasury grant, which had enabled him to leave Oxford, undertake a study tour on the Continent, and thus further qualify to serve his country. He was astute enough to see, from a study of

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 265.
4 Joseph Addison, Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703, London, 1705, p. 477.
other works of travel, that one, written in the light of his acquaintance with
the Latin poets, would distinguish the author from other writers. But though
this original approach was feasible for Italy, it was not generally so for
Switzerland, and accordingly, in his account of the latter country, he took
quite another line. It was important that his patrons should be impressed
with his political acumen, and he accordingly laid hold on a theme, derived
perhaps from Lassels or Mison, and enlarged on it. Referring to the lands
circumjacent to the Lake he wrote, "This Extent of Lands, with the Leman Lake,
would make one of the prettiest and most defensible Dominions in Europe was it
all thrown into a single State, and had Geneva for its Metropolis." But, he
indicated, there were powerful neighbours to be reckoned with: to the south,
along the shores of the Lake, lay Savoy, to the west France was master of Gex,
while to the north Berne ruled Vaud. "Geneva and its little Territories lye
in the heart of these Three States." Addison having formulated this idea of
the unification of a natural entity, it was probably responsible for what he did
next. "I made a little Voyage round the Lake," he wrote, "and touch'd on the
several Towns that lye on its Coasts, which took up near Five Days, .... "
In this way he sailed by Yvoire, and lodged a night at Thonon, saw Ripaille, and
slept at Villeneuve, passed Chillon, and came to "Versoy" — surely he meant
Vevey — spent the next day at Lausanne, and, completing his circuit of the
Lake, called in at Morges, took a walk in Nyon, avoided Versoix, as French
territory, and returned to Geneva. His commentary on this excursion was not,
however, limited to politics.

1 Ibid., pp. 450-517.
2 Ibid., p. 450.
3 Ibid., p. 451.
4 Ibid., p. 454.
5 Ibid., p. 462.
As he coasted the right side of the lake from Geneva his greatest entertainment was in observing the height, to which the limit of cultivation had been pushed. Vineyards, meadows and cornfields ran up the sides of the Alps, as far as the steepness of the ascent and the barrenness of the rocks would allow them. As would appear from all he wrote at this time, reminiscent of Dennis, prophetic of Byron, Addison's appreciation of natural scenery was fostered by his years of travel on the Continent, not least in Switzerland and on the Alps. It is early days to find in English literature the expression of sentiments like these. "At one Side of the Walks (at Ripaille) you have a near Prospect of the Alps, which are broken into so many Steeps and Precipices, that they fill the Mind with an agreeable kind of Horror, and form one of the most irregular mishapen Scenes in the World." But," he thought, like Lassels, Burnet and Misson before him, "the most beautiful View of all is the Lake, and the Borders of it that lye North of the Town (Geneva)."

Lest an unrelieved description of his tour should bore, it was diversified by anecdotes. Ripaille, for example, was a peg, on which to hang the story of Pope Felix V, a Count of Savoy, who retired there to end his days, and originate the saying, "faire Ripaille." In Switzerland Addison seems to have fed a taste for science, for his study of the "Natural Histories of Switzerland" led him to theorise on Alpine rock formations, and tellingly describe the manner of their weathering - "as in a decay'd Body the Flesh is still shrinking from the Bones." With some complacency, too, he advanced his own opinion of glacial phenomena, from what

1 Ibid., p. 455.
2 Ibid., p. 453.
3 Ibid., p. 459.
4 Ibid., p. 459.
he had observed of "these Reservoirs of Snows" among the Alps. This led him, without acknowledgment to Misson, to remark of the Rhone at Villeneuve how absurd was the belief, that it should enter and leave without mingling its waters with the Lake. Never an English visitor at Vevey but he spoke of Ludlow. In the best traditions of the tombstone traveller Addison was at pains to quote his epitaph. For good measure he added that of his fellow exile and regicide, Broughton. Whether because Misson, and Burnet too, had given it as "one of the principal Curiosities at Lausanne," he examined the crack in the cathedral wall, that one earthquake had opened, and another had closed. He may have been more struck by the powers of life and death, possessed by the citizens in a certain street of this town. "Every Inhabitant of it has his Vote," he related, "which makes a House here sell better than in any other part of the Town. They tell you that not many Years ago it happen'd, that a Cobbler had the Casting Vote for the Life of a Criminal, which he very graciously gave on the merciful Side." Nyon aroused all his classical instincts. The practice of considering "the several Passages of the Ancient Poets, which have any relation to the Places or Curiosities that I met with," and which he had applied with such success to Italy, was here, for once, applied to Switzerland. "They have often dug up old Roman Inscriptions and Statues," he wrote, and quoted Lucan on the local levies once raised for Caesar's army. But he committed the old error, which modern research has repaired, of locating Caesar's wall against the Helvetians "at about Five Miles distance from Nyon."

1 Ibid., p. 460.
3 Addison, op. cit., p. 466.
4 Ibid., Preface.
5 Ibid., p. 467.
7 Addison, op. cit., p. 467.
Addison's time at Geneva, including his tour of the Lake, was to him the most important part of his visit to Switzerland. As we know from his correspondence with Edward Wortley and William Congreve, he reached Geneva early in December, 1701, and he was still there at the beginning of August, 1702. Soon after he must have set out for Austria. His further remarks on Switzerland come, therefore, from what he saw on the way. They continue to show him closely observant, seriously thoughtful, at times humorous with ever an eye for the practical. We find him noting an advantage in the hilly site of Lausanne: "a very great Commodity in case a Fire breaks out in any Part of the Town."  

By the simple operation of opening a sluice, water from the reservoirs in the upper part of the town could quickly reach the lower. He also described the Capucins' escarpatoire there, "because I don't remember to have met with anything of the same Nature in other Countries." He ignored Fribourg, but described its Hermitage, "the greatest Curiosity of these Parts." He rode by "very bad Ways from hence to Bern, a great Part of 'em through Woods of Fir-trees." This caused him to observe how their ample resources of timber made the Swiss mend their highways with logs instead of stone, and he "could not but take notice of" how they constructed their wooden barns, in such a way as to safeguard the corn from vermin and damp. At Berne what pleased him most, as it had Burnet, was the Promenade, which lay as high as an English steeple above the Aare, and in the shadow of the cathedral, "perhaps the most Magnificent of any Protestant Church in Europe" - "out of England," of course. Here, said

2 Addison, Remarks, op. cit., p. 472.
3 Ibid., p. 473.
4 Ibid., p. 474.
5 Ibid., p. 475.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 477.
Addison, you had the "noblest Summer-Prospect in the World," a full view of the snow-capped Alps of the Grisons. As at Geneva he visited the Arsenal, because, as he said, this gave a traveller some measure of a state's military strength, while the study of its trophies of war fixed in his mind the most considerable events in its past history. Both at Berne and on the way to Solothurn he observed that no country in the world was so well supplied with water. With so many springs and such vast quantities of wood to make pipes, no wonder the Swiss were well stocked with fountains, and their abounding numbers of cattle and horses with troughs. He detected at Solothurn "a greater Air of Politeness than any I saw in Switzerland," and added, significantly, "The French Ambassador has his Residence in this Place." On the way to Meldingen, à propos of the reasonable price of Swiss wine, he commented on the cheap freight made possible by the lakes and navigable rivers of Switzerland, "as commodious to 'em in this Respect, as the Sea is to the English." A night at an inn in Meldingen enabled him to write an account of "this powerful Republick" of "a Hundred Bourgeois, and about a Thousand Souls," in the gently ironical style later to become familiar to readers of The Spectator. Chief of the State were two Avoyers, one of them Addison's landlord's son. He dined next day at Zürich, and made a point of inspecting the new townhouse. It impressed him as "so well design'd, that it would make a good Figure even in Italy," but, with a hint of his own superior scholarship, he took a supercilious view of its mural inscriptions in

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., p. 481.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 482.
5 Ibid., p. 485.
6 Ibid., p. 483.
7 Ibid., p. 486.
Latin. The next and last place Addison was to describe in Switzerland, before he "took Horse to the Lake of Constance," was "St. Gaul." On enquiring into the source of its manifest prosperity, he discovered its linen trade. It employed "almost all Ages and Conditions of its Inhabitants," and, from locally grown flax, it annually produced some "Forty Thousand Pieces of Linnen Cloath," as finely wrought as any from Holland, and widely exported to "Italy, Spain, Germany, and all the adjacent Countries." Such was the extent of its bleachfields, that, seeing them for the first time in the dusk of the evening, he mistook them for a lake. But he had more to say of the principal feature of St. Gallen - its great Benedictine Abbey, whose abbot ruled like a sovereign over broad lands, where an army of twelve thousand could be raised to defend it. He wrote of its endowments, constitution and officialdom. Of its church he wrote slightingly, allowing his religious prejudices to come between him and the appreciation of one of the finest baroque structures in Europe. He discussed the recurrent dissensions between this powerful Catholic community and the staunchly Protestant town, in which it was set. The impartial manner of their settlement by the other cantons, interposing as umpires to prevent open strife, must have impressed the future diplomat, for he began his concluding remarks on Switzerland with these words.

"I have often consider'd, with a great deal of Pleasure, the profound Peace and Tranquillity that reigns in Switzerland and its Alliances: It is very wonderful to see such a Knot of Governments, that are so divided among themselves in Matters of Religion, maintain so uninterrupted an Union and Correspondence, that no one of 'em is for Invading the Rights of another, ... ."

Not all might entirely agree with the writer in ascribing this happy state

1 Ibid., p. 516.
2 Ibid., pp. 489-490.
3 Ibid., p. 496, (misprinted as 499).
of affairs to "the Nature of the People, and the Constitution of their 
Governments." Addison saw the Swiss as deficient in "Zeal or Ambition," and 
therefore unlikely to sacrifice peace for glory. He thought of them as 
"naturally of a heavy Phlegmatick Temper," those with "more Fire and Spirit ... 
quickly temper'd by the Coldness and Moderation of the rest ... ." He was 
neater the mark in observing that the wooded and mountainous nature of their 
country kept dissidents apart, and that the intervention of the other cantons 
immediately closed any rupture that occurred. As for their governments he 
believed that commonwealths were best for a land of few resources. Like 
Burnet he compared "the common People" of Switzerland and the Grisons, "much 
more at their Ease, and in a greater Affluence of all the Conveniences of Life," 
with their less fortunate neighbours under a despotic, luxurious prince. He 
admirled the constant endeavour of the Swiss to preserve their ancient, frugal way 
of life, and the vigilance of their spiritual and temporal leaders against all 
forms of "Pomp and Superfluity," whether in dress, pastime or social habit. 
"Luxury," moralised Addison, "indeed wounds a Republick in its very Vitals, as 
its natural Consequences are Rapine, Avarice and Injustice." Its pernicious 
effects had destroyed the Republic of Rome, but, in Switzerland, penalties were 
attached to "Plays, Games, Balls and Feastings." Women were plainly clad, and, 
if in fur, then only in those of the country. Councillors of state, while on 
duty, were obliged to wear a sober "Black Cloak and a Band." All persons

1 Ibid., p. 497.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 498.
5 Ibid., p. 499.
6 Ibid., p. 500.
7 Ibid., p. 501.
8 Ibid., p. 502.
dressed according to their class but "by no means costly," and of this commendable simplicity the countryfolk in their rough homespun were an epitome. "Their Holy-day Cloaths go from Father to Son, and are seldom worn out, 'till the Second or Third Generation: So that it is a common thing enough to see a Countryman in the Doublet and Breaches of his Great-grand-father."

From the general survey he wrote of the country, it is clear that Addison regarded Geneva as its intellectual core, which no longer held quite so fast as it once did to the precepts of Calvin in manners or religion, but was "much politer than Switzerland, or any of its Allies." It stood at the present in some danger from France. Like Burnet he described particularly its public granary, administered so as to ensure a sufficiency of corn in case of emergency, prevent profiteering, increase civic revenue and succour the other cantons in time of famine. As against primogeniture he remarked on the social benefits arising from the equal division of a deceased parent's estate among all his children, which obtained here and elsewhere in Switzerland. He touched on the Swiss policy of neutrality, "though they can't forbear aiding with a Party in their Discourse," the Protestant cantons with the English and Dutch and the Catholic with the French, at least to the extent of supplying men for their army. This practice of taking service with foreign armies, especially the French, was one which engaged the attention of all thoughtful writers on Switzerland, since it was one which had an important effect on the social and economic life of the nation at home, and on their policy towards other nations abroad. In lighter vein Addison alluded to it in a contemporaneous letter to William Congreve.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., p. 503.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 508.
"They generally hire themselves out in their youth," he wrote, "and if they are musquet-proof till about Fifty, they bring home the money they have got and the Limbs they have left to pass the rest of their time among their Native mountains. One ..., that is come off with the Loss of an Eye only, told me by way of Boast that there were now seven wooden Legs in his Family, and that for these four generations there had not bin one in his line that carryd a whole Body with him to the grave." 1

One thing in Switzerland he derided, "the Notion of Witchcraft," which he found "reigns very much in this Country," even among "very sensible Men." 2 It was punishable by imprisonment or hanging. Was this, he asked himself, the result of poverty or ignorance? Or was it a way to rid society of unprofitable members? On a higher level he set out his views on a question of succession, which was beginning to cause concern among the Swiss. This was the crisis due to arise on the death of the ruler of Neufchâtel, the now aged and childless Duchess de Nemours. One of the likeliest claimants was the Prince of Conti, but Protestant by conviction and Swiss by inclination the Neufchâtelois were by no means anxious to have as their ruler this prince, Catholic and French. Being Protestant Frederick I of Prussia was more acceptable to them. At the same time there was a movement among them to declare a free commonwealth, if, when the time came, the Swiss cantons lent their support. It was to the interest of the latter to prevent Louis XIV gaining a foothold this side of the Juras. But, Addison noted, it was hard to foresee what bribery or the fear of France might not effect among a people, that had tamely stood by while the Franche Comté was seized from Spain by Conti, and the fortress of Hüningen built within cannonshot of Basel.

Another writer on Switzerland, whom travellers could profitably read, was

1 Addison, Letters, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
2 Addison, Remarks, op. cit., p. 28.
Addison's friend, colleague and contemporary, his mentor, too, in diplomacy, Abraham Stanyan. The anonymous publication of his work, An Account of Switzerland, Written in the Year 1714, may be explained by the fact that the writer was then an acting member of the diplomatic corps. In this country demand for the book seems to have been limited, and copies of the first edition are now very rare. Though a perceptive writer like Coxe might use it in forming his Sketches of Switzerland, though Chesterfield recommended it to his son on his "Swiss progress," with the comment that "Mr. Stanyan, from a long residence there, has written the best account, yet extant, of the Thirteen Cantons," and though Addison did his best for his friend by inserting a notice in The Spectator, the book appears to have won more popularity abroad. There French editions came out at Amsterdam in 1714 and 1757, and at Fribourg and Paris in 1766. In Switzerland itself von Haller pronounced it astonishingly accurate, and, in paraphrase form, it was bound up with the second (1750) and later editions of Ruchat's Délices de la Suisse. Early recognition of Stanyan's capacity for the Foreign Service came in 1705, when, still in his thirties, he was advanced to the important post of Envoy to the Swiss cantons, and took up residence at Berne. In 1709 he returned home, but was soon back for a further term in Switzerland, where he remained until 1713. His official status enabled him to make many "Observations" of the country, and these he now thought it worth while to publish. His reason for this was principally wonder,


that so little should be known of a country set in almost the centre of Europe and with a great influence upon its affairs. He imputed this ignorance to the fact that there was "no distinct Account yet extant of the Modern State of this Country." He therefore proceeded to write one, using, as he tells us, his utmost endeavour to make it exact, flattering himself he had given "a more compleat View of the Present State of that People, and their Governments" than any before him, yet, with diffidence, hoping his attempt would incite some abler pen to produce a better. The result was an exemplary account of Switzerland, concise in its two hundred and fifty pages, comprehensive in its treatment, and surpassing in its literary style. Stanyan's complete grasp of his subject appeared in the very first chapter. It was apparent in his handling of Switzerland's situation, limits, neighbours and topography, in his demonstrating their importance for the security and economy of the land, and in his dealing with its main topographical feature first - those "Ridges of Mountains, which serve them equally for natural Boundaries and Fortifications" as well as pasture and tillage. After the Alps he dealt with the other two geographical regions of Switzerland, the one "Hilly," and the other "great Tracts of plain Champain Country," where the "stony and ungrateful" soil had, of necessity, "made the Switzers the ablest Husbandmen in Europe." Supplementary to the fruit of their labours were their cattle, enough and to spare for export, ample supplies of game including the bouquetin and

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 3.
4 Ibid., p. 4.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 5.
chamois, "not known to us," and "several sorts of Wine ... palatable and wholesome." Yet the yield of the earth was so frequently blasted by rain, hail and tempests, that corn magazines were a national necessity, and bad beer was often the common lot. In the course of his duties he had travelled and seen much, and he could not but remark how, in proportion to other countries, Switzerland had an "extraordinary Number of Rivers" and many lakes. Like Addison, "... I never saw an inland country," he wrote, "that abounds so much with water as this." And the water, even the Alpine tarns, abounded with fish. He marvelled, too, at its forests and seemingly limitless supply of timber, "which would turn to good Account for Masts and Shipping, if they grew in the neighbourhood of the Sea ... ," but which were Switzerland's only source of fuel and building material for the peasants' houses. The rigours and vagaries of the climate were also his theme, though it did not require Stanyan's length of residence in Switzerland to remark, how "the Weather is subject to sudden Changes and often passes from hot to cold in four and twenty Hours."

Like Misson he held strong views on who should write history, and believed "no Stranger ever writ the History of a Country with Exactness." Moreover, as he pointed out, the task was uncommonly hard in Switzerland, because of its few historical records and reliable chroniclers. Therefore in his account he related "such general Facts only, as all their Authors agree in," and contented himself mainly with those concerning the rise of the thirteen cantons, frankly

1 Ibid., p. 6.
2 Ibid., p. 7.
3 Ibid., p. 9.
4 Ibid., p. 10.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 11.
7 Ibid., p. 13.
declaring "I know not," when such was the case, and "it seems to me," rather than stating opinion disguised as fact. There is, however, no doubt which way Stanyan's sympathies lay in his story of Switzerland's heroic struggle for independence. This has no better illustration than in how, with no unworthy misgivings as to its authenticity, he penned a spirited and partial account of the deeds of "one William Tell, a sturdy Youth." Of Tell’s compeers Stanyan wrote with unstinted praise.

"They were inspired with the Love of their Country, animated by Revenge against their Tyrants, and tenacious of their Liberty. Where such qualities are found, and meet with Opportunities of exerting themselves, they make Patriots and Heroes, without the help of Birth and Fortune; ... ."4

But Stanyan was more critical in his lucid account of the political framework of the Swiss cantons, as they were in the early eighteenth century. Six democracies and seven aristocracies they were all commonwealths, a form of government which he rated best for Switzerland, if lower than "the Excellency of so well temper’d a Monarchy as Ours." In order, he tells us, to avoid a work of inordinate length, he centred his account on the governmental system of the largest and strongest of the thirteen cantons, but drew attention to any essential differences between Berne and the other twelve. He then guided his reader through the intricacies of its constitution and the complexities of its officialdom - avoyers, seiziniers, banderets and gros sautier - with the ease and skill of an experienced statesman. Lastly he indicated the strength and the weakness inherent in the political systems of Switzerland. Thus, on
the one hand, he endorsed the existence of "a well-regulated Militia, equal Agrarian Laws, and an equal Rotation of Magistracy" in the seven aristocracies. On the other he deprecated the exclusion from their administration of the mass of the people. The "mutual Alliances," by which each canton was pledged to uphold the established order of the others, and the fact, that "scarce any Taxes" were laid on their subjects, were some guarantee of continued peace and security, but he predicted subversion would one day come. Already, in the space of eight years, he had seen civil commotions in Geneva, Lucerne and Zürich, occasioned by the discontent of the citizens with their rulers. With hindsight it is possible for us to see how, in the late eighteenth century, his prediction came true. As one whose concern had been to keep a finger on the political pulse of Switzerland, Stanyan differed from the passing traveller like Father Lassels or the short-term visitant like Bishop Burnet. He was able to detect the common interests, which drew the cantons together, but no less the tensions, which drove them apart, especially their religious differences since the Reformation, and, more recently, their jealousy of Berne. He referred to the "Opinion, which is generally received in the World, that these Thirteen Cantons make but One Commonwealth, like the States of the United Provinces ... " But "the truth of it is," he declared, "that they have nothing in common, which proves any Dependence one on the other: There is no common Civil Judicature in being, that has the Right of obliging all the Cantons by its Decisions; ... no common Treasure, no common Coin, nor any one common Mark of Sovereignty ... ." Of such an union as the Helvetic he was highly critical. "... if they are supposed to make but one Body, it must be a Body without a Head, or else with as

1 Ibid., p. 101.
2 Ibid., p. 107.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., pp. 119-120.
5 Ibid., p. 126.
many Heads as they are Cantons; either of which Suppositions forms as monstrous a Production in Artificial Bodies, as in Natural."  He was less trenchant in his account of the governmental system of the six democracies, "which," he wrote, "by allowing each member an equal Share in it, seems to interest every Part in the Preservation of the Whole." Every male upwards of sixteen years had a voice in it, and the gentleman and his servant had an equal share in the sovereignty. Defects these democracies might have, such as too many voices in their deliberations, and too few rules in the regulation of their affairs, but, he ventured to affirm, in all probability they would outlive the aristocratical systems. It is proof of the writer's political perspicacity, that the course of history has confirmed the truth of his words.

With regard to the religions of Switzerland he blamed the past war and the present enmity between Catholics and Protestants on the fact of their co-existence within the same nation. Of the Catholics his opinion was akin to Burnet's, though more tactfully expressed - "they are thought to be the most zealous and bigotted of any in Europe." But he nowhere demeaned himself by their ridicule, as Addison had done. Of the Protestants he wrote at greater length, regretting they were "unhappily so divided into several Branches" despite the Confessio Helvetica, wherein all "embraced the Opinions of Calvin about Grace, Free-will, Election and Predestination, in their utmost Rigour." With dissenters, Pietists or Anabaptists, Stanyan had little patience. He dismissed the one as "a Sect of ancient Hypocrites, revived under another Name," condemned the other as a danger to the state, and approved the measures taken.

1 Ibid., p. 120.
2 Ibid., p. 111.
3 Ibid., p. 158.
4 Ibid., p. 159.
5 Ibid., p. 162.
6 Ibid., p. 164.
to suppress both - the policy, in fact, of nipping trouble in the bud, which
has served the nation well on more than this occasion.

The Swiss, he wrote, "think themselves sufficiently
authorized by Divine and Humane Laws, to crush any Sect in its
Infancy, which if left to its self, would infallibly produce a
Schism in the Church, and Divisions in the State."\(^1\)

Stanyan praised also their "regular Attendance on the Divine Worship in their
Churches" and the exemplary lives of their clergy, the high standard of public
morality and their "Examples of Christian Charity much surpassing those of many
other States, ... superior to them in Power and Riches."\(^2\) Finally of the effects
of their religion on the Swiss he could safely say that, in all outward
appearance, it produced very good ones on their manners and lives.

Passing from the spiritual to the material aspects of life in Switzerland,
he took a general survey of the national economy, as it stood at the beginning of
the eighteenth century. He took notice of Switzerland's difficulties, such as
her inland location without maritime access, the high cost of transmontane
commerce and carriage, in addition to her scarcity of export commodities. These
were limited to horses, black cattle, butter and cheese, and - surprising this,
to the latter-day reader - "the want .... of Industry in the Inhabitants to
supply that Defect by establishing Manufactures, ... ."\(^4\) In five places,
however, he noted that trade flourished: in the entrepôt, frontier towns of
Schaffhausen and Basel, in the textile centres of St. Gallen and Zürich, and in
Geneva, the most prosperous of all on account of its "naturally industrious"
citizens, its useful manufactures introduced by refugee Huguenots, its "Bankers

\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 168-169.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 169.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 170.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 172.
\(^5\) Ibid., p. 175.
of note" and its position on the crossroutes of traffic between Italy and France. On the whole, however, the balance of trade was greatly against the Swiss. They were therefore compelled to "prevent the Consumption of foreign Commodities, as much as possible, by retrenching all Superfluities, especially in Apparel and Furniture"; hence their "very severe Sumptuary Laws," though he saw these as a wise restraint of "Excesses in Apparel." For his part he regarded, as the most effective solution to Switzerland's economic problems, the increased circulation of sterling, the growth of industry, if not for the foreign market then at least for the home, and some mitigation of the laws, which prohibited immigrants from exercising their trades in Switzerland. This was a far-sighted view, and to-day we can see how the solutions he propounded have been applied and proved successful.

In his economic survey we have seen Stanyan referring to the Geneva bankers, who had "made prodigious Gains by the Great Interest they received for their Mony." Though since expanded beyond comparison Swiss banking had already, in Stanyan's time, entered the sphere of international finance. He spoke of its directors as those "who have Dealings in most of the trading Towns of Europe; and, during the last War, negotiated great Sums of Mony, both for France and the Allies." It had, in fact, been part of his mission in Switzerland to negotiate such loans on behalf of his country. He was therefore, as British envoy, keenly interested in the source and amount of the Swiss revenue, particularly under the aspect of its providing the sinews of war. But "I believe," "I have been assured," "by what I can learn" and the like so

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., pp. 178-179.
3 Ibid., p. 179.
4 Ibid., p. 175.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 185.
7 Ibid., p. 183.
8 Ibid., p. 184.
repeatedly qualify his relevant statements, that clearly his curiosity made limited headway against characteristic reticence on a matter so vital to Swiss national survival, and he admits he was often reduced to mere guesswork or "Computation." Still he was satisfied that the financial state of the cantons was sound.

"For tho' their yearly Incomes be small," he wrote, "yet they are greater than their Expenses; so that they can afford to lay up a little Sum every Year, which in a long Course of Time amounts to a considerable Treasure."

As reputedly they were the two richest cantons, he was specially interested in Zürich and Berne. But, though he could tell every source of the income of Berne, he could by no means discover its amount. "I have not been wanting in my Endeavours," he disclosed, "to find out what Sum these several Taxes may produce yearly in the Canton of Berne; but could not get any Satisfactory Account, ... " This much, however, was certain. Zürich and Berne were the only cantons possessed of considerable treasury reserves, but of how much was "only a Conjecture, which" he was "not able to make out by any good Proofs."

This being so, he concluded that, in the event of war, the other cantons, having no such reserves, would soon "lye exposed to all the Dangers and Incursions of a Defenceless People," though, to all appearance, Switzerland would seldom have any fighting to do, unless that caused by internal, religious strife.

Stanyan's enquiries regarding their plans for defence, should the Swiss be attacked, met with greater success. This was probably because those, who had drawn up these plans, and maintained them with such efficiency from the call to arms to the pattern of musket, believed that the more they were known, the less

1 Ibid., p. 187.
2 Ibid., p. 182.
3 Ibid., p. 186.
4 Ibid., p. 188.
5 Ibid., p. 189.
they were likely to be needed. As he said, the nation were above all "desirous to live in a perpetual Peace." His account of the Swiss defence system was based upon that of Berne, because it passed for "the best regulated of any in Europe" and a model for the rest of the cantons, and probably because he had discovered so much about it. The result was that this chapter of his book read almost like a military training manual. Plans for a partial or general call-up, army staffing and organisation, logistics, arms and equipment, rations, pay and conditions of service, he was thoroughly informed of them all. Reminding his reader that it was contrary to Swiss policy to maintain a standing army, he entered into details of how periodic inspections of arms and men, field-days and regular target practice kept the militia in a constant, high state of preparedness. Nothing, it appeared, was left to chance, not even the warning beacons, one of which stood on the most conspicuous place in every bailliage, with a constant guard of six men, day and night, ready to fire it upon a sudden march or irruption of any foreign troops. On one important point, however, Stanyan's spies had failed him. Although he could form a rough estimate of the country's manpower, based on the numbers raised by the cantons during the war of 1712 between Zürich and Berne, he could not, beyond their sufficiency to repel an invader, "venture to say, what number of men the whole Militia of Switzerland amounts to ... ."

As he was one of the first English writers to devote an entire work to Switzerland, so he was also one of the first to write a creditable description of the Swiss. Swiss society he divided into three orders or classes. First were the peasants, good subjects if very jealous of their liberty, "honest,

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1 Ibid., p. 156.
2 Ibid., p. 193.
3 Ibid., p. 205.
robust and laborious," and, according to Stanyan, more so in the German-speaking cantons. Second were "the Vassals and Gentry," such as were not citizens of any cantonal capital, with few opportunities open to them in the public service, the professions or trade, and therefore, in his eyes, "the least happy." Third were the citizens, made up of tradesmen, "esteemed to be proud and lazy," of merchants, who made "but a small Figure," of "pen-men," or those in administrative posts, and of military men, "the most Polite" and, for their profession, "the most esteemed" of all. The old nobility, "formerly both Wealthy and Powerful," now enjoyed no pre-eminence but that of being called "Jüncker" and of being "Primus inter Pares." With regard to the men of the nation he saluted their military valour, fidelity and discipline, recounting instances of how the Swiss had thereby become a legend in Europe, whether in the defence of their homes, or in the service of France, Holland, the Papal and other states. He defended them from the stigma commonly attached to the name of mercenary, by explaining the strict conditions under which they took service abroad. He defended them also against the charge of "heaviness" generally laid on them by other nations, especially the French. By all that he had observed, the French, who laughed at the Switzers, were usually outwitted by them when it came to a matter of business. Of their general level of culture it was his opinion that, though learned men were not lacking in "the two Great Professions of Divinity and Law," polite learning was far from widespread in Switzerland. This defect was due less to lack of genius than to want of leisure and fortune to develop it.

"I have no where," declared Stanyan, "met with Men of more sound and clear Judgment, of greater Dexterity in the Management

1 Ibid., pp. 137-138.
2 Ibid., p. 139.
3 Ibid., pp. 140-141.
4 Ibid., p. 143.
5 Ibid., p. 146.
of Affairs, nor of more lively Conversation, with true Wit and Genuine Humour, than are to be found among some of that Nation, who have had the advantage of a good Education improved by Travel."

The women he admired as "handsome and well shaped," wanting "no Charms either in their Persons or Conversation." Of chaste repute and simple life they enjoyed few luxuries either of dress or entertainment, and compared favourably with those of other nations. Law and custom in Switzerland discountenanced all gallantry, and the early cares of a family took up their time and thoughts. Consequently there were few that busied themselves in love intrigues, which seemed to be the effects of idleness and luxury among women elsewhere. Marriage, he found, did "no where so universally obtain" as in Switzerland, and, as Burnet, too, had observed, the country was "extremely Populous." "One generally finds," he wrote, "Nine or Ten Children in a Family, and sometimes double the Number." This gave rise to certain economic problems, to which employment abroad was one of the answers. In this way Stanyan was led to discourse on a remarkable feature of the Swiss, their powers of adaptability.

"... they learn the Language, and put on the Manners and Fashions of the Countries where they live, with great Ease. They study them at first to render themselves agreeable, and by Degrees make them habitual ... ."

Such faults as he allowed in the Swiss - like a certain deterioration in "Candour in their Dealings, and Simplicity in their Manners, as well as in

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1 Ibid. p. 135.
2 Ibid. p. 153.
3 Ibid., p. 154.
4 Ibid. p. 141.
5 Ibid., p. 143.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 145.
their Dress" - he traced to "the general Contagion of the French Modes" and manners. These had been introduced partly by compatriots returned from abroad, and had been spread partly by the increased use of the French language in Switzerland. Berne, Fribourg and Soleure especially had "suffered themselves to be infected by the Neighbourhood of France, with some Vices that are not of their natural Growth." Nor could he pass over in silence "the Corrupt Administration of Justice ... too palpable to be denied." Yet out of his understanding and sympathy with the people, among whom he had lived and worked for so long, he could plead extenuating circumstances. "... tho' I will not lay it down for an Universal Truth," he wrote, "that rich Men are honester than poor, yet, I think, I may boldly affirm, that poor Men often yield to Temptations, which they would resist, if they were easie in their Fortunes."

In "The Conclusion" to his highly informative work Stanyan, in common with other writers, declared that "among all the Modern Frames of Government there is none to be found in the World like that of Switzerland ... ." But among the ancient, he maintained, there existed a strong analogy in their origins and history between the Greek commonwealths and the Swiss. One of the many parallels he drew between them is of some interest in the light of later events. Holding that the Swiss stood in some danger from the interference of powerful neighbours in their affairs, he wrote that "if they continue so prudent, as to avoid this Snare, 'tis probable the Switzers may preserve their Liberty, as the Greeks did, between two Great Princes, 'till such a Resistless Power, as that

1 Ibid., p. 147.
2 Ibid., p. 148.
3 Ibid., p. 153.
4 Ibid., p. 151.
5 Ibid., p. 153.
6 Ibid., p. 206.
of the Romans, arise again, and over-run all Europe with its Conquests." This was foresight, that only later generations of readers could appreciate, since almost a century was to elapse before the shadow of Napoleon fell across Europe and Switzerland. He rounded off his Account with an appendix "containing an Account of the Allies of the Switzers." He gave an authoritative, summary sketch first of the Grisons, "the most powerful of their Allies, both for Extent of Country, and Number of Inhabitants," and then of Neufchâtel and its people. "... having generally more Vivacity than the rest of the Switzers, and not being wholly exempt from Vanity, they are usually called in Raillery, the Gascons of Switzerland." "Of the Abbot and City of St. Gal" he wrote with particular attention to the disputes between that Catholic prelate and his Protestant subjects. He had less to say of the Valais, its Catholic inhabitants still animated by "their Zeal for Religion," but their Prince-Bishop with "Power dwindled away by Degrees" from what it had been in Lassels' time. Because "this City is so well known, and has been so often described by Travellers," he only touched on the subject of Geneva. A few lines on the towns of Bienne and Mulhausen, dwelling as throughout this appendix on their internal government and their particular allies among the cantons, and he had done. He concluded his work by repeating the prediction, he had earlier made, that it would be on the rock of religion, Protestant against Catholic, that the Helvetic Body, if ever, would one day split. But here, for once, Stanyan was wrong.

1 Ibid., p. 216.
2 Ibid., p. 219.
3 Ibid., p. 220.
5 Ibid., p. 233.
6 Ibid., p. 243.
7 Ibid., p. 242.
8 Ibid., p. 243.
His felicitous Account we may describe as a literary yardstick, by which all previous writers in English on Switzerland fall short. Not that he spent more words on describing the tourist sights than Lassels, for example, or Misson had. More important, he rather discoursed on the past, the present and, with peculiar interest for the latter-day reader, the future state of the nation, his regard for whom made possible such a rare treatise, more penetrating than Burnet's, more sympathetic than Addison's, more knowledgeable than both. For all that his work never enjoyed the popularity it deserved. Nor was it ever reprinted, as those of Lassels, Ray, Skippon and Misson were in successive editions of "collections" like Harris's or the Churchills'. They, of course, specialised in "travels" and "voyages", and were therefore no more likely to incorporate Stanyan than they were Burnet. The cause of this failure to capture a wider audience must be sought in its subject. The fact of the matter is that the book appeared at a time when British diplomats were intensely active and interested in Switzerland, but the British public, in general, were not. Yet it had no equal for the better part of a century, till Coxe's works were written.

We shall omit discussion of Coxe's works as too well-known to require it, and as too often mentioned throughout this thesis and elsewhere in works on Switzerland. For the same reasons we shall pass over Dr. Moore's View of the country and Windham's account of the glaciers, though they also found a place in the tourist's library beside copies of the classics and the pick of the English poets, novelists and travel writers. Livy was considered indispensable

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1 J. Moore, A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany: with Anecdotes relating to some Eminent Characters. By a Gentleman, Who resided several Years in those Countries, London, 1779.
to travellers like Walpole and Gray, crossing the Alps in what they believed were the footsteps of Hannibal. "... the Society in the Coach being rather sulky," Tom Jones could beguile a tedious journey. The tourist, who proposed to sojourn in south-west Switzerland, might carry La Nouvelle Héloïse to heighten the pleasure of a visit to Meillerie or Clarens. He might also peruse Rousseau's Confessions, as Rogers did preparatory to visiting St. Peter's Isle. For later generations of travellers the third canto of Childe Harold was required reading, especially for those who approached Switzerland by way of the Rhine. At the time of which we are writing, such libraries betokened the tourist of culture and affluence. For him bookbinder, cabinetmaker and coachbuilder had united their skills to produce finely bound volumes in an elegant coffer with its special compartment in his carriage. To-day stately homes, antique dealers and museums are their main repositories. One of those books so carefully chosen must be specially mentioned, namely the guidebook. This was a work of great importance to travellers, and one which to-day yields much information on Swiss tourism in earlier times. This, too, was a literary form attempted, with varying success, by several British women tourists.

We shall begin by defining the term, "guidebook", in the words of the standard work on the subject. "A guide-book differs from a narrative of a journey in that the former describes things in the way best adapted for use on the spot by travellers, while the latter describes the actual course of a real journey. It is not always easy to draw this distinction... especially when dealing with books before 1800." Practical handbooks for British travellers

began to appear around 1547 with the *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*. It was written by Andrew Boorde, a Carthusian monk and the Bishop of Chichester, who, released from his vows, had relinquished his see to pursue his medical studies abroad. We do not, however, propose to review every such work. We shall deal only with those which have a bearing on Switzerland, which were used by our travellers between 1750 and 1850, and which were originally written in English. This means we shall ignore, or merely refer to, roadbooks like Dutens' *Itinéraire de l'Europe*, published in 1786, or classics like Baedeker's *Die Schweiz*, printed in German and outwith our period, in 1851. We shall no more than mention Ebel's popular *Anleitung auf die nützlichste und genussvolste Art die Schweiz zu bereisen* of 1793. The frequent references made by our travellers are rather to its later editions in French and in English. With the increase of travel in the eighteenth century works of this nature proliferated. A typical example of the worse kind was *The Gentleman's Pocket Companion for Travelling into Foreign Parts*, published by Thomas Taylor in 1722. Its contents included descriptions (undetailed) of postroads, indifferent maps and fatuous dialogues in French, German, Italian and Spanish of the same order of utility as the proverbial *plume de ma tante*. Hardly more useful were its snippets of legal advice. But the standard guide, till the advent of Nugent's, was Misson's reliable *New Voyage to Italy*. Though it was originally written in French, we make an exception, and deal with it here, because, from its first English edition in 1695, however defective in the eyes of its author, it served travellers well. It continued to do so in successive, revised editions till the late eighteenth century, and it anticipated works like Baedeker's both in its detail and thoroughness.

We have already taken some account of this work, and therefore, at this
point, we refer only to the section entitled "Instructions to a Traveller." As the author sagely observed, the pleasure and profit, that attended travelling, were not to be won without pain. Accordingly, in these advices, his design was to improve the first two while lessening the third. The sound sense of his maxims cannot be questioned. Thus, "... a Man shou'd never travel in the Night without an absolute necessity." Otherwise he risked accident more than in the day, and was deprived of the satisfaction of seeing the country, through which he was passing. Nor should he choose to travel in the winter. Daylight was short then, the landscape was dismal, and Nature "in a manner half dead," while, in the mountains, snow and ice rendered the way "uneasie and dangerous." If "of a tender Constitution" then the traveller, determined to cross the Alps at this season, would do well to buy good furs, as "the Cold is very piercing among those Mountains." In fact, wrote Misson, "Health is so necessary a Companion to a Traveller, that he cannot be too careful of its preservation." To this end he believed in providing himself before leaving London, and in supplementing his portable pharmacopoeia by the purchase at Frankfurt of some boxes of Dr. Peter's treacle. The traveller, if he so wished, could obtain this panacea also at Venice, where its chief ingredient was vipers, from the Euganean Hills. "To guard against the ill Consequences of an incommodious Bed," the traveller ought also to carry, if not "a Compleat Bed," then at least "Bed-clothes and Coverlets." At the same time no one cared to be overburdened with luggage. "... the best way to make this Journey pleasant" was "to travel with a small

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3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 344.
7 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 401.
Equipage," if only to avoid trouble with the Customs. But it should include such necessary articles as "Geographical Maps, a Watch, Prospective-glasses, a Mariner's Compass, and Quadrant," and, of course, a notebook, wherein "every Evening to examine and transcribe the Observations of the Day." These observations were based on a list, Misson had systematically drawn up, of forty-eight topics, which ranged from climate to castles and coins, plants, paintings and houses of pleasure, academies, antiquities, adventures and animals, religion, rivers and rarities. The author was a man of the world, and he wrote, "Money makes every thing easie, and there is no Difficulty so great that may not be easily surmounted by those whose Pockets are well lin'd with Gold." But that did not mean that bills of exchange, though subject to discount, were not preferable to carrying "a Load of Money," and having one's pockets "full of superfluous Cash." Incidentally the traveller must never display either jewels or cash, especially at inns, since such unwisdom merely invited robbery and murder. For the further prevention of this he should have "some Iron Machin," or portable lock, to secure his bedroom door on the inside. Misson also stressed the importance of bearing "Letters of Recommendations" to persons of note, in towns where the traveller proposed to reside. A passport was not obligatory, but it did command respect abroad, and, in certain eventualities, the traveller might be glad of one. His practical advice on the hiring of servants and the handling of refractory guides, earlier quoted, need not be repeated here, but mention might be made of his sagacious counsel on the choice of travelling companions.

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 367.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 358.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 356.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 360.
6 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 325.
7 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 400.
8 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 325.
This, in his opinion, was attended by the same hazards as of a partner in marriage — "for when their Humours do not agree, it had been better for 'em they had never come together."

To these general observations, applicable to travel in any country, Misson added little or nothing in the few pages of his "instructions," which referred specifically to Switzerland. He did recommend a few hotels; at Basel the Three Kings, "where you will be well entertain'd, but at a dear Rate," and at Geneva "the Three Kings, the Persian Tower, the Scales." He considered, however, that young travellers, making a longer stay in the latter town, should board with a family. From personal acquaintance he could recommend "Mr. Mussart, Professor of Law." Chiefly he wrote of what was worth seeing at Geneva, Berne and Basel, and mentioned the usual sights. If "not streightened in time," the tourist might pause at the Tower of Ouchy, below Lausanne, to listen to its famous echo. If chance offered at Basel, he might profitably attend such functions as "the Commencement of a Batchelor or Master of Arts; ... the Meeting of some of the Tribes or Corporations; ... the Wedding of some rich Burgher; ... the Publick Feast of the Magistrates or that of the Professors of the University." What is more surprising, in view of the period when it was written, is the lengthy, marginal note, in which the author recalled one of the forty-eight miscellaneous topics he considered worthy the traveller's attention. In it he invited him to enjoy the magnificent "prospects," with which Nature had begirt Geneva. The

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 399.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 393-396.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 396.
5 Ibid.
7 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 396.
8 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 393.
9 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 357.
beholder might then venture to affirm that he had seen one of the finest scenes in the world.

From 1749 Misson's *New Voyage to Italy* was gradually superseded by Nugent's *Grand Tour*, a four-volume work which illustrates well the aim and content of the better sort of eighteenth century guidebook, the class of traveller for whom it was written, and also the contemporary British attitude to Switzerland as a place of resort compared with the Netherlands, Germany, Italy or France. The author's methodical plan for dealing with each country was set forth on the title-page. It was firstly to give "A Description of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Origin, and ancient Monuments," and secondly to describe "The public Edifices, the Seats and Palaces of the Princes and Nobility, their Libraries, Cabinets, Paintings, and Statues." Thirdly it was to deal with "The Produce of the Countries, the Customs and Manners of the People, the different Coins, their Commerce, Manufactures, Learning, and present Government," and fourthly to furnish "An exact List of the Post-routes, and of the different Carriages by Water and Land, with their settled Prices." In a lengthy preface he explained that his book was written for "those who want an instructor abroad, as a kind of guide and companion of their travels." He claimed that, among "a multitude" of other such works, his was "better adapted to the real use of travellers." Its accuracy rested on "not only my own observations during the course of many years travels, but likewise the remarks of every other valuable writer." Chief among them were Sir William Temple, Misson and Addison. Aspirants in this literary field like Nugent were usually experienced travellers, but they seldom scrupled to borrow from one another. In his preface he also

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. vi.
stated that his ultimate aim was "to form the complete gentleman." His work was addressed exclusively to the wealthy young man of the upper class making the grand tour. It therefore differed, in this respect, from the typical guide or manual that began to appear at the end of the century. Ebel's for one appealed to a wider audience. It carried specific directions for other classes of traveller, for the tourist of limited means, the professional man on a working vacation - doctor, botanist, mineralogist or artist - for the pedestrian, the climber, the invalid searching for health, and the seeker after those spiritual values to be found in the contemplation of Nature.

As for Switzerland, while the general run of contemporary guides regarded it neither as a reason for a journey, like France or Italy, nor worth a detour, like Holland or Germany, Nugent represented it as an interesting part of the traveller's itinerary on his way to more important places. He dealt with it, for example, as part of a "Journey from Hamburg to Fréncfort, and from thence to Strasburg and Geneva." Accurate in the main he described how, "among other remarkable places in this journey," the tourist passed through Basel, "the largest, fairest, and richest city of Switzerland." He then set out by way of Liestal, a centre of fairs, to Solothurn, which was reckoned to have "the finest modern edifices" in the country. Berne, ruled by its aristocracy, next lay on his route to Fribourg, "Magdalen's hermitage ... the greatest curiosity of those parts." He would then visit Lausanne, distinguished most by its Academy, and through Nyon, Coppet and Versoix, with its French garrison, reach Geneva. Though some of the most picturesque scenes in Europe, including the Alps of the Berner Oberland, the
Juras and the Lake of Geneva, lay on this route, the writer, in the manner of his age, ignored them beyond an occasional remark that the landscape was "very agreeable," "pleasant," or "mountainous" as the case might be. Instead he directed his young gentleman reader's attention to libraries, antiquities and collections of art, to curiosities and cabinets, to public buildings and works such as churches, arsenals and bridges, and to matters of history, politics, commerce, religion, topography and military interest. He did so, however, only in broadest outline. Perhaps he considered that instruction in detail might safely be left to the tutor, just as practical detail of transport, lodging and cost en route, which Nugent entirely omitted, might be left to the courier, whom the wealthy tourist commonly employed. Of Geneva, described at the end of a journey from Venice, across Lombardy and over the Mont Cenis, he wrote as he had of the other Swiss towns. Only now he wrote more, better, with greater enthusiasm than of anywhere else in Swiss territory, and with never a word of criticism. "The goodness of the air, the mildness of the government, and the plenty of all things, together with the conversation of the inhabitants, who are sprightly and polite, makes this a most agreeable city to live in;" he wrote, "insomuch that it is stiled the court of the Alpes." To judge by the number of pages he devoted to each, he ranked it slightly below Genoa and rather above Turin, but considered that Rome was ten times more important, and Paris still more.

Though neither fully nor accurately he also described the St. Gotthard as part of "A Journey from Rome to Milan, and thence to Lucern." "... the most hazardous part," he warned, "is the bridge, on the Russ, called the bridge of hell,

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 386.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 422.
from the horrid noise the water makes as it tumbles from the rocks, and from
the slipperiness of the bridge, which renders it difficult even to foot
passengers, who are obliged to creep on all-fours, lest the fury of the wind
should drive them down the rocks." If this is a reference to the
Stiebendebrücke at the Schöllenen Gorge rather than to the Teufelsbrücke, not
particularly hazardous, then Nugent, at this point, cannot be writing from his
"own observations." He must be using the "remarks" of some other author, for
travellers had abandoned the precarious, foam-sprayed bridge of planks, suspended
above the Reuss, and had been passing the Gorge by the Trou d'Uri for seventy
years, ere the third edition of the Grand Tour, from which this quotation is
taken, was published. In his chapter containing a "general description of
Germany," he devoted a "section" to Switzerland. Here he dealt with its
situation, extent and climate - a healthful one, "people living here to a very
advanced age" - the soil of the country, which produced a sufficiency of
grain and abounded in cattle, its rivers - he included "the Danube! - lakes
and mountains, its trade and the character of its people. "The Swiss," he said,
"are generally strong-bodied men, tall, and well made. ... The women are
handsome and well-shaped; the men are inured very early to hardships, and
taught the use of arms from their infancy. They are most of them of a martial
disposition, and remarkable for their fidelity and courage." A judgment in
which history has borne out his words. He dealt with the constitution of
Switzerland - the thirteen cantons with their subject lands and their allies,
chief of whom was the League of the Grisons - with the patriotic revolutions,

1 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 431.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 18-23.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 18.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 20.
in which the nation had flung off the successive yokes of Rome, Burgundy and Austria, with the general government of the Republic and the particular government of the cantons with their degree of autonomy. Lastly he dealt with their forces and military discipline - "no province in Europe can boast of a better disciplined militia" - due chiefly to their custom of taking service abroad. To no other part of the Alps or Switzerland, than those we have mentioned, did he refer, not even to Chamonix and Mont Blanc. Yet by 1778 a steady stream of British tourists was going there, and it seems improbable that an active man of letters, like Nugent living in London, would not know of Windham's sensational Account of the Glaciers, published only five years earlier than the first edition of The Grand Tour. But, from what we have seen of his guide, it is evident he no more believed that the contemplation of Nature played any part in forming the complete gentleman, than that Switzerland was a country worth seeing in its own right.

In fact the old concept of the grand tour, as we earlier remarked, dictated the content of guidebooks till the realisation of Thomas Martyn's Sketch of a Tour Through Switzerland in 1787. Continuing the excerpt from Coolidge we find its exemplification in Martyn's work. "A guide-book is, however, largely dependent on narratives of travel." The fortuitous origin of the first modern guidebook to Switzerland goes back to 1773, when its author, having married on limited means, undertook the charge of several pupils. One of them, William Hartopp, was ordered abroad for reasons of health in 1778, and his tutor was asked to go with him. They spent two years on the Continent, and Martyn found no part of the tour so rewarding as Switzerland. Soon after his return to England he was

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 22.
2 Coolidge, op. cit., p. 15.
writing to a friend and co-worker, Dr. Pulteney, "You will suppose that the Swiss mountains were highly interesting to me. Indeed they were a most rich repast, and I was not idle among them; for I made a copious Hortus Siccus; collected a great variety of fossils; and sent over a large case of rare Alpine plants to the Botanic Garden, at Cambridge... These will greatly improve my Museum, and furnish abundance of new materials for my Lectures,..." Soon, too, he was hard at work, "six hours per day," translating de Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes* into English. But, enquired Dr. Pulteney, what of his own journal, those two, well-filled, quarto volumes written for private enjoyment and circulation? "My Journal," answered Martyn, "will not furnish anything complete enough for the eye of the public." His colleague, renewing enquiries two years later, was met with the same excuse. "I find every day," wrote the Professor, "less inclination to publish anything in consequence of my tour, - never having had such a thing in view..." Procrastination went on for another four years, but, in 1787, Dr. Pulteney's hopes were finally realised. Notes on the natural history of Switzerland were contributed to Coxe's *Travels*. The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour Through Italy was followed by An Appendix to the Gentleman's Guide, and at last A Sketch of a Tour through Switzerland was published. In 1788 came An Appendix to the Sketch of a Tour through Switzerland; containing a short account of an Expedition to the summit of Mont Blanc, by M. de Saussure, of Geneva. Such was the origin of Martyn's Swiss guidebook. The principles, upon which he drew up his manuals of travel, are to be found in his preface to the

2 Ibid., p. 159.
3 Ibid., p. 160.
4 Ibid., p. 163.
first. Struck by the impractical nature of most existing works of travel, he remarked that most seemed written "to be read by the fire side at home." He criticised others as "very partial and defective, or else too voluminous to be carried about." But, he went on, if the traveller "can meet with one volume of a portable size, which in general seems likely to yield him the information he wants; he may perhaps be induced to give it a place in his portmanteau." He endeavoured to answer this purpose in the case of his Swiss guidebook with a 12mo volume, 127 pages and an index. It was neither so voluminous as Nugent's or Misson's, nor so exclusive. It was "intended to fall within the compass of the Generality" of tourists. Its literary form and style were of the simplest.

"If in going from the south of France into Italy, you should arrive at Geneva early in the spring," he began, "you cannot do better than to make some stay in that city (Geneva), and to spend the summer in a tour through Swisserland." He thereupon devoted several pages to a description of Geneva, which he had come to know well in 1778-9. He described its public buildings, its cultural and educational institutions, its garrison and fortifications, which were "calculated rather to prevent a surprise, than to sustain a regular siege." He wrote of its Church and State. A consistory of the former met every Friday, and, wrote he, "divorces seem to be their principal business." The law of the latter was "the Roman law, with some modifications. They have no titles of nobility, or hereditary dignities." As for its social amenities the chief amusement was

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. iv.
5 Ibid., p. 5.
6 Ibid., p. 9.
7 Ibid., p. 11.
8 Ibid.
cards, at which the ladies constantly played in their societies, tea-drinkings and assemblies, while the gentlemen met daily in their clubs. He wrote also of the civic revenue, coinage and trade. Of its environs, where he had once stayed at Vandoeuvre, he observed that "every village and campagne presents fresh beauties." He aptly represented its lake as formed like "a crescent, with the horns blunted." Altogether, he concluded, it was "a desirable place of residence for a stranger." Next came an outline of the proposed tour. He reckoned it would occupy six weeks to four months according to its extent, the degree of curiosity of the party and the activity of their movements. It was best undertaken between the beginning of May and the middle or end of September. He pointed out that it was impossible to arrange a tour, that would suit everybody. But he believed that, "with some trifling variations," the itinerary he suggested would suit most. We may note that it was based on his own in the summer of 1779, and was commendable in that it enabled the traveller to see something of all three natural regions of the country, Alps, Juras and Alpine foreland. It kept to the beaten track, and did not attempt to explore less frequented areas like the Engadine or the Grisons.

As the traveller progressed from place to place under Martyn's guidance, his attention was directed to the same things as it was under Nugent's, but with this important difference. At centres like Lucerne Martyn proposed excursions to Stans, or to Zug, or to the St. Gotthard by way of Altdorf. At Berne he proposed one to the glaciers of Grindelwald. This, and the manner in which he described it, constituted the difference between him and Nugent and other,

1 Ibid., p. 13.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 15.
4 Ibid., p. 17.
5 Gorham, op. cit., p. 155.
earlier, eighteenth century writers of guidebooks. An extract, describing the passage of the Scheidegg from the Haslithal to the valley of Grindelwald, will illustrate the romantic style, with which he portrayed the natural beauties of Switzerland. Through descriptions like this the traditional itinerary of the Grand Tour gradually altered to take in more of the country than formerly.

"Beyond this, the country becomes very wild and romantic: the rocks covered only with pines; cascades tumbling from these rocks; torrents roaring along the valleys; when on a sudden a most fertile vale presents itself studded with the wooden huts, where the peasants come to make their cheese. These verdant vales are small; and you soon plunge again into all the horrors of the mountain." Far from the sophistications of Geneva and Zürich he continued, "When you are fatigued, you will stop at one of these huts, and regale yourself with whey, curds, milk, or cream ..." His reader having ascended the Scheidegg he informed him, "... you will now see Glaciers, in the distance, and may probably hear the fall of the Avalanches, like distant thunder. When you have satisfied the eye with the splendour of these objects, you will be glad to let it repose on the green vale of GRINDELWALD, which presents itself as soon as you are arrived at the top of the mountain, studded with its 800 wooden houses, all seeming to proclaim by their equal dimensions the equality which reigns in these happy vales ... ."

This was the image of Switzerland, its life and its people, which, from the mid-eighteenth century and the beginning of the Romantic Movement, the tourist increasingly accepted. This was the most significant feature of Martyn's book. As an aid to the traveller it stands no comparison with the manual of Ebel or Murray. It was, indeed, no more than a "sketch" of a Swiss tour. "... whoever would penetrate deeper into the natural beauties, and variety of political constitutions, in this interesting country, must," as the author indicated, "consult Mr. Coxe's Travels, M. de Luc's Letters, M. de Saussure's Voyages dans les Alpes, Dictionnaire de la Suisse, Sc... ."

2 Ibid., p. 3.
The inadequacy of his work, amateur in comparison with the professional standard of Murray's, resulted in the credit for being the first English guidebook to Switzerland going to the latter. The contrasting quality of the two works is traceable to their origin. "I was, indeed, naturally led to make some observations upon public institutions, and the state of natural history, wherever I resided; and I could easily say a great deal upon how much is done with very small means in Switzerland," wrote Martyn in his correspondence on the subject with Dr. Pulteney, "... but I travelled with a family, and a pupil, and, therefore, had not leisure or means to pursue a plan of my own..."

Murray's case was different. Finishing his education in 1829, he paid his first visit to the Continent. At that time he tells us, in an account of "The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers," "... such a thing as a Guide-book for Germany, France, or Spain did not exist. The only Guides deserving the name were: Ebel, for Switzerland; Boyce, for Belgium; and Mrs. Starke for Italy. ... But I set forth for the North of Europe unprovided with any guide, excepting a few manuscript notes about towns and inns, &c., in Holland, furnished me by my good friend Dr. Somerville, husband of the learned Mrs. Somerville. These were of the greatest use." He had, however, no such help for his travels in Germany, with consequences for which generations of future travellers had cause to be thankful. "Sorry was I," says Murray, "when, on landing at Hamburg, I found myself destitute of such friendly aid. It was this that impressed on my mind the value of practical information gathered on the spot, and I set to work to collect for myself all the facts, information,

4 Ibid., p. 624.
statistics, &c., which an English tourist would be likely to require or find useful."

Murray was nothing if not methodical. He collected his facts "on the spot," and filled dozens of notebooks. Later, at home, he supplemented these facts with others drawn from literature, history, architecture, geology, and subjects he considered suited to the traveller's needs. He then arranged them in "routes," which he drew up so that, by following these itineraries, his reader could expeditiously, profitably and pleasurably visit the more and also the less frequented regions of, say, Switzerland. Painstaking in their arrangement he was equally selective of facts, for the malady of all guidebooks is having too many or too few. As he rightly says, "... these Routes would have been of comparatively little value, except for the principle and plan upon which they were laid down. I had to consult the wants and convenience of travellers in the order and arrangement of my facts." His procedure was as follows, whether at Berlin or Geneva. "Arriving at a city like Berlin, I had to find out what was really worth seeing there, to make a selection of such objects, and to tell how best to see them, avoiding the practice of local Guide-books, which, in inflated language, cram in everything that can possibly be said - not bewildering my readers by describing all that might be seen - and using the most condensed and simplest style in description of special objects." In contrast to the usual practice of local guidebooks Murray made it his aim to point out things "peculiar to the spot, or which might be better seen there than elsewhere." Still not satisfied he tells us how he had the "routes" set

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., p. 625.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
roughly in type, and then tested by lending to friends about to travel, that they might be verified or criticised on the spot. Nor did he start to publish until he had made several journeys and residences abroad himself. During these he not only traversed the usual roads, but also explored places yet unpenetrated by his fellowcountrymen. In this way he explored the Dolomites, sailed on a timber barge down the Danube from Pesth through the dangerous Iron Gate to Orsova below Belgrad, and visited most parts of Switzerland. For his information about other areas he relied on friends and travellers like William Brockeden, the artist and author of *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps* and *Journals of Excursions in the Alps*, or Charles Joseph Latrobe, author of *The Alpenstock* and *The Pedestrian*. When his *Handbook* to Switzerland finally appeared in 1838, it at once superseded all others, and was, as its author justifiably claimed, more reliable, compendious and up-to-date, more easily carried and readily consulted than any of them, even "the excellent work of Ebel." So successful was it that, in 1851, Baedeker, in *Die Schweiz*, acknowledged that, "Die Grundlage bildet auch hier Murray's berühmtes Reishandbuch." Besides the hundred and thirty-six "routes" covering the whole of Switzerland, Murray's handbook also contained pages of "introductory information." There were sections on passports, money and methods of travel, guides and porters, horses and miles, inns, requisites for the journey and objects most deserving of notice, such as the Swiss people, the Alpine passes, chalets and pasturages, phenomena of nature, glaciers,

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1 Published London, 1828.
2 Published London, 1833.
3 or *Sketches of Swiss Scenery and Manners*, 1825-26, London, 1829.
4 Published London, 1832.
6 p. 628.
avalanches and snow-storms, and, lastly, the goitre and cretinism endemic in a few districts. All were of value save the last, which was as appropriate as a chapter on idiots would have been in a handbook to England, where every village traditionally had one.

The practical guidebook was a literary form attempted by few of our women travellers. Yet it was one of those few who influenced Murray in writing his. Mariana Starke's *Travels on the Continent* was published in 1820, and we have seen him referring to it as a guide to Italy. If to a less extent it was also a guide to Switzerland. Nor was it her first attempt. Her *Letters from Italy* had appeared in 1800. Her work, however, suffers by comparison with the best guides. Ebel might describe his work as "... ce Manuel, fruit du long séjour que j'ai fait en Suisse." Murray might speak of his "experience gained in four different visits to the country, in the course of which he had left but a small portion of it unexplored." But Mariana Starke's visits to Switzerland were limited as well in duration as extent. Moreover, influenced as she was by the tradition of the grand tour, her attitude to the country inclined to that of eighteenth century writers like Nugent. Later, as we shall see, it altered. The discussion of these points is left to a later chapter, to which this writer and her works are entitled by reason of their unusual interest. It is as surprising as disappointing that the practical side of tourism generally failed to appeal, and that more of our women travellers did not write guides. Though the prefaces of their diaries, journals, memoirs, sketches and tours are full of earnest expressions of a desire to serve other travellers, the desire was seldom put into effect. But, if length of residence meant anything, Mrs. Anne Yosy was

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well qualified for the task. She had not only spent "ten years" there, from 1802 till 1812, she had also a warm and sincere love of the country and its people. These sentiments were mingled with gratitude for the protection afforded her by Swiss friends, at some risk to themselves, during the period of French domination, and her book on Switzerland was, in fact, written as a grateful "memorial ... to the hospitable, frank, and independent manners of the Swiss." Indeed her Switzerland is of special interest, if for no other reason than that it referred to years when few British nationals, men or women, were to be found in that country, and when such contemporary accounts, written in English, were therefore exceedingly and never so rare. Its detailed title gives sufficient indication of its content and scope, and the writer appears to have spared no pains in its composition. "... although her description may be found deficient in point of language, it at least possesses the advantage of being faithful and correct; as she made several journeys from her own house ... for the express purpose of being able to ascertain the most striking and interesting views." She also appears to have known her own limitations, for, having described the boundaries of Switzerland and "the noble road over the Simplon," she gave a separate account of the scenery of each canton, with its manners and customs, and left "to the learned the discussion of the laws and politics of the country."

1 A. Yosy, Switzerland, as now divided into Nineteen Cantons; interspersed with Historical Anecdotes, Local Customs and a Description of the Present State of the Country. The Cantons are severally described, and also the County of Neuchatel, the Republic of Geneva, the Boundaries, & New Road over the Simplon, with Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Swiss, illustrated in Fifty Coloured Engravings of the Costume. To which is added a short Guide to Travellers, London, 1815, Vol. 1, p. viii.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. viii.
3 "A little above the village of Utendorf, about two miles from Thun, stands the house in which I resided during seven years of my abode in this delightful country." Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 69.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. vi.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. vii.
The questions, which naturally rise to the mind of would-be travellers, are usually where to go and what to see, where to stay and what to pay, besides the problem of transport. Mrs. Yosy attempted to answer them all in "A Short Guide to Travellers," appended to her work. The restoration of peace by British arms and the resumption of travel by British tourists had provided an opportune moment to publish her work with this timely addition. Under the influence of the Romantic Movement she dealt with the first question as follows. "The principal intention of travellers in Switzerland," she wrote, "is to visit the stupendous mountains, the lakes, rivers, and glaciers. ... The object of this chapter is therefore to point out the more prominent, to such as may be disposed to visit this country, and to give a few general directions to those who have never been in it, ... ." The most picturesque part of Switzerland she declared to be where the lakes were. She mentioned particularly those of Geneva and Bienne, where travellers "should certainly endeavour to visit Rousseau's island." Her description of this romantic haunt gives some idea of her literary style.

"This island," she wrote, "is visible a long while before it is approached, being wantonly hidden at intervals by a shaggy mountain. In other places, the limpid surface which surrounds the island gaily displays its projecting promontories, in peeping from behind rocks of silver grey. The beating of the surge in softest cadence delights the mind, when blended with the solemn sound of the vesper bell, which revibrates from rock to rock, to call to prayer the pious souls of Neustat." 

The lakes of Thun and Bienne could be seen on a tour she proposed from Berne over the Brunig to Lucerne, and few, she said, went to Switzerland without a

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 189-196. Owing to a printer's error there are no pages numbered 194 and 195.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 189.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 190.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 87.
desire to see Tell's chapel on Lake Lucerne. Mountain lovers could hire mules and take the road over the Gemmi, though she had written in an earlier passage that "Few ladies have courage to undertake the journey; for, although no accidents happen, the sight of the road, and the height of the mountain, are sufficient to alarm a female mind, unaccustomed to view the Alps, ..." As against the Gemmi the Simplon road was "now perfectly good for carriages." Those who liked walking could ascend the St. Bernard, but, as this was an extremely exhausting business, she explained how better it could be done. Time permitting, tourists might view the Grindelwald glacier, though its recent decrease in size had meant a corresponding decrease in splendour. Other glaciers, "well worth the trouble of visiting," were those of Bernina in the Grisons. Of a different kind another pleasant excursion she proposed was a sail on the Limmat from Zürich to Baden, but, she warned, "living at Baden is dear, as people from different countries resort thither for the benefit of the waters." Nevertheless, though she did point out some of the most romantic and picturesque spots in all Switzerland, her directions to travellers were so "few" and so "general" as to be of only the slightest assistance.

On the question of accommodation she recommended the best hotel at Basel, Berne, Neufchâtel and Geneva — the Three Kings, Falcon, Balance and Dejean's respectively — but at nowhere else. However she went so far as to say that the inns on the road between Morges, Aubonne and Nyon were "excellent," and those between Berne and Zürich were "very clean, and much more reasonable than

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 36.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 192.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 191.
on the other side of the Lake of Geneva." Presumably she meant outwith Swiss territory in Savoy. As to cost she explained, "At the table d'hote, a dinner costs in general 20 batz, or half a crown English, and six batz for coffee after dinner; the supper, 15 batz." This was not very enlightening, as she omitted to explain that batz were not legal tender in every canton, and that their value varied in those where they were. And of hôteliers she said, "I am sorry to say, that the innkeepers think it no crime to charge double to foreigners for their entertainment; but as they are generally well-informed, and are capable of giving a good account of places, and sometimes of the history of their country, their exactions are willingly overlooked," but this was in an earlier chapter of her book.

Regarding the question of transport she wrote, like Martyn, that travelling was generally dearer in Switzerland than anywhere else, but that "those who have their own horses find it less expensive." There was, however, adequate public transport. From Berne, at the hub of the Swiss road system, diligences ran to Basel, Lausanne, Thun and Geneva three times a week. A coach left Zürich for Baden on Sundays, and returned on Wednesdays: fifteen shillings for the fare and fifteen pence for the coachman. A place on the twice weekly service between Basel and Lucerne cost ten shillings to Aarau and one louis all the way. The coach on Monday mornings from Basel to Zürich, connecting with Constance and the Empire, was always heavily booked, so reservations should be made two or three days in advance. But practical details, like the exact location of diligence arrival and departure points, Mrs. Yosy left her readers to discover for

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 190.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 121.
themselves. She mentioned that the public transport system also covered the lakes. On those of Zürich, Zug and Lucerne the journey was not expensive, if other travellers shared the boat. On Lucerne "almost every hour of the day, a covered boat" was "ready to convey passengers from one side of this lake to the other, or from one extremity to the other: ... ." But the ports of embarkation she did not name. She probably assumed this was unnecessary, if travellers read the rest of her book. The best form of transport in the mountains, of course, was mules. On the St. Bernard, for example, five shillings, or half a louis, secured the services of one, with his master, for the day.

Despite these advice it is doubtful whether Mrs. Yosy's "short guide" ever inspired much confidence, or lent much aid. Correct her facts may have been, but set down methodically they were not. Her so-called "guide" was merely a series of notes desultorily transcribed. It had, besides, numerous mistakes, many of them avoidable, some of them ludicrous. The latter sort was mostly typographical. But, even if the writer excused herself in the conventional manner, by urging her distance from the press when her book was published, it was still gross carelessness to have "Cologne" on the Simplon highway, or Piuro "overwhelmed by the fall of Mont Cenis." Neither is it comprehensible how anyone, who had ever been to Basel, could imagine there existed "a subterraneous passage" connecting it with Augst. Altogether, though apparently possessed of every requisite for success, she failed to contribute much that was worthwhile, to the literature on Switzerland produced by British women between

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3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 34.
1750 and 1850, as far as her guide was concerned. But, bearing also in mind the rest of her book, we must allow that, in 1815, it was timeously offered to the travelling public. More than this, like Martyn, she dealt with Switzerland as a country worth seeing in its own right, and not, like Lassels or Misson, as the least important part of the grand tour. The grand tour was, in fact, a concept of travel, to which she did not subscribe. Here we see a woman writer breaking with tradition. Again she wrote of Switzerland more fully and completely than any before her, save Stanyan or Coxe, and for some time after. She wrote, too, in the new Romantic style, and she was original in leaving the beaten track of tourism. Long before Murray she was proposing visits to lesser known regions of the country. Like Ebel she had thoroughly explored the land she described. Like him she took cognizance of different types of travellers, including female tourists, though of their capacity for arduous and adventurous journeys she had her doubts. But then such intrepid spirits as Mrs. Dalkeith Holmes, Lady Frances Shelley, Jane Waldie and Marianne Colston were after her time.
CHAPTER IV

Of the many practical considerations involved in a tour of Switzerland, three were of paramount importance to our travellers. First they required some means of conveyance, if they did not trust to their feet like Coryat or Goldsmith; second they needed to be lodged and fed; third, unless they possessed the means to tour in the style of Beckford, they were obliged to think of the price. This chapter is therefore devoted to a short study of transport, lodging and cost as they affected the travels of our women writers, and as they engaged their pens.

The appearance of steamers and trains in the 19th century modified this rule, but generally parties, which included women and children travelling to Switzerland, preferred to use private rather than public transport, though the former was considerably dearer and the latter reasonably comfortable if one exercised care in the choice of a seat. A French diligence, said one lady who had sampled this mode of conveyance, had "the appearance of a barn set upon wheels, with a cow-shed in the front and a haystack in the rear." It was, however, "safe, easy, and tolerably expeditious." The best seats, according to her, were in the "cow-shed."¹ But many tourists waited until they had crossed the Channel, and then purchased a carriage at some remise in Calais or wherever they landed. A certain family, who did so at Havre, gleefully drove away in "a large coach, which had once belonged to a Danish ambassador, and retaining a remnant of its diplomatic grandeur...," golden ornaments on its white panels.² Other tourists crossed the Channel with the

² Ibid., p. 9.
carriages they used at home lashed to the deck of the packet.

Augusta Becher's account of how her family were conveyed to Geneva is typical. In May, 1837, she recalls, came the great event of her childhood. She was then six and a half years old and went abroad for the summer with Uncle and Aunt Hallimand. There was no railway from London in those days, not even an old coach, but two carriages from the door with imperials on the top, servants in the rumbles and a courier ahead in a gig. The first carriage was a chariot for uncle and aunt alone, her maid and the butler behind. The second, a big barouche containing her mother and the governess, two Swiss cousins and herself in the back seat. So they proceeded to Dover and slept there the first night. The carriages were put on the deck of the steamer to cross the Channel next day, and they slept then at Calais. After more than forty years, many of them spent in India at the time of the Mutiny, she could not remember the stages or much of the journey through France to Switzerland beyond the names of one or two towns - Bar-le-Duc, Saumur and Dijon - and the books her mother carried for entertainment in the carriage en route - Peter Parley's Tales and Wyss's Swiss Family Robinson - while the older girls did lessons most of the way. We do not, however, propose to study the transport our tourists used in order to reach Switzerland so much as what they used when they got there, including those forms of transport peculiar to Switzerland, her mountains and lakes, and those with a British origin or connection.

At whatever date tourism began in Switzerland, it assumed no considerable proportions so far as the British were concerned until the 18th century. By 1750 more tourists than ever before, women among them, were visiting the country. Animated by the new, enlightened attitude to Nature, taught by the
philosophers and sung by the poets of their age, many were exploring the
mountain trails and ancient sumpter-tracks of the Alps on foot, horse, mule
or Alpine chair. From their writings emerged a fresh image of regions once
the reputed haunt of evil spirits and legendary monsters. Myth and
superstition were replaced by more wonderful reality. At the same time
others, who preferred to go by coach, found modern roads awaiting them.
Berne had led the way in their construction, other cantons had followed and
the great age of coaching had been ushered in to reach its peak in the 19th
century. By then audacious carriageways had opened up many Alpine passes,
and fine bridges, built of wood or stone, made travel easier. A network of
well-organised postal routes with relay stations gradually covered Switzerland,
as it did most other parts of Europe. Clattering wheels, trampling hooves,
postillons' calls became familiar sounds there too. Side by side there still
existed on the rivers a heavy traffic both of passengers and goods, but, by
degrees, most of this became diverted to the new roads. On the lakes it was
otherwise. An unprecedented rise in the volume of traffic followed the
launching of Switzerland's first steamer in 1823 at Geneva, and tourists were
quick to take advantage of this novel way to travel. The year 1847 saw the
inauguration of the first railroad - from Zürich to Baden - and a new era
of travel began as our period of study drew to a close in 1850. In this
chapter we shall look more closely at these several forms of transport, since
they were an important part of the practical side of tourism, and, as such,
were used and mentioned, at varying length, by our women writers. Much of
the information in this chapter comes, however, not from their works alone but
from exhibits and material available for research in Swiss museums.

The mountainous nature of the greater part of Switzerland made horses and
mules a convenient form of conveyance. Helen Maria Williams, for one, did most of her tour this way. Hardly one of our writers but used them, and hardly one of their books but included an anecdote, that featured these useful beasts. To British women mules were, of course, the greater novelty, and those these animals bore over Alpine paths soon learned the truth of the old saying, that a horse steps before he looks but a mule looks before he steps.

As one lady expressed it, after a ride up the Montanvert with her sister, "The road the mules picked out upon the almost perpendicular side of the mountain, over and between immense masses of rock, loose stones, and roots of trees astonished me; but as I had before heard of their sagacity and steadiness when left to themselves, I did not experience the least degree of fear even in those places where a slip would have been fatal, but putting the bridle upon the mule's neck, took care only not to slip off his tail, which the steepness of the ascent often rendered possible."1

Indifferent riders, even those who had never mounted a horse in their lives, were enabled to do so in Switzerland, where a special pattern of saddle - to-day a museum piece - provided for such contingencies. It resembled nothing so much as a low-backed armchair minus legs but with a foot-rest, and was strapped sideways on the animal's back. The contrivance was safe and comfortable enough. As Dorothy Wordsworth said of crossing the Brunig this way, "... I (a bad horsewoman) sate more at ease than on an English side-saddle - as if on a pillion - with a foot-stool, and an iron rail behind ... "2 But, on uneven ground, the rider was rocked, jolted and mercilessly bruised on the rail. We read complaints of this kind in books by women.

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1 Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the year 1793 to 1852, ed. Lady Theresa Lewis, London, 1865, Vol. 1, p. 32.
1830-40. *Chaise-à-porteurs* at Chamonix.
Enough has already been said about this topic in earlier chapters to permit us to leave it now, and pass on to describe a form of transport which was common in the Alps, and which proved especially serviceable to female tourists and not only those who were elderly or infirm. It is the conveyance which received its earliest mention in English literature and its first pictorial representation in Coryat's *Crudities*, and which was known as the tragstuhl, tragsessel or *chaise à porteurs*, depending on the locality in which it was used. The illustration accompanying this text obviates the necessity of a lengthy description of what was really an earlier, more primitive form of the sedan. At the same time it shows certain interesting details such as the relays of porters, the harness worn while carrying their burden and their alpenstocks of a type no longer used, topped with a chamois horn and measuring some six to seven feet long. The period of the original engraving is 1830-40, and the scene, Chamonix. The apparent comfort and ease of a journey by tragstuhl makes it the more surprising that only an occasional, brief reference to it is made by our women writers. We even find one who thought it so disagreeable - she does not say why - that she preferred walking. Anna Maria Pickering, née Stanhope, quotes in her own memoirs a letter written in 1840 by her mother, who, being carried down the glacial precipices of Grindelwald, found it "so disagreeable, that I soon abandoned my *chaise-à-porteurs* to Anna Maria, and scrambled down on my feet" - to admire the most beautiful thing she had ever seen, an ice cave of azure blue.¹

There were, of course, local differences in the structure of the vehicle, and Mrs. Stanhope's may have been one of a type now on exhibition at the P.T.T.²

² Post-, Telegraphen- und Telephonverwaltung.
Museum in Berne. Its seat measures approximately 18" x 18", and a simple metal device prevents the chair from slipping backwards or forwards on the seven-foot carrying poles as an ascent or descent is made. The whole appears as comfortable as it is safe, but, from personal trial, the present writer can testify that this is not so, for the back of the chair is too low to give much support, and the absence of a footrest increases the discomfort. Nevertheless this form of transport was much used in the Alps.

It could be hired for shorter or longer journeys, by the day or by the week. Porters were paid by the day, and also reimbursed at half rate for their return journey, if made without a passenger. Thrifty travellers, going in the same direction, could turn this situation to their advantage by engaging the men who had just been paid off, and who, under these circumstances, would carry them at half fare. This was a rule which operated for other forms of transport. Dorothy Wordsworth tells us how her party, bound for Chamonix, "engaged a Guide and two mules, returning thither, a saving of one half of the expence."

With the increase of tourism some official control became necessary, and certain cantons laid down rules governing portage by tragstuhl. Thus, in the R.T.T. Museum, we find a Reglement, which came into force on 31st March, 1790, in Canton Berne, to regulate all forms of transport between Kandersteg and Leukerbad over the Gemmi. "Reglement zur Vorsorg derjenigen Personen, welche von dem Kandersteg über den Gemmiberg nach dem Leukeren-Bad ins Wallisland reisen," runs the title of this decree. Believing this information is not to be found elsewhere, at least in English, we translate and give the substance of "Art. 2", which deals with the tragstuhl.

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weight of the passenger was of some importance in this form of conveyance, the rule lays down that, for a person more than usually heavy, eight to ten porters must be hired, for one of medium weight, six to eight men, and for one lighter, four to six. The journey over the Gemmi Pass was divided into stages with halts at Winteregg, Scharenbach and Dauben. The further the tourist travelled, the more there was to pay both in money and provisions. From Kandersteg to Dauben, for example, the tourist was bound to give each of his men half a measure of wine, half a pound of cheese, a fixed ration of bread and fifteen batz, rather less than two shillings English. With the tourist tide flowing faster every year into Switzerland, wages could not be expected to remain at this low level. By 1830-40 a porter expected, on an average anywhere in Switzerland, six francs per day and three francs "return" money for the days required to reach home.¹

Besides the Alpine chair we must not omit to mention the char-à-banc, or briefly the char, Switzerland’s unique contribution to the world’s transport. No other vehicle taxed the ingenuity of our travellers more to describe it for the benefit of readers at home. Dorothy Wordsworth describes it neatly and well as a carriage "... of a curious kind - one half of an outside Irish Car with a back like a settee. It would only hold three conveniently, side by side ... ."² Mary Berry provides a fuller description from the days of her first visit to Switzerland.

"These cars," she wrote, "have little resemblance to the carriages we generally call by that name, and in which we represent gods and heroes, being nothing more than three or four planks fastened between four low wheels" - not all, we may say,

1830. **Char-à-banc** in Canton Berne.
were so rudely constructed as this - "and on which you sit sideways about two foot and a half from the ground; and from these planks is suspended another bit of board by two chains to put the foot on by way of stirrup or foot-board." As she rightly said, "... it is an excellent carriage for the roads it is intended to go on, as it cannot be overturned (the shafts forming part of the carriage), and is much less jolting than one would expect."

She might also have mentioned its one disadvantage; that, in a model more elegantly constructed, having sides and a roof, a view was possible only of what lay on one side of the way. To complete its description we give an early 19th century illustration of this rural carriage on a road in Canton Berne.

Little need be said of posting in Switzerland; that is, travelling in one's own or a hired carriage and using relays of horses, stabled in readiness at regular intervals on the main roads. The system worked no differently in Switzerland than anywhere else. We shall, however, observe that this method of travel developed more slowly there. Pre-war writers like Martyn warned intending visitors that "the post is not general through Swisserland," as it was in Germany or France. Post-war writers like Murray advised so too.

The Napoleonic Wars had created a serious scarcity of horses throughout Europe. If the ultimate result of this shortage was to be the earlier development of steamers and trains, its immediate effect was evident when Mrs. Carey remarked on it in 1817. A year or two earlier Ann Yosy had informed her readers that "the greatest inconvenience in travelling in Switzerland, is, the want of post horses; for, although carriages and horses of all descriptions may be engaged to go over the Simplon, the Genis, and the plains, yet the mountains in general must be traversed on horses or mules." Twenty years later we find

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1 Berry, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 29.
2 Thomas Martyn, Sketch of a Tour through Swisserland, London, 1788, p. 16.
that things had improved. By 1835 post-houses were established and well furnished with horses and drivers on all the principal roads. John Roby kept a careful record of his journey on the Simplon route. A post stage in Switzerland was slightly more than 5 miles, and he calculated there were 12¾ stages between Martigny and Brig. Changing relays at Riddes, Sion, Sierre, Tourtmagne and Visp, it took him from six in the morning till four in the afternoon, and he was charged, according to the official tariff, 10 batz (or 1/2 English) for every horse, and half that amount for every postillion per stage of the journey. He drew the attention of his readers to the snags involved in this method of travel. Travelling en poste was apt to give the impression you had money to burn. In consequence innkeepers charged you nearly double. Unless using your own, you had to be prepared for a change of carriage at every stage. The forms of these vehicles varied like Proteus. Roby himself creaked away from Sion in a relic of the previous century. Cushioned within in yellow plush, it looked like a family coach in an old engraving. He left Visp in a chariot which appeared to have lain in a barn for several years, and served various purposes including that of a fowl-roost. Everything considered, Roby thought it was better to go en voiturier. If slower, it was cheaper. Subject to a bargain with the owner, it cost about 10 francs per day for a calèche with two horses and 3 or 4 for a driver, and the average distance covered was 30 to 40 miles.

Because of its landlocked position in the heart of the Continent, Switzerland is not a country we readily associate with shipping. Yet it has many navigable rivers and lakes, which foreign observers of earlier times, like Addison and Stanyan, recognised as national assets, and it gives rise to one of the three great rivers in Europe, Basel standing at the head of
navigation on the Rhine. For the same reason we do not usually think of its people as concerned with navigation. Yet it was Leonhard Euler, the mathematician of Basel, who was regarded as an authority on marine design in the 18th century, while in the 19th century it was the physicist, Charles-Édouard Guillaume, a native of Fleurier, who helped to perfect the marine chronometer. The utilisation of these natural resources for purposes of transport did not remain unaltered between 1750 and 1850. We may even claim that our travellers had some influence upon the changes that took place, for a short visit or a long tour was hardly possible in Switzerland without their making some use of transport by water. Up to the 19th century the Aare, the Limmat, the Reuss and other Swiss rivers played a considerable part in the circulation of people and goods, but, after the improvement of the roads, they lost this importance. In contrast the expansion of tourism gave an impetus to the increased navigation on the lakes, and ultimately contributed to the appearance of the steamboat.

The most primitive form of river transport was the rafts of logs. Only the hardiest and most impecunious travellers made use of these, which demanded more courage than money for the turbulent passage of the Rhone. As water continually spurted up between the logs from below, the passengers sat on stools but got pretty wet. It was therefore not a form of transport that commended itself to ladies, and we find not one who used it, though we do find one who mentions the great rafts. Near Leytron in the Valais, on one of the pedestrian tours which enabled her, in some ways, to see more of Switzerland than the average tourist, Mrs. Strutt was shown "... one of the perpendicular descents, or wood-slides, down which the woodcutters precipitate the trunks of trees, which roll along with a thundering sound, until they fall into the
1776-7. The ferry at Windisch, by Perignon.
Rhone; they are afterwards conveyed down the river in rafts. One of these rafts," she was told by the local Landaman, "often consists of from six to ten thousand mules of wood, each mule containing six square feet of timber."1

On the other hand many of our travellers must have used the bacs. These were the boats which did not sail up stream or down but across. Probably because the crossing was unexciting and only a matter of minutes, writers spent no time in describing the ferryboats. Perhaps the busiest in Switzerland was the one in service across the unfordable Reuss at Windisch in Canton Berne, a historic spot often referred to in works of travel either as near the site of Vindonissa, most important of Roman settlements in Helvetia, or as the scene of the Emperor Albert of Hapsburg's assassination in the 14th century. During an artist's tour of Switzerland, in 1776-7, Nicolas Perignon made a sketch, now of some historical interest. It shows a typical scene at Windisch, with long lines of people and sumpters, on either bank of the river, waiting their turn to board a boat which could carry anything up to sixty persons standing and sitting; fewer, if animals were carried at the same time. Though a single ferryman helped to guide the bac with a long pole, it worked on a pulley system, the mechanics of which can still be studied by travellers to-day on the Rhine ferries at Basel.

Since the majority of our travellers were well-to-do, they were, perhaps, not greatly concerned with the fact that transport by water was always cheaper than transport by land. Not so the Shelleys, on their first visit to Switzerland, when their resources had dwindled to £28 without a sign of improvement.

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"It had cost us sixty to cross France from Paris to Neufchâtel;" Mary explains in her account, "but we now resolved on a more economical mode of travelling. Water conveyances are always the cheapest, and fortunately we were so situated, that by taking advantage of the rivers of the Reuss and Rhine, we could reach England without travelling a league on land."¹

They therefore set out from Brünnen and were rowed to Lucerne, where they slept the night, and the next day "departed in the diligence par-eau for Loffenburgh (Laufenburg), a town on the Rhine, where the falls of that river prevented the same vessel from proceeding any further."² For a part of this journey they would be on the Aare, which the Reuss joins just below Windisch, as it flows to the Rhine. Poor sailor as she was on the sea, Mary Shelley found her descent of the cataracts of the Reuss an exciting experience.

"The Reuss is exceedingly rapid, and we descended several falls, one of more than eight feet," she records. "There is something very delicious in the sensation, when at one moment you are at the top of a fall of water, and before the second has expired you are at the bottom, still rushing on with the impulse which the descent has given."³

After spending a night at Bettening they hired a boat to take them to Mumpf — "a canoe,"⁴ she calls it, and describes its structure as of the rudest. "... long, narrow, and flat-bottomed;" it "consisted merely of straight pieces of deal board, unpainted, and nailed together with so little care, that the water constantly poured in at the crevices, and the boat perpetually required emptying."⁵ The configuration of the land and the consequent fast flow and uneven course of the Swiss rivers made a passage by water often a dangerous business. At seven o'clock, one September morning,

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² Ibid., pp. 55-56.
³ Ibid., p. 57.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., p. 58.
Clarissa Trent relates how she embarked on the "Wasser Diligence" at Zürich for Baden.

"The navigation of the Limmat is extremely dangerous," runs her journal, "and in one passage the torrent was so strong that the waves actually dashed over the boat, altho' the weather was perfectly calm. My Father had strongly urged me not to come by water, as he thought it would be too great a trial for my nerves, but I wished to prove myself a heroine."¹

But, as a test of courage, the ferry from Laufen to Wörth, for a view of the Rhine Fall at Schaffhausen, was surely without compare on any river in Switzerland. Yet many women writers have described how they risked this crossing. We shall defer any further description of it until we come to deal with the travels of Marianne Colston.

To reach many places of popular resort in earlier times involved travel on the Swiss lakes by rowing boat. By this means our tourists customarily visited the scenes of Tell's exploits by the Lake of Lucerne, or reached Flüellen on their way over the Gotthard. It was the easiest way to attain the Falls of the Giessbach above the Brienzensee, or to travel to Interlaken via Neuhausen in the days before a road was built by the lakeside from Thun. Usually, too, it was quicker to reach one's objective by sailing across the Lake of Geneva than by driving around its shores. There was but one hazard which could prove fatal, as it almost did on one occasion to Shelley and Byron on the same lake. A storm could blow up, as the present writer can testify, with great violence and little warning. This was also the experience of Mrs. Strutt and her husband, who, having completed their pedestrian excursion to the Valais, were desirous of reaching home without further delay and,

accordingly, hired a boat to take them across the lake from St. Gingolph to their home at La Tour de Peilz.

The "boatman was a sour, surly Savoyard, who looked as angry at us, when symptoms of a storm appeared, as if we had helped to raise it. When we started it was fiercely hot, but the temperature of the air presently changed to icy coldness, as the wind sprang up: it was moreover full in our teeth, and as the storms on the lake are often equally dangerous as sudden," - as she well knew from a prolonged residence in the district - "we were very glad when our short voyage was safely ended."1

Storms apart there were many pleasures attached to this mode of travel, not least, as the same lady pointed out, the pretty costumes of the batelières, which gave an air of gaiety to the scene as they adroitly managed the boat and cheered the passage with their songs. Of the usual complement of three rowers our travellers were always astonished to find that one was usually a woman. Nothing, therefore, could be more enchanting to the romantic-minded than a row on a Swiss lake, were it not, in the opinion of another lady, for the performance of the boat. Like Mary Shelley's "canoe," a typical boat was described by Mrs. Bray as "peculiar to these lakes, very small, narrow and flat-bottomed."2 But the bane of this craft, to her mind, was that "to add to its danger, it had a sail;" - it was a lateen sail similar to those seen on craft in the Mediterranean - "the slightest movement, after the boat was carefully trimmed, when we were all sitting still in our places, made it sway and reel in such a manner that I could not help fancying we were about being upset more than twenty times during our short trip, and indeed a very slight degree of imprudence or neglect of caution would inevitably have produced that result."3

1 Strutt, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 68.
But already the end was approaching of craft which depended on oar and sail, at least as far as tourist traffic was concerned, for a new power had arisen on the Swiss lakes - the power of steam. Like all innovations that bring great changes in their wake, the steamboats were given a mixed reception. From the angle of tourism their introduction was seen as a threat to their livelihood by the men and women, who handled the oars, and who protested bitterly but in vain, for it was seen as progress and enterprise by the tourists, who came from the land of William Symington and Henry Bell, and who had grown accustomed to steamers on the Thames since 1815 and in the Channel since 1822. The majority of them were united in praise of the "William Tell" and its successors for their luxurious appointments and smoother sailing in rough water, for the protection they gave from the elements, for their speed and ability to make port quickly in the event of a squall. Yet a few expressed regret for the older craft, even for the rough benches, the inadequate canvas awning, the two or three bare-legged rowers and the slow, rhythmic splash of their oars as more in keeping with the romantic scenery and background. One lady criticised steamers in general as "at all times, a tiresome mode of conveyance," and the one on Lake Neuchâtel in particular as groaning "at every stroke of the paddles, as if it was as weary as ourselves of its course."¹ Another, on Lake Thun, complained of being driven into the cabin by rain and a thunderstorm, "where we should have heard the loudly echoing thunder reverberated from the surrounding mountains, but for the working of the steam-engine. ... we found the immediate disagreeable noise prevented our hearing some of the grandest sounds in nature."²

If only we could say that the subject of our thesis were represented by one of their number at the launch of the first Swiss steamer! But, though Augusta Becher makes this claim, regretfully, in the face of the facts, we cannot allow it. Though she retained a vivid memory of a holiday, spent at the home of her Swiss uncle, George Hallemann, a brother of Mrs. Marcet, though she can recall the great excitement as "from the verandah we watched through a telescope the preparations all morning" for the launching at "Ilyon" of the first steamer on Lake Geneva, she dates the event as 1837, whereas the "William Tell" had taken the water in 1823.¹ By all accounts this was a fine vessel, capable of making the trip from Geneva to Ouchy, for Lausanne, in six hours, about half the time that it took by road, and thereby incurring the hostility of the local voiturine. Her round tour of the lake in the holiday season was well patronised by the British. The boat left Ouchy at seven in the morning, called for an hour at Vevey and reached Geneva at seven in the evening. Its course was set close to the shore to enable the passengers to observe such noted localities and picturesque sights as Clarens, Montreux and Chillon, then, as it turned at the head of the lake, Villeneuve beneath the Dent du Midi, the mouths of the Rhone, Meillerie, St. Gingolph, Évian and the Alps of Savoy, while ahead could be seen Geneva and the mountains of Jura. Under the influence of these views so sublime, enchanting to the eye and alike captivating to the mind, the glacial reserve of the British thawed, and complete strangers, who had never been introduced, engaged in conversation on the beautiful scenery of Switzerland. A hundred could be accommodated, but, on most days, there were fifty to sixty


"Ilyon," we suggest, is a mistaken transcription, from her manuscript diary, of "Nyon."
passengers, many of them British, who preferred to make the traditional circuit of the lake without having to endure the heat, the dust, the fatiguing motion of a coach and without the monotony too, for, aboard the steamer, there was freedom to read on the deck, dine in the saloon, sketch the scenery or fill the notebook just as one felt inclined. As a result of the last occupation we know to-day many details of the first Swiss steamboat. Travellers noted, for example, that the motto of Vaud - "patrie et liberté" - was painted on her side, that the Swiss flag flew proudly at her stern, and that she entered and left port to the familiar strains of the Reus des Vaches. Another spectacular feature, which intrigued them, was how the steam from her engines escaped through a safety-valve in the form of a dragon's mouth at the prow. As might be expected in Switzerland, her furnace burned wood, and our tourists remarked this was cleaner than what resulted from firing with coal, and from the stream of smoke that rose from the funnels of boats at home. Certainly the Swiss funnel was prolific of ash, but the deck awnings were adequate protection from the shower. Those who approached the master, Captain Errington, were pleased to discover that he hailed from their own country. He was a skilled seaman, courteous, obliging and solicitous for the welfare of his passengers. They were also reassured to learn that his engines, like himself, were English and in charge of an honest British tar by the name of Parry, whose only quarrel with Switzerland was the poor quality of the beer at Geneva.

Such was the success of the first Swiss steamer that the following year an opposition boat, with a ten-horse power engine, was set up at Ouchy by an enterprising American, called Church, who had already attempted a similar venture on Lake Constance. Its engineer was an Englishman, who had worked on the Liverpool packets. Geneva's reply was the still more powerful
The "Winkelried" at the port of Ouchy.
"Winkelried," its figurehead carved in the form of the Swiss hero, his breast receiving the enemy's spears as at the battle of Sempach, and with the arms of the canton displayed on the casing of its wheels. Our travellers have left accounts of her splendid appointments, of how her state-cabin, spacious and airy, was fitted up in superior style, even to a library with the latest periodicals, and of how an excellent dinner, cooked to order and served with champagne, could be had for a mere three francs. There was ample time to digest it, for the trip between Geneva and Villeneuve took seven or eight hours, depending on the state of the weather, and its cost was forty-two batz, about 5/- English. Those were the days! The service never looked back. By 1838, when Murray published his first Handbook for Switzerland, it was augmented to daily sailings from both ends of the lake, calling at more ports on the way, all the year round. By then the "William Tell" was a derelict hulk, but the "Winkelried", with the newer "Leman", still plied from her old port to Villeneuve, though later additions to the fleet, the "Vaudoise" and the "Aigle", had cut the time for the trip by half, and the fare had gone up to fifty batz.

These events went not unobserved by the other cantons. A paddle-steamer was established on Lake Neufchâtel in 1826, and here we are able to say that, by a singular chance, Clarissa Trant and her father were the first English aboard.

Observing her fellow passengers, Clarissa wrote, "It is very doubtful whether this steamboat will repay the expense of the undertaking as the poor people of Yverdun and Neuchâtel are very cautious of committing their precious selves to the discretion of fire and smoke, and I am convinced that half the number of their respective inhabitants never expected that the very few adventurous souls who were seated on its deck would ever set foot on terra firma."1

1 Trant, op.cit., p. 207.
It is impossible to study the development of steam power, as applied to transport in Switzerland, without remarking how much it owed to our nation either as constructors or engineers, passengers or crew. Clarissa Trant tells us, for example, that all the engine-room staff on the Neufchâtel boat were English, and that one had been accompanied to Switzerland by his wife, "a pretty simple little Manchester girl." Some years later, in 1841, when steamers had appeared on the smaller lakes too, Mrs. Yates and her family got a surprise on the Lake of Brienz. The captain, a very fine-looking young man, spoke German so fluently that she at first mistook him for a Swiss. However, hearing their English accents, he joined in the conversation in the same language, and presently remarked how astonishing it was that the British should come in such numbers to Switzerland, when the scenery in Scotland was so much more beautiful. After this Mrs. Yates had no difficulty in placing his origin north of the Tweed, but a greater surprise was to follow. The conversation continued, and, on the name of Sir Walter Scott being mentioned, "he answered very coolly, "He was my uncle."" His own name was Croll, but his mother, he explained, was a daughter of John Scott, Sir Walter’s brother. Now a widow, she still lived in Dundee and sent him The Perth and Cupar Advertiser regularly every week.

Captain Croll’s was a boat which had earned for herself a poor reputation locally, on account of the sparks belched up from her wood-stoked fires. Mrs. Bray, whose trials on the Lake of Zürich we have already recounted, though well warned, persisted in boarding her with the result that a sudden, red-hot shower descended to burn a hole in her parasol, another in her gown and a third

1 Ibid.
in the arm of her husband's coat. Such were the minor hazards of travel by the early steamers. By the end of the period embraced by our study, every Swiss lake of any reasonable size and volume of traffic had steamers as they do to-day. Naturally we hear most of those lakes which lay on the normal tourist routes - Geneva, Lucerne, Neuchâtel, Brienz, Thun, Zürich and Wallenstadt. Lugano, too, was popular, even if there the new boats came on the scene rather later, but we hear less of Maggiore. Its original steamer sailed as early as 1826, but the service did not develop comparably with that, say, of Geneva or Lake Lucerne in a more progressive canton. It is therefore interesting to find Louisa Stuart Costello, in 1845, embarking at Magadino on one of the two boats then available for a cruise to the Isles of Borromeo: interesting, too, to recall that these were the boats, which, three years later, Garibaldi and his partisans seized to attack the Sardinian and Austrian ports at the southern end of this international water. But the service most popular with our tourists was the one established on the Lake of the Four Forest Cantons in 1857. Soon the great thing at Lucerne, if not the ascent of Rigi, was a cruise to Flulence, among scenes unsurpassed by any in Switzerland and hallowed by memories of Tell and the heroes of Rüti. Here, as elsewhere, there was strong opposition from the local bateliers, who looked on the appearance of "La Ville de Lucerne" as an infringement of their ancient rights. On these grounds they successfully claimed against the owners, who were compelled to indemnify them for every voyage made by the steamer. What better proof could there be of the popularity and success of this novel form of transport in Switzerland? According to official information, the boat was scheduled to make eight runs from Lucerne to Fluellement and back, each week during the summer - from 1st June to 30th September - and five during the autumn and spring, touching at
Altstadt, Weggis, Vitznau, Beckenried, Gersau, Brünnen, Stanzstadt and Alpnach, taking six hours for the trip and costing the passenger the equivalent in Swiss money of 7/6.

By this time our country had become the shipyard for the world's steamboats, as she was also the marshalling-yard for its railways. All that was needed to establish the lake and its boats for ever in the hearts of the British tourists, was for the Steam Packet Company of the Lake of Lucerne to place the order for their new boat with the London firm of Ditchburn and Mare. The "Rigi" was completed in 1847: her length, 138 feet; her width, 27 feet; her carrying capacity, 200 persons. She was moved from London to Strasburg by water, from Strasburg to Basel by rail and from Basel to Lucerne in the manner of Gulliver entering the city of Lilliput. The Sonderbund War was then in progress, and at Liestal the authorities held her for several weeks on suspicion of gun-running. On 1st April, 1848, she was launched at Lucerne, and her maiden voyage, to Fluelen direct, was made in 105 minutes at an average speed of 12 knots. The subsequent history of the "Rigi" was equally interesting. Her English engines lasted until 1893, when they were replaced, and she was given new paddles and a boiler by the Swiss firm, Escher-Wyss of Zürich. During the 105 years of her career on the lake, this famous boat travelled some 675,300 nautical miles, approximately equal to 30 times round the world, and she carried more than 6,000,000 passengers, the present writer among them. In 1952 she was at last withdrawn from service and presented by her owners to the Verkehrshaus. There she now lies in the central courtyard, in permanent dry-dock, while British travellers in Switzerland continue to sit on her deck, enjoy her cuisine and watch her engines revolve as they have done since 1848.

To realise how many and how varied were the forms of transport at our
travellers’ service in Switzerland by the middle of the 19th century, we cannot do better than read The Pastor’s Wife, a posthumous tribute by her husband. "The beloved subject of this Memoir"¹ was Martha, wife of James Sherman of the Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars, in his day second only to Whitefield in popularity as a dissenting preacher and writer. Early in spring, 1842, a cross-Channel steamer carried the Shermans to Ostend. There, travelling by easy stages and doing some sightseeing, they took first one train to Brussels and then another to Liège. As Mrs. Sherman’s journal, extensively quoted at this part of her husband’s memoir, supplies no details of their journey by rail, we may assume it was made without incident. Their objective was Gräfenberg in Bavaria, where Mr. Sherman intended to take the water cure as practised by Herr Priesnitz, whose reputation was then attracting patients from all parts of Europe. Accordingly, at Liège, they took seats in the diligence for Cologne and were fortunate in securing the coupé, which gave a degree of comfort for the invalid and a measure of freedom for the young son and daughter, who accompanied them. Since the windings of the Rhine, at this part of its course, would have made the journey twice as long if by boat, they continued by road to Bonn, where they experienced the thrill of embarking on that noble river for the first time in their lives. A paddleboat carried them upstream to Coblenz. Thus, within less than a week of leaving home and with only half their journey done, the Shermans had already used all the chief forms of transport then available to travellers in Europe – steamboat, railroad and horse-drawn carriage.

The story of how Mr. Sherman was restored to health, how his invalid daughter was left to complete her cure at the Priesnitz clinic and how his son

was entered at Blockman's school in Dresden, on the advice of the Bunsen family, is of less interest to us than the question of how he and his wife travelled during their short but extensive tour of Switzerland the following summer. The answer is that, like the majority of tourists, they used whatever form of transport was most convenient for any given stage of their journey. So, at the outset, we find them dining at Ragaz, then driving off to visit the Splügen and San Bernardino, but adding a fourth horse to their carriage to cross the Gotthard. We also discover them using the steamers, which, by 1842, were in service on all the principal Swiss lakes, and sailing to Lucerne on one occasion or to Villeneuve on another, to Neuchâtel or to Weggis for the ascent of the Rigi. Though they used their legs very little in Switzerland, Mrs. Sherman tells us that they "alternately rode and toiled for three hours, and at last reached the summit in a dense mist."¹ In the same way they also went up Pilatus, and later, with carpet bags strapped to their saddles, rode over the Brünig into Meyringen. There British women travellers were in evidence, for they "met at dinner only three ladies, old maids," she fancied, "who were travelling without the incumbrance of male society."² The hazards of horse-riding in the Alps were brought home to our writer as she descended a steep path to the Grimsel hospice, and her guide had to keep pulling her horse back by the tail in the approved manner of Alpine conducteurs. To reach the Scheidegg, however, Mrs. Sherman used the traditional Alpine chair, and went from Fribourg to Lausanne by char-à-banc.

The Shermans' tour of Switzerland ended at Basel, and from there the journey home took a week. Their easiest way would have been to take ship down

1 Ibid., p. 213.
2 Ibid., p. 215.
the Rhine, but they had other plans for reaching Rotterdam. Early on a mid-September morning they drove a mile or so from Basel to the village and station of St. Louis, where they had breakfast and prepared to entrain. Those were early days on the French railways, and, though a pleasant old woman was there to keep passengers informed, Mr. Sherman suspected her excessive politeness was only a screen for the inefficiency of the rail service. Therefore, when she announced that the bell which was ringing was only the first, and that it would ring again twice ere the engine started, he became alarmed, went to find out for himself and was just in time to warn his wife and to catch the train as it left for Strasbourg. Though the writer says no more in her journal than that "we left early for Strasbourg," it is enough to tell us the reason for this early departure. The only fast train of the day left St. Louis at 7 a.m. and reached Strasbourg at 10.30, cutting an hour off the usual time taken for the 108-mile journey. It connected with a steamer, which left at 11 a.m. for the lower Rhine, and an added advantage was that passengers, making this connection, were exempt from customs' examination. The Shermans' intention had been to visit the cathedral and afterwards catch the boat to Mannheim, but they were evidently unaware that the terminus of the Alsace railway was then outside the city at Königshofen. They had therefore to hire a carriage to reach the city and the landing stage some miles beyond at Kehl, and, to their great disappointment, all they had time to see of the cathedral was its main facade and the famous spire. However they arrived at Mannheim as planned and at Rotterdam ultimately, though they changed boats at Cologne and again at Dusseldorf, where they had a scramble to secure berths.

1 Ibid., p. 233.
Mrs. Sherman was successful, but "dear husband"¹ had to sit up all night, unable to sleep for the volubility of a lady passenger, who talked incessantly. It was with relief that they changed boats for the last time at Rotterdam docks, boarded the "Columbine" and "sailed for our own beloved country."²

It will be observed that, in the course of her travels, Mrs. Sherman several times used railways, though not within the confines of Switzerland, for there, in 1842, they did not exist. Railways we now propose to discuss for the very good reason that travel was revolutionised by the trains, which quickly became what they have always remained, the most important transport system in Europe. We do so also because such a discussion provides an excellent example of how literary research may be materially assisted by reference to museum collections, a method of study we have followed throughout the preparation of this work.

 Appropriately it was Britain, a land of travellers, that first achieved railroads, and, when George Stephenson drove his "Locomotion" from Stockton to Darlington in 1825, the world's passenger services began. The success of British railways made other European countries follow suit and seek the advice of Stephenson and his equally able son. It was the latter, Robert Stephenson, whom Switzerland consulted in 1850, and, of all the nations that did so, it was Switzerland that was aptest in applying his advice. Once again, as with her steamboats, she showed an affinity with Britain in the development of her trains. Meantime three of her neighbours had already built railways. In 1832 France built her first between St. Étienne and Lyons. In 1835 Germany's original line linked Nuremberg and Fürth. A decade later one of the most voluminous and

¹ Sherman, op. cit., p. 234.
² Ibid., p. 235.
popular writers of her day, Louisa Stuart Costello, could write of going by railway when she made a trip to Venice, that ended in a tour of Switzerland in 1845. Thus, year by year, the trains were drawing nearer to Switzerland, and, with the opening of the Alsace railway, they arrived but were halted at St. Louis. Only later, when considerations of national security were relaxed, were they allowed over the frontier to reach Basel in 1844. This was Switzerland's first railway station but still not her first railway. That was not opened until 1847, surely a significant date in the history of tourism. Officially named the Nordbahn, it was popularly known as the Spanischbrötlibahn after a certain delectable bun, still to be had in the bakers' at Baden. The better to enjoy this speciality fresh from the oven, the Zürichers were said to have built the railway to connect the towns. An inaugural run took place on 8th August, and the service was opened to the public the following day. There are many alive to-day, who claim to have seen and some to have travelled on the original Swiss train. This is easy to understand because, in 1947, the Federal Railways planned to mark its centenary by bringing it out of retirement. A search was accordingly made for the locomotive, but no trace of the "Limmat" could be found. As the historic occasion was too good to be missed, they therefore decided to reconstruct it on the basis of old drawings. The earlier engine had been built, no. 76, at the Karlsruhe works of Emil Kessler in Germany. Its official designation in Switzerland was "Series 1, no. 1, "Limmat,"") a name derived from the river on the left bank of which the Nordbahn was laid. For the interest of railway enthusiasts, who may wish to compare its performance with contemporary locomotives elsewhere, we mention that its cylinder output was "135 C.V. a 30 km/h," or 185 h.p. at 188 m.p.h., its maximum speed was "40 km/h," or 247 m.p.h., and its weight in running order amounted to 35.5 metric tons. A
Replica of the "Limmat" in the Verkehrshaus at Lucerne.
century later the Schweizerische Lokomotiv- und Maschinen Fabrik at Winterthur turned out a replica, exact down to the brass headlamps and the besom fixed, to make a clean sweep of the track, before each front wheel. At the same time the railway workshops at Zürich reconstructed the carriages of 1847, the first class upholstered in crimson plush, heavily fringed and with curtains to match, the second, less richly, without fringes in sober brown, and the third, without fringes or curtains or upholstery at all. When assembled, the train toured Switzerland in 1947, everywhere hailed with the greatest acclaim. To-day it attracts thousands of visitors in the Transport Museum at Lucerne.

We must so far admit to failure in our search for a British woman, who enjoyed and described the novel sensation of a trip on the "S.R.R." For information about this line, on which numbers of our nation must have travelled, we have therefore to study the railroadiana preserved in the P.T.T. Museum. There a summer timetable and tariff, set out on a single sheet of thin, blue paper, approximately 17" x 20", and sold to the public for a rappen in 1850, makes interesting reading to-day, and, so far as we know, has never before been quoted in any work on the subject in English. From this original source we learn that, from 1st May to 31st October, there were four trains a day in each direction. They left Zürich at 8, 2, 3, 45 and 7 o'clock, and Baden at 6, 9, 15, 5 and 7, and the journey of just over 14 miles took 45 minutes, with stops at Altstetten, Schlieren, Dietikon and Killwangen. Beneath this section of the time-table a printed hand points to a list of regulations, much the same as those in force on railways to-day. We quote, however, one or two of the more unusual, such as the rule that the departure of trains would be timed by the station clock, and that extra trains would be run if the number and value of the tickets sold so warranted. For further information passengers were requested to apply at the
station bureau, either in Zürich or Baden. So much for the time-table. The accompanying tariff was drawn up to cover the conveyance of passengers, freight, dogs, livestock and vehicles. Rare specimens of the tickets, issued to travellers more than a century ago, show them to have been not the small, stout pieces of cardboard used to-day but larger pieces of thinner paper, approximately 3" x 5", printed on either side. One side pertained to the passenger - the Personenbilet - the other to his luggage - the Gepäckbillet - and one ticket could do for several persons, such as a family travelling together. There was space on it for the booking-clerk to enter the appropriate fares for adults and children, to sum them up and arrive at the total charge. On the reverse side he could do the same for their baggage, and all tickets bore at the foot the warning words, "Muss während der Fahrt auf der Eisenbahn angeweisen." Though this difference no longer existed by 1847, British tourists, who used them, may have noted that, unlike the first passenger trains in Britain, those in Switzerland carried three classes instead of two, carefully segregated in coaches painted red for the first, yellow for the second and green for the third. Fares were graded accordingly, and, by modern standards, could not be called excessive. As a fair sample of what it cost to travel the Nordbahn, let us refer to the tariff and imagine a British lady with husband and two children, one of school age and the other an infant, touring in Switzerland, staying in Zürich and desirous of visiting Baden baths. Let us suppose them well provided with all the encumbrances of the well-to-do - with baggage, servants, their own carriage and perhaps a dog. Two first class tickets for Madame and her husband would cost 1 franc, 40 rappen apiece. As no half tickets were issued, they would pay second class fare, which was 1 franc, for the elder child but nothing for the younger, who was not, however, expected to occupy a seat. The dignity of their
position as personal servants required that the lady's-maid and the valet should travel "second", and cost their employers each another franc. Lashed down on a truck, the family coach was conveyed at the fairly high rate of 7 francs, 70 rappen, but, since he went with it, the coachman's ticket cost only 60 rappen, the third class fare. Passengers were allowed a reasonable amount of hand luggage with them in the compartment. No charge was made for a carpet bag or a sac de nuit, but other luggage was charged according to weight and the number of pieces. For example, a bag weighing up to 10 lbs. cost 5 rappen. The transportation of animals came under stricter control. No dogs were allowed in 1st or 2nd class waiting-rooms at the stations, nor, with the exception of smaller Schooshündchen, or lap-dogs, into any compartment on the trains. The price of a dog ticket was 30 rappen. Therefore, luggage apart, it cost this imaginary party of travellers the sum of 14 francs, 40 rappen to travel to Baden - the equivalent of 16/- in British currency of the period.

In so far as they must have smoothed the path of women travellers, certain facilities offered by the Nordbahn are also worth mentioning. At Zürich, for example, the railway authorities provided an omnibus service, connecting steamers and postal coaches with the trains. Passengers arriving by diligence had only to show their postal tickets to use this service free, and, on the way to the station, they could study the railway tariff displayed in the omnibus. At Baden those arriving by postal coach and proceeding by train to Zürich, were issued with special green tickets for the whole journey. Another service to suit their convenience was the conveyance of heavy luggage and other belongings from house or hotel to the trains. Also, porters were available at all stations, and they were forbidden to accept tips.

After this promising start what prospects were there of extending the
railway to other areas of Switzerland? In 1847 the consensus of foreign opinion seems to have been against this development. One English writer, for example, the Rev. M. J. Mayers, in a pamphlet on the current events of the Sonderbund War, took the Swiss railway system as a particular illustration of the unfortunate consequences of the rivalries of the twenty-five cantons. For the same reason a German, Theodore Mügge, wrote, in the same year, "much will never be done with railways in this country." Further to his argument he pointed out that the land was too mountainous, the natural obstacles too many and too great to make railways possible, and the people too few and too little in the habit of travelling to make trains practicable. In retrospect it is easy to see these writers as deficient in powers of imagination and as underrating the potential of the nation. The first serious approach to rail communication in the country was made in 1850, when the Swiss government applied to Robert Stephenson for technical advice. By that time the old, loose association of cantons had been replaced by the new Swiss Confederation, formed in 1848 and centred at Berne. These changed political circumstances favoured the development of railways. State aid was now forthcoming for rail projects. Customs and toll barriers between the cantons, which had once hindered the free passage of people and goods, had been swept away. The railroads were now seen as a means of linking the main towns and also as an important factor in the national defence system. Moreover, from statistics made available by the Verkehrshaus, we know that by 1850, the end of our study period, 120,000 persons were being carried annually by the trains: also, 

the total population made a journey by rail and spent on it 1 of a franc. Comparing these figures with other countries' and taking into consideration the population of Switzerland and the mileage of her railways, we find that Switzerland had then, proportionately, the largest travelling public in the world, a state of affairs that she still maintains a century later.

It was Dr. Johnson, who once said that nothing had yet been contrived by man, by which so much happiness was produced as by a good tavern or inn, and Dorothy Wordsworth, who wrote in her Swiss journal that "... every Inn is the traveller's home." Much has been said in English literature in praise of English inns. A classic example lies in Macaulay's Third Chapter, where, influenced perhaps by memories of the Continent, he draws a favourable comparison between inns at home and those abroad in point of commodiousness and comfort, cleanliness, good cheer and, above all, the civility of the landlord. Of deficiencies he names not one, and, in this respect, Dickens seems nearer to reality when we recall the varying standards of the inns visited by the Pickwickians on their travels. Nevertheless there seems to be no doubt that, during the 18th and 19th centuries and for long before, hotels in this country were generally superior to those in most other parts of Europe. It is important to remember these facts, if we are to appreciate what our travellers wrote on the subject, and if we are to understand why, when fortune brought them to a satisfactory lodging abroad, they could find no higher praise than to describe it as "quite English."

Mrs. Radcliffe was one well qualified to pass an opinion for always once, and generally twice, in the year, she and her husband took a journey through some beautiful or interesting part of England, and, in 1794, they first toured

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Holland and then set off for Switzerland up the valley of the Rhine. Of the Château d'Anvers, where they lodged at Utrecht, she observed that, "though the Dutch inns are generally unobjectionable, there is an air of English completeness about this one which the others do not reach." Of Rhineland hotels, she wrote that "the English habit of considering, towards the end of the day's journey, that you are not far from the cheerful reception, the ready attendance, and the conveniences of a substantial inn, will soon be lost in Germany ... a country, where the best hotels have no lodging so clean and no larder so wholesomely filled as those of every half-way house between London and Canterbury." However, as most ladies posted to Switzerland through France, it was in that country that their first impressions of continental inns were usually formed. Between 1750 and 1830 traffic from Britain to the Continent was greatest where crossing the Channel was shortest. Once at Calais the better class put up at M. Grandsire's Lion d'Argent, until it was burned in 1764, and Pierre Quillacq, otherwise Dessein, seized the chance to open his Hôtel d'Angleterre the following year and draw away most of the trade. It needed only Sterne's visit in 1768 to crown his success. The room he occupied was thereafter kept intact, the door inscribed "Sterne's room" and a print of the author hung over the marble-coloured chimney-piece. It was still the same when Dorothy Wordsworth occupied it in 1820. Dessein's, of course, was a luxury hotel superbly appointed, with a garden laid out in the English style as well as a private theatre. As they journeyed deeper into France, female pens found much to criticise in wayside inns; where elegant furnishings were offset by

1 A. Radcliffe, A Journey made in the summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a Return down the Rhine, London, 1794, p. 73.
2 Ibid., pp. 158-159.
damp linen and dirty floors, a lack of privacy and excessive prices. These were their commonest complaints. Some writers like Mrs. Baillie were, on the contrary, full of praise, probably because they came long after 18th century critics like Lady Mary Coke and the Duchess of Northumberland, and when hotels had responded to the general demand for better standards from tourists, whose numbers were great enough after 1815 to get them what they wanted.

As they left France behind and crossed the Juras, what did our travellers find at hotels in Switzerland? Their first remark was almost invariably to praise their cleanliness, or neatness as they then called it. The other amenities mentioned by Macaulay were also priorities with the British, and Switzerland, in time, supplied them all. If not at first, the reason was in the main historical, and, to understand it, we must see how the hotel and catering trade had developed there by 1750.

During the Middle Ages, until the 16th century, travellers in Switzerland relied mainly on the accommodation provided by monasteries and convents, like the Great St. Bernard, or the hospices, maintained for pilgrims or other wayfarers at places like Altdorf. A map of 1500 is extant, which gives the names and locations of these cloisters and hostels. As we might expect, they lay on the most frequented routes, especially those connecting with the passes of the Alps, this being where they were most needed. In this way travellers from Geneva, bound for the Simplon, could be sure of a lodging at the end of each day's stage of their journey, at Lausanne, Vevey, Aigle, Martigny, Sion, Brig and the top of the pass. Those approaching the Gotthard from the north found shelter at Brunnen and elsewhere along this busy route at Altdorf, or at Flueellen if they had sailed up Lake Lucerne, at Andermatt and again at the summit. Where the temperature was lowest and the weather could be worst, at or near the summit was
an ideal place for an Alpine refuge, and the same 16th century map shows one on the Grimsel and one on the Lukmanier in the central Alps, and another on the Septimer in their eastern range. Commonly, too, these shelters were conveniently sited where two roads met. So the hospice at Silvaplana served a double purpose, standing where the Julier road met the one coming from the Maloja. The forerunner of modern hotels at Chur served the needs of travellers proceeding up the valley of the Rhine towards the Splügen, the San Bernardino or the Julier road to Italy. Besides the one on the Septimer, resting-places of this kind were set up in the eastern Alps at Santa Maria, the tiny capital of the Münstertal, and at Zernetz for those using the Ofen Pass. The latter was also of service for the Flüela. A further study of this interesting map discloses the existence of more hostels at Hinterrhein, Villeneuve, Salquenen in the valley of the Rhone, at Poschiavo, indicating the early importance of the Bernina Pass, and at Payerne and Murten on the highway between Lausanne and Berne. All were simple rest-houses, which were supported by charity, and in which necessity was put before luxury. Following the usual routine guests, on arrival, warmed themselves at the refectory fire, heard Mass in the chapel, sat down to the plainest of fare and found a bed for the night in the dormitory. In no way can these institutions be regarded as inns or hotels in the modern sense. To begin with, they were free, though guests able to do so were expected to pay. Secondly, they were governed by a strict set of rules, which, though they varied in detail from place to place, all emphasised the transitory nature of the visitors' stay. Bad weather and ill-health were usually the only conditions under which it might be extended longer than a night.

In these respects the Hausordnung of the Altdorf hospice is illuminating. Two sets of regulations may be studied in the P.T.T. Museum, the earlier dated 1711 and the later 1830, both in German as it was spelled and written in the locality
at that time. Drawn up to prevent the abuse of hospitality and other evils, they lay down rules for the maintenance of discipline, the safeguarding of morals, the protection of health and the observance of religion. As a fair illustration of the 1711 regulations, we translate and mention that the Master or Matron of the house was required to grant admittance to any poor persons, pilgrims or travellers, if their papers or other means of identification were in order, and they themselves free from infectious disease. There was, however, a limit of admittance and, when the house was full, the door had to be locked. Once past the portals, guests were expected to conduct themselves well. Swearing and brawling were specifically forbidden. Blasphemy was punished with expulsion. It is interesting to observe how this hospice and others the same made special provision for women. Segregation of the sexes was the rule, unless in the case of couples who could satisfy the warden they were married. When all had retired for the night, it was the warden's duty to go round and make sure that none had got into bed with his clothes on: this, to avoid soiling the bed. Evening and morning inmates were required to repeat, no fewer than five times, Ave Maria and the Lord's Prayer. The Hausordnung of 1830 shows the Altdorf hospice still being run on Christian and charitable lines. One rule, governing the issue of rations to those arriving too late for the evening meal, allows us to discover who the guests were, and that women and children were among them. In the event men and women of the laity were set down to gruel and \( \frac{1}{2} \) lb. of bread, though young children accompanying them were served a small meal. Pilgrims received the gruel but with extra bread, and those in holy orders fared even better. A hermit or clerk was entitled to broth, bread and \( \frac{1}{4} \) lb. of cheese. This was also the portion of a nun, and so on, according to the traveller's rank in the Church. As stated in an earlier chapter, the
hospices were primarily for the benefit of pilgrims and those in the service of religion, but, as time went on and travel increased, different categories of travellers were increasingly welcomed. Other rules of 1830 provided for ridding the house of families of vagrants, and for dealing with the sick. All point to the fact that the hospice was neither a poor-house nor a hospital nor yet a hotel, even in the sense that residence could be prolonged beyond a night.

By the date when our women-travellers were arriving in Switzerland, inns of the kind we know to-day had already been established, but the hospices continued to perform and had begun to extend their time-honoured function. Occasionally they deteriorated under misfortune. The double disaster of avalanche and war closed the St. Gotthard hospice at the end of the 18th century, as far as the Capuchins who ran it were concerned, until it was re-built in 1834. A traveller, who saw what remained of it in 1826, described it then as a miserable hovel, crowded with muleteers and serving only cheese, black bread and sour wine. In remoter localities the hospices tended to remain mere refuge huts with primitive amenities as on the Realp, where the resident friar received visitors in a single room, in which they might eat, sleep and dry their clothes. The Grimsel hospice, at first, was little better, though here, at least, there was separate sleeping accommodation to which, however, the British took some exception, it being directly above the byre. An awareness of these conditions naturally deterred women, of the class who form the subject of our thesis, from staying at these rude shelters, beyond the time it took to eat a meal or wait till a storm blew past. In their books we therefore read much less about these places than about larger establishments like the Great St. Bernard or its offshoot on the Simplon. Their site, on more frequented routes, brought rich as well as poor to their doors, and, intelligently, they stepped up their
service to cater for the first as well as the second. The rising tide of tourism after 1815 had a great effect on the Alpine hostels. The flow of tourists to the Oberland encouraged the cantonal authorities of Berne to enlarge the Grimsel refuge with eleven rooms in 1822, and to keep it open all the year round for the benefit of the young or active, who made their way on foot, or horse like Mrs. Boddington and her three daughters, up "a rugged path, marked by tall poles ... to that climax of desolation."

Here, in expectation of nothing more than bread and cheese, the traveller was surprised by "mutton cutlets; mutton roast, hashed, boiled and fried; potatoes in their coats and out of them, and an omelet."

The sleeping accommodation she describes as mere "cells, separated from each other only by a thin partition, so thin indeed, that every word uttered in one was not only audible in the next, but half over the house." So much for the eleven new rooms!

Meeting the new situation with their customary enterprise, the Augustinians of the Great St. Bernard built an annex - the Hôtel de St. Louis - to take their overflow of guests. During her visit, in 1817, Jane Waldie was assured by the Prior that as many as five hundred persons could be sheltered at a time, and that seven to eight thousand were entertained in a year. The dramatic circumstances of her arrival at the hospice heightened her sense of the benevolent purpose for which it existed, and infused her subsequent account with a peculiar warmth and a lively interest in its every detail. In point of detail her account is rivalled only by Mrs. Yates's, written much later in 1841. Neither she, nor any other writer we have read, had any fault to find with her

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 253.
3 Ibid.
reception and lodging. Normally, she tells us, guests ate in the refectory, but, as this was "within the grate,"\(^1\) beyond which no female could pass, Jane, her brother and his friend supped in an outer room. Excellently prepared, the meal consisted of soup, stewed veal, potatoes and pudding, preceded by a lengthy Latin grace and followed by a dessert of dried fruits, cheese and a final blessing. The monks did the honours of the table with the breeding and ease of manner, which the constant habit of receiving strangers, many of distinction, produced. The parlour, or \textit{salle des voyageurs}, was warm, comfortable and well furnished even to a piano. Other writers tell us that playing cards and Chinese puzzles were also provided for their diversion. Guests were free to inspect the Museum, with its collection of geological specimens and Roman antiquities from the site of Jupiter's temple, which St. Bernard's pious foundation had replaced. As the only woman in her party, Jane had a bedroom to herself, warmed by a fire, its windows double glazed against the cold and the bed supplied with the thick feather quilts of the country. Times, however, had changed at this famous hospice. Travellers could now stay three days, but still with no hint of payment even to the rich, though everyone was supposed to know what the offertory box was for in the chapel. Though materially they had risen, spiritually the standards of the hospice had not declined. The cure of souls went on, and the great work of mountain rescue remained part of the monks' service to humanity, with the assistance of succeeding generations of Jupiters and Barrys. In this manner the Catholic Church showed the way and set the standard for the accommodation

\(^{1}\) Jane Waldie, \textit{Sketches descriptive of Italy in the years of 1816 and 1817 with a brief account of travels in various parts of France and Switzerland in the same years}, London, 1820, Vol. 4, p. 305.
of travellers in Switzerland, making special provision for women.

But, if our women travellers had much in this respect for which to thank the Church, they could take the credit themselves for many of the amenities we take for granted in hotels to-day — locks on doors, curtains on windows, adequate lighting, clean food, fresh linen and comfortable beds. They hastened a process of improvement which had already been initiated by 1750. Part of this process was due to the appearance in Switzerland of refugees from the Thirty Years' War. Many were well-to-do German families, who made higher demands on travelling comfort. As a result private bedchambers gradually replaced common dormitories. Another factor in the development of modern Swiss hotels was a rise in standards of hygiene as well as privacy and comfort in the 17th century. Forks, for example, then a great novelty, were beginning to restrict the use of fingers at table. In the following century to eat with a fork in the left hand and a knife in the right was, according to Archenholz, the mark of an Englishman. "C'est à cette méthode, ... que l'on reconnaît sur le champ un Anglais avant même qu'il ait proféré une parole." Swiss museums, like the P.T.T. which collects tourists' impedimenta of bygone days, can show a couvert. This portable cutlery set of the fastidious traveller consisted of a small knife and a two-pronged fork, compact in an embossed leather case.

But, before we go on to describe Swiss hotels as their British visitors saw them, first a word on their location and type, for here we see the influence of the visitors at work. As with the hospices travellers found the earliest inns located for their convenience in towns and villages, and on land

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or water routes that connected them. They were to be found in places like Aarau and Frauenfeld, at which several roads met, or which lay on international routes like the Simplon or the Gotthard. They were located at bridge-towns like Laufenburg and Basel, beside ferries as in the case of Brugg and Windisch or at riverports like Schaffhausen or again Basel. They awaited travellers at the terminal points of navigation on the lakes. Instances of this were Weesen and Wallenstadt, Rapperschwyl and Zürich, Neuhaus and Thun, Fluellen and Lucerne, Villeneuve and Geneva with their intermediate ports of call such as Ouchy, through which flowed traffic to and from Lausanne. In earlier times all the big hotels were in the larger towns. Some became internationally famous through travellers' accounts - the Falcon at Berne, the Sword at Zürich, the Balance at Geneva and the Three Kings at Basel. In later times, however, after 1750 when tourism may be said to have begun, these hotels found a new source of custom. After 1815 the tourist trade spread to smaller places too, not only wayside post-houses but also remoter Alpine inns. At these last, ladies from our country viewed in the mirror of romance the rustic litter that lay around their doors, the milk-pails freshly scoured and drying in the sun, the bee-hives, the hay-rakes, the barrows, all the implements of Alpine husbandry, the flowers, the apple trees, the cattle and the goats with their gently tinkling bells. At these unpretentious Gasthofs they were charmed, too, by the regional costumes worn by the maids and busily filled their notebooks with sketches.

All parts of Switzerland were not of equal interest to our tourists. By the 19th century the favoured parts were the shores of Lakes Geneva and Lucerne, the Valais, Central Switzerland and the Bernese Oberland, and particular spots like Interlaken or the summit of Rigi. The result was a new
development in hotels, which sprang up in these areas and places to meet the needs of holidaymakers. The Rigi-Kulm was an excellent example, erected at the top of a comparatively easy ascent, well within the capacity of ladies on foot or, as they generally came, mounted. After Heinrich Keller, the Zürich topographer, published his first panorama map of the Rigi in 1815, the rush of tourists to this celebrated mountain was such that, on his initiative, the first inn and restaurant on the summit was built the following year. The craze for mountaineering of this not too strenuous type led to a similar development on the Faulhorn in 1832 and the Riffelberg in 1853. Simultaneously great luxury hotels were opened at fashionable places like Montreux, the Swan being among the first of many there. At watering-places hotels had, of course, flourished since very early times. Präffers was a case in point. Paracelsus had drawn attention to the efficacy of its hot springs in a treatise of 1536, Johannes Kolwecken had described it in a work on balneology in 1631, C. F. Morell included it in his review of Swiss spas — Gesundbrunnen der Schweiz — in 1788 and, in 1834, James Johnston, ex-naval surgeon and personal physician to William IV, visited Präffers in the course of a study tour, as a result of which he published Pilgrimages to the Spas in 1841. British visitors, however, persisted in being more interested in the scenic attractions of the place. The celebrated gorge of the Tamina was certainly one of the most extraordinary sights in Switzerland, and many were the comparisons they drew between it and Vergil or Dante’s Inferno. Elsewhere, as at Heustrich at the foot of the Niesen, determined efforts were made by local characters like Hans Hofstetter to attract foreign visitors to the springs. The brochure he put out informed them that his "eau minérale" was for drinking, bathing or exporting abroad to sufferers unable to visit his
establishment. Sparing his readers no details, he gave a scientific analysis of the Heustrich water—temperature 8.4°C, at the source—and advocated its virtues for the treatment of chronic catarhal affections of the head, chest and stomach, for the relief of dyspepsia, delirium tremens, nerves in men or women, diseases of the skin, rheumatism and paralysis, aphthae, scrofula and chlorosis! Baths were recommended for all these. Treatment by internal dosage consisted of one glass of the water every half hour, two, three or four times per morning on an empty stomach, to be followed by lunch one hour later and by dinner "de préférence." Under Hofstetter's expert management the baths flourished, but, as we shall see, he was not alone in his enterprising outlook on tourism.

As they approached the door of any Swiss inn, the first thing our travellers usually noticed was its signboard, yard-square, swinging from a pole above their heads. Their eye was caught by a sun or a star, a lion or an ox, a balance, a key or a crown. It surmounted the name of the landlord and the date when the house was established, and was painted with primitive artistry in crude, bright colours. Whether still in situ or deposited for safer keeping in the Zürich Historical Museum, these quaint works of itinerant sign-writers of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries still engage the notice of tourists, and have given rise to a literature on the subject. The names of the old Swiss inns, represented by these signs, are also a study in themselves, particularly those which originated in the 19th century, for they reflect certain aspects of tourism and the influence of the British in Switzerland. Observant travellers from our shores noted in their journals that, as at home, animals' names were often chosen and appropriately so. The Hecht, or Pike, was suitable for a lakeside Gasthof, and the Swan for an hotel on the quay at Lucerne.
In the region of the mountains, when ladies began to penetrate these parts too, they noticed that, at places like Grindelwald or Arth, the Chamois or the Eagle was a popular choice, but, although there was an inn of this name at Gsteig, the Raven was less of a favourite. Everywhere in Switzerland they met with the Stag, or the Stork beside rivers as at Zürich and Basel. Many an auberge, less important than the one we read so much of at Berne, was called the Falcon, but the Biscia, or Grass-snake, at Bellinzona was an oddity. Often our writers observed a religious tendency in the names of places where they stayed, such as the Cross, the Angel or, as the best hotel in Basel was known, the Three Kings. Sometimes, however, the names belonged to ancient folk-lore and legend, like the Wild Man or the Bear, and sometimes to history, like the Zähringer Hof at Fribourg. In this town probably the most astonishing name of all was to be found - La Mort. Mrs. Strutt was so astounded at the invitation to enter, inscribed on its wall, that she took the trouble to copy it down, but, anxious as she and her husband were to find a room for the night, they preferred to look in elsewhere.

"À la Mort.
Bon logis
à pied et à cheval.
Le vin qu'on y boit
Guérira votre mal.
Entrez donc passans,
Assièges mon tonneau,
Ce n'est pas celui-ci
Qui conduit au tombeau."

By the 19th century the old traditional names were still in use, but new ones had begun to appear and even to supplant them. On the main roads in Switzerland the Post had always been the name for inns which were relay-stations,

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1 Strutt, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 78.
but, with the development of new forms of transport and as steamboats began
to ply on Swiss lakes, we read of Il Vapore at Magadino and the Bateau à Vapeur
at Thun. Aware of the fame enjoyed by Byron among his countrymen now
thronging to Switzerland, one far-sighted owner conferred the poet's title on
his hotel at Villeneuve, situated in full view of Chillon. At Lausanne, when
Gibbon's house was converted into a hotel in 1838, naturally it was known by
his name. Mrs. Grey described it the following year as new and splendid, and
she was pleased to see that some of his acacias and limes had been left standing
in the grounds. Anxious to cash in on the lucrative British trade, the
proprietor of the Anchor at Ouchy recollected that Byron had once stayed there
with Shelley. He re-named it the Hôtel d'Angleterre. This, incidentally, was
what Dejean, the best-known hôtelier in Switzerland, had adopted for his
establishment at Sécheron in the preceding century, with such success that it
earned itself the nickname, "des Têtes Couronnées." In the same spirit of
enterprise "Hôtel de Londres" became an accustomed sight above doors in Chamonix,
Yverdon, Vevey or wherever went tourists from Britain. Swiss hôteliers are
never represented by our women writers as romantically-minded, but they certainly
realised the importance of a romantic name. The Rigi-Kulm, the Beau Rivage, the
Bellevue, the Alpenblick or Les Alpes was devised to attract those who came to
Switzerland for the scenery. The Bellevue, for example, at Thun commanded a
fine prospect of the Jungfrau, and the Bellevue, formerly the Raven, at Geneva
overhung the lake, so that the Wordsworths, taking coffee on the balcony, felt
that their room had quite "a Venetian air."¹ By an equally shrewd piece of
thinking on the part of the landlords, "Victoria" went up over doors towards

the middle of the 19th century and the end of our period of study.

Swiss domestic structure, as seen within these inns, was something women writers were quick to remark on. Up narrow stairs they had often to climb before threading a dark passage to reach their bedroom. This, in an inn like the one on the Simplon, was often low-roofed, with latticed windows, small and thickly glazed. The beds and all the furniture being of dark fir and the walls cased with it added to the gloom. Only a few travellers took account of the fact that climatic conditions were largely responsible for the traditional style, in which Alpine dwellings were constructed and their interiors furnished. By way of contrast a room in a place like Thun could be charming enough to satisfy feminine taste. One lady described her apartment there as "... elegant ... for the Beds were white striped muslin drawn back and edged with pale blue ribbons, with white calico window curtains, ... and ... ornamented with several good Engravings and prints ..."¹ Pictures in Swiss apartments, we are told, showed Napoleon in every possible form, here in the garb of an emperor, there as a soldier, now in council and again in battle, to the last scene of all at St. Helena. Side by side Byron shared the walls with Tell and the three Confederates, taking the oath at Rütli. Another favourite subject was St. Bernard dogs, rescuing travellers in the snow.

Beds came in for most of the criticism. In humbler lodgings the mattress of straw or the fayard, stuffed with beech leaves and resembling the "caff" bed of the Scottish cottar, was conducive to slumber, but inclined to harbour mice. As with the future, one was never quite sure what it held. Philosophers lay

down and hoped for the best. Wrote one, "The sheets were clean — the room clean — benches and tables white; and, as I saw no appearance of want of cleanliness about my bed, I lay down cheerfully on the sacking of straw, expecting to sleep. Mary's blankets did not altogether please her; and she was less hopeful; but alas! my state was soon no better than hers; — not because of the incessant tinkling from the bell of a goat, lodged with the cows beneath, and only divided from us by a floor of planks, but for other causes which I need not name." To minimise this discomfort experienced travellers and old campaigners carried their own sheets, sometimes not of linen but parchment, and their own mattresses, often of silk to foil penetration by vermin. The Duke of Wellington confided to Lady Frances Shelley that he always had his of a light-coloured silk, so that "they" could be more easily detected. To complicate matters on Swiss beds were their baffling feather quilts, forever slipping off to leave restless British slumberers covered with nothing but a sheet.

Downstairs, in the salle-à-manger, how did British appetites react to the Swiss diet? The British, then if ever a race of hearty eaters, had few complaints to make. What a difference, they declared, between it and German food, with its sour bread and its greasy stews, or the French trick of dressing poor food with rich sauce! Perhaps the simplest food in Switzerland was the most praised. According to the fastidious Miss Lamont — and she was far from alone in this — "bread and butter, and honey" were "three of the best things in Switzerland." The honey was so good that tourists were known to buy the

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2 Martha Macdonald Lamont, Impressions, Thoughts, and Sketches, during two years in France and Switzerland, London, 1842, p. 78.
little barrels, in which it was sold, to take home. Perhaps, too, the meals most simply served were the most enjoyed. The novelty and charm of their setting, as much as the cream and the wild strawberries gathered by the local children, made picnics in the mountains blithe occasions. Beneath the Col de Balme, wrote Mary Berry, "... we dined on the turf, the people of the chalet bringing us out most delicious cream in a large pail, from which we all served ourselves with a ladle into little wooden bowls." Those who, like her, ventured into the mountains, discovered wholesome fare provided at the smallest Alpine inn. Dried marmot flesh might not be entirely to their liking, but they generally enjoyed the meat of the chamois — it tasted, they thought, like hare — and the goodness of the wine surprised them in these remote localities.

Describing a typical auberge in the Alps, Dorothy Wordsworth wrote that her party entered the house "by going up stairs, the ground floor being allotted to cows and goats. ... Our fare excellent — good wine — butter — cheese — milk — bread — and honey. All this for a franc each." At the doors of rural inns a novelty for the British was the tank, full of local trout or pike, waiting in readiness for hungry guests. For an inland country Switzerland could provide excellent fish, including the lotte and the ferrat that gourmets ate with tears in their eyes at Lausanne and Geneva. Each region, in fact, had its speciality, of which the cheeses of Gruyère and Emmental were an excellent example. Mrs. McTaggart's keen eye noted this variation of diet throughout Switzerland "... in the French cantons we had decanters of water larger than those with wine, and the German cantons gave us larger decanters of wine and

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1 Berry, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 132.
and smaller of water; ... "1

In the town hotels not necessarily better food but more elaborate dishes appeared on the table. One lady, critical of the Falke at Berne, grown rather shabby by her time, had to admit that not Paris itself could have exceeded the excellence of the dishes laid on the table in endless succession. Of one in particular, nun's pudding, or boudin religieux, she said -

"Supposing, by its name, that it must be plain and very simple, I had taken some of it, when I found it to be one of the most luxurious compounds I had ever tested."2 Elsewhere the same lady grumbled that "they (the Swiss) seem to eat salad with every thing but their cheese."3

The greatest grumble among the British was, of course, the tea. A few of the bigger hotels, like the well-known L'Union at Bex, accustomed to a British clientèle, made a feature of serving tea à l'Anglaise, but most of the smaller ones did not. Nor did ladies from our country care for the herbal concoctions they offered as a substitute. Miss Lamont writes with wit of how she and a friend, dying for a good cup of tea, descended to the kitchen of their inn. There, failing to make themselves understood, they rummaged out a tea-pot and some tea and helped themselves to boiling water, while the servants "exchanged looks of horror"4 at the quantity of leaves put in the pot.

Mrs. Boddington revenged herself for many disappointments by a recipe for tea à la Suisse, which began, "To three ounces of tea-dust add half a pound of cowslip-flowers, and an equal quantity of any aromatic herb that happens to be at hand, ... ."5 But, generally speaking, our tourists found the food an

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3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 262.
4 Lamont, op. cit., p. 78.
enjoyable part of their holiday in Switzerland.

Were Swiss hotels cheap or expensive at the time of which we write? The present writer has, for example, seen an 1850 bill of the old inn on the Rigi-Kulm: for supper with wine (La Côte), room and breakfast, all in, 4 francs, 10. The cost of living for tourists in Switzerland between 1750 and 1850 is a topic worth discussing, and we propose to do this in the pages which follow. Here we shall suggest that the intricacies of the national monetary system must have made it difficult for tourists to make a fair assessment of what they were charged. One lady, notably practical in this respect, based her opinion on a comparison with hotels in France. She "found that the charges in the hotels in Switzerland varied very little from each other, and were as high as in the south of France; the usual rate being six francs each for dinner, two francs for breakfast, and three for every bed,"¹ What this meant in terms of British money will become apparent when we deal with Swiss currency later in this chapter.

We shall suggest, too, that matters were complicated by the fact that, before 1850, hotel tariffs were not standardised as they afterwards were. Nor were landlords compelled by law to display a fixed price, though it is interesting to find Mrs. Strutt, during the period of her residence in the country, 1835-38, referring to a government attempt to regulate hotel charges.² An unscrupulous character here and there could therefore take advantage of his guests, and unpleasant scenes develop when he presented his bill. An extreme case of this, which required the intervention of the magistrate at Lucerne, is

¹ Carey, op.cit., p. 421.
described in Dorothy Wordsworth's journal, but, reading what other women wrote, we are left with the impression that Swiss landlords were more often honest than otherwise. In any country when discussion, on one side at least, is in a foreign tongue and transaction is in an unfamiliar coin, disputes are bound occasionally to arise. Quoting no foreign critics but compatriots only, we find in British travellers two tendencies liable to create ill-feeling between themselves and their landlords. Latrobe criticised their failure to identify themselves with the people of the country, and to accept their style of living, accommodation and diet. He had seen them arrive and order dinner at a Swiss inn as if at the Star and Garter in Richmond. Mrs. Boddington, for her part, criticised "the suspicious parsimony and overbearing airs of a certain class of travellers, who come abroad in their defensive armour with a fixed idea that all foreigners are rogues, and that they have a right to live on the continent for next to nothing." If we seek a reason why more disputes with landlords are described in Dorothy Wordsworth's journal than in any other woman's we have read, it is probably to be found in Mrs. Boddington's remarks, taken in conjunction with the comments of the former at Wasen, Stans and elsewhere. Mrs Yates alone took the trouble to go to the root of the matter, and offer a rational explanation of what caused some heart-burning among tourists. Though her writing, in general, adds little to our knowledge of the practical side of tourism - such as the details of transport, lodging and cost - she deserves to be quoted on the subject for, having regard to the historical and economic background, she wrote -

"The imputation cast upon the Swiss of being extortioners, I think unfounded. The war with France for many years put a stop to all travelling, and when at length people were enabled to go to Switzerland, they found the inhabitants unprepared for an influx of visitors from all quarters. Being put to great inconvenience and expense to procure even sufficient necessaries from great distances, they made high charges; but now that tourists flock there at certain seasons, like migratory birds in other parts, regular arrangements are made for their periodical reception, and we do not find that more than fair remunerating prices are demanded."¹

Though travellers' accounts tend to record only the best and the worst features of the hotels they stayed at in Switzerland, a favourable impression, in general, emerges from those of writers like Mrs. Boddington, Dorothy Wordsworth and Mrs. Bray, who devoted considerable attention to the subject. Mrs. Bray's tirade against the inconveniences of Swiss hotels is to be taken with a pinch of salt. It was based on what she found at the Schwane in Lucerne, and runs counter to the opinion of others like Dorothy Wordsworth, who stayed there. As readers of the biography written by her nephew will know, the lady was something of a mild eccentric. In actual fact, as in other departments of tourism, the appearance of British women on the Swiss scene gradually brought about changes for the better. Travellers like Mrs. Boddington, who paid several visits to the country, could observe this progress as the years went by; the rise in the standard of comfort, innovations such as sofas and window curtains, casements opening to admit fresh air and an improvement in the table-d'hôte. Mrs. Strutt also put it down to the "finical particularity of the English."² If travellers were sure of good beds and well-served tables in even the remotest parts of Switzerland, they owed it all to the susceptibility of these islanders on the article of comforts. They would not allow of any excuse in the landlord for the most trifling negligence. They

could retain an implacable enmity against him on the subject of a doubtful egg, or a bill which exceeded their calculations by a single franc. On their arrival at an inn they conscientiously inscribed in the Book of Entries the commendation or censure, which their previous resting-place deserved, and thus landlords were held in a salutary state of terror.

This brings us to a feature of Swiss hotels, an amusing one that sidelines our tourists. It is the volume kept by the landlord, which they mention so often, and variously refer to as "the visitors'" or "the strangers' book" and sometimes as "the album." It was, perhaps, galling for our Britons to be confronted with this register and required to state their name, their age and place of origin, the hour of their arrival, their place of destination and the reason for their journey, as soon as they arrived at their hotel, but it was also rather pleasing, as they turned back the pages, to scan the names of former guests and to know that their own would one day so be read. In truth the majority enjoyed poring over these memorials, which they felt to be a personal link, a social connection or even a bond of mystic sympathy with those gone before or coming after. Many a rainy day, which curtailed outdoor activities, was beguiled by this pleasant occupation. By the 'twenties and 'thirties of the 19th century, even allowing that the tourist season, on an average, covered only three to four months of the year, albums at the main resorts were quickly filled and constantly renewed. At Chamonix one of the most popular, "the album of the Union Inn could hardly be read through in a whole week of bad weather."1 Equally loaded down with names was the book of the Hôtel de Londres, or the London Tavern as its host had in English on his card. In frontier towns, like Basel and Schaffhausen, and in larger ones, like

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Zürich and Berne, the book was an official register, that conformed to police regulations, but, at resorts like Rigi, Chamonix and Grindelwald, it was more an album, in which visitors wrote their titles and their names and were free to add their comments. These ranged from complaints, many and bitter, about the weather to opinions about the locality, from poetic lines, original or copied, to counsel, addressed to other travellers, on roads, inns and their landlords, interspersed with witty comments, sometimes in the form of an epigram in Latin. The first mentioned was by far the commonest. One such malediction, in the book of the Hôtel de Londres at Chamonix, took the form of a warning to all lady visitors, who were objured not to believe what the guides said about the Montanvert and Tête Noire being neither difficult nor dangerous.

In most places British names so predominated over French, German and American, that one traveller, at the celebrated Hermitage of Fribourg, expressed his astonishment at not finding a single one among the many autographs of famous foreigners, that included Joseph Bonaparte and the Empress Marie Louise. Famous signatures were, of course, the raison d'être of the album, since they gave distinction to the book and the hotel or locale it belonged to. Understandably, therefore, forgeries were frequent. Hôteliers copied famous names from book to book. One English visitor detected so many obvious fictions at the Rigi that he had no difficulty in accounting for the insertion of "George IV." Yet, when he "called all the people of the house and examined them," he got no satisfaction, for "they stoutly affirmed that our King was here, and wrote with his own hand his name and date, October, 1816, and that he came with three ladies and four gentlemen in his suite."¹ The future Bishop of Calcutta

¹ Daniel Wilson, Letters from an Absent Brother, containing Some Account of a Tour through parts of The Netherlands, Switzerland, Northern Italy, and France, in the Summer of 1823, London, 1824, Vol. 1, p. 185.
apparently did not stop to think that the good people of the inn might have been imposed upon by some joker, who bore a resemblance to the King. Royal autographs were the most coveted, not only by hotellers but also by souvenir hunters, so that when the ex-Empress Josephine wrote a four-lined stanza and signed her name in the book on the Montanvert, a British collector promptly purloined the page. The inscription was as promptly replaced, by a different hand, the keeper of the book supplying the deficiency. It can well be imagined that this sort of thing went on all over Switzerland.

But let us not imagine that these albums did no more than pander to sentimentality, exhibitionism and snobbery. They could, at times, have some utility, and Mrs. Boddington's Reminiscences contain an anecdote that makes this point. Her story concerns the auberge at Wesen, as it was in the 'twenties of the last century. Though she refrains from giving it a name, it was, no doubt, the Epee which, significantly, Murray cites in the first edition of his Handbook as one which "had once the reputation of being dear." Here she prepared to be "unconscionably fleeced" as on former occasions, but was agreeably surprised to find herself wrong. This she could not understand, for the old landlord was still in possession. His son, however, explained the matter very frankly.

"He had been obliged, he said ..., to make a journey to Lausanne, and having occasion to pass through several towns, asked of course for the traveller's book, and naturally turned first to the part in which he was most interested. In every page he read his honoured father's name coupled with the most opprobrious epithets, and an admonition to future travellers to avoid the inn at Wesen usually superadded.

It is one thing," writes Mrs. Boddington, in her witty fashion, "to hug one's self in successful knavery, and another

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to be found out. The son came home, and talked the business over with old Iniquity, who, seeing the matter hopeless, turned quietly into the chimney corner, and suffered the great work of reformation to take its course."

Probably, however, apart from the names of the famous the literary efforts, which drew most attention in these volumes, were the poems. In the same passage of her Swiss journal that we have just referred to, Dorothy Wordsworth remarks of the album in her Chamonix inn that the "names of many of our Friends and acquaintances were discovered; and quotations from my Brother's Poems "Matthew" and "Yarrow visited" with "Sad Stuff!" affixed to the latter, by way of comment, in another handwriting." The literary standard of original lines fell usually far short of those borrowed from Wordsworth or Shakespeare, yet some did possess a certain merit. We exemplify with a jeu d'esprit from the summer of 1825. Inscribed in the album of a Glarus inn by a British tourist, who had visited Präffers' baths, the lines are anonymous and might have been written by a woman.

"Oft hast thou marvell'd much, I trow,
At him who twirl'd with well-poised toe
On Strasburg's pointed spire:--
Or him who, on the quivering slope
Of the tight-brac'd elastic rope,
Could bound in air much higher:--

But had they quaffed the fervid wave
In PFEFFERS' dark and vapoury cave--
(Those half adventurous people)--
And paced the dizzy, fragile plank
Along the chasm's terrific flank,
They then had scorned the paltry trick
Of dancing on a steeple." 3

However there was no doubt about the authorship of the following lines, for they were entered in "a pretty female hand" in the Hôtel de Londres' book.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 301-302.
Prospectus of the Pension Aeschmann at Lucerne, about 1840.
at Chamonix about 1831. Entitled The Trials of Sugar Candy, Grocer, London, not all are given here, for they amounted to twenty-odd stanzas.

"I came to Mont Blanc from my shop,
Over shocking bad roads, 'od rot 'em;
Some people goes up to the top,
But I prefers the bottom.

I toil'd up the Montanvert,
And then, unlucky sinner!
I was dragged up the Flégère,
But hurried back to dinner.

Next day on the Mer de Glace
I walk'd with might and main,
And I peep'd into a "Crevasse,"
But I wish'd myself home again.

For I heard an awful rumbling
In the ice among the ruts;
And the glacier groaning and grumbling,
Like one with a pain in his —."

Albumising, in fact, reached such proportions, during this period, that it gave rise to a new hobby among travellers - the collection of choice morsels, some grave, some gay, in poetry or prose from visitors' books like those we have quoted.

So far we have taken a view of the Swiss hotel and catering trade from one side only, that of our tourists. If, however, we look at it from the other, we are struck by the efforts made by the hôteliers to meet the requirements of their British clients and even anticipate them. Murray's Handbook, which provides the earliest English survey of Swiss hotels, supports this opinion, but we prefer to draw on a more original source of information, to describe and to quote from surviving copies of old prospectuses put out by 19th century landlords to advertise their inns. Considerable thought and skill

Prospectus of the Hôtel Victoria at Kandersteg, about 1850.
went into the composition of these early examples of the art of publicity, and sometimes considerable expense. The proprietor of the Pension Aeschmann at Lucerne commissioned the design of his handbill from the artist Schwegler, who succeeded not only in representing his patron’s establishment as large and important, but also in conveying to prospective tourists an impression of its fine situation, convenient for boats on the lake, not far from the famous bridges and having an unrivalled view of Pilatus and Rigi. Unfortunately, from their opposed position, both peaks could not appear in the picture, so the latter was relegated to the legend. Headed "Pension pour les Étrangers, qui se proposent de sejourner à Lucerne trois jours et plus," it ran as follows.

"Cette pension située sur le quai en face du Righi, avec vue sur le Pilate, est tenue par Jean Aeschmann, qui se fera un devoir de contenter Mesn. les Voyageurs, qui l’honoreront de leur confiance, tant par la modicité de ses prix, que pour la propreté des appartements et la manière confortable dont sa table est servie."

These words were repeated underneath, in German.

Beside this artistic production the brochure of Rodolphe Egger’s Hôtel Victoria at Kandersteg, here shown, looks distinctly amateurish.

Another typical piece of propaganda was put out by David Roch, who, towards the middle of the last century, set himself up in business at La Comballez, in another locality that became very popular with the British. Addressing himself to those tourists desirous to visit the interesting valley of the Ormonts, he begged to inform them that his hotel was newly built, and there they could find board and lodging, baths, saddle-horses for excursions as well as reliable guides. Also they could make a cure, either of petit lait, warm milk or mineral water, and they could enjoy pure air and a view over the glaciers. Apart from the last line and a note that his hotel stood at a height above
sea-level of "4000 feet," this prospectus was in French. Roch, or whoever drew it up, knew what appealed to our tourists, because appended was a table of distances to such places as the Col de Pillion, the glaciers of Les Diablerets, Aigle, Château d'Oex, Thun, Interlaken, Sion and Bex, and to the ruins of an ancient château in the vicinity. It will be noticed how emphasis was placed on the cult of the Alps, on diet and on health. The accompanying illustration showed a house built in traditional, Swiss rural style. A last line at the foot of the page promised a "View of M. Blanc, la Dent du Midi and Les Diablerets." Only one important detail was omitted - the price. Franker than Roch, Joseph Mattei of the Croix Blanche at Aigle stated his "all-in" pension price - 4 francs per day, table d'hôte at one o'clock and four. In a prospectus at once romantic and practical, he advertised his house as catering specially for families, who desired to make excursions in the interesting, beautiful and picturesque valleys of the neighbourhood. Translating from the original French we quote his words, enthusiastic of "the high mountains, which limit the horizon of Aigle..."

His catalogue of neighbouring peaks closed with a reminder that "these beauties are at Aigle, which lies at the centre of them," and that guides were available for climbers staying at his hotel. The popularity of the grape cure was then at its height. Mattei offered that and mineral baths as well. Aigle, it will be remembered, lay on the Simplon and St. Bernard routes across the Alps and also near Villeneuve, the steamboat terminal on Lake Geneva. This explains why his brochure made a feature of his stables, carriages for hire and omnibus service, connecting with Villeneuve.

Roch and Mattei addressed themselves to travellers of all nationalities, using the language of polite society everywhere, but Martin Gyr, host of the
Peacock at Einsiedeln, seems to have been particularly alive to the financial possibilities of the British influx into his country. What must also have spurred his initiative - Einsiedeln had been a centre of pilgrimage since the Middle Ages, with the result that Gyr was not without rivals in the field. He had to compete with the St. Benedict, the St. John, the Red Ox, the Calf's Head, the Codfish, the Adam and Eve, forty-eight other auberges and twenty common alehouses. Therefore, in the year 1840, he circulated handbills, setting forth the particular attractions of his house in three languages, English taking precedence over German and French.

"To English and Foreign Travellers
The Peacock Hotel
at Einsiedeln, the second Borough Town
in the Canton of Schwyz (Switzerland).

Mr. Gyr has the honor to announce to the public, that his Hôtel, the first in the Borough is very agreeably situated upon the public place, directly opposite the beautiful and far-famed Monastery frequented throughout the Summer by thousands of Pilgrims, who come from all parts and go in Procession to visit the Shrine of the Virgin, Mary. the Hotel has been very recently fitted up and furnished, in which the Traveller will find every Comfort, good Wine and Attendance. There is a stage coach every second day from Zürich to Einsiedeln, as also a steam-boat daily to Rapperschwyl on the Lake.

N.B. Mr. Gyr is the Post-master of the Place and good Stabling and Coach-houses are to be found there."

Further to these words an illustration of the Peacock showed it as a place of some pretension, with a belvedere on the roof and tourists with telescopes, suggesting unparalleled vistas. Gyr's astute policy can also be seen in the French and German versions of his manifesto. They differ slightly from the English version and from each other, according to the preferences of the nationalities to whom they are addressed. Thus the French version stresses the Peacock's cuisine. Prospectuses like those of Hofstetter, Aeschmann, Roch, Mattei and Gyr, in the archives of the P.T.T. Museum, are a key to the
study of Swiss landlords and their British guests.

We come now to the all-important question of how much it cost to travel in Switzerland, and, if we discuss it at some length, it is because, next to the weather, cost is the factor most operative in tourism. How much it cost was a question more often asked by those who were going to Switzerland than answered by those who had been. "Beautiful scenery," wrote one conscientious author, "must not tempt me to neglect furnishing information upon a less romantic, but not less important subject - economy; for there are few who desire to enjoy the former, who are not obliged to study the latter."1 In the 18th century such an attitude to expenditure would have been exceptional, when the average tourist belonged to the affluent upper class and left such matters to his courier. It was typical rather of the 19th century, when the average tourist came from the middle class and was not averse to economy. Nevertheless it remained unusual for writers either to give much information about the cost of their travels, or to give it in such a way as to be of practical value to their readers. Everyone knew, of course, that living was cheaper abroad. Many, indeed, went abroad for that very reason, and of this Edward Gibbon and Lady Charlotte Bury were two good examples. So, also, was the Princess Caroline of Wales. "... the living there," she wrote to her lady-in-waiting, "will be so much less expensive. I can only assure you, that 2,000 l. of English money would make 12,000 l. upon the Continent."2 Earlier British visitors had remarked how Switzerland was "a Countrey where a very little money

1 L. Agassiz, A Journey to Switzerland, and Pedestrian Tours in that Country; including A Sketch of its History, and of the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, London, 1833, p. 119.
goes a great way."¹ John Ray, in 1665, noted that "all provisions of victuals are very plentiful and cheap at Geneva, especially milk-meats, the neighbouring mountains breeding abundance of cattel."² In his guidebook, a century later, Thomas Martyn was also emphatic on this point. He observed that "upon the whole travelling is dear: you live much better, however, than in England for the same money."³ These are general statements, but specific prices and costs in Switzerland are given by a number of our writers, though, given at random, these isolated facts are not always particularly instructive.

Describing the good cheer enjoyed by the people of Berne, Mrs. Yosy, for example, tells us that veal "rarely costs more than four-pence a pound."⁴ Though this price has the merit of being stated in English money, which her readers could understand, she makes no attempt to relate it to the cost of living throughout the canton. A more informed approach to the subject was Bishop Wilson's. He noted at Bienne, a few years later in 1823, that bread cost 1½d per lb., and meat, 3d, and put this into perspective by adding that the average daily wage of a skilled artisan was eight francs, while an unskilled labourer got half the rate for the job.⁵ And many a tale lay behind the expense accounts of our ancestors on the Alps. "Expenses at hotels 730 francs, surgeon 330 do. - 1060" relates, for instance, to the adventures of one of the Torr family, who had the misfortune to fall off the Wengernalp in 1850 and

¹ Gilbert Burnet, Some Letters containing, An account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc., Rotterdam, 1686, p. 43. See also p. 9.
³ Martyn, op. cit., p. 16.
⁴ Yosy, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 61.
⁵ Wilson, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 128.
break a leg, was confined to bed at Lauterbrunnen for eleven days and at Interlaken for six or seven weeks.¹ Had our women travellers, during this period 1750-1850, been more addicted to feats of mountaineering, we might also have quoted the bill for provisions presented by M. Édouard Tairras, host of the Hotel de Londres at Chamonix, to Albert Smith and his friends after their ascent of Mont Blanc in 1851.² It is one of the best sources of information that we have on what an expedition of this kind cost. Instead we shall later quote Mrs. Beaufoy's expense account of her Oberland tour in 1787, since her expedition is more typical of those then undertaken by women.

Since our travellers' outlay was more upon board, lodging, transport, servants' wages and tips, and less, for example, upon articles like souvenirs or occasionally doctors' bills, it is with a corresponding degree of frequency that their pens run upon these objects of expenditure. Women travellers, with their greater interest in domestic affairs, became readily conversant with details of what it cost to stay at hotel or pension, and some were not above bargaining over the price. Mrs. McTaggart, of a proverbially thrifty race, who once described herself as "not rich, as to money I mean. My riches consisted in kind and valuable friends,"³ tells us that, in her younger days, there was a saying current abroad - "payer en Anglaise",⁴ or double price for the English. Determined that this should not apply to herself, she tackled the great Dessein, with whom she found it necessary to make an agreement as to breakfast and bedchamber, dinner and salle-à-manger for her and her father.

¹ Cecil Torr, Small Talk at Wreyland, Cambridge, 1918, p. 75.
² A. Smith, Mont Blanc, with a Memoir of the Author by H. Yates, London, 1860, p. 201.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 208.
"What must be paid for this?" she asked.
"Ten francs a day," was the answer.
"C'est trop, Mons. Dessein."
"Then give me what you please," came the astute reply.
"So he got his price for," says Mrs. McTaggart, "there was no resisting such an appeal to our generosity."¹

The same lady, with friends at Schaffhausen, witnessed a blunter method of dealing with dissatisfied guests. "We dined at the principal hotel in the town;" - probably the Krone - "the bill was large, and the expostulations of Capt. F. were rather sulkily received. At last the Captain said, "leave the room, Sir; ... " The Englishmen, however, had forgotten he was not in England. "The room is mine, and I will not quit it," said the innkeeper, squatting himself down on a chair." The Captain was in a passion - his wife begged him to be calm - the matter was smoothed over. Comment by Mrs. McTaggart - "The liberty of the Swiss is proverbial, but they know how to exercise tyranny."²

Like everywhere else in Europe, charges were higher at the more popular tourist resorts, especially spas like Bath, Aix, Baden Baden, Baden in Aargau or Schinznach, where health and fashion drew crowds. At the last-named spot, in the closing years of the 18th century, good accommodation seems to have stood at a premium. Bathers had little choice. According to Betsy Wynne there was but one "house," where her family put up "at a little distance" from the baths.³ Its situation was certainly agreeable enough, being in the valley of the Aare, near by a wood and set about with gardens, but, for all its large and fine exterior, to her it was "sad-looking," and the Wynnes' apartments on

¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 206-207.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 237-238.
⁴ Ibid.
the ground floor looked gloomy. It was furnished clearly with a view to attracting a superior clientele — Betsy discovered a harpsichord — and Mr. Wynne "gave twelve francs for five rooms," presumed per day. One experienced traveller, who took an intelligent interest in prices and incomes and the relative standard of living in Switzerland, was Mary Berry. Like her contemporary, Mrs. McTaggart, she was sometimes conscious of being charged according to her nationality. Poised for flight from the threat of internment by the French, she spent some weeks at Lausanne in 1803, and, passing in review the contemporary state of affairs in the canton, she cited the case of a Mr. Glayre, as instance of how well one could live on a little in Vaud. This fortunate gentleman "had a good house in Lausanne, with a beautiful view, a good house in the country, ... both well furnished ... had frequently company to dinner in Lausanne, besides evening parties, and very often people staying at his house in the country for weeks together; gave foreign wine at his table whenever he had company, lived in every respect well and at ease, kept four carriage horses (occasionally working on his farm), denying himself no reasonable fancy, and having a wife and two young children." She ended on an exclamatory note. "He spent 800 l. sterling a year!" This, of course, was the sort of thing which attracted Gibbon and many British people to Lausanne, where, in addition to other advantages, taxation was comparatively light. Some idea emerges from their writing of what it cost to reside in this pleasant Swiss town.

By the second quarter of the 19th century we find that, in general, house-rents were as heavy as at home. As for heating the fuel commonly used in

1 Ibid.
Switzerland was naturally wood, but the amount consumed by a Swiss stove made its cost as high as an English coal fire. Provisions at Lausanne, with the exception of wine, were not much cheaper than in remote country districts like parts of Devon, Scotland and Wales. The average price of wearing apparel was about the same in Switzerland and Britain. Transactions with tradespeople and servants called for a measure of caution. The people were generally honest. Though many were poor, there was less crime there than in any other country of equal population, but, as in England, trading rogues were not uncommon, both tradespeople and servants firmly believing that all English were wealthy and easily cheated. As for the educational facilities of Lausanne they had for long attracted young men from our country, but, by the time of which we are writing, they were beginning to attract girls. The high standard of teaching and the low cost of tuition caused its educational facilities to be favourably compared with those of any other town in Europe. The best music-masters, for example, charged only fifteen batta, or 1/10½; a lesson, and teachers of drawing, dancing and languages still less. The Dames Chabroux, reputedly the best ladies' school, had a waiting list for places. Its fees were only £36 per annum. They included French, Italian and drawing, and, what was more, they covered a full twelve months with no waste of time on vacations. To thrifty-minded parents this was an added attraction. From the point of view of economy, Lausanne was perhaps not the best place for a British family trying to live on a small income abroad, but there were, on the other hand, certain social and educational advantages to be gained. Thus it was possible to mix with good society without the ruinous expense that this entailed at home. The Lausanneoise led a gay life, but incurred no unnecessary expense. They succeeded in avoiding ostentation without sacrificing hospitality, and Voltaire
did not exaggerate when he described them, in common with the inhabitants of other large Swiss towns, as uniting Spartan simplicity with Athenian politeness in their way of life. Towards resident and visiting foreigners they were sociably disposed, and the so-called Société de Bourg existed for the purpose of entertaining strangers during the winter, when a committee, drawn from its members, was in the habit of organising three or four splendid balls. At each of these functions as many as three hundred guests might attend to dance to the music of an orchestra with no fewer than thirty musicians, and afterwards sit down to an elegant repast. Foreigners did not subscribe to these festivities: they were invited. Besides not a week went by without private balls and soirées enlivening the place.

From a general survey of what our women writers have to say on the matter, it would appear that the rules, which governed the cost of living throughout the rest of Europe, obtained also in Switzerland: that it was cheaper to reside in a smaller place like Lausanne than a larger one like Geneva. This is confirmed by what Mrs. Carey wrote in the first quarter of the 19th century. It was customary at Lausanne, as at Geneva, for genteel, private families to take boarders. An English gentleman, of the Careys' acquaintance, in this situation gave twelve guineas a month for his accommodation without any separate sitting-room for his own use. This, of course, was in line with Continental usage. In Switzerland, as in France, people were in the habit of using their bed-chambers as sitting-rooms. Still their friend did not consider himself overcharged. He knew of one family who took four guineas per month more. Like Mrs. Carey he seems to have made a point of noting and comparing prices, for he told her that he had previously taken pains to ascertain the terms usual at Geneva and found them to average twenty guineas.
Mrs. Carey herself thought that these prices were very high, even allowing for the advantage of being "domesticated"\(^1\) with a family of respectability and being introduced into society as one of its members.

For those who grudged the prices charged at hotels, private lodgings were the answer, and, since we need not confine this survey to what our women writers had to say of Lausanne, let us see how Clarissa Trant and her father fared at Zürich, when they stayed at the best hotel in town. "Of all the impositions we ever met with," we read in her diary, "that of "Mine Host" at the Épee d'Or was the most barefaced, 74 francs for one night! 5 fr. per head pour dinner — and such a dinner! Beware of Golden Swords!"\(^2\)

Born at Lisbon in 1800, while her father fought under Wellington's command in the Peninsula, Clarissa had spent most of her life on the Continent, and she knew what she was talking about. When her father decided to take the waters at Baden, though for a short time only, it was more desirable she should stay in a private house if she was to remain at Zürich. So we are told, "This morning I went out with Lisette my little maid in quest of lodgings .... My first attempt at independence!"\(^3\) She was then twenty-five. "I was fortunate," she says in her journal, "in finding three rooms at Dr. G—'s, and as his wife offered to take us en pension during that interval for 18 fcs. each week, we have agreed."\(^4\) A considerable difference from what they had paid at the Épee d'Or.

However the fullest account of life en pension and its attendant costs, without doubt, is that given by George Eliot in her correspondence of 1849-50.

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1 Carey, op.cit., p. 418.
2 Trant, op.cit., p. 156.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
Many are the complaints we read about money matters in those letters to friends at home. They originated not from parsimony but a slender purse, and we cannot but wonder that she should expend a large sum on the luxury of travelling abroad, then declare herself unable to afford a small one on a necessity like postage. The cost of her luggage coming from England to Switzerland, she tells us, was 120 francs, which she described to the Brays as "perfectly horrible!" It convinced her she must sell the globes and the Encyclopaedia Britannica she had left at home, even if it meant letting them go at half price. To the same friends she bewailed the fact that, "Two unhappy newspapers have cost each a franc and 20 centimes." There was only one thing to do - "renounce the pleasure of having" the Coventry Herald sent out to her. Did she exaggerate her shortage of money? If not, why did she go abroad? We know it was for her health, but, unlike several cheaper places with milder climates she might have gone to instead on the north shore of the Lake, Geneva, in the winter, was no more beneficial to an invalid than many localities in Britain, where an eight months' recuperative holiday would have cost much less. We need not, however, regret George Eliot's decision to stay in the Swiss town, for her letters, written at the time, are a valuable source of information of the kind we are looking for.

The first two months of her stay were passed at Madame de Vallière's pension at Plongeon, in the vicinity of Geneva. It was quiet and comfortable. Madame took a personal interest in her guests, though rather dependent on her staff for the details of management. One criticism - the tea was "execrable," according to our writer, but when were the British abroad ever

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2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 315.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 309.
pleased about that? This was a superior establishment. While George Eliot was there, the guests included members of the Italian and Austrian nobility, Scottish and English gentry, rich Americans, wealthy Germans, French, Dutch and Irish families of good standing besides well-to-do Swiss. Much as we should wish to know what Madame de Vallière charged, this obvious detail is one which her boarder omits to give. However some notion of her terms may be derived from the fact that George Eliot began, after a short time there, to look for a less expensive lodging. She heard there were places—naming Vandœuvre, Bex and Clarens—where you could live well for three or even two francs a day. Mrs. Sydney, a Scottish lady who had left Geneva for Bex, had written back to a friend an "account of the excellent living and accommodations to be had there for 3 francs a day."\(^1\) The recipient of the letter, an Englishwoman named Mrs. Lock, passed on the news to her fellow-boarder. From this we can gather that Madame de Vallière's terms must have been higher. With the approach of winter, however, the social and other amenities of a bigger place like Geneva were more inviting, and George Eliot shifted her enquiries to the town. The Gaussen-Huber establishment in the Rue du Puits—Saint-Pierre was well recommended. It belonged to a highly respectable family, who never took more than five or six pensionnaires at a time. Their terms were correspondingly high—200 francs per month, and the proviso that no one was received for less than a few months. Fortunately, as it transpired for her happiness during the next six months, there were no vacancies when she applied. Instead she found a home with the D'Albert Durades, whose house, once Rue des Chanoines, no. 107, still stands as Rue de

\(^1\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 294.
la Pélisserie, no. 18. Incidentally it is to the artistic talent of M. Durade that we owe the painting of George Eliot, now in the National Portrait Gallery. This is how she described their house in Geneva. "You enter a by no means attractive-looking house, you climb up two or three flights of cold dark-looking stone steps, you ring at a very modest door and you enter a set of rooms snug or comfortable or elegant."  

Significantly she visualised it as a refuge, "a downy nest high up in a good old tree." She wrote of her room as "assez joli," having an alcove for the bed so that it looked like a sitting-room by day. Most important for her, it had a large lamp, and there were also five bougies, always two on the mantelpiece, two on the piano and one on the dressing-table. Far from a grasping landlady, Madame Durade gently scolded, when she found her boarder attempting to read by a single candle. She appears in the correspondence as a woman of intelligence and culture, who dressed scrupulously and kept her servants in order. The one, who cleaned George Eliot's room so conscientiously, was a charming little maid. She never forgot to put fire in the chauffe-pied, or to enquire each morning in her pretty French if Mademoiselle had slept well. The domestic arrangements provided for four meals a day. At 8.30 an "excellent breakfast", consisting of "good coffee, delicious butter and confiture," was brought to her room, but all other meals she took with the family. Lunch was served at half past twelve in the salle-à-manger, and "a still better dinner" at 4 o'clock, at which there were "always two kinds of meat thoroughly well cooked, nice vegetables and pudding." Tea was at eight,
and, from the tea-table, one passed into the "nice, large salon"¹ to chat or to play the piano till bed-time. The Durades had many friends, intelligent and cultured like themselves. Soirées and amateur theatricals were a feature of their circle, and every Monday was a musical evening in the Rue des Chanoines. Still, the comfort of British homes being proverbial, our visitors to Switzerland, even in summer, missed the amenities they took for granted at home. George Eliot was no exception. She missed her "English comforts,"² as she called them. As usual it was the absence of "carpets, easy-chairs, and coal-fires"³ that was deplored, but she had to admit that, in the Durades' house, everything was done "on a generous scale without extravagance."⁴ The newly-arrived guest soon had a feeling of "complete bien-être",⁵ and all for the sum of only 150 francs per month.

To end this survey of what it cost, according to our women writers, to sojourn in Switzerland, let us make this observation that, while it might be informative to compare prices and costs current in different parts of the country at one period of time, it would not be so to compare those current in one part at different periods of time, since history has repeatedly shown how the value, or purchasing power, of money has fluctuated over even shorter terms than 1750 to 1850. Moreover, in a survey of this kind, we must also take into account the Swiss currency system such as it then was.

As Martha Macdonald Iamont said to her mother, referring to a letter posted just before leaving Switzerland, "I shall never again have to pay four shillings, when I send off my letter to you. - Four shillings? - Yes, I was very much astonished, when I first heard that had been paid with my

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 312.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 326.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 316.
⁵ Ibid.
letter; but, then, I discovered that the four shillings were but four pence. "What a sad thing it is," she reflected, "since money is a necessary evil, that men should aid to its evilness, by making every transaction connected with it, as troublesome as possible; not the different nations of Europe, but not even the twenty-two Swiss cantons, can agree to have the same coins, though a very little good sense and good feeling might enable them to do it, one might suppose." 1

But the writer deceived herself, if she supposed that goodwill alone could solve a problem which perplexed other European nations besides the Swiss. Indeed, with the exception of France, all the Continental countries most visited by the British - the German and Italian states, the Low Countries and Switzerland - were the subject of warning by experienced travellers and by the authors of guidebooks, when they began to be published. "Frankfort," for instance said Dr. Nugent, "being seated almost in the heart of Germany, and surrounded by a great many petty states, is pestered more than any other city of the empire with a variety of species; ... " 2 And what he wrote of Italy was typical, and also capable of wider application. "Every little state and principality ... coins its own money, which a traveller ought to have some knowledge of before he goes to that country, otherwise he is exposed to a great deal of trouble and perplexity, and liable moreover to be imposed upon." 3 When the kingdom of Italy was set up, the genius of Napoleon was able to establish the silver lira as the standard coin, but the Swiss currency appears to have defeated him. The British found it a sore trial. Many, when paying, must have found it easier, like Mrs. Bray's husband, to tender a handful of coins and allow the Swiss to help themselves. We hear of no visitor who had reason to regret this.

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1 Lamont, op. cit., p. 95.
3 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 30.
But to return to Miss Lamont on this subject, "We came from England with pounds, shillings, and pence, in our heads; by degrees, we got five franc pieces, and sous into them, and our purses in France; but, though in Germany we got thalers, florins, gulden, zwansickers, and kreutzers, into the purse, I think they were never rightly in the brain; and I think the Swiss francs, shillings, and batzes," she concluded, "are in the same predicament."¹

Often, as much as scenery or language, it was the unfamiliar coinage which made our travellers conscious of being in a foreign land. As each Swiss canton issued its own, they soon discovered to their dismay that it was acceptable at its full value only within the issuing canton or, by neighbouring cantons, only along the common frontier. Elsewhere its value was depreciated. In consequence serious losses might accrue to travellers, who bought dear and sold cheap as holiday-makers still do, when, having obtained a supply of Swiss money previous to going abroad, they return to this country and change what is left back into British coin. The only one to do well out of this business was, as always, the money-changer, the tools of whose trade - the scales and the weights - can be examined to-day in museums, like the Verkehrshaus, that specialise in exhibits relating to tourism. In this connection it is interesting to recall what Nugent had to say of Frankfurt, and how it was there that the Rothschild fortunes were founded, in that particular branch of finance. Among the multiplicity of larger Swiss coins - francs, florins, thalers, lira or batz - that came their way as they toured the cantons, our travellers also discovered that the last was the one most widely used. Within our study period it was current, for example, in Basel, Berne, Grisons, Schaffhausen, Schwyz, St. Gallen, Thurgau, Unterwalden, Uri, Vaud, Zug and Zürich, though, as we

¹ Lamont, op. cit., p. 95.
have indicated, its worth varied from one to another. They noticed, too, that the coinage of any canton inclined towards its foreign neighbours. Thalers passed in Zürich and Appenzell, lire, solde and denare in Ticino, francs and centimes in Geneva. But it was the smaller coins — schillings, kreußers or rappen — that they found such a nuisance, and that writers, like Ebel and Murray, counselled them not to accumulate, more especially the angsters of Schwyz and Zug, the bluzgers of Grisons that Latrobe justly described "as about the size of a pea,"¹ and the minute "piecettes", that Martyn mentioned, of Neufchâtel.² As they turned them wonderingly over in their palms, our forebears examined the different impressions on these coins — on those of Catholic Glarus, the form of a monk; on those of Berne, the familiar bear; on those of Zug, most gratifying to the English, the figure of St. Oswald, King of Northumbria. The history of a canton could, in fact, be read on its coinage and on none better than Geneva's, which was handled more often by British visitors than any other species in Switzerland.

Over the centuries the coinage of Geneva had seen as many changes as the town had rulers. The earliest references extant to Noneta Genevensia date back to the 6th century, and some of the oldest coins to Merovingian times in the 7th. These gold pieces bear the name of the state and of the official Minsherry. The first money minted by the bishops of Geneva belongs to the early 11th century, the pfennige, for example, of Bishop Conrad; on their obverse, a Carolingian temple and the name of the state, on their reverse, a cross and the name of the bishop. On episcopal coins of later date the cross replaced the temple, and the head and name of Geneva's patron, St. Peter,

² Martyn, op. cit., p. 16.
appeared on the other side. By the 15th century the Dukes of Savoy were issuing money in the town, and there was some strife with the bishops over their right to do so. Meanwhile the standard coin varied, but, by the 18th century when tourism was gaining ground, it was the golden, equal to twelve schillings. Concurrently other coins were in circulation, and our travellers found themselves struggling with dicken, halbdicken and weisadicken, with pistoles, doubleducats and thalers for, as Martyn advised, nowhere were strangers confronted with a greater variety of coin than at Geneva. There the money of almost every country in Europe was current. The local Treasury was therefore compelled to make certain regulations with regard to foreign coinage. It had first to be carefully scrutinised for counterfeit, then endorsed with a special mark before it could legally pass in the town. The changes which took place in Genevan money between 1750 and 1850 are, of course, of most interest to us. They were influenced to a great extent by political events across the border in France, and the most revolutionary was the introduction of the decimal system in 1792. Later, in 1793, Geneva began to use French money, and, from this period, we have coins impressed with the initial G, an archer, a lion or a fish. With the reconstitution of the republic in 1814 the old monetary system returned. In 1838 it was again replaced by the decimal system, but this was the last major change before that of 1850, which affected not only Geneva but also the rest of Switzerland.

From time to time efforts had been made by the Swiss to rationalise their currency. In 1825 seven of the cantons - Aargau, Berne, Basel, Fribourg, Soleure, Valais and Vaud - combined to adopt a uniform coinage. Similarly, in 1834, twelve of them, including most of the above, with the
exception of Vaud and Valais and with the addition of Glarus, Lucerne, 
Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Thurgau, Zug and Zürich, agreed to appoint a 
commission to examine and reform what had become the most complicated 
monetary system in Europe, and a serious hindrance to trade even more than 
to tourism. But it was not until after the new constitution of 1848 that 
a federal law of May, 1850, at last put an end to the confusion, which had 
reigned so long. The silver franc, equal to a hundred centimes, was fixed 
as the monetary unit for the whole country, but, as so radical a change 
could not become effective at once, the old coins remained legal tender 
until August, 1852. To-day these obsolete pieces, which puzzled our 
forebears, make a fascinating subject for study in Swiss museums. They 
increase our knowledge of what travel was like in 18th and 19th century 
Switzerland, and they aid our understanding of many a passage and reference 
occurring in contemporary works of travel.

For it is when an entry tells us how much she paid for a pair of shoes, 
and what a hat or a dozen oranges cost her, that we feel ourselves on 
intimate terms with the writer of the journal, in this case Mrs. Beaufoy. 
In an earlier chapter we referred to her journal and related the circumstances 
of her visit to the Bernese Oberland. We now refer to her expense account, 
in respect of which her journal is unique. By unique we do not infer that 
accounts of this kind were never kept by other travellers. We rather draw 
attention to the happy chance by which this one found its way into print. 
Inserted in a letter to her parents, it would in all probability, like those 
of other tourists, have been omitted as inconsequential, had the writer ever 
sent her manuscript to the press. We quote it, therefore, with the 
suggestion that, to be fully understood, it must as far as possible be 
scrutinised in the light of the text it accompanies.
Mrs. Beaufoy's Expense Account. 1

"July 11 - 1787 Wednesday.
We set out from Neuchatel.
Paid Emden Board.
Dinner & waiter at Anet  47
A Hat at Berne  52.2
Hospital and Arsenal  42
Church 15.3 Foundry 5.1  21
Bill at Berne  340.2
Waiter  42
On the road to Thun
  Wine Sc.  10.2
Gave Peter & Boatmen  31.2
Bill at Thun  101.2
Boat to Newhouse  84
Bill at Newhouse  105.0
Gave Mineurs  42
Guide for going to Staubach Sc.  68.1
at the Ourates  336
Shoes to climb in  21
Gave for various things  42
Bill at Grindelwalt  136
Waggon and horses  294
Hire of Parasoleils  10.2
Guide of Lauterbrunnen to G.  63
Dinner at Newhouse  42
Gave the Gide  5.1
Boat Expenses  92.2
Paid Peter  220.2
Bill at Thun  102.0
a Milk pail  21
2d Bill at Berne with waiter  199.2
oranges 12 dinner at Alberg 47  59.0
Gave [ ]  52.2

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<tr>
<td>Dinner &amp; waiter at Anet</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Hat at Berne</td>
<td>52.2</td>
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<td>oranges 12 dinner at Alberg</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gave [ ]</td>
<td>52.2</td>
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Gave Girl  5.1

2765.1

2770.2  "

1 Alpine Journal, op.cit., Vol. 40, p. 278.
Provided with this careful account of what accommodation and meals, transport, servants' wages and incidental disbursements cost the Beaufoys between 11th and 20th July, 1787, we are at once struck by the fact that the writer neglects to mention on what monetary unit her calculations are based. So does her editor, but, since she toured mainly in Berne, since she undoubtedly alludes to the standard coin of that canton under the name of "brutz,"¹ since her prices compare closely with those based on bats and mentioned by contemporary writers like Martyn, and since the sum total of her expenses on this and a later tour work out near enough to "£50.14s."² rating the bats at 1½d. English, we may take it that the bats was her unit of calculation. We notice also that one or two items in the above list are not to be explained, even by reference to the rest of her letter. We must therefore conjecture, for example, that "Paid Baden Board" has to do with the practice, customary in 18th century households, of paying board wages to a servant left at home while his or her employer was elsewhere. In the main, however, it is possible to interpret the items in Mrs. Beaufoy's account accurately enough. Thus, by noting in her journal the distances covered, we can arrive at a good idea of what it cost to hire carriages and boats, with their necessary attendants, in Switzerland then. In this connection we may note there is no real discrepancy in the cost of the Beaufoys' boat, 84 bats going from Thun to Neuhausen and 92.2 for returning, because, on the latter journey, the rowers would charge for waiting time, the hour and a half spent by their passengers in exploring the Beatushöhle. With regard to accommodation other items serve as an instance of what we earlier said, that

¹ Ibid., Vol. 40, p. 266.
² Ibid., Vol. 40, p. 278.
it was, as a rule, cheaper at smaller places like Grindelwald and dearer at larger ones like Berne. With regard to meals we see a certain consistency in the price of dinner at wayside inns, as at Anet and Neuhausen, and we can work out the average cost — 20 batz, with a 5 batz tip to the waiter — and confirm it by reference to contemporary travellers. One item — "Gave Mineurs" — is worth special mention, because it relates to a little known piece of local lore. On the occasion of her visit to the old silver and lead mines in the Lauterbrunnen Valley, she tells us, "there was no honor they did not show us, and to finish with they gave us the Mineurs Dance."¹

As the workings were re-opened in 1782 and finally abandoned in 1805, it is probable that, of our women travellers and writers, Mrs. Beaufoy was the first and the last to have this experience. It appears she was not much amused by the performance but, says she —

"I was content with thier efforts to please and did not fail, you may be sure, to show the highest satisfaction"² — 42 batz!

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 40, p. 273.
² Ibid.
Chapter 5

The reciprocal influence of British women and the Swiss scene in the 18th and 19th centuries forms the subject of this chapter. It is particularly to be seen in one of the most important aspects of travel — in social and cultural contacts made with another nation. An account of these contacts distinguishes many of our writers' works, and constitutes history of a kind found less often in books about Switzerland written by men. Several representative examples are therefore the best means of introduction to our subject.

Descriptions of social life in Switzerland are not always forthcoming from those letters, diaries and travel works, in which we might most expect to find them. Fulfilment falls short of promise in the Duchess of Northumberland's diaries. Such extracts, as have been published, give an incomplete picture of the writer as well as the distinguished circle in which she moved at Geneva during the late 18th century. The journals and correspondence of Mary Berry extend over sixty-nine years, and record at least eight visits to the country between 1783 and 1823. But the writer saw Switzerland more in transit than residence, though she has left a good account of the political and economic state of Vaud at the time of her longest visit, 14th May to 29th July, 1803. The diary of Betsy Wynne yields better results, for she spent several years in the country at an impressionable time of life, when, if less than a woman in age, she was more than a child in understanding. Her stay with the French emigré family, de Bombelles, amounted to a prolonged social occasion, which began in 1791 and ended three years later, when the Wynnes, having outstayed their welcome, departed for Ratisbon.
The day passed pleasantly for Betsy at Schloss Wartegg, with the morning devoted to lessons or reading with Mamma, and the afternoon given, perhaps, to shopping at nearby Rorschach. In the evening there was music of voice and harpsichord to enjoy, dancing, too, and amateur theatricals besides games of backgammon, dominoes, secretary, twenty-one and écarte, or reading aloud from the French classics. Betsy liked Molière best. If variety of entertainment lacked, itinerant musicians, puppeteers and actors supplied it. Out of doors there was sledging in winter, and riding and bathing and boating in the Wartensee during the summer. Betsy took long walks in the neighbourhood accompanied by sisters, tutors, governesses, the children of her hosts and the many acquaintances, continually coming, going or staying for longer or shorter periods at the castle. Abroad there were balls, masquerades, concerts and plays, though bad roads might curtail these festivities. The winter of 1791-2 was particularly difficult, being very snowy. The Wynnes were practising Catholics. Religion therefore played a part in their life and took them regularly to Confession or to Mass on feast-days at Rorschach or Romanshorn. There were outings to local events, a balloon ascent or the fair at St. Gall, and coach journeys further afield to Baden, Winterthur, Rheineck or Appenzell, and across the nearby frontier to Bregenz in Austria, or to Lindau or Constance in Germany. As we survey this picture of life in the upper reaches of society, it is important to remember that the inhabitants of Wartegg were anything but Swiss. The existence of the French family hinged upon news from France and what was happening at Paris. The English family, too, had their eyes less upon Switzerland. They were agonised by news of the desperate plight of Betsy's maternal grandparents at Lyons, and, after 1792, they were distracted by the war between Britain and France. To an extent
Betsy, unwittingly and fragmentarily, shows Switzerland as it was at this time. She mentions a revolt in the Grisons, and the spread of revolutionary doctrines from France among the peasants. It is clear from her diary that these events, coupled with local hostility to the emigrés and the threat of a French invasion, hastened her family's departure from the country. But of Swiss society she has comparatively little to say. It is only when Betsy writes up her diary away from the narrower social confines of Wartegg, that we get a fuller picture of life in Switzerland. Her entries for June and July, 1792, give an interesting account of the cosmopolitan society in which she moved at Schinznach spa, and of the local peasants, with their picturesque costumes, who danced on Sundays in the courtyard of the inn for the guests' entertainment. On the other hand there is nothing like this in the pages written at Lausanne the following year. The Wynnes stayed with their friends, the Blairs, and consorted mostly with persons of their own nationality, as the British tended to do abroad.

Differences of age, social standing and personal circumstances caused Helen Maria Williams to present another view of the Swiss scene. Having fled from Paris as a political refugee in the summer of 1794, for the next eight months or so she was compulsorily domiciled at Basel, from which, however, visits to other cantons were not forbidden her. She was therefore in an excellent position to describe life in that town, and this is something which none other of our women writers did at such length or at a time of such political tension. To appreciate her account we must bear in mind that, although *A Tour in Switzerland* was neither finished nor published until 1798, the passages dealing with Switzerland were written in 1794. At that time strange situations were liable to arise as a result of the unsettled state of
Europe and the peculiar position of Switzerland as a neutral state. The Baslers had grown accustomed to the spectacle of French troops encamped on one side of the Rhine confronting Austrian troops encamped on the other, while their officers fraternised in local coffee-houses and hotels, and their respective military bands alternately entertained with the "Marseillaise" and "Oh, Charles! Oh, mon roi!" from opposite banks of the river. As a frontier town Basel was subject at all times to an influx of foreigners. In 1794 it was not so large nor its places of public resort so many, that French royalist émigrés and repudiated revolutionary patriots, like Miss Williams, could avoid rubbing shoulders. "... at the distance of half a mile from the shouts of 1 equality, fraternity, and the rights of man" political feeling ran high. It was her opinion that, "in the general resurrection to liberty, which Switzerland is about to experience, this Canton, to borrow a phrase from Gibbon, will, from its moral and geographical position, be the first to cast away the shroud." To give additional interest to her Swiss journal, Miss Williams had set out to trace the important effects, which the French Revolution had produced in Switzerland, and which were about to unfold what she called a new era in its history. With admirable timing her book appeared as the new era unfolded in 1798, when Berne capitulated to the armed forces of the Revolution.

At this period one of Basel's most distinguished inhabitants was Colonel Frey. Renowned in literature as in arms, he had served for fifty years in the armies of France, and now devoted his retirement to study. He possessed a fine library, and his cabinet of fossils, minerals and marbles was an attraction for

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 119.
many visitors to the town. Connected as he was by marriage to friends of Miss Williams, she enjoyed the advantage of his protection. This, no doubt, was her means of entée into the exclusive circle of local society. We must remember that she entered this society par force of circumstance rather than par volonté. This could not help influencing how she described it, for her heart remained in Paris, and she certainly did not allow any sense of gratitude for political asylum to inhibit her criticism of the Swiss. We must also take into account her ardent, revolutionary principles, and recollect her earliest concept of Switzerland expressed in her Epistle to Dr. Moore. Warmed with enthusiasm for the natural beauties of the country, she had been led by fancy to associate with them the charms of congenial society and the higher qualities of mind. These things made the background of her disappointment in Basel.

"Such were my meditations when I first set foot on the soil of Switzerland;" she wrote, "the scenery of the country more than fulfilled the glowing promise of imagination. With respect to the character and manners of the people, a residence of several weeks at Basel somewhat chilled my enthusiasm: I had frequent opportunities of mixing in their societies, and discerned neither the love of arts, of literature, of liberty, or of any earthly good, but money - I heard of nothing but the comparative value of louis, and assignats; and if I had not seen the Rhine rolling its turbulent waves majestically by the windows, I might have fancied myself in 'Change-alley, or the Perron of the Palais Royal."2

But though the inhabitants of London and Paris might, as Miss Williams put it, with respect to financial gain be burghers of Basel during the morning, their evening, at least, was devoted to friendship and social

2 Williams, A Tour, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 5-6.
pleasure. At the last-named town, however, the toils of trade found no relaxation. In consequence, the men had formed themselves into tabagies, or smoking-clubs. There were no fewer than twelve in the town, each with about sixty members, who met every afternoon, at an early hour, to drink tea amidst the exhilarating fumes of tobacco, to discuss the political situation, but far more indefatigably commercial affairs, to calculate the gains and losses of the day, to form new schemes of acquiring wealth and to separate at the hour of supper before they had said one word on the subject of taste or literature. Used to the mixed society of Parisian salons, she criticised these assemblies on the grounds that "a man who has long frequented such meetings becomes entirely unfit for all other society."

Miss Williams was not surprised that, under these circumstances, the ladies of Basel should also have formed themselves into clubs. With rather more sympathy she described those female gatherings. They were to be found in every Swiss town, and were frequently remarked on by our tourists, mainly because they were without parallel in the framework of British society.

"The female societies of Basel are formed from infancy of children of the same age, and of the same class; and during their childhood, the equality of years is so strictly observed in these societies, that sisters, whose ages differ three or four years, have their separate coteries in the same house. ... The young unmarried women, and the dowagers, all have their distinct circles, sometimes increased by the admission of sisters-in-law, who become part of the family, and sometimes by the introduction of accidental acquaintances.

They assemble by invitation successively at each other's houses, usually at three in the afternoon; ... "

It was not the meetings themselves but what went on at them that the Englishwomen from Paris castigated. The ladies arrived with their work-bags

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 8.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 10-11.
on their arms, and work and conversation began together. The latter turned, "as in other uninstructed minds, upon the every-day gossip of ordinary life." When the tattle of town scandal failed, they knew no resource but cards. At these assemblies, laughed Miss Williams, "the place of honor" was at the window, to which at every house in Basel convex mirrors were fixed. The ladies consulted them every minute, not to view themselves but their neighbours and all that was passing in the street. She was equally sarcastic about the tea, which was served at four and "accompanied by a handsome collation, consisting of pastry, fruits, creams, and sweetmeats, and often of ham, and other cold meats." This substantial refreshment followed a copious dinner and preceded a solid supper, "the Swiss in general being possessed of a most powerful appetite." A dull game of commerce dragged on the evening till eight. The ladies then separated "after a profusion of compliments," which, she critically observed, they had "not yet relinquished for the French mode of gliding out of the room." Why they should relinquish any Swiss custom for a French one was clear only to Miss Williams, who considered that "in France, a country so near Switzerland in its geographical situation, but so distant in the character and disposition of the people, things in this respect are managed better."

On the contrary Mrs. Anne Yosy's delineation of Switzerland was marked by a strong partiality both for the country and the nation. Her choice of topic was determined by what she believed the tourist of feeling heart and reflective

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 12.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 13.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 17.
mind would wish to see in each of the cantons. At the same time her
prolonged residence and travels in the country enabled her to describe life in
regions, which the average British visitor had seldom or never heard of. Her
book is therefore unusual for its descriptions of remote communities as in the
valley of the Lac de Joux, "one of those delicious spots which are calculated
to inspire the softest sentiments." Though greatly increased in number
since Coxe was there, its people still led a secluded existence, and preserved
their ancient customs, such as "that of the men going to church with their
bayonets fixed, and placing them between their legs during divine service.
This originated in their distrust of the Bourguignons, by whom they were
apprehensive of being attacked when they were unprepared for defence." 2
Similarly she wrote of the people of Guggisberg, who, "although within a very
short distance of the capital of the canton (Berne), forms in some sort a
separate people. ... With the particular costume of their ancestors, of whose
ture origin little is known, the Gouggers keep their manners and customs.
... These people have no communication with the rest of the world, but the
clergyman and his family; they live and die without seeing a face beyond their
valley, ... ." 3 Though remarkable in this respect her work also included
descriptions of larger communities. Having resided in Switzerland at all
seasons of the year, unlike the majority of our writers, Mrs. Yosy could
describe the winter sports in vogue at the beginning of the 19th century.

Referring to the Neufchâtelois, she wrote, "Their winter
amusements consist of parties, who ride in sledges; sometimes
twenty or thirty persons are in the party, two in a sleigh:

the lady sits in a little carriage in the form of a swan or a peacock, and the gentlemen stand behind to drive; the body of the carriage is placed on a sledge, and the horses are ornamented with bells, and covered with scarlet cloth. In this manner, they fly over the roads ...

A study of old sledges, like the collection in Basel's Kirschgarten Museum, enables the reader to appreciate Mrs. Yosy's charming picture to the full. Nevertheless, in spite of the instances we have quoted, she writes more of scenery than society, and more of mountains than manners.

The reverse is true of Lady Campbell. The more sophisticated eye, with which she observed Geneva, was the result of her social background. A few words about it are therefore appropriate. The writer, whose _Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth_ created such a stir on its first appearance in 1838, was one of the great beauties of her day. Contemporary letters and memoirs are full of her praise. Born in 1775 she was the younger daughter of the 5th Duke of Argyll, and received her Christian name from Queen Charlotte, to whom her mother was lady-in-waiting. Lady Charlotte was therefore placed in the highest society from her earliest days, and "certainly," as she herself said, "if one is to mix with the world, the highest class are those best worth associating with." As confusion sometimes arises over her name, it is as well to explain that it remained Campbell until her second marriage, in 1818, to the Rev. Edward John Bury, a young clergyman of good birth, who had acted as tutor to her eldest son. There is no need to repeat the reasons we have given, in an earlier chapter, for her visit to Switzerland. Her representation of life there is that of a woman of the world. "Courts," she once said, "are strange, mysterious

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 170.
places: ... they afford a great school both for the heart and the head."

There is evidence of this in all that she wrote.

Lady Campbell found "a picked society of intelligent and superior persons resident in or travelling through the country; and yet, after the great stage of life in London, Paris or Vienna, it requires to let off the gas of excitement before one can sober oneself down to the narrowed circle of "L'imperceptible Genève," ... ." The ceremonious looking of the city gates each night at ten sharp, the solemn mounting of the guard, the consequential airs of the magistrates, so much resembling masters of ceremonies at Brighton or Bath, prompted her to laugh at this Lilliput republic. Yet she could not deny the good faith of its citizens, or their great sincerity in preserving their liberties and laws. This made her love them while she laughed. The state of learning in Geneva also commanded her respect. In no one spot, perhaps, were there more distinguished men gathered into one small focus, "all nobly contending for the advancement of intellectual greatness." She instanced Schlegel, Sismondi, Pictet, de Saussure and, "at this moment, the children of other climes, but in brotherhood of tastes of the same stock, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Humphry Davy, Sc. Sc. are all congregated in one brilliant galaxy." However "Madame de Staël's name, like Aaron's rod, must swallow up the rest." Such was her influence, that everybody wrote at Geneva. The very air was "infectious of scribbling." Her pen inoculated

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 1.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 271.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 279.
all the inhabitants, "but unfortunately very few of the infected take the disease favourably." Lady Campbell was critical of the state of the fine arts. Since, like all her contemporaries, she derived her standards of comparison from Italy, she therefore considered it was "at a low ebb here." The explanation of this she believed to be that the very magnitude and sublimity of Swiss scenery were opposed to the imitative power of the pencil. In support of her theory she pointed out that landscape painting was scarcely practised in Switzerland, "except those hard topographical views, unworthy of the name of art." She allowed these were faithful portraits of the features of the country, "but then, so was a skeleton a faithful representative of the human form."

The same writer adds considerably to our knowledge of Genevan society in the early 19th century by her highly personal comments on other British visitors. There were many, she tells us, including Lady Westmoreland, "who has a great charm about her, but never rests herself, and never lets any one else rest in her presence." She "met several very distinguished men at Lady Davy's," but, she shrewdly observed, "the same persons are not the same in different places and under different influences; and whenever Sir H. Davy presides in a society, as usual, nothing amalgamates." She was not alone in remarking how much pleasanter all one's British acquaintances were abroad than at home, with the exception of "a few growlers." She placed Lord Lucan in this latter category, until she discovered he avoided her only so as not to be

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 272.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 271.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 273.
7 Ibid.
drawn into the society of the Princess of Wales, whose arrival was daily expected in Geneva. "... the whole Canton," in fact, was "in commotion with the travelling royalties." The ci-devant Empress, Marie Louise, was staying at Séchéron. Only "a little English mauvaise honte" deterred Lady Campbell from talking to her, when they passed each other in the garden of the Hôtel d'Angleterre. Presently another Bonaparte turned up at Dejean's. "King Joseph of Spain, as he calls himself, wrote his majestyship, in the book in which travellers write their names at this inn: he dined at Copet." A joke began to go round that soon the entire family of her ancient foe would be dining with Madame de Staël. When Princess Caroline arrived, her "visit was brief but troublesome." She "received a kind reception from the Genevese if not the English residents, who were mostly anxious to avoid her, but she left an unpleasant impression on their minds, by her indjudicious conduct," particularly when she attended a ball, arranged in her honour, "dressed en Venus, or rather not dressed, further than the waist." It was anecdotes and disclosures like these, that gave Lady Campbell's Diary a succès de scandale. Its publication was anonymous, but its authoress was quickly divined and cut by many of her friends, who considered she had abused her position in society in order to write her book.

Distinguished names from scientific and literary circles in Geneva also appear in the letters of Maria Edgeworth, written at the same period. She mentions her meetings with Sismondi, Arago, the Pictets, von Stein, Dumont,

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 284.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 267.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 268.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 280.
de Candolle, the Mareets, Madame Necker de Scussure and Gray's former friend, Bonstetten. At the time of her visit, in 1820, the town was enjoying a golden age. For intellectual renown it was then unrivalled by any town of comparable size in Europe except, perhaps, Edinburgh. Yet it is with a sense of opportunity lost that we read her correspondence, and, as we do so, remember that she wrote the first regional novel in English, probably in any European language, and that the literary antecedent of this form was the economic and political survey, the like of which Coxe and Moore had succeeded in writing of Switzerland, and Helen Maria Williams had attempted. Granted a longer stay, and a closer acquaintance in that country with the class Thady Quirk adorned in her own, she might have portrayed the domestic habits and character of the Swiss, then as little known to the general public in Britain as those of their Irish neighbours when she wrote Castle Rackrent.

To the fact that Mrs. Boddington fell ill, while on tour with her husband and daughters in 1830, we owe several chapters of her Slight Reminiscences. These passages are unique in their description of life in Lucerne during the winter, for, in her time, there was no British community, as at Lausanne or Geneva, to encourage our tourists to stay more than a day or two in the town, even in the better weather months of the year. For four months Mrs. Boddington's view was limited to what she could see from her window at the Cheval Blanc, but the eyes and the ears of her family and others kept her journal amply supplied with material of an unusual kind. It was "no time for ennui." It seemed to the writer there was even something poetical in

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this circumscribed way of life, "encaverned in the heart of mountains, on the
shores of a lonely lake, girdled round with beetling forests and imperishable
snow." Strange tales were carried to her bedside. The doctor narrated
stories of midnight journeys by sled on the frozen lake. To the romantic
fancy of his listener the "vast lake of Lucerne at midnight, its phantom-
mountains faintly visible by the wild glare of their white winding-sheets, a
few cold stars ... black clouds ... something rushing onwards over the
desolate plain of ice ... the dismal echoes" suggested a perfect setting for
a grim tale of the supernatural. One night the fireside talk was of crimes
and punishment, of "Clara Wendal, the famous woman-robber," and of the
mysterious disappearance of Avoyer Zavier Keller on a wild December night.
On another occasion the invalid was entertained by the description of a country
wedding, the picturesque details of which she carefully noted.

Beyond the four walls of her room life followed its daily and seasonal
pattern in the town. Mrs. Boddington recalled one of her last outings.
"Every Tuesday Lucerne dresses out, and gives way to gaiety; it is the market-
day." Rowed sometimes by men, sometimes by women, boats arrived from all
parts of the lake with a cargo of grain, wooden ware or other merchandise, and
a supercargo of livestock, in caps and stockings of all hues and knots of
cherry-coloured ribbon, perched on top. A typical tourist in this respect,
Mrs. Boddington delighted in the costumes of the country folks, and in "the
air of grave importance" with which their wearers moved from stall to stall,

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 321.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 259-260.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 268.
"discussing an umbrella or a frieze petticoat." Religious festivals were a feature of life in this Catholic region. As far as an outsider like herself could see, local society derived all its gaiety from the Church. Half the year was consumed in fêtes, which began in the church and ended in the public-house. She had much to say of how St. Cecilia's Day was celebrated in this music-loving canton, how Christmas was kept and the New Year brought in. "Last night some tuneless minstrels hailed the new year, just as the great clock tolled out the last hour of the old one. ... The sound of the clock was solemn and suitable, but the carol was all beer and tobacco." Epiphany brought a humble representation of the Three Kings, and on Jeudi Gras there were masks and the traditional "Freutchi." While Mrs. Boddington was there, the canton was in the throes of receiving a new constitution, and the comings and goings of the Avoyer and députés brought life and colour to the otherwise quiet streets of the town. A coach at Lucerne in the winter was as attractive as a pageant at Paris. As each arrived, a crowd surrounded it, and every deputy enjoyed an ovation. On every box was perched "a huissier, looking like a court-card, with the colours of his canton folded round him in the shape of a cloak, one half white, the other scarlet, or blue, or black, or whatever happens to be the shade of his official patriotism ... " It was a sight to remember, and one which few British visitors had ever been fortunate to witness.

It was, however, at Geneva that most British visitors to Switzerland had the experience of life in a Swiss community. In her letters to friends at home George Eliot described the many attractions of the place. They included

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 276, 277.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 282-283.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 311.
shops, lectures and plays, fireworks and regattas on the lake. Not least, for one of her tastes, there were lending libraries, where the newest books could be had. A pleasant time was possible even for a person of limited means like herself. Among local scholars, who gave lectures that winter of 1849-50, Auguste de la Rive, Professor of Physics at the University, delivered a course of twenty-six, particularly for ladies, at the Athenée and Hotel de Ville. Every Wednesday and Saturday she attended and enjoyed them. The same season Marietta Alboni, the celebrated Italian contralto and "a very fat syren" according to our writer, charmed audiences with her singing. On Sundays there was preaching of a very high order to be heard in the churches. Excursions to neighbouring beauty-spots, like the Salève, were a compensation in spring for the fog and snow of winter. George Eliot also gave some interesting glimpses of local people. They "dress and think about dressing here more even than in England. You would not know me if you saw me," she told her friends. A boarder at the same pension had insisted on arranging her hair. "The Marquise (de St. Germain) took on her the office of femme de chambre and drest my hair... She has banished all my curls... I seem uglier than ever - if possible." The English girl thought Swiss ideas of propriety rigid to excess. "I dare not look or say or do half what one does in England," she complained. "As long as people carry a Mademoiselle before their name, there is far less liberty for them on the Continent than in England." There is, of course, something very personal here as in most of her remarks on the Swiss. Referring to an

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2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 298.
3 Ibid.
acquaintance, M Chancel, she described him as "a handsome man of fifty, full of wit and talent," who had just taken as his second wife "an ugly old maid - but this is less wonderful at Geneva than elsewhere." It was as if she could not look at the Lake of Geneva without seeing her own reflection.

A study of social and cultural contacts made with the Swiss - of which we have given representative examples - leads us to the conclusion that they must have left a deeper impression on our women travellers than has been generally supposed. If there is one instance of this which repays our study, it is to be found in the works of Maria Edgeworth, and the fame they brought her both within and beyond the narrower confines of her own country. This aspect of her literary career has never been fully treated, and often ignored, by her British and American biographers. On the Swiss side, however, a closer examination and a sounder appraisal have been made by Professor Häusermann of Geneva. In his essay on her "debt to Geneva," he points out that this dates back to 1789, when Practical Education was translated by Pictet-de Rochemont. We suggest that it dates much further back, to when her father was influenced by Rousseau.

Were we to enquire the name of the Swiss, who made the greatest impression on Europe between 1750 and 1850, the answer would surely be Rousseau. Men and women of the educated classes in every country read, discussed, emulated or execrated the Nouvelle Héloïse and the Social Contract during his life, and the Confessions and the Reveries after his death. We have already remarked how his cult affected the itinerary of our travellers, bringing them to places

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 326-327.
associated with his name and inspiring them with his attitude to Nature. These were the commonest effects of his influence, and it is easy to find many women in whose works these effects appear. But we have chosen as our exemplar one in whose works his influence not only went unusually deep, but in whose life it was also early and formative. Like most other dominant influences brought to bear on her life and works, it came to Maria Edgeworth through her father, and may be said to have operated from the time of her birth. By then Richard Edgeworth was barely twenty-three and already the father of a three-years old son. The sensation created by *Emile* in 1762 was still at its height, and the young man, in common with many his superiors in age and understanding, was greatly impressed by the many plausible ideas the treatise contained, proclaimed as they were with all the power of novelty and eloquence. He therefore became not merely one of the first in this country to study the theories of Rousseau. More notably he was one of the first to put them in practice, for he formed a resolve to bring up his eldest child according to the Swiss philosopher's precepts. This plan he put into execution soon after the birth of his daughter in 1767, and he pursued it for the next five years, despite the objections or ridicule of family or friends. The results of this bold experiment were not wholly satisfactory even to Edgeworth himself. He was forced to admit that, though he succeeded in making Dick remarkably hardy, fearless of danger and indifferent to privation, the boy grew up careless of discipline and intractable to all but his father. Nor were these results any more satisfactory to the prime instigator of the project. Anxious for the master's opinion, Edgeworth presented his boy before Rousseau in 1771. An account of the interview, later recorded in Edgeworth's *Memoirs*, showed the philosopher critical of the product of his own system. Yet he allowed that
Dick was a boy of abilities that had been well cultivated, and, in particular, that he had, by his answers to Rousseau's questions, proved the contrary to be true of certain theories, advanced in *Emile*, on the teaching of history to children. Dick also succeeded in demonstrating to his father the fallibility of the system, by which he had reared him. By so doing he spared his younger brothers and sisters its worst consequences. The regrets of the father, for what he had done, were expressed most fully in that passage of his *Memoirs*, in which he referred to "the mistaken principles of Rousseau." His reparation was more, however, than idle regrets. The best of Rousseau was retained and the worst eradicated in the training of his other sons and daughters. Never again were the body and mind of any child of his "to be left as much as possible to the education of nature and of accident."

So much for the influence of the Swiss philosopher on her life. What was its effect on her writing? This may best be seen in her moral tales and in the monumental two-volume work, written in collaboration with her father and entitled *Practical Education*. Since literature, in the century when she began to write, had a strongly moralistic tendency, it was natural that her work should partake of this tone. As one of its chief exponents Rousseau had frowned on such as Perrault. His example had encouraged the rise of a school of didactic works, which produced Berquin, Marmontel and Madame de Genlis in France, Campe in Germany and, in Britain, a host, that included Mrs. Trimmer and Hannah More, the Aikins, the Taylors of Norwich and Thomas Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton* and the intimate friend of the family from which sprang the best of them all - Maria herself: the best, certainly, as far as young readers were concerned.

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2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 178.
The first collection of her didactic short stories was originally composed for the instruction and entertainment of her juniors in the large Edgeworth family, and was published in 1796 under the title of *The Parent's Assistant*. It had an immediate success. In it her readers became acquainted with *Simple Susan* and *Lazy Lawrence*, and enjoyed such narrative gems as the story of *Hal and Ben* — "Waste not, want not." Maria's achievement was repeated in 1801 by a second collection, called *Moral Tales*, aimed at young people of more advanced years. The enthusiastic reception, which greeted these two books both at home and abroad, may be accounted for partly by their content and style, and partly by a widespread, contemporary demand for works of this kind. In both reasons for her success the influence of Rousseau can be clearly discerned.

It can also be seen in *Practical Education*, which, compiled and written over a period of years, was published at last in 1798. Its impact was tremendous. Nothing like it had appeared in this country since Locke's *Some Thoughts concerning Education* in 1693. It was hailed by the critics with both praise and abuse, it was eagerly read by the educated classes, and it won for its authors international fame. We shall not pretend that the doctrines of Rousseau were its sole inspiration. We shall rather assert that, in several respects, Rousseau, if followed to begin with, was later surpassed by his disciples. In the first place, as the Edgeworths explained in an introductory preface to their work, they relied "entirely upon practice and experience" in compiling it: hence its title. Moreover they dealt with real children, not imaginary ones like Émile and Sophie. Again, their genuine affection for children, over and above their interest in education, made them fitter exponents of the subject than the Swiss, whose treatment of his own offspring was notorious. "When a book appears under the name of two authors, it is
natural to enquire what share belongs to each of them." Maria, in fact, wrote at least seventeen chapters to her father's six; in short, the bulk of the book. He handled subjects such as Geography, Arithmetic and Mechanics, that came under the heading of "rudiments of science." In contradistinction she discussed, with originality of thought, what was "commonly called the education of the heart." She took up such topics as Temper and Truth, Sympathy and Sensibility, Vanity, Pride and Ambition, Memory, Taste and Imagination, Wit and Judgment. While we recall that topics, the same or similar, had been often discussed by Rousseau, let us also remark that, wherever direct reference is made in Practical Education to his teachings and maxims, it is seldom for the sake of agreement. With a single exception these criticisms occur in chapters written by Maria.

We have said that the theme of her Swiss contacts and their vital rôle in her life has never been fully recognised or dealt with by any of her biographers. This is, no doubt, because Maria paid Switzerland only one short visit of ten weeks in 1820 and fairly late in life, at the age of fifty-three. The tour caused no significant change in her way of life, and it produced no apparent literary fruit. It was described in none of her books, and, in her letters, it was outshone by sparkling accounts of the three months spent before it and after in France. In this way Maria herself gave the impression that her connections with Switzerland were comparatively unimportant. But this was by no means the case. In 1798 Practical Education was translated into French by Charles Pictet-de Rochemont, and serialised with the most favourable editorial comment in the Bibliothèque britannique. This was the literary and scientific

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2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. vi.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. vii.
monthly, which he, his brother, Marc-Auguste, and a third Genevese savant Frédéric-Guillaume Maurice, had founded in 1795, and which had emerged as the most important cultural link between Britain and the rest of the Continent. (In 1816 its name was changed to the Bibliothèque universelle.) Subsequent contributions to this periodical included a number of her moral tales, unfamiliar under their foreign titles — "Laurent le paresseux," "Épargnez pour avoir assez" — as well as extracts from Castle Rackrent and Belinda. They were accorded a similar reception, though, by the date of the latest, in 1822, some criticism was mingled with the praise. Thanks largely to the zeal of her Swiss editors, Maria Edgeworth's popularity as a novelist and educationalist rose to the height it did on the Continent. Marc-Auguste Pictet was especially active on her behalf, to the extent of including a description of his visit to the Edgeworths' home in his Voyage de trois mois en Angleterre, en Ecosses, et en Irlande, which was printed in the Bibliothèque britannique, and also separately in 1802. He closed a detailed and intimate account of this visit with the hope expressed, that he would one day be able to welcome some members of this amiable and distinguished family to Geneva. When the Peace of Amiens was signed, his hope seemed close to realisation.

"Travelling," Mr. Edgeworth used to say, "was from time to time necessary, to change the course of ideas, and to prevent the growth of local prejudices." Peace now inspired him with the wish to see what had been done by war. He remembered Pictet's offers of introduction to numerous literary friends at Paris, and his assurances that he and his family would be cordially received.

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 258.
He therefore informed the Swiss of his intention, and the tour was arranged. In the autumn of 1802 Mr. Edgeworth, with his wife and two of his daughters, Maria and Charlotte, set off, landing at Calais and making a short tour of Belgium before reaching Paris in October. There the party put up at the Hôtel de Courlande, kept by a former member of Louis XVI's Swiss Guard. The Edgeworths soon found that their fame had preceded them. On the canal barge, between Bruges and Ghent, the company aboard included the Mayor of Bruges, who quickly identified them as "the Edgeworths described by M. Pictet in the Journal Britannique." A better publicity agent they could not have had. "Since we came to France," Maria wrote home, "we have found M. Pictet's account very useful, for at every public library, and in every École Centrale, the Journal Britannique is taken, and we have consequently received many civilities."

Both in letters written at the time and in the Memoirs many years later, she related how their Swiss friend was as good as his word. At Paris "he more than kept all his promises of assistance, and of introduction to his numerous literary acquaintance, and to a highly cultivated and agreeable society." This he was in an excellent position to do, by reason of his literary and academic reputation, and of his recent appointment as delegate from Geneva to the Tribunate at Paris, when his native republic was absorbed into the French Empire. Pictet was now insistent that the Edgeworths should go on to Geneva.

At the Abbé Morellet's house, where Maria had been invited to meet Madame d'Honditot, the original of Rousseau's Julie, the venerable doyen of French

   Maria always misnamed the periodical in this way.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 90.
literature told her, "À Paris on lit votre livre sur l'éducation - à Genève on l'avale. À Paris on admire vos principes - à Genève on les suit." From this the conclusion is inescapable that "Maria Edgeworth was made known to the French-speaking public on the Continent through her friends and supporters in Geneva, and that without their help neither her success as a writer nor her social triumph in Paris in 1802-1803 would have been possible." But, as ill-chance would have it, the renewal of war put an end to the Edgeworths' plan to visit Switzerland. It did not, however, put an end to Maria's reputation abroad. She continued to correspond with her friends in Switzerland, despite the difficulties of war-time communication, and to send contributions to their journal after her hasty return to this country in 1803.

This first visit to the Continent proved an enriching and broadening experience for Maria, and it provided her with a wider circle of friends, among whom was Pierre Étienne Dumont. He was then forty-three and the bachelor he was always to remain. He had begun his career in 1784-5 as pastor of the French church in St. Petersburg, where an unlucky love-affair would appear to have closed this chapter in his life, and permanently turned his thoughts away from romance. He then went to England as tutor to a young nobleman, and some years later, in 1789, left for France, where he became one of several Genevans, who formed a group round Mirabeau. By 1791 he was back in England, as co-worker and translator into French of Jeremy Bentham. Moving between England, Switzerland and France, he finally returned to his native Geneva, in 1814, in an administrative capacity. Dumont's career had made him a complete cosmopolitan, in whose eyes, however partial, Maria must have seemed a little

1 Häusermann, op. cit., p. 40.
provincial. On her side to make the acquaintance of a man of his type was a new experience, to gain his friendship a flattering one. Their first meeting was at the country house of Rousseau's former patron, Madame Gautier. Had Maria but known it, this was a key-moment in her life. It was to have its effect on her work as well. Between 1803 and her second visit to the Continent, the friendship was kept alive by correspondence, and by occasional meetings on this side of the Channel, but, despite repeated invitations, never in Ireland. This last was the only way in which Dumont ever seems to have disappointed her. When they met in Switzerland in 1820, Maria saw him for the first time on his native heath. She saw him, under different circumstances, a different man. He was as kind and cordial as ever, his reputation stood high in Geneva, but, wrote Maria to her step-mother, "I had no idea till I saw him here how much he enjoyed the beauties of nature." 1 Above all created things and next to Bentham he loved Mont Blanc! This was not without its effect on Maria. In another letter, written the same week, she was astonished that she should feel so much pleasure from the beauties of nature as she had done since coming to Switzerland. 2

"The first moment when I saw Mont Blanc will remain an era in my life."

Compare this passage with earlier remarks on nature elsewhere, and it becomes evident that Maria was looking at the Swiss scene through Dumont's eyes.

Accompanied by two of her sisters, Maria was staying with her friends, the Molliets, at Pregny, so it was easy for Dumont to come over from Geneva. He took time off his many duties to escort the sisters twice on a tour of several days' duration. She must have come to know Dumont better than ever during that summer.

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2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 307.
The only shadow on her happiness was anxiety for the success of her father's Memoirs, which she had just completed and published. She confided in Dumont. Had he not already given her valuable assistance in their preparation for the press? Dumont spoke to her in the kindest and most affectionate manner. Reassuringly he told her that, from all he had heard, the book was being well received. Small wonder that Maria took her farewell of Dumont and Switzerland, and returned to Ireland "without a wish unsatisfied or a regret for anything we have left behind, except our friends." This was their last meeting. Their former correspondence, however, was resumed. It continued for a further period, but slackened by degrees, no doubt on account of the pressure of each other's affairs, the distance that lay between and, latterly, Dumont's declining health. Their association was also maintained by the interchanged visits of relatives and friends. The end of the friendship came in 1829. Maria, full of the expectation of pleasure with which she always opened a letter from Mrs. Marcet, tore this one open, little thinking it was to tell her that Dumont was dead.

What was the nature of this friendship? Did it, for example, hold an element of romance? In general biographers, searching for a love-interest in Maria's life, have concentrated on the Chevalier Edelcrantz to the exclusion of Dumont. One writer, after a study of certain unpublished letters deposited in archives at Geneva, has suggested that, in these, "surely the experienced eye will find very pretty traces of something like an "Amour d'Automne" on the part of Maria. The suggestion is based on intimate passages like the following.

"... I will venture to tell you more of my mind, more than I would tell to anyone who I thought considered me only as an authoress, more than I would tell to any Frenchman because I know with the best disposition possible he would not believe me, he could not. But you are a Swiss and a friend and therefore I can trust you ..." 1

If we cannot positively establish a romantic connection between Maria and Dumont, we can certainly find other links, personal and intellectual. An example of the former is her looking to him for the aid and encouragement, of which her father's death had deprived her in 1817. The following year, during one of his visits to England, she begged for his help in publishing her father's Memoirs. Her plea did not go unanswered. Later, when the work came under the fire of the Quarterly, it was Dumont, anxious to spare her, who persuaded her not to read the scurrilous attack. Intellectually, too, it seems, Maria was bound to the Swiss. His was a stimulating influence. She undoubtedly profited by his learning, literary judgment and taste and, not least, from the occasional friction that resulted from criticism of each other's writings. The intellectual aspect of their friendship may also be seen in her literary output. It was Dumont, for example, who originally suggested she should write her highly successful and lucrative Tales of Fashionable Life. There are also some relevant passages in Leonora and in Helen. The former novel would appear to have been written as a reply to Madame de Staël's Delphine. The characters of Olivia and Gabriel respectively act as media for the expression of Maria's opinion on the questions of divorce and of women who meddle in politics. The principles of the Swiss authoress are disparaged, and it is even possible to recognise her under the thin disguise of Olivia - "a perfect specimen of the combination of an intrigante and an élégante," as General B. describes her in

1 Ibid.
his letter from the Hôtel de Courlande. Maria had never met the woman she felt to be her rival, but Dumont had. He felt a certain affection and admiration for his countrywoman. Something of this he must have been able, by degrees, to instil in his Irish friend, if the character of Lady Davenant in her last novel is anything to go by. Helen has significant lines, which refer by name to Madame de Staël, and a sense of former rivalry may be read into the passage containing the words, "... I believe I had a notion at the time of being the English Corinne ..." In the same chapter the moderating influence of Dumont may be found in the speeches of "our dear good friend D—... who had the courage for my good to inflict the blow ..." By 1834, when Helen was published, he had been dead for several years, but his character for integrity lived on, in the words Maria put into the mouth of Lady Davenant commenting on Dumont's Mémoires de Mirabeau. Personified by Dumont, the brothers Pictet-de Rochement and Rousseau, Swiss influence can be seen to an extraordinary degree in the life and works of Maria Edgeworth.

The presence of so many British women in Switzerland between 1750 and 1850 inevitably led to a reciprocal influence, and was not without its effect on the Swiss scene. What was the nature of the impact they made? Theirs must be a modest claim. Their influence, if considerable, cannot be called conspicuous. Reviewing their literary achievements, we are unable to instance any topographical work comparable with Windham's Account of the Glaciers for the way it opened up an Alpine region, hitherto unknown to tourists, and helped to make it one of their most popular resorts. We find no attempt to guide

1 M. Edgeworth, Leonora, Letter 17.
2 M. Edgeworth, Helen, Vol. 1, chap. 8.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, chap. 2.
travellers equal to Murray's *Handbook* for scope and utility. Neither the Duchess of Devonshire's *Passage of St. Gotthard*, the Countess of Derby's *Rocks of Meillerie*, the sonnets of Elizabeth Strutt nor those of Martha Lamont ever induced their countrymen to visit, in such numbers, scenes which inspired passages of *Childe Harold* or Wordsworth's *Descriptive Sketches*. No poem by a woman writer won such sympathy for the country's fate as Montgomery's *Wanderer of Switzerland* or Coleridge's *Ode to France* on the invasion of Switzerland in 1798. Helen Maria Williams did not succeed in writing an historical, political or economic survey on the same level as Stanyan or Coxe, and the historical sections of Mrs. Yates's *Letters*, written for her children's instruction, are, educationally speaking, a failure. Yet, though their literary achievements generally fell short of those written by men, and most of their works were destined for the shelf of oblivion, their presence in Switzerland appears to have had a four-fold effect, which may be described as material and moral, social and cultural.

Captious wherever the British tourist is concerned, Miss Lamont refers to this material effect in her report of a conversation, overheard between two Frenchmen cruising, beside parties from Britain, on Lake Lucerne. "Les Anglais! They would travel everywhere, and wherever they went, there must, forsooth, be good roads and hotels - Oh, yes! for them and their dozens of trunks carried after them - pour eux avec leur confort!" Spoken with great contempt these words blamed the British for the lack of adventures now to be met with in travelling through Switzerland. One might as well stroll on the

boulevards of Paris as visit the Alps, declared these angry young men. Few would agree that the improvement they were partly responsible for in hotels, roads and transport was a reason for disparaging the British. A more serious charge against them was the moral effect they were said to have had. It is time to investigate this charge, when we find it made by some of the British themselves. Earlier travellers delighted to describe the kindly help and the generous hospitality they received even from the poorest. Some later writers, however, thought "that detestable English habit, of not taking any thing from the poorer classes without paying for it," had gone a long way towards spoiling these happy relations. The practice of class distinction and money ostentation had made the British guilty of encouraging a spirit of avarice among a certain section of the Swiss. Mrs. Strutt spoke out very strongly against this unfortunate influence. According to her, Swiss manners could no longer be said to exist in places like Lausanne and Geneva. They had been gradually corrupted - that was her word - by the inundations of French as well as British, who went to reside there, and who destroyed the traditionally simple habits of the people by baneful examples of dissipation and extravagance. As these newcomers extended their travels in Switzerland, even dwellers in remoter, mountain districts became similarly affected. The so-called corruption of manners and morals cannot, however, have been so serious as some over-critical writers make out. The reader detects this, for example, in a discussion between Dorothy Wordsworth and an English lady resident there, who liked Geneva and its inhabitants, but "thought them not benefited by the English." Without imparting

1 Ibid., p. 93.
refinement of manners they ministered to a low and avaricious disposition. As 
instance of this Mrs. Reeves drew Dorothy's attention to the way in which the 
local people were willing to turn out of their pleasant dwellings, and "shelter 
themselves in any corner for the sake of exorbitant rents which our countrymen 
consented to give." To let the villa and retire to the cottage was common 
practice in Switzerland during the holiday season. Lady Campbell, writing 
about this time, describes a visit to Madame Neckar living under these conditions 
at Coligny. What anyone could find low or avaricious in such an arrangement it 
is hard to see. We therefore suggest that individual cases of rapacity in the 
Swiss were magnified by some of our travellers into a national failing. Our 
opinion is supported by the numerous instances of integrity that others report. 
Dorothy herself tells how a guide, "pleased with the recompense he had fairly 
earned, and not wishing for more," refused a tip. "It was for the aged and 
the infirm to receive gifts of charity," he said.

The social effect induced by British visitors also came in for some 
criticism. Besides the promotion of balls and other gaieties at Lausanne they 
had introduced horse-racing and the gambling that inevitably went with it. 
Generally, however, the influence was pleasant and innocuous. It imparted a 
fashionable air to the staidier circles of Geneva. The cultural impress they 
made developed concurrently, and in the early 19th century the drinking of tea 
and the speaking of English rapidly gained ground. Invited to a soirée in the 
house of the distinguished Genevan diplomat and littéraire, M. Pictet-de 
Rochemont, an English lady described the conversation she heard there as.

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1 Ibid. 
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 140. 
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 141.
"exceedingly agreeable, and chiefly in English." Her hostess, in particular, though never in Britain, "spoke the language very correctly." After the company had been entertained with music by the daughters of the house, a cloth was spread on the table, one of the ladies took her place at the urn and tea was served. The English guest was given to understand that the introduction of tea to soirees at Geneva had become a general custom, and one borrowed from her own nation. "Whatever is English is popular here," she was told. To learn the English language was now an essential part of polite education. Most of the Genevan ladies at least understood it, while many, like Madame Pictet, spoke it with fluency. English literature was also in high esteem. The names of modern writers like Southey, Byron and Scott were household words. Listening to the conversation, the English visitor heard Roderick the Goth styled "a grand poem," though the company seemed better acquainted with Southey's prose works than with any of his poems except this, his latest at the time. As for Byron and Scott, The Corsair and The Lady of the Lake were preferred to other poetic compositions of their respective authors. Mrs. Carey's comments, relating to the year 1817, are borne out by what other travellers wrote. During a tour on the Continent Lady Blessington visited Switzerland in 1822, and, as a result of this journey, published The Idler in Italy. In this work she remarked how gratifying it was "to observe the number of foreigners who can now speak English, and who enjoy our literature." Continentals venerated Scott and wondered at Byron, respecting whom a lively curiosity existed.

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 398.
4 Ibid.
It would appear, from what our travellers have to say, that the English literary form most popular in Switzerland, from the 18th century onwards, was the novel. As this was an important part of the British influence, we propose to say something of it here.

"What makes the success of English novels in Switzerland so very interesting," writes a modern Swiss scholar, "is the fact that philosophers, clergymen, scientists fell under their spell and wrote enthusiastic letters or articles about them. Haller, Charles Bonnet, Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, Isaac Iselin bought them, read them and praised them."

These men were among the most eminent of their time. They were therefore influential among their countrymen in forming literary tastes, which were carried over into the 19th century, and which were further stimulated by increasing numbers of British visitors after 1750. Defoe, Johnson, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne were prime favourites with the Swiss. So, too, were Sarah Fielding, Mrs. Radcliffe, Fanny Burney, Maria Edgeworth and a number of other women writers less known to-day, such as Eliza Haywood, Charlotte Lennox, Charlotte Smith and Elizabeth Inchbald. Among works by these writers Robinson Crusoe was very popular. It will be recalled that this was the only book Émile was permitted to read. Rasselas roused some interest among scholars like Haller, who drew comparisons between it and its contemporary, Candide. Pamela, Clarissa Harlowe and Sir Charles Grandison were perhaps the most widely read. Like Rousseau and Marmontel their author was hailed as a moralist, whose novels had benefited mankind. Iselin considered that none, after Socrates and Christ, deserved more praise. Whether his humour was fully appreciated or not, Fielding was much read. Haller pronounced Tom Jones to be

far less dignified than Clarissa Harlowe but much more amusing, and de Saussure sent to the bookseller, Strachan of London, for a complete set of Fielding's works. The Swiss also became acquainted with the incredible adventures of Ferdinand, Count Fathom, and they laughed heartily over Tristram Shandy. Charles Bonnet, however, declared his preference for A Sentimental Journey.

Wherever intellectual groups were to be found in Switzerland, these books were read and discussed. Bookshops sold them, and reading rooms and libraries stocked them. At Basel Robertson's History of America and Blair's lectures on rhetoric and belles-lettres, "well printed and cheap," lay on the counter beside Richardson's novels. At Lausanne the library of the Cassino provided an abundance of reading-matter in English. Similar facilities were available at the Cassino in Berne, where it was but a step from reading an English book in the Ober-Graben to buying it at Burgdorfer's, the principal bookseller's, opposite the Clock Tower. At Geneva the latest publications were there, for reference or sale, at Monroe's, 18 Quai des Bergues, while, at the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle in the Grand Rue, its reading-room was well supplied with the leading European journals, including the Times, John Bull and the Athenæum.

At Lucerne Meyer's, near the Swan Inn, carried a large stock of English books, as much to meet local demand as to cater for British visitors. Most of the larger towns in Switzerland had also circulating libraries. In 1780 a printer, named Salzmann, opened one in Lucerne. During its first year he lent out 745 volumes. Of these 143 were novels, including some of the best English ones of the period translated into German, the language of the canton. Among them were Robinson Crusoe, David Simple, Tom Jones and Amelia, Richardson's three

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great works, Tristram Shandy and others less famous. Many English novels were translated at this time by Swiss writers for the benefit of those of their countrymen, who had no knowledge of the language. They included Mrs. Inchbald's Nature and Art by Madame de Charrière and Fanny Burney's Cecilia by Henri Rieu, while the first translation of Sir Charles Grandison was made by a Genevese, Gaspard-Joël Monod. Reviews, moreover, of English books regularly appeared in Swiss periodicals, such as the Schweitzerische Museum, the Mercure Suisse of Neuchâtel and the Choix Littéraire of Geneva. Earlier in this chapter, in connection with Maria Edgeworth, we have mentioned the Bibliothèque britannique. From all this it is possible to see how considerable was the cultural influence of the British on the Swiss.

There was an amusing side to this literary influence, in so much as some of the Swiss tended to form their opinion of British manners and customs from what they read. One Swiss lady, whom Mrs. Carey met at Geneva, expressed her admiration for the talents and accomplishments of English ladies, especially in music. She was surprised, she said, that they should all play with such skill on the harp. Mrs. Carey was surprised too, until her friend explained that her information on the subject came from English novels, in which all the heroines touched the harp with consummate skill as a matter of course. From the same source she had formed such peculiar notions of English customs, that Mrs. Carey found it well-nigh impossible to clear her mind of the erroneous, but not unfavourable, impressions it had in this way received. But of all, whose writings describe or reflect the manner in which British women made contact with the Swiss scene, it was Mrs. Jameson alone, who envisaged her countrywomen as having a definite part to play in their character of traveller. Women, she believed, were more pliant to external circumstances, more adaptable to foreign
manners, more quick to perceive and more gentle to judge than men. It was therefore to women that society must look to break down the barriers of prejudice and distrust, that divided individuals and nations. Hailing the members of the gentler sex as "the advanced guard of humanity and civilization," she outlined their rôle. Every well-educated and truly refined woman, who travelled, she saw as a dove sent out on a mission of peace. It was her part to soften the intercourse between rougher and stronger natures, and to speed the interchange of art and literature from pole to pole, not to pervert wit, talent and eloquence or abuse the privileges of her sex, nor to sow the seeds of hatred, where she might plant those of love.

Pursuing this lofty conception of the woman traveller she wrote, "If nations begin at last to understand each other's true interests - morally and politically, it will be through the agency of gifted men; but if ever they learn to love and sympathize with each other, it will be through the medium of you women."2

2 Ibid.
"That I may hereafter enjoy the pleasure of reviewing past happy hours, and renewing the recollection of some singular and amusing adventures, I commence this narrative of the Tour I am making with my dearest earthly friend; and perhaps some partial eyes may hereafter with pleasure peruse these pages.

On the 1st of November, 1819, I quitted my beloved parents, having that morning tied that awfully important Gordian (sic) knot, which the hand of death can alone untie, and from which the thread of life becomes either much more or much less happy than before."

With these propitious words, Marianne Colston began her journal of a tour undertaken through France, Switzerland and Italy, during the years 1819-1821.

There was no originality in the idea of making such a tour, either on the part of the young bride or her husband, for, with one interesting divergence - six weeks spent in Switzerland - it was the traditional Grand Tour of France and Italy which, before their marriage, she might have made with her parents or he with a tutor, but, in the year 1819, there was certainly novelty in the idea and novelty, too, in their making it together as man and wife.

As Dr. Cecil Woodham-Smith writes of another Continental honeymoon, antecedent to theirs by a year,

"Novelty was the fashion in 1820. Europe was still rejoicing in the liberty which followed the end of the Napoleonic wars. Years of restriction had bred a longing for change, and now that freedom to travel had returned, the roads and cities of Europe were thronged with travellers. No nation welcomed freedom more heartily than the

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English, who for a generation had been confined to their island; and in the years following Waterloo an army of English travellers flocked across the channel to enjoy Europe once more.¹

Neither was there any originality in the idea of keeping a day-to-day journal of such a tour - Bacon, Dallington, Howell, every successive writer on the art of foreign travel had advised it - but there was certainly novelty in a woman doing it and novelty, too, in her publishing it, not to mention illustrating it with her own sketches. If, then, our authoress does not leave the beaten track of tourism, apart from that section of her journey which lay through Switzerland, let us find compensating pleasure in the freshness of her approach to familiar scenes, in the independence of her opinions on well-worn topics and, above all, in the amusement which she derived from her experiences and communicated to her readers for, besides a desire to be of some service to them on their travels, that was her original purpose in writing.

"If any," as she diffidently put it, in the preface to her journal, "beyond the circle of the writer's friends (on whose kind, and favouring partiality she can rely with confidence), - if any indifferent persons should favour the following pages with their perusal, and find in them a delineation of scenes they have visited, accordant with their recollections, and in unison with their feelings; - if any future travellers should experience some degree of utility from this little work, as a guide to their route, and an indication of the principal objects deserving their attention, the writer will be amply rewarded. If, on the contrary, unheard of, amidst the fame of its already celebrated, its more voluminous, more learned and meritorious competitors, its fate should be alike to be born and expire in silence, the author will not be greatly disappointed, as it was written originally for her own amusement, and for the eye of partial friends."²

² Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. viii.
What do we know of this writer, for whom no biography exists and whose only published work is her journal?

Only as much as she permits herself to impart, according to the strict code of etiquette and social behaviour prevailing in the age and the class to which she belonged. Even more does she exercise discretion with regard to those who accompanied her and those whom she met on her travels, in most cases even to the point of withholding their names. The "dramatis personae" of Mrs. Colston's journal, in order of appearance, are herself, her husband, their man-servant, Tonson, their travelling-companion, Miss A., and their infant daughter, Arabella. Other, secondary characters mentioned in the text - such as customs officers, innkeepers and chambermaids, vetturinos, postillions and outwalkers, guides and custodians, passing acquaintances encountered at inns and on the road, and the regretfully few natives met with in the countries she visited - she leaves, for the most part, unnamed. A few, however, she designates by the initial letter of their name, which was as far as discretion would go, while artists, whose studios she visited in France, Italy and Switzerland, as well as rogues, lying in wait for innocents abroad, she fully names, doubtless for the guidance of inexperienced travellers.

Of herself, she is sparing, on the one hand, with personal details, never disclosing her maiden name\(^1\) or even her age, though we may hazard a guess at the latter after reading her book. The fact of her marriage, when early marriage was the general rule for girls, the evidence of her

\(^1\) However, her marriage announcement reads: - "E.F. Colston, esq. jun. of Elkins Hall, Oxfordshire, to Marianne, only daughter of Wm. Jenkins, esq. of Shepton Mallet."

*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1819, part 2, no. 89, p. 563.
abounding physical energy, which made light of arduous journeys and made her long to climb mountains, taken in conjunction with her critical remarks on manners and men, all indicate youth and, when we find her describing as old a man in his middle forties, we are justified in assuming that she had not long, if at all, passed her majority.

On the other hand, she discloses completely her intellectual interests and tastes. Her formal education had evidently been conducted on modern lines - modern, that is, for the early 19th century - for, comparing it with what she saw at Fellenberg’s school in Switzerland, she wrote -

"......I was struck by a great similarity between the regulations of this institution, and those adopted by Mrs. W., under whose affectionate tuition I passed more than five happy years."\(^1\)

It had certainly laid the foundation of a sound taste in literature and the arts.

Her reading was wide and ranged from the classics to the best works of the 18th century and the most recent literary productions of France, Italy and her own country. Though ignorant of Greek,\(^2\) she gives the impression of knowing Latin\(^3\) and of having read Caesar and she was certainly acquainted with "Roman story"\(^4\) and classical mythology, allusions to which besprinkle her writing, literally from the first page. Thus her marriage is a "Gordion knot" and an impatient wait for clouds to part and reveal the beauty of the Alps is to her "almost a variation of Tantalus’s punishment."\(^5\) She was one of "those who enjoy the happiness of having

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2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 27.
3 Though note her remark, "I cannot speak of the Latin......," ibid., Vol. 1, p. 91.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 132.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 384.
their minds stored with every classic recollection.\footnote{Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 132.}

Many allusions and quotations show her acquaintance with the masters of English prose in the 18th century. She had read Dr. Johnson's "Tour to the Hebrides"\footnote{Ibid., Vol. 1, p. ix. Evidently a reference to his Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland.} and had profited by his observations in writing of her own to the Continent. Time and again on this tour, present circumstances brought to her mind apposite reflections from past studies. So, as she approached the Juras under the worst of wintry conditions, filled with sensations of sublimity at her first sight of the mountains, but also of fear at the thought of how she must cross them to reach Switzerland, she questioned whether Burke had not erred in declaring such feelings incompatible. She admired the thought and "elegant mind"\footnote{Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 202-203.} of Addison and, no doubt, in preparation for her travels, had studied his Letter from Italy.\footnote{Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 226.} Moonlight and sunrise reflected on the Alpine snows reminded her of his "most beautiful hymn".\footnote{Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 67. "The spacious firmament on high..."} On another level, the potent influence of Mrs. Radcliffe may be seen in the fearful imaginings of Mrs. Colston, when lodged at a lonely French inn, driving through a dark Swiss forest or, in Italy, seeing a bandit in every bush.

With the literature of her own century, she was also conversant. She had read "the Irish narratives" of that "admirable female writer", Miss Edgeworth,\footnote{Ibid., Vol. 1, p. vii.} and the Waverley novels as they came out.\footnote{For example, writing in Sept. and Oct., 1820, she refers respectively to Ivanhoe and The Monastery, both published earlier that year. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 366, Vol. 2, p. 17.}
Poetical recollections came readily to her mind—a postillion belabouring the horses as the Colstons careered along a post-road in France recalled "John Gilpin's far-famed excursion"¹; similarly, their "fair hostess, Elizabeth" at Grindelwald prompted thoughts of The Lady of the Lake²—but most frequently they were drawn from Byron.

Her reading extended to French as well as English literature, to Pascal,³ Le Sage,⁴ La Bruyère,⁵ La Rochefoucauld,⁶ Voltaire,⁷ Madame de Staël,⁸ and Lamartine,⁹ with whom may be mentioned Rousseau, since he wrote in the same language. During her travels in Italy, it extended further. She became proficient and received compliments on her command of the language.¹⁰ Soon Alfieri inspired her with a higher interest than Shakespeare.¹¹

In preparation for her tour, she had read the best and the latest books. In this connection, Addison's Letter from Italy has already been mentioned and there is evidence in her journal that she was also familiar with his Remarks on that country. Archdeacon Coxe's Travels¹² and Mrs. Baillie's "elegant little tour".¹³ Her travelling library included Eustace's Classical Tour.¹⁴

¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 128.
³ Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 150.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 126.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 72.
⁶ Ibid.
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ For example, ibid., Vol. 1, pp. viii-ix.
¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 336.
¹¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 89.
¹⁴ John Chetwode Eustace, A Classical Tour through Italy, London, 1815.
Reichard’s Italy\(^1\) and Ebel’s Manuel.\(^2\)

Her knowledge and love of literature inspired her own literary work. They were equalled by her knowledge and love of art, which influenced her work in that field also.

Conservative in her tastes, Mrs. Colston was repelled by much of what was, in her day, modern art. Nevertheless, she and her husband, in the course of their travels, made a point of visiting the studios and purchasing the productions of modern artists, whose work pleased them. Of these, a number were Swiss. But, in general, she preferred “the immortal performances of Rafaello, Correggio, Guido, Andrea del Sarto, Annibale, and Ludovici Carracci, Rubens, Michael Angelo, and the celebrated Titian…….”\(^3\)

Of Correggio’s painting of the Resurrection in the Marescalchi collection at Bologna she wrote, "Of all the paintings I have seen, were I at liberty to choose, this would be the one I should most delight in possessing,"\(^4\) and, after a long day’s journey, her enthusiasm would not allow her to rest until she had seen a work by Annibale Carracci in St. Oswald’s, at Zug.\(^5\)

Most likely because she practised the one and not the other, Mrs. Colston had more to say of painting than of sculpture but, of the latter, she wrote, after a visit "to the studio of the great Canova, the Michael Angelo of the 19th century," in Rome —

"Here, indeed, the wonders of the marble art" are displayed: I had no idea of the powerful effect of statuary till I came to Rome, and now I confess, that this sublime, majestic art, claims a high pre-eminence above her "rainbow sister".\(^6\)

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2 J.C. Ebel, Manuel du Voyager en Suisse, Zürich, 1805.
3 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 112.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 79-80.
5 Vide infra.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 144.
As Switzerland had nothing to equal the superb collections of the Louvre and the Luxembourg or the treasures of the Pitti and the Vatican, it will be understood that, in this respect, Mrs. Colston found more to admire in France and Italy.

Besides literature, painting and sculpture, she delighted in the art of music, whether at the Opera in Paris, the Sistine Chapel in Rome or, on the Alps, hearing for the first time, the folk music and national airs of Switzerland.

But enough has been said to show the intellectual cast of her mind, the cultivation of which was to her no less than a sacred duty.

"......, let us not neglect to feed the intellectual ray; for we are assured that in the higher sphere of existence, to which the divine revelation directs our hopes, it will shine forth with a lustre of which that of the stars of the firmament is but a feeble image."

In fact, religious belief, fervent and sincere, played a dominant role in her life and we know that she was a devout member of the Church of England, if only by her words, taken from the Book of Common Prayer, on the occasion of Arabella's baptism on the Simplon. Her denominational prejudice, though always present, was gradually softened by the increased contact with Roman Catholicism, which her travels in France and Italy brought. Her ridicule, for example, of the "Armenian" rite, as she saw it performed in Rome, must be owned a bad and, for her, unusual lapse in taste but, in Switzerland, she was impressed by a striking example of religious toleration. Arising from her religious convictions, Mrs. Colston was possessed of a social conscience and so we find her visiting charitable

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 170-171.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 171-172.
and educational institutions as assiduously as picture galleries and churches, beauty-spots, historical sites and the other, usual resorts of the tourist.

Another interesting facet of Mrs. Colston's character was her feminism; not of a militant type, for she regarded diffidence and modesty as the peculiar characteristic of her sex, yet lost no opportunity of saluting the intellectual achievements of women, particularly in the fields of literature and art.¹

Equally ardent but more forcefully expressed was her nationalism, though this, as might be expected, is more apparent in the earlier chapters of her journal, before the broadening effect of foreign travel had transformed prejudice into pride and she realised that there was something to be said for other countries besides her own. Nevertheless, in a manner reminiscent of A Letter from Italy, after nearly eighteen months abroad, she could write,

"An English breast cannot contemplate, without a swell of national and patriotic enthusiasm, the high sphere of action allotted to his country, among the nations of the continent, and of the world. She aids the oppressed; she frees the enslaved; she is the restorer of nations:—her political constitution is the model of neighbouring kingdoms; her men of genius kindle on foreign shores a kindred flame, and lead the way to intellectual improvement; and her religious associations shed on the most distant lands, the cheering beams of divine revelation. Long may Providence preserve to our beloved country so dignified a station, and a vocation so benign!"²

Of her other characteristics, her lively sense of humour, her intellectual curiosity, her propriety and decorum, her amiable disposition, there is no need to speak: they are apparent both in the content and manner of her writing.

¹ Note, for example, her reference to Maria Cosway, who was personally known to her. Mrs. Colston's description of a girls' school, founded by her at Lodi, and another such at Lyons, are a contribution to the little that is definitely known of this once celebrated artist of Anglo-Italian origin. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 300.
² Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 72-73.
In "Mr. C." — alternatively "caro sposo" — she had found an ideal husband, whose evident devotion prompted one Italian lady to remark that, if her countrywomen had such attentive husbands as English ladies are so fortunate as to possess, cisisbeos would soon disappear.¹ Theirs was such perfect accord of heart and mind that "we" appears as often as "I" in her journal. Though only on one occasion do we hear of his making a sketch,² her interests and tastes were his, with the addition of shooting³ and fishing — like any country gentleman — as well as the hobby of geology, a science in which much important fieldwork was, at this period, being done in the Alps. He was equally devout and, where no Protestant place of worship was available, read the church service on Sunday for the benefit of himself and his wife.⁴ With regard to such personal details as his first name, his age or his appearance, Mrs. Colston is as reserved as with her own, but it seems probable that he was not much, if at all, older than his wife, who, at least, informs us that he was tall, and taller than herself, as more than one of her sketches indicate.⁵ That together they made a charming and exceptional couple is apparent, not only from the remark of chance acquaintances, who said, after meeting them at a wayside inn, that "they should always henceforth put in their caveat against the assertion, that the English, when they meet in foreign lands, are cold, and distant to each other."⁶

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 344.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 218.
³ It is rather surprising to find such a true-born Englishman proposing, while in Italy, to go fox-shooting! Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 206-207.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 221.
⁵ He appears to have been the son and grandson of a clergyman, though not himself in holy orders.
⁶ For example, no. 19, taken at the Reichenbach Fall in Switzerland.
For this, their first journey abroad, the Colstons engaged an experienced man-servant, who, from their point of view, had the double advantage of being a linguist¹ and of having just returned from service in Italy with another English gentleman.² They could hardly have made a better choice than the ever-ready, ever-resourceful Tonson, who had travelled nearly all his life, even as far as America. Thanks to him, they fared well, slept soundly and travelled safely.

At Florence, their party was "increased by the agreeable addition of Miss A.,"³ who remained with them for the next eight and a half months, till the end of their Swiss tour, when they went on to Lyons but she remained at Geneva. There being no truer test of friendship than prolonged travel together, it says much for all concerned that they parted on the best of terms. Mutual attraction and a similarity of interests and tastes accounted for much of this harmony, but it is probable that a disparity of age was also responsible and that Miss A.'s status with her young travelling-companions was that of an affectionate maiden aunt. It is noteworthy that she was often the companion of Mr. Colston in the indisposition of his wife, a situation which only a considerable difference in age could have allowed without impropriety. Moreover, the early 19th century was not a time when an unmarried lady went alone on the Continent before she had reached a certain age. Miss A. appears to have been Scottish and possibly from Edinburgh, for there are several references to that city in the Journal, including an anecdote about "a late celebrated

¹ For example, ibid., Vol. 1, p. 34.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 73.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 119.
Professor of Natural Philosophy" there, and, as Mrs. Colston herself had never been there, they were probably inspired by Miss A. The writer tells us less than we would like to know of this hardy specimen of a northern race, who probably felt entirely at home as she drove over the Alps in an open carriage during a snowstorm, with the thermometer "only three degrees above the freezing point."  

At Como, their party was further increased by the agreeable addition of Arabella, gentlest but firmest of brakes on Mrs. Colston's activities thereafter.

In conclusion we may say that no British woman, who visited Switzerland and the Alps, was ever more fortunate in her travelling-companions than Marianne Colston. Not only in this respect was she fortunate but also in the circumstances under which she set off for the Continent. The political barometer of Europe was set at fair and likely for long to remain so, the social scene was brilliant and inviting, and the foreign tour fashionable but not yet so vulgarised as to have lost any of its glamour. Nothing was lacking for the success of her journey, neither health, wealth, youth nor happiness, which illumine the pages of her journal.

Halcyon weather attended the departure of the Colstons for the Continent.

"On the 2d of November, with a sky unusually serene for the season, and a favouring breeze, we embarked on board the Chesterfield packet from Southampton."  

The beautiful views on each side of the

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 94-95.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 352.
Southampton river delighted me greatly; but I pass over scenes so well known, together with the too frequently endured horrors of sea-sickness, of which I had but a slight trial, as eight o'clock on Wednesday morning saw us landed at Havre de Grace.  

But, as so often happened with British tourists, their first impression of foreign parts was far from favourable.

"All the beauty of Havre vanishes on your landing; the dirt and smells of the place are intolerable; there is nothing to see in the town but a church of barbarous architecture,(2) and a few houses similar, I understand, in height and form to those of Edinburgh, but not so good. I cannot say more in praise of the inhabitants than of the place."  

The young couple were English, well-to-do, inexperienced and therefore fair game for inquisitorial customs officers, currency sharks and none too friendly foreigners.  

"The French treat the English with the appearance of respect, while they cheat them; the first officer of the customs introduced Mr. C. and his servant to the head of the police in the following words: "Voilà M. Tonson, serviteur de Milord Anglois Goton." On which the police officer bowed very reverently, and the new created "Milord", full of indignation and anger, drew himself up to his full height, and rejoiced to see that he overlooked every Frenchman present."  

Their further acquaintance with the inhabitants of Havre did not improve their opinion of them. It was a warning to "future travellers."

"A banker of the name of Harvey, who represented himself as being related to an English family of that name of the highest respectability, called on us and offered to exchange our English for French money. He introduced a man of the name of Silver,

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2 This would appear to be the 16th century church of Notre Dame, the architecture of which shows the transition from the later style of Gothic to the Renaissance form.  
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 2.  
4 Ibid.
who he said was the person to pass our carriage, and procure a renewal of our passport; for these services Mr. C. gave him twenty francs, when we afterwards found that the carriage could have been passed free of any expense, and that the passport he had pretended to renew would not procure us admittance into Rouen. 1

Probably to allow time for posting arrangements to be made, they spent one night at an hotel, where the most attractive feature appears to have been its name.

"The inn, the New York, afforded us the comfort of clean linen, though not in other respects remarkable for cleanliness. In the morning, to avoid the inconvenience of waiting till our bed was made and room aired, we determined to try the table-d'hôte, but I hope for the last, as it was the first time. The company was as bad as one could well imagine, and the specimen of French politeness I received was, that the eggs being boiled hard, a young fellow with an insolent air observed, "Ces oeufs sont assez durs pour casser les têtes des gens anglais." 2

The Colstons were only too glad to be gone from Havre.

As Mrs. Colston wittily remarked, "...I think la grâce est de partir de Havre, and seldom have I felt more happy than when we quitted the smells and all the disagreeables of this hateful place, and once more seated in our comfortable English carriage, we took the road to Harfleur." 3

As was commonly done by persons in their station of life, they had shipped their own, well-built coach over with them to the Continent - "our heavy carriage, with its huge imperial, its wells, and all the multiplied articles of household convenience, which we carried about with us" 4 - and they intended to make use of the post system, which, in France, was "well regulated" 5 but provided horses with harness and postillions with equipment that were a source of endless merriment to British travellers.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 3.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 5.
5 "Posting is perhaps in no country so well regulated as in France." Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 5.
"Our amusement was not little in contemplating, for the first time, the horses and harness put to our carriage, on the shores of France. The former had more the appearance of asses; the latter was composed of old ropes, leather straps that had once been white, and black leather, all interlaced together in a manner that would puzzle an artist to copy. Their heads and necks were tied up as if to prevent their catching sore throats; ......

And to them the look of the post-boy was equally farcical.

"A night-cap, that had once been white, covered his curly locks and weather-beaten face, surmounted by a cap in shape like that of Don Quixote's helmet, and appearing as if composed of the skin of a hedge-hog; a sort of mock military jacket, bedizened round the waist and flaps with metal buttons, bearing fleurs-de-lis on them, covered the upper part of his form, and his arms, which moved with a velocity similar to that of the sails of a windmill, whilst one held the reins and the other brandished his resounding whip."2

His skill and care in driving they did not, however, dispute and, as they took the road, their spirits rose and, with eyes the keener for not yet being familiarised with the landscape of France, they noted its most striking points of contrast with the scenery of their own country.

"The scenery of Normandy," wrote Mrs. Colston, "I should characterize as fine, graceful, noble, and occasionally presenting views of towns, woods, and distances which are quite enchanting. Still the absence of enclosures, the perpetual straightness of the roads, and the almost universal accompaniment of apple trees planted in straight rows all over the country, appear defects to an eye accustomed to English scenery; and, excepting in the pre-eminent beautiful views which occasionally occur, give an appearance of sameness to the landscape."3

They dined at the post-house in Aliquerville, on "the remains of a cold English fowl and some slices of ham", provided by the resourceful Tonson, the inn supplying bread, wine and its entire stock of cutlery — one knife and two forks — yet Mrs. Colston commented, "......we enjoyed

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 3-4.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 4.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 5.
our repast with a keener relish than on any occasion when we have sat
down to a sumptuous table."1

They slept at the inn in Yvetôt, where, to the imaginative girl,
mindful, perhaps, of "Mrs. Ratcliffe's Italian horrors",2 the grim land-
lady looked like -

"the character who would inform the distant banditti
of the presence of the nightly guest, assist in robbing and
murdering the prey, then partake the fierce and horrid carousals of
the ruffian band. Had we been in a lonely part of Italy I should
have considered our lives were in danger......"3

Mrs. Colston was never at her bravest in the dark!
Therefore, she continued, it was "with delight the following
morning, about six o'clock, we again seated ourselves in our
carriage, which we felt to be far more our home than the inns
at which we dined or slept."4

All went well until "our limoniere broke" and brought them to a
halt within a few miles, but, she tells us, "We had, happily, taken the
precaution of carrying a quantity of cord with us......,"5 and the mishap
served only to augment that national feeling of superiority which the
English, in contact with foreigners, customarily experienced.

"The extreme roughness and badness of the roads on this side
of Rouen occasioned the disaster; as we walked a mile on our way
whilst the calamity was repairing, we indulged our exultation on
the superiority of English workmanship over French, no part of our
own carriage having been displaced by the jolting it had received.
This was one of the many occasions on which I perceived in the air
and tone of my truly English husband, and also indeed, in the feelings
of my own bosom, the proud consciousness of superiority which is said
to be characteristic of our nation, ......"6

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 6.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 123.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 7.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
They proceeded without further adventure to Rouen, through beautiful environs by a broad, winding road into the narrow, dirty streets of the smelly, little town. They visited the principal sights, including what pleased Mrs. Colston most, "the fine cathedral, in the Norman-gothic style, built by William the Conqueror," where she saw less to admire in the "two trumpery spires"¹ and the careless air of the worshippers than in the beauty of a bird, flying about the sacred edifice and whimsically suggesting to her "the idea of beauty adorning piety."²

Resolved to reach Paris the next day, they drove off at six in the morning and, following the course of the Seine through prospects varying and lovely enough to satisfy a painter's eye, posted on through the early dark of the November evening, till, at half past ten on Saturday, the 6th, they arrived at the capital, the Rue de Richelieu and their apartment in the Hôtel de Bruxelles.

Their first reaction to the city was one of surprise and delight.

"I immediately felt the truth," she recorded, "of an observation which I have somewhere met with, "Paris is France." It is in entering the capital only that the foreigner feels that he is among a great, a cultivated, and an ingenious people."³

Mrs. Colston belonged to a generation too young to recall a time when France was not the enemy of Britain. Yet her journal shows her free of bitterness or hatred born of old hostilities and, though "far from being an admirer of Bonaparte," she was prepared to give "this vain man his due."⁴ She was, in fact, to meet with many reminders of him and it is interesting to notice how her attitude to the fallen Emperor modified during the course of her travels.⁵

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 9. An inaccurate reference to the cathedral of Notre Dame.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 11.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 25.
⁵ For example after seeing what he had done for Milan. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 316-7.
As for the apartment, which was to be their home for the next twelve nights, it received her highest encomium. It was "more according with English ideas of comfort than any I had yet seen in this country."1

The next day was Sunday - possibly the reason for their haste to reach Paris the previous night2 - and, after some trouble with reluctant chambermaids in the morning, when Mrs. Colston "was obliged to act the housemaid's part"3 herself, they went in the afternoon "to a protestant chapel, near the Palais Royal, where the service was performed in English; there was an attentive congregation, and we heard a good sermon from Mr. Forster."4

There is a break in her narrative at this point, for Monday and its activities are passed over in silence, but on Tuesday morning, Mrs. Colston tells us, she walked round the piazzas of the Palais Royal, fascinated by the shops and no longer wondering "how it happens that the English get rid of so much money at Paris."5 Later, walking with her husband in the Tuileries gardens, she thought them "noble and delightful", but added, justice and patriotism in conflict, that -

"when the English traveller recalls to mind the natural and graceful beauties of Kensington Gardens, the Jardin des Tuileries sinks into a splendid toy. They differ, however, so widely in character that they cannot justly be compared."6

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 11.
2 Compare, for example, ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 34-35. "We regretted the necessity of travelling on Sunday, as to remain here was impossible; but we trust the involuntary breach of the sacred command, which bids us "keep the sabbath day holy to the Lord our God," will be pardoned by the searcher of hearts."
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 12.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
The strict religious principles of the Colstons did not preclude a night at the Opera, where Le Rossignol and the Ballet de Proserpine were billed for Wednesday, and they must have enjoyed it, for she wrote of the performance that "the singing was tolerably good, the scene painting excellent of its kind, the house splendidly beautiful in its decorations, and the dancing wonderful", though, she concluded rather prudishly, "the indecent display of the human form did not at all suit our ideas of propriety." 1

On Thursday morning, accompanied by Mr. B. - to whose identity Mrs. Colston offers no clue - they viewed the paintings in the Louvre and here she was in her element, having some talent in that direction herself. To one of her conservative tastes, a current exhibition of living artists, which obscured the ancient masters, was an arrangement "much to be regretted". 2 Though art seemed to her "in a flourishing state in France" 3 and she noted with approbation "several performances by ladies, which do great credit to the genius and industry of our sex in this country", 4 and though the works of Granet and Vernet were "excellent", 5 there were "many miserable daubs". 6 Indeed, the aesthetic Mr. B. "turned from several with disgust, complaining that they hurt his eyes". 7 However, when their gaze had recovered from "the glaring colouring of the moderns", 8 they enjoyed with delight "the chaste harmonious beauties" 9 of the ancients, a Holy Family by Raphael being particularly admired.

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 13.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
At the period, when the great national collections of to-day were still in the process of formation, public museums were, in general, of less importance than the private cabinets of individual enthusiasts, often of amateur status. Therefore, next morning, when our tourists visited the Jardin des Plantes, its Museum and Anatomical Collections, Mrs. Colston could not but admit that—

"this institution far surpasses any thing of the kind we have in England, and comprises an astonishing variety of subjects for the illustration of almost every branch of natural history."1

Whereas part, at least, of the Anatomical Cabinet "terrified and disgusted"2 her, the Museum Collection, made by the celebrated Buffon, "instructed and delighted";3 "ignoramus"4 though she confessed herself to be on these subjects, "......but Mr. C. enjoyed a more scientific gratification"5 for the sciences by this time had won a place in the cultural interests of educated men.

Afterwards, they went to the Pantheon.

"......a most beautiful edifice", she called it, "greatly inferior, indeed, in size and majesty to our St. Paul's but far exceeding it in the finished beauty of its architecture......"6

Among sarcophagi in the vaults, they came on that of Rousseau, for whom the writer evidently felt little of the enthusiasm prevailing in her day and age.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. l, p. 16.
3 Ibid., Vol. l, p. 16.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., Vol. l, pp. 16-17.
"On the tomb of Rousseau was sculptured a hand holding a flambeau, designed to figure that of truth with which he enlightened the world; it might well stand for the flambeau of error and falsehood."

Later, in Switzerland, visiting the places associated with his name and works, she was to adopt a milder tone.

Once again a day's entry is missing from her journal. From Friday, she passes directly to Sunday, an appropriate day for a visit to the grave of a cousin at St. Denis.

Monday was full of interest.

First, "we went into the king's stables. He (Louis XVIII) possesses 300 carriages, and 90 saddle horses; but," we are not surprised to find her saying, "in beauty and condition they will not stand a comparison with the hunters or carriage horses of any English gentlemen who is particular in the management of his stables." Next, they visited the Palais de Justice, containing "nothing worthy remark", but Notre Dame excited their admiration though the interior, with all its splendour of stained glass, carving, painting and sculpture, struck -

"...a Protestant as unsuitable to the simple and solemn grandeur which should characterize the place where the worm, man, adores his maker in deep humility." Leaving the cathedral, they proceeded to the Invalides; "a truly noble institution", which Mrs. Colston described at length, no building in France having as yet delighted her so much.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 17.
2 Obviously an error for "carriage".
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 18.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 19.
6 Ibid.
On Tuesday, once more in the company of Mr. B., they admired the magnificence of the Luxembourg, where, fancifully, our authoress saw the "Salle du livre d'or", in particular, as "resembling the ideas one forms of a saloon in an enchanted fairy palace, as poets have painted the abodes of such imaginary beings."\(^1\) In the Gallery of Paintings, her artist's eye discerned, among superb works such as David's Horatii, a scene by Mdlle. Lescot, "admirably executed",\(^2\) which "reflected honour on the capabilities of our sex in this delightful art,"\(^3\) but clearly, in the opinion of Mrs. Colston, there were limits to the field of female endeavour for, of a young equestrienne, taking part in an exhibition of horsemanship they saw that evening at Francoi's, she wrote -

"I cannot think a profession of such a nature calculated to improve the morals of a sex, whose peculiar characteristic should be diffidence and modesty."\(^4\)

Of Wednesday, the 17th, their last day in Paris, our writer has nothing to say. Possibly it was spent packing up and preparing to leave as Monday, the 8th, had been in unpacking and settling in.

Beyond the expression of her "alarm and terror"\(^5\) at the press of traffic in the streets, so different from Shepton Mallet - "my caro sposo was obliged to exert the united powers of entreaty and force, to drag me through the streets whenever I have attempted walking"\(^6\) - Mrs. Colston and her husband retained to the last their first, favourable impression of the great city.

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\(^1\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 21.
\(^2\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 23. Hortense-Victoire Haudebourt, née Lescot, (1785-1845). The work seen by Mrs. Colston was first exhibited at the Louvre in 1812.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 24.
\(^5\) Ibid.
\(^6\) Ibid.
"On the 18th of Nov., again under the genial influence of a
smiling sky, we quitted Paris, our last looks lingering on the
long line of the Louvre, as on the countenance of a friend whom
we hoped to meet again."1

With these words, Mrs. Colston ended the first section of her journal,
which is of particular value and interest since it affords us an excellent
opportunity to make her acquaintance, to note her earliest reactions to
life on the Continent and to compare them with her latest.

The Colstons were now approaching what was to them the zenith of their travels, a round tour of Italy, which was to occupy the better part of a twelvemonth, from the last day of November, 1819, when they passed southwards over the Mont Cenis into Piedmont, until the 21st of September, 1820, when they crossed northwards over the Simplon into Switzerland. It is not our concern here to follow them step by step through a land, which they entered with the liveliest anticipation and left "not without considerable feeling of regret",2 though later, at the appropriate time and place in this account of Mrs. Colston's travels, some mention of their Italian tour will, and, indeed, must be made for, of the twenty-six chapters, which comprise the two volumes of her journal, no fewer than eleven were devoted to Italy as compared with ten to France and only five to Switzerland, on first thoughts a disappointingly small number for the purposes of this thesis. Were we to judge by these figures alone, we might conclude that her progress through France and Italy was, for the writer, the most interesting part of her travels, but this does not appear to be altogether the case, when we consider her words that -

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 346.
".....if the reader can accompany her without falling asleep in her progress through France (a country which, however abounding in the **agréments** of life, and favourable to social enjoyment, supplies little of romantic interest to the descriptive writer), she will have more hope of being able to keep him awake in Italy and Switzerland."

Moreover, when we also consider that she spent no more than one month and a half in Switzerland, as compared with ten in Italy and no less than thirteen in France, we realise, on second thoughts, that Mrs. Colston devoted a gratifyingly large number of chapters to Switzerland and the Alps. There let us follow her and her husband, for their itinerary from France to Italy took them over the Juras, through south-west Switzerland and across the Alps.

Their chosen route from Paris was one which, since Waterloo, had been increasingly thronged with English tourists like themselves.

"On our progress we passed two carriages full of English travelling vetturino to Florence; their imperials, trunks, boxes, etc., were heaped one on the other, like the mountains which they are to pass, and we by no means envied the snail's pace at which they proceeded."  

The highway ran south-eastwards through the Forest of Fontainebleau, up the valley of the Seine and its tributary, the Yonne, by the towns of Sens, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne and Joigny, where the jolting of their coach made the Colstons acutely aware that they had reached the end of the paved surface, which covered the French post-roads for only a certain distance from the capital. No doubt, visions of broken springs and slackened screws moved Mrs. Colston, at this point in her journal, to warn future travellers against the secret enemy of all who travelled on wheels.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. ix-x.
2 The last date given in the Journal is Nov. 1st, 1821, when she left Orleans for Paris. See ibid., Vol. 2, p. 231.
3 There is no indication of when she left France for England.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 29.
"Travellers cannot be too careful of the race of blacksmiths in this country; at every post-house, several of them surround the carriage, and unless narrowly watched, will, unobserved, pull out a nut, or screw, and then offer their services to repair the damage they have caused."  

Breaking their journey at Tonnerre, they entered its ancient church "to examine the monument of the Marquis de Louvois, representing the progress of the sciences under his enlightened administration", and, changing horses at Montbard, they took the opportunity to have the residence of the Comte de Buffon pointed out to them. That night, they laughed heartily over a comedy of errors enacted in their inn at Villeneuve-les-Convers. To us, the interest of this episode lies rather in the picture — brief and unique, apart from a few appearances in her own sketches — given by the writer of herself.

"She (the landlady) then inquired, which was Madame; for in my travelling attire of a brown plush cap, a dark green pelisse, surmounted by a cloak, with the hood up, she took me, I believe, for a "petit garçon"."

By now they were well on their way to Dijon, driving through wild country, varied only by woods and forests, the habitat of hunting-boars and wolves, and, as they passed from the basin of the Seine into that of the Rhone, across the watershed formed by the Plateau de Langres, Mrs. Colston tells us that, "for the first time, we had a fourth horse put to our carriage," and that "our eyes were every moment delighted by the varying

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 31.
2 Marquis de Louvois (1641-1691), one of the principal ministers of Louis XIV. In the 13th century chapel, his mausoleum is on the gospel side of the high altar.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 32.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 33. Judging by her description, what they saw was not his residence but his study in the grounds of his château.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 34.
view of hills, or rather mountains, overspread with the oak and the beech.\^1

The monotony of the Norman landscape, which had greeted them on their first
arrival on the Continent, was far behind them now and here was the first
promise of the Juras and the Alps, which lay ahead, and of the joy she
would experience among mountain scenes in Switzerland, unshared though it
might be at first by her partner.

At the comfortable Hôtel de la Cloche in Dijon, they found ample
evidence of the efforts being made by continental hôteliers to cater for
people like themselves, a unit of the army of English tourists, who had
been flocking across the Channel since 1815.

Mrs. Colston informs us that there "we found most comfortable
accommodations, which I enjoyed the more from the contrast they
afforded to what we had experienced at Villeneuve les Couvers.\(^2\)
In fact, the card of the master of the house informed us in English,
that the Hotel had been fitted up with a particular reference to the
visitors from our country."\(^3\)

It was already the 22nd of November and the season of the year, as
well as their anxious desire to reach Italy before winter, did not permit of
a longer stay than one night or of a visit to the main tourist attraction of
the locality.

".....how much", sighed Mrs. Colston, "should I have enjoyed
an excursion to the now desolate but still grand and interesting
site of la Chartreuse..... ."\(^4\)

From Dijon, where a number of post-roads met, they took the one which
continued south-eastwards to Dole and, as they crested the final ridge, which

\(^1\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 36.
\(^2\) An error for "Villeneuve-les-Convers."
\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 37.
\(^4\) Ibid.
lay between the two towns, our writer was animated by the profound emotion, which fills the traveller at the sight of the mountain frontiers of Switzerland, more especially, as in her case, for the first time.

"On reaching the summit of the hill, from which we descend to Dole, we first caught sight of the mountains of Jura, their tops covered with snow. I cannot express the exhilarating, animating feeling, with which, for the first time in my life, I surveyed mountains of this class."1

She sought to analyse her emotion.

"I think our great Burke erred, when he affirmed that the sensation of fear was incompatible with that of sublimity. If fear be suffered in a great degree, it probably will overpower every other emotion; but I felt conscious of a slight feeling of alarm, as I viewed the snow, and considered at what an inauspicious season we were going to attempt the passage of these mountains, and yet this sensation appeared to increase my feeling of the sublime."2

The hitherto comparatively uneventful course of their journey now began to change and to assume the adventurous and extraordinarily exhilarating character of travel in the mountains during winter.

"We stopped on the road," she recorded, "to change horses, with those of an English family coming from Geneva, with whom we held a short conversation, and heard the not very pleasing intelligence that it was snowing hard on the Juras."3

And, as the character of their journey altered, so, too, Mrs. Colston observed, did that of the people among whom they travelled. The incivility at Yvetot, the dirt and discomfort they had encountered at Villeneuve, were unknown at Poligny in Jura.

"Poligny," she noted, "appears a clean and rather pretty town, and at La Poste we met with great civility and good accommodations. I was particularly delighted with the cleanliness of the place and people; far exceeding any thing that I had before met with in France."4

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 39.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 40.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 41.
It was evident that every turn of the wheels was bringing them nearer Switzerland.

"But, for some miles past," she went on, "I had remarked that the French seemed giving place to the Swiss habits and character. Intelligence was certainly a feature with the host and hostess of the Inn, at Poligny; tolerable maps, really good prints, and music-books ornamented our apartment...." ¹

How different from the artificial flowers that had tawdrily adorned their room at Paris!

As for the "artifice", with which she charged the people of the inn, it was nothing akin to what she and her husband had suffered at Havre and was probably, in actual fact, mere prudence, based on a knowledge of local conditions which a stranger, like Mrs. Colston, would fail to appreciate.

"I am sorry to add," ran the entry in her journal, "since writing the above, that artifice is likewise a trait in their character; they detained us here till half after nine o'clock this morning, by telling us that the roads must be impassable from the snow which fell last night, since neither the courier nor the diligence had yet arrived." ²

But the significance of these facts was lost on the inexperienced, young couple, who might have realised that, if neither the diligence nor the courier with the mails had succeeded in getting through, it was foolhardy to proceed where they had failed. What was more - if they had recalled the weather report given them by the English family at the relay station on the 22nd, they might also have realised that it confirmed the advice given them by the people at the inn on the 23rd. Instead, they took other advice, more in accordance with their wishes, and thus ".....set out on the 23rd, at ten o'clock, to pass the Jura mountains," ³ in weather conditions of exceptional severity. In some parts of Europe, it was

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¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 42.
to be remembered as the worst winter for seventy years.¹

Under these conditions and the hazards created by them, Mrs. Colston was forced "to confess that the enjoyment of sublimity was for a time lost in the endurance of fear,"² but, as they toiled upwards to the higher reaches of the mountains, where oak and beech gave place to hardier fir, her pen captured the scene in these words.

"As we advanced, the scenery became more sublime; mountains, round-backed, conical, and of various forms, rose in every direction round us, for the most part covered with the Alpine fir, whose hardy nature and majestic form alike suit these elevated regions. We passed a striking spot, where a bridge crosses a mountain-stream which roars along a deep ravine below. From thence the road winds along a ledge of the rock, out of which it was cut; a deep precipice lies below, in one part in the form of a basin luxuriantly filled with the Alpine fir, whose tops alone we saw rising in tiers one above the other: soon after, a mountain summit rose to such a height, that I again mistook it for a cloud."³

They had passed through Champagnole and were nearing Maison-Neuve, when the snow came on so increasingly fast that they could with difficulty discern the nearest objects and, as darkness fell, it was with a sense of relief that they reached the shelter of the inn.

On the morning of the 24th, they woke to a snow-clad world.

"It was only two days since the snow had began to fall," noted Mrs. Colston, seemingly unaware that what she now wrote cleared the innkeepers at Poligny of all suspicion of duplicity, "and the inhabitants of Maison-Neuve told us, they never remembered it to have been so deep in so short a time. We were now obliged to have six horses put to the carriage, by the aid of which we might be said to plough through the snow, which was constantly up to the box of the fore-wheel, and sometimes above it. Icicles, of one and two yards in length, hung from the houses and rocks."⁴

But "a serene and pure blue sky tempered the horror of universal snow"⁵ and permitted them to enjoy the wonderful scenery around them.

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 135.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 42.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 43.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 43-44.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 44.
"These regions must, in summer, possess a wild beauty, and a loveliness combined with grandeur, quite enchanting," reflected Mrs. Colston, "but this is the season for viewing them in all their horrors, clothed with sublimity and terror!"\(^1\)

"It is not wonderful," she thought, as many have, "that the natives of mountainous countries should feel more warmly "l'amour de pays," than those of more common-place scenes: there is something in the sublimity and wild loneliness of the scenery, which elevates the mind."\(^2\)

In the meantime, all trace of the road having disappeared beneath the snow, their driver was forced to rely for guidance on "high poles of wood......placed at short distances from each other, on each side of the road."\(^3\) These were the twelve-foot poles, set up for such an emergency on all roads in the Juras and the Alps.\(^4\) At this stage of the journey, they were passing above a deep ravine, where the slightest error on the part of either horse or postillion would have proved fatal, but, tremble as Mrs. Colston might at the sight of precipice and rock, her husband, in amusing contrast, regarded them "with anxious curiosity......vainly wishing to discover their formation,"\(^5\) though this, indeed, as she wryly observed, was not the season for a geologist to pass the Juras.

The interval of fine weather had brought out other travellers. Yesterday, the Colstons had met a party of boar-hunters. To-day, it was peasants assembling for the local wolf-hunt. They saw also several smugglers, of which race, Mrs. Colston understood, there were numbers on these mountains. They smuggled gold watches and trinkets from Switzerland into France at a good profit. The advantages of mountain air to health and to good looks were very obvious, she observed, for every man and woman they met had rosy cheeks.

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 45.
3 Ibid.
4 See also ibid., Vol. 1, p. 48.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 45.
The fact that they were making an incredible journey under impossible conditions does not seem to have occurred to the Colstons and, consequently, at St. Laurent, they were rather mystified by their reception.

"Whilst we delayed at the post, changing horses, a considerable crowd collected to gaze on us; I was not aware before that we were so extraordinary a sight," she wrote.1

Ascending a hill between this town and Morez, the traces of the leaders broke but, happily, the snow prevented the carriage running back and they sustained no injury.

"The same accident recurred frequently, but was always remedied with the like success," she wrote composedly.2

They were now drawing near to the village of Les Rousses.

"This stage," ran the entry in her journal, "was the most laborious of any we had passed, owing to the steepness of the continued ascent, and the depth of snow through which we had to wade. The postillons, when they descended to rest their horses, were above their knees in snow, and fell repeatedly; the latter could hardly find a footing, and the profound precipice, over the brink of which we were crossing, added a feeling of alarm to the difficulties of our way."3

By the goodness of Providence, they reached the village, only to be told that the road beyond Les Rousses was blocked and that, to go further, would necessitate their coach being mounted on runners. They had no option but to agree and retire for the night while the blacksmiths did their work.

The following day was to be the last - and worst - of their journey and if the extracts, quoted from this section of her book, appear at length, it is because few British women travellers can have made such a perilous journey to cross the Swiss frontier under such appalling conditions. Trouble began at first light with their landlady, determined, no doubt, to make the most

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 46.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 45.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 47.
out of the last profitable guests she was likely to see for some time.

"On the morning of the 25th, when we asked for our bill, we found our hostess exceeded any we had met with in her endeavours to impose on us. For a little bread and cheese in the evening, and a cup of coffee each the next morning, with our bed, she demanded fifteen francs; we gave her nine, and escaped from her clamour into our carriage just after seven o'clock."¹

Their mode of travelling was now altered.

".....the body of the carriage was placed on a sledge, drawn by three horses, harnessed one before the other, and a second sledge was employed to convey the wheels. One man guided our horses, and two walked on each side, to support the carriage whenever it inclined violently to the ground. The sledges are so constructed, as to take the back part of the carriage foremost."²

Dreary as was the prospect from the carriage windows, Mrs. Colston rather enjoyed the novelty of gliding backwards over the ever deepening snow.

"The snow had recommenced at six o'clock, and was now falling heavily; it was at this time four feet in depth, and T., who has travelled nearly all his life, said he had never seen so much, excepting in America, and on some of the highest mountains in Spain."³

And now that there was no turning back, the guides began an amusing, but not very consolatory, story about a gentleman, travelling in a calêche on this same road,⁴ the preceding Monday,⁵ who, notwithstanding the precaution of a sledge, had been upset no fewer than three times and had taken no less than seven hours to do nine miles. Needless to say, he was an Englishman.

Mrs. Colston's reminiscences of this day contain some exquisite lines, descriptive of winter in the Juras.

¹ Ibid.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 48.
⁴ The Vallée des Dappes: the modern N5 route. Between 1815 and 1862, its possession was disputed by Switzerland and France.
⁵ This was Nov. 22nd and it bears out what the Colstons were told by the English family at the relay station the same day.
"The scene was grand and sublime," she recalled, "a deep carpet, as it were, of white velvet, but with a bluer tint, overspread the mountains; the fir trees rose majestically above; in those immediately near us, the dark green of the under parts of the boughs left uncovered, contrasted well with the white mantle which clothed all other objects; the trees at a little distance were shaded in mist by the falling snow."\(^1\)

They contain also one perfect simile.

"The motion and noise of the sledge were like those of a ship ploughing through the waves, when heard below decks."\(^2\)

Readers of her journal will recall that Mrs. Colston was below deck crossing the Channel and her memory of this, no doubt, inspired the comparison.\(^3\)

All the while, the snow continued to fall.

"......the snow where we were now passing was six feet deep by the road side, and the sledge, as it cut its way through, left a white wall on the right hand and on the left."\(^4\)

For the endurance and skill of the guides, who made their journey possible, the Colstons had nothing but praise. "Our assistants were up to their thighs in snow, and fell continually, but quickly rose again"\(^5\) and, laughing and singing, brought them, without a single upset, safely to Vattay, knocking more than two hours off the time taken by the gentleman in the calèche.

"At length, we arrived at Vattay, having been four hours and three quarters going the nine miles;\(^6\) we were truly thankful to reach the post in safety. I was carried from the carriage into the post-house, that I might not get my feet wet by walking through the snow."\(^7\)

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 49.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 1-2.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 49.
5 Ibid.
6 Accurate: Mrs. Colston would calculate the mileage by the number of posts passed.
7 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 50.
At Vattay, the innkeepers voiced what the crowd at St. Laurent must have thought.

"The people at the inns said they were sure we must be a newly-married couple by our travelling in such weather."1

Upon reflection, there was something unique in what they were doing.

"I really imagine," ran the bride's pen, "that we must be the first persons who ever came from our island to spend the honeymoon in the depth of the snows on the Jura mountains!"2

While the ostlers busied themselves, the Colstons took refreshment and the lady scanned a broadside she had seen in the hand of one of the postillions. She could not but shake her head over a lament for the departed glories of Bonaparte's day, but the incident served as a reminder that the road they now followed had been his work.

Still the snow fell.

"For my part," she wrote of the previous stage, "being wrapped in warm clothing, and my feet heated by a chaude-pied, I had no hardships to endure."3

It was different after Vattay.

"After we left Vattay the snow became still deeper, being seven feet by the road-side; we were obliged to jump continually from one side of the carriage to the other, for the purpose of adding our efforts to those of the men outside, to prevent it from overturning."4

In spite of such distractions and exertions, the travellers found time "to admire the grand, though awful scenery."5 They were by this time at the approach to one of the principal gateways to Switzerland in the Juras, the Col de la Faucille, where the altitude, at which they stood, was impressed

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 49.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 50.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 51.
upon them by the minute appearance of people on the valley floor below.

"At length we reached the highest point we were to cross, and which commands a sublime prospect. Mountain tops still rose above us, almost eclipsing the sky. The road wound along the brink of a perpendicular precipice; a magnificent but fearful ravine lay below, through which a mountain-stream held its narrow course; a cart and horses, with men in the valley, diminished nearly to the smallest size at which we could distinctly see them, shewed the distance between us and the depth which we contemplated, while shuddering at our proximity to the brink, from which a very few feet, without fence of any kind, alone separated us. A high conical mountain, on the opposite side, terminated the little valley."  

On days of clear visibility, this road, built meanderwise like all Napoleonic highways on similar terrain, afforded a panoramic view of Lake Leman, set against a magnificent background of the Alps, but the 25th of November, 1819, was not one of those days.

"As we continued our descent, the sublime and varied mountain forms, now towering above us, still delighted our eyes, although the snow, falling fast, in part intercepted our view."  

As when she began to approach the Jura mountains, so now, when she began to leave them, Mrs. Colston noted her emotional response to "these stupendous scenes" and again the thought recurred of their summer beauty.

"For my part, notwithstanding the degree of alarm I had experienced, I felt something like an emotion of regret on quitting these stupendous scenes, and a desire, after having seen them under all their wintry horrors, to revisit them once more when smiling in summer loveliness; but, " wrote his wife, "Mr. C., who has more partiality for the plains than for the mountains, gave me small hope of ever returning to them."  

She was, however, to see the Jurass several times again and even to cross them, though at a different point and under better conditions.

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1 Ibid.

The stream was possibly the Journan, on which Gex stands: it is a right bank affluent of the Rhone.

The conical mountain was possibly Mont Colombier-de-Gex, (1691 m.), as it answers the description better than the Crêt de la Neige, (1723 m.), the highest peak of the Jurass.  

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.
They were now safely at Gex, where the replacement of runners by wheels on their coach marked the end of a journey, which Mrs. Colston rightly described as the most perilous they had ever undertaken. The same evening, shortly before seven o'clock and within two hours of leaving Gex, they drew up at the Hôtel d'Angleterre in Sécheron, a lakeside suburb on the north-east periphery of Geneva. At this well-known establishment, which, like the Cloche at Dijon, aimed at attracting a distinguished clientèle from their own country, whom should they meet but the "gentleman in the calèche"!

No doubt, as travellers will, on meeting fellow countrymen in foreign parts, they exchanged accounts of recent adventures and the intrepid Englishman finished the story the guides had begun.

"......he told us, that he had not only been upset three times, but had also been obliged to be dug out of the snow five or six times."¹

If only Mrs. Colston had been less reticent about names and had mentioned his in her journal!

It might be supposed that, after their three days' ordeal, the Colstons would have reposèd a while at Geneva, but -

"November 26th we quitted Sécheron...... . As we proceeded, we saw our old friends, the Jura mountains, on our right, in the distance, and I took a last farewell of them."²

Unfavourable weather, dilatory customs and passport control, insolence and impositions of postillions and postmasters, even horses inadequately shod for slippery roads united to make this "the most uncomfortable day's journey that we had experienced."³ To crown all, came the comic incident, best told in Mrs. Colston's own words.

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 52.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 53.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 54.
"This night we slept at a village called Frangy, and as I had been much fatigued during the day, we retired to rest early; about two hours after I was awakened by a great noise of voices and persons running backwards and forwards by our door; at length I thought I heard a person attempt to unlock the door; all the dreadful stories I had read of travellers murdered in their beds in Italy, and its vicinity, now darted on my mind, and I could not be pacified, until my entreaties induced Mr. C. to light a candle, and load a pistol which he had purchased a few days before. On going out of his apartment, Mr. C. learnt, that the noise was occasioned by the late arrival of Dr. W., whose carriage pole had broken, and one of his attendants in mistake had attempted to open our door."1

On this anticlimaxical note, they beat a quiet retreat to bed, the last word going to Mr. C.

"......my coro (sic) sposo did not give me so much credit for courage on this occasion as for that I displayed on the Juras."2

At this stage of their journey to Italy across Switzerland and the Alps, the Colstons were making for the Mont Cenis, a route busy at all seasons so that transport resources could become strained.

"The 27th we rose at five o'clock, having ordered the horses to be ready at six; but to our great disappointment, we found that two couriers, who had passed in the night, had taken all the horses, and we were obliged to wait an hour until those returned had been refreshed."3

Snow and slippery roads continued to retard their progress but the picturesque beauty of the country gave them no cause for complaint.

"Before we reached the town of Romilly we passed the rivers Servan and Nephe. I believe it is the former which we coasted for some time, admiring the picturesque effect of its deep and rocky channels. ......The prospect continued to improve in picturesque beauty, until we reached Chambery. Bold rocks rose on our left, covered with vineyards nearly to their summits, which, when in leaf, must clothe the barren rock with a luxuriant mantle of verdure."4

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 54-55.

By Romilly and Servan, Mrs. Colston refers to Rumilly on the Chera, a small, left bank tributary of the Pier which flows into the Rhone and, by Nephe, to a smaller, right bank tributary of the Pier.
She was struck by a feature of viticulture often remarked by British travellers in Savoy.

"Walnut, mulberry trees, and vines, trained from one tree or pole to another, so as to form a complete trellis-work, adorned the country...."1

The age-old trade route was as busy as ever. They "met great numbers of carts drawn by oxen," and Mrs. Colston observed how "all the peasants in Savoy wear a large round gipsy hat."2 Her observations of regional costume seldom, indeed, went beyond the head-gear.

On the 28th, weather and transport were again a problem.

"The sudden and violent falls of snow obliged us to prosecute our journey on Sunday, in order to reach Mount-Cenis as soon as possible. We began to fear that the hoary old gentleman would give us rather a rough reception."3

Unluckily, too, they were posting in the tracks of an English general, a French duchess and Dr. W., who, by arriving before them at the relay stations on the Mont Cénis, was upsetting them much more than he had by arriving after them at the hotel in Frangy. First come, first served was the rule of the post-road and the general, the duchess and the doctor had made sure of fresh horses by driving non-stop through Chambéry on the night of the 27th-28th, while the Colstons slumbered at an inn. So it was with tired horses, over heavy roads, in slow stages, that they traversed the Pays de Beauges, crossed the Isère at Montmélian and followed a road which wound along the foot of mountains, finely wooded, where, in striking contrast to what was behind and before, the climate of the sheltered valley was so amazingly mild that they "repeatedly saw pollard-oaks in the hedges covered with leaves of the brightest green, as if in the midst of spring."4

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 55.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 57.
After Maltaverne, the way became increasingly enclosed by the mountains, until at length, after passing through the little town of Aiguebelle, they entered the passage of the Alps and the approach proper to the Mont Cenis. This day, Mrs. Colston saw, for the first time, two features of the Alpine regions, which never failed to excite remark from British tourists.

Approaching Maltaverne, "...I first perceived women with goitres; they have a very disgusting appearance." 1

It was the stock comment of the British tourist.

And, approaching the Pass, "we now first caught sight of some beautiful though small glaciers on the summits of the mountains; I never saw any effect of colouring more lovely than their brilliant, transparent white, relieved by the deep and beautiful blue of an Italian sky." 2

But the Alps still lay between them and the blue sky of Italy and, to shorten the way, which each delay at every post-house seemed to lengthen, the Colstons decided, too late as they would presently discover, to adopt the stratagem of their fellow travellers and journey over-night, if horses were procurable. So, through an unforgettable night of extreme peril, intense cold and great beauty, they drove on to Lanslebourg.

"We set out at six o'clock, under the favourable auspices of a beautiful moonlight, and the effect of the scenery of the Alps under such an aspect was grand and impressive." 3

By half past ten, they had made tolerable progress to St. Jean de Maurienne.

"After having partaken of a repast, which, though cooked and served up by hands dirty enough to make one sick, hunger compelled us to think excellent, I lay down on a bed for the other hour, and enjoyed the refreshment of a little sleep, which I greatly needed (4) from the fatigues I had undergone, and those I had yet to encounter."

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 58.
4 Ibid.
By half past twelve, they were off up the rocky defile down which roared the Arc, and here they encountered fresh trouble, inadvertently caused by those ahead.

"Thus situated, we were unfortunate enough to have a sleepy postillion, who had driven some of the party who preceded us on our route the night before. He three times drove us off the road, and nearly tumbled us into the torrent below; but providentially we were on the look out, and prevented any accident, by suddenly calling on him to stop."1

A constant state of alert had also to be maintained on account of the unseen peril, which lurked in the surrounding woods, for they were travelling at an hour and at a season when wolves were most active and voracious.

"T. kept the pistols with which he was furnished ready for instant use, expecting that a wolf might spring out upon us. The black wolves of the Alps are the most savage of their species, and when the snow lies deep on the ground, so that they can get no food in the woods, hunger drives them to the road-side."2

A few months ago, had she been told that she would travel all night, in the depths of the snow, through the dreary solitudes of the Alps, she would have thought that night to have been her last.

"......to confess the truth," she afterwards wrote of it, "sometimes expecting the postillion to deposit us in the mountain torrent; at others, fancying that I heard the half barking, half howling sound of wolves in the distance, I did not pass a very agreeable night."3

On this memorable night, we find Mrs. Colston, for the first time, complaining of the cold.

"The cold was so intense during the night, that T., who remained outside to guard us from danger of every kind, nearly lost the use of his limbs; and notwithstanding the precaution of a fire in the chaudiere and warm clothing, I suffered considerably from it."4

1 Ibid.
3 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 59.
4 Ibid.
But her eyes opened on the world of beauty it had created, when dawn dispelled the alarms of the night.

"The first sight that struck me on waking from a little sleep, was the carriage windows covered with more beautiful congellations, and more perfect in their forms, than any I ever saw: we observed various kinds of leaves, traced nearly to the life, upon the glass. As soon as the coldness of the atmosphere permitted, we opened some of the windows, and saw the summits of the mountains lit up with a deep rose-coloured tint by the rising sun."1

So, on the 29th, they reached Lanslebourg and a very comfortable inn kept by an English landlady. They now prepared to cross the Mont Cenis, much as they had the Juras, with the extra precaution of ropes to steady their coach.

"After making a good breakfast, we ascended the mountain; drawn by six horses; two yoked to the carriage, and the remaining four, one before the other, with three postillions, and two men on each side to assist in supporting our vehicle, when from the depth of snow it went aside. Cords were fastened to the roof by which these men held it down when there was any danger of its upsetting."2

Conditions were excellent for the ascent: a beautiful day, with the snow well beaten down by other traffic. The Colstons were at liberty to enjoy the magnificent prospect.

"We gradually ascended till we saw almost all the other mountain tops below us, and appeared," Mrs. Colston imaginatively wrote, "to enter into the sky."3

The experience of pausing in retrospect at the summit was one which she shared, not only with her husband but also with generations of British travellers on their way to Italy, but her comment on what she saw was her own.

"We now observed the church and houses of Lans-le-bourg in the valley below, diminished almost to nothing, the houses looking like tombstones, from the immense distance."4

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 60
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
Perhaps it was from one of the four out-walkers, his head on a convenient level with a window of the coach, that she heard a grisly tale of the locality.

"On the summit we saw a cottage, into which, it being vacant during a time of very deep snow, seven wolves found their way; the snow closing the door they could not escape. Some time after, one wolf was discovered there and the heads of six others, so that it was evident that they had eaten each other, and that the surviving one had proved the strongest."1

More reassuringly, she heard of the twenty-five refuges, built at intervals, for the accommodation of storm-bound travellers and the men who kept the road. Bonaparte had raised up a lasting monument to himself on the Mont Cenis, even in the eyes of British tourists.

"These useful little buildings were erected by Bonaparte, of whom, spite of himself, the sojourner in a strange land is obliged to think with a degree of gratitude, on account of the conveniences and safeguards for which he is indebted to him."2

Ignorance, no doubt, rather than economy made the Colstons dismiss their out-walkers and three of the horses at the head of the Pass, only to find that, in arctic conditions, it is harder to go down a mountain than it is to go up. The approach of darkness increased the gloom of a prospect dreary enough, Mrs. Colston thought, to have been the original of the Lake Avernus, sung by the classical poets. However, they were soon at La Romaine, enjoying a speciality of the house.

"......we had for supper a trout which was caught in it (Lake Cenis) the day before, just previous to the severe frost which had now iced its surface. The trout was excellent; it is a species of that fish peculiar to the Alpine regions, being the only one which can live in so elevated a situation."3

They learned here that Dr. W. had been in trouble again; upset but unhurt on the descent from the summit.

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 60-61.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 61.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 62.
The cold was relentless.

"We found our abode for the night exceedingly cold, and as we rose the next morning (the 30th of the month) we were surprised to see that the water which had frozen in the basin, would not melt when put close before a large fire, until boiling water was poured into it."1

But the end of their trials was at hand, their goal within sight, when they recommenced their laborious descent from the frozen heights of the Alps to the smiling plains of Italy. The snow was still, at times, the highest they had seen, level with the top of the carriage, and warned, perhaps, by what had happened to "poor Dr. W."2 they hired out-walkers as before. Their greatest difficulty arose, however, from the obligation to halt and give way to the continual stream of sledges, carrying goods up and over the Pass, though it furnished opportunities for Mrs. Colston to admire the icicles, which never failed to fascinate her, and for Mr. C. to pursue his favourite study.

"We passed many waterfalls frozen in their descent: one of these presented a mass of icicles, from eighteen to twenty feet long, looking like" - an original comparison, this - "glaciers with their tops inverted."3

Meantime, "Mr. C. discovered in the rock gnies, mica slate, clay slate and black marble, and concludes that granite was to be found in this primitive range."4

Gradually the scene around them changed, as firs began to clothe the barren slopes. The out-walkers were dismissed, the horses changed, and from Molaret the Colstons went bowling down to Susa. Groves of chestnut, oak and ash soon hid the mountains from their view. Relief, regret and recognition of God's mercy mingled with their memories of this passage of the Alps.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 63.
4 Ibid.
The contrast between this stage and the preceding one was striking, and the return to civilized life, and to the scenes of vegetation, after our sojourn among the dreary regions of uninterrupted ice and snow, afforded us the liveliest pleasure; and we did not fail to return our grateful tribute of praise to the almighty arm which had so mercifully protected us during our tedious journey, and whose majesty and power, in some of his most awful and wonderful works, we had enjoyed such an opportunity of contemplating.1

Reading Mrs. Colston's journal, we are left without a doubt that the month of November, 1819, was the most eventful of her life. Through each of its thirty days, from her marriage on the first to her arrival on the Continent, her eleven days in Paris, her long, adventurous journey across France, the Juras, Switzerland and the Alps, till her arrival in Italy on the last, people, places and events had passed in such rapid succession as seemed, in the opinion of her and her husband, to imply a certain lack of taste on their part and to require some justification in the eyes of their friends, however partial.

"During our rapid tour, it had often occurred to me that we seemed determined to verify the frequent observation of our continental neighbours, that the English travel through foreign countries as if they were pursued by an enemy; for with the exception of our ten days' delay at Paris,2 we could scarcely have performed our journey in less time. But the season of the year, the snows of the Juras and of the Mount-Cenis, and the rising of the rivers, which is to be expected at this time from the heavy rains that occasionally fall, and that render the road over which we have passed quite impracticable, are circumstances which in the opinion of our friends will, I doubt not, exonerate our taste from censure."3

The Colstons were at last in Italy and, though we may "with pleasure peruse these pages", the Italian section of her journal bears but indirectly on the subject of this thesis. Therefore, only a brief synopsis of it need be given. What she saw in Italy, however, as well as in France,

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 64.
2 Mrs. Colston mistakes: it was eleven.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 74-75.
affords interesting comparisons with what she later saw in Switzerland.

Mrs. Colston tells us that "it was our design to take into our route as many of the considerable towns of Italy as possible," and the first was Turin, which impressed her as finer than Paris. Next came Modena, Bologna and Florence, which they reached at the beginning of December, in time for the winter season. It was, at this time, perhaps the gayest city in Europe and she wrote, "Of all the towns that I have entered since I quitted England, Florence, at its first aspect, struck me as offering the most inviting residence." But the next two and a half months were not dissipated in social pleasures but spent more profitably in seeing the sights and studying the language.

On 21st February, they left Florence and no road she would travel in Switzerland was ever like the one to Rome.

"Indeed," she wrote, "the whole road from Sienna to Rome is the most dreary and terrific that I have ever passed:—depopulation, banditti, malaria, volcanos, all combine their horrors to reproduce every source of human misery." Five days later, "we drove to the Grande Bretagne, where we found many of the comforts its name leads one to expect," in Rome. Mrs. Colston's opinion of hotel standards abroad was ever based on those at home in "England (the sole land of comfort)." Even in Switzerland, our writer was not to give her readers a better "delineation of scenes they have visited, accordant with their recollections, and in unison with their feelings" than she did in Rome, and those, who have visited the Eternal City, will enter

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 290.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 68.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 85.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 132.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 133.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 84.
fully into the meaning of her words.

"As our intelligent friend (l) here pointed out to us the various edifices, ruins or localities which had been the scenes of great events, and of immortal deeds, I could with difficulty believe that I really saw these celebrated sites, the names of which had for so many years been familiar to my ear."2

Following the customary round of British tourists in Italy, they had come in time for the magnificent ceremonies of Holy Week, which culminated on Easter Day, the 2nd of April, with pontifical High Mass in the basilica and papal benediction in St. Peter's Square.

"The whole scene," wrote Mrs. Colston, "was grand, impressive, and magnificent, beyond any I have before witnessed."3

Chapters 6 and 7 are the most informative of her journal, for she and her husband appear to have omitted nothing worth seeing in and around Rome.

On the 9th of May, they set out for Venice, travelling by way of Terni, Spoleto - just before Loretto, catching their first sight of the Adriatic - Ancona, Rimini and across the Rubicon on to Bologna, where they stayed two days at the end of the month. They were now in the Plain of Lombardy, which, in Mrs. Colston's opinion, "though fertile, and cultivated in the highest degree, and exhibiting the richest verdure, possesses little of picturesque beauty,"4 and were soon at Ferrara, associated in her mind with Tasso and Ariosto and where they passed an agreeable day at the home of "Count M, whom Miss A, had known in Scotland."5 Crossing the Po, they "passed from the Roman into the Venetian State, now groaning under the yoke of Austria,"6 paused to see the sights at Padua and hastened on to Venice, hoping, with

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1 "the President of the English College, the Abbe G.", ibid., Vol. 1, p. 134.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 135.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 173.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 296.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 249.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 251.
all the addiction of British Protestant tourists for Italian Catholic ceremonies, to be in time for "Corpus Domini." ¹

June 2nd to 12th were spent in Venice, where Mrs. Colston found the gayest shops she had seen since Paris and was every day so fatigued with sight-seeing, that she was never able to attend any evening amusement.

Summing up her observations on the city, she wrote, "It is a poetic existence that one leads at Venice, ...... it is the state of being most congenial to the poet, and I marvel not that it is Lord Byron's residence." ²

From there, they set out for Milan, visiting en route the towns of Treviso and Bassano - where they "purchased a very excellent engraving of Leonardo da Vinci's famous picture of the Last Supper, for twelve francs" ³ - and admiring the mountain scenery of the Tyrol in spite of the bad state of the roads.

"I have heard much of the valley of stones in England," ran her pen, "but I suspect that if I live to see it, it will appear but a valley of pebbles compared with this of Valsugana." ⁴

They left Trent on 16th June and, two days later, reached Verona. They slept the nights of 20th and 21st June at Virgil's Mantua, where they felt "the spell, unbroken by the lapse of ages, which the poet's well-remembered line has thrown around the sacred scene of his nativity," ⁵ and saw an astonishing amount in a single day.

Here, warned of banditti, "we took the precaution of loading our pistols, and avoided travelling either too early or too late in the day." ⁶

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 255-256.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 273.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 276.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 279.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 292.
⁶ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 297.
By June 24th, they were at Lodi, where they were shown over the academy founded by Maria Cosway and the "large and handsome" hospital, erected by the French during their recent occupation of Italy but indifferently maintained by the Austrian government since. In contrast, they saw evidence of the "more than common injury during the late wars" sustained by Pavia. By June 25th, they were nearing Milan.

"Many miles before we reached it," Mrs. Colston accurately recorded, "we saw the bright and towering spires of its cathedral, rising above the trees which surrounded us, the distant Alps forming a magnificent back-ground." 4

By 5th July, they had seen everything of interest in the city - da Vinci's famous fresco, St. Ambrogio and many lesser churches, the Brera, the Observatory and the Hospital, "capable of containing two thousand patients" 5 - had heard "a favourite singer of our own nation, Miss Farren," 6 at La Scala and had witnessed the ceremonial entry of the hated Austrian viceroy.

At last, on 5th July, "we left Milan, and took the road to Como. The distant Alps of the Simplon and St. Bernard, soon came in view; their sides, as well as summits, covered with snow, forming a singular contrast with the verdure of the trees and fields. As we approached nearer Como, we wound through narrow glens, and between hills covered with wood, of differing and picturesque forms, occasionally varied by rugged masses of barren rock, till at a very short distance before we entered it, the town and lake came in sight, with the high mountains which constitute their picturesque background." A description accurate in every detail. "Passing the outskirts of the town, we arrived at our villa which we had previously engaged: - the rooms looking immediately upon the lake, presented a scene of tranquility and

1 Vide supra.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 300.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 302.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 312.
6 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 320.
beauty that quite delighted us, and seemed to promise much comfort
for the time we intended passing there. "...for," wrote Mrs. Colston,
although a great lover of travelling, and of the wonderful and
beautiful scenes of nature, I had now been long enough in constant
loco-motion, to wish for a little repose."1

By the beginning of July, 1820, towards the end of a strenuous
programme of uninterrupted travel and sightseeing, the time for a "little
repose" was long overdue. On more than one occasion, since the middle of
May, Mrs. Colston had shown signs of fatigue. At Macerata, she had been
"too fatigued"2 to visit its handsome churches, at Pesaro "too tired"3 to
enter the cathedral, while at Faenza, her husband and Miss A. had to go to
the Capuchin church, again without her. However, before they settled into
the lakeside villa, which was to be their residence for "between two and
three months"4 at Como, they devoted a couple of weeks to excursions in the
immediate neighbourhood.

They sailed on Lake Maggiore to the celebrated Borromean Islands.
They visited the many fine palaces and villas, for which the region was
noted, among them two which no tourist ever passed - Count Borromeo's
palace and even more famous gardens on Isola Bella and, at Cernobbio, the
Villa d'Este, which held particular interest for the English.

"...we visited Villa d'Este, the residence of our Queen
for a year and a half, and which now belongs to the banker of the
English at Rome, Torlonia, Duke of Bracciano."5

Caroline's departure was recent enough for gossip about her
indiscretions still to be ringing round the neighbourhood for, significantly,
Mrs. Colston wrote,

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 322.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 227.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 235.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 338.

The reference is to Caroline of Brunswick, wife of George IV.
"Had this Princess, during her residence on the Continent, conducted herself with the dignity which her rank and sex required, with what feelings of veneration and sympathy would English travellers approach her abode; consecrated as the asylum of suffering virtue!"

The same fortnight, they also paid visits to local industries. They drove to an iron foundry at Dongo, a silk mill at Bellano and a marble quarry at Varena. They went boating on Lake Como. He fished and she sketched and, on this note, she closed her entry for the 19th of July, not to re-open her journal until the 18th of September, when they were preparing to leave Italy for Switzerland.

"After a residence of between two and three months at Como," she wrote, "I must not quit it without a few observations on what it contains most worthy of notice. This town is celebrated for having given birth to Pliny the younger; to Paolo Giovio, who was successively physician, bishop, and historian; to Pope Innocent XI and Clement XIII; and to the physician Volta. But it possesses a higher interest in my breast, as having been the birthplace of my little darling Arabella, who here first saw the light of day, at half after eleven o'clock, on the 29th of July."

They left Como on a Monday morning, Miss A., who was still with them, travelling in a separate vehicle on account of "the little accession to our party", and drove through beautiful country westwards to Varese, thence in a more southerly direction to Sesto, near the southern extremity of Maggiore, where they took up their abode for the night at a very good inn, immediately overlooking the Ticino.

If Tuesday, the 19th, was equally uneventful, it was certainly passed among scenes of increased grandeur. Having crossed the river in a barge, they were soon within sight of the lake and driving west along its shore by

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 340.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 346.
a road which, in two or three miles, connected with the great Simplon highway.

"The road along which we passed was excellent, and the traveller must again with complacency think of Bonaparte, by whom it was made from Milan to the extremity of the Simplon; the prospects which it commands are beautiful, and many points afford admirable subjects for painting." 1

Fain would Mrs. Colston have tarried for one last sketch.

"I longed frequently to take a sketch, but our time would not permit, as we had this day forty miles journey to reach Domo d'Ossala." 2

The great road wound northwards along the lovely rim of Lake Maggiore and brought them by Arona and Stresa - though Mrs. Colston mentions neither - to the village of "Ferriola", 3 situated at the foot of rocks, which the geologist of the party correctly identified as granite. 4 "On the side of one of the mountains," - they would see it to their left above Arona - they saw the colossal, bronze statue of St. Carlo Borromeo 5 and may have been reminded of their visit to his shrine in Milan cathedral the previous June. Presently, through a rainy mist, they dimly discerned the Borromean Islands, visited even more recently, during their first fortnight in Como.

Mrs. Colston noted how both the features and the costume of the local peasants differed from those of Como, but she gives no details, except, of course, as regards their hats:

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 347.
2 Ibid. She gives an accurate enough estimate of their mileage, which was better than on the previous day when they were travelling on an inferior road.
3 Ibid. She refers to Feriolo.
4 Whether Mrs. Colston knew it or not, this fine, rose-coloured stone was used to build much of Milan and she had seen it in the "noble granite pillars", flanking the entrance to the sports arena, built there by Napoleon. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 309.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 347. The writer makes the slight error of mentioning that she saw the statue after - and not before - seeing the Borromean Islands.
Feriolo, where they dined, stood at the mouth of the Toce, up whose valley the Simplon road ran to Domodossola.

"On leaving this place we quitted the lake," ran the entry in her journal, "and our route from hence wound through narrow valleys, bounded on each side by high, and for the most part, richly wooded mountains, some of which were covered with vines. We passed the Toccia, over a long and pretty wooden bridge. It is a river of considerable size, its banks are bordered with fine trees."¹

Her description is as apt to-day as when it was written, apart from the bridge, which was demolished fourteen years later by the floods of 1834. In actual fact, though she does not say so, the Colstons must have crossed the river twice, first beside Cuzzago and then rather more than a mile above Vogogna. Which of the two bridges she describes may be surmised by reference, not to 1834, when both were swept away, but to the word "long", suggestive of the one beside Cuzzago, by which part of its course the Toce has been augmented by the waters of the Anza and is, therefore, "of considerable size."

As the Colstons advanced up its valley, the Alps increased in height, closing in, as she so rightly says, till they appeared to form a complete barrier beyond Domodossola, where our party of travellers slept the night at a large inn.

Shortly after seven the following morning, they commenced the final stage of their journey to Switzerland, the passage of the Simplon, and, as they ascended "this grand and singular road", ² took their last look of Italy. Three miles beyond Domodossola, their route left the valley of the Toce for that of its tributary, the Diveria, bending north, then west to

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 348.
² Ibid.
Gondo, where, though she does not say so, Mrs. Colston entered Switzerland.  

“We passed the fine bridge of Crevola, which is sixty feet long, and more than one hundred high, and crosses the Doveria, a mountain torrent, which is here of great size and force.  

.....but its course was not tranquil, compared to the fury with which it must roar and foam through its rocky bed, when swelled by the melting of the snows in spring.”

Soon they were passing through the first of the several great galleries, or "stupendous passages cut through the rocks", for which the highway was remarkable and which, to Mrs. Colston, seemed "well suited for the subject of a painting."

There are few places in Switzerland, Italy or, indeed, the rest of Europe, by which travellers have been so much impressed as by the Simplon, and few which they have so much described with reference to the impression that its magnificent and awe-inspiring scenery has made, not only on their eye but on their mind. After the completion of Napoleon’s carriage-way in 1805, the Pass became one of the most accessible in the Alps, rivalling, in this respect, even the Mont Cenis. Travellers' descriptions multiplied, but Wordsworth's lines, written after his first visit in 1790, remained unequalled. We are not surprised to find that Mrs. Colston's description suffers by comparison with that of the poet — though the comparison is, perhaps, not a fair one. Rather are we surprised to find that it disappoints when compared with her own lively description of mountains crossed earlier

1 She does, however, refer to crossing the frontier in a short paragraph interpolated, for no apparent reason, towards the end of her narrative of the Simplon. "On the opposite side of the village of the Simplon, where a tower of seven stories stands, which was once an inn, but is now deserted, we quitted the lovely country of Italy and entered that of Switzerland." Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 354. This building is identifiable by its seven storeys as the hospice built by Kasper Jodok von Stockalper, at Gondo, in 1650 for the use of travellers in the Pass.

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 348-349.

3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 348.

4 Ibid.

in her travels.

This may be explained partly by the fact that she considered the Simplon highway to be safer for the traveller but the road over the Juras to afford him a greater feeling of the sublime.

"The road over the Juras, though often carried along the ledge of tremendous precipices, has neither wall, nor guard of any kind, to preserve the traveller in case of a horse proving restive, or any other accident, from falling into the awful abyss below! and, although the fine barriers with which Bonaparte has furnished the noble road of the Simplon, add greatly to the traveller’s comfort, they perhaps, a little diminish the feeling of the sublime."1

It may also be explained by the fact that the prime cause of the adventurous conditions, obtaining on both the Juras and the Mont Cenis, was lacking on the Simplon. Though the cold on the Simplon in September was little less, Mrs. Colston thought, than what they had suffered on the Mont Cenis the previous November,2 and though "in Miss A.’s carriage (which was open), the thermometer was only three degrees above the freezing point,"3 yet the amount of snow was negligible. They encountered but one fall and that for only an hour or two at the summit.

But we must also remember that, even if travel conditions had been the same as before, Mrs. Colston herself was now different. Marriage, motherhood and residence abroad had inevitably altered her outlook within the past eleven months and this becomes apparent as we read the pages of her journal, which cover the 20th and 21st of September. There, for example, we find the ravine of Gondo, indisputably one of the most impressive in the whole Alpine chain, passed over in a few mediocre lines.

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1 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 353.
2 By a slip of the memory, Mrs. Colston wrote "December."
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 352.
"We had now reached the desolate valley of Gondo, the narrow bounds of which are filled with stones, and grand masses of rock, over which the torrent forces its way. Lofty mountains rise around, on whose ample sides a few small and scattered cottages, by their minute dimensions, form a striking contrast with the gigantic scale of the scenery, in which they present merely spots, without diminishing the solitary grandeur of the prospect."

And we find a spectacular triumph of engineering, like the Gallery of Gondo, turned off in even fewer.

"At some distance beyond, we passed the grandest and longest of the six galleries, which is 683 feet in length, cut through the solid granite."  

It is reasonable to wonder whether the blame for this lowered standard of writing may not pardonably be laid on the distracting infant charms of the little Arabella for, in contrast, her mother makes more of the "domestic episode" which transpired, when the party reached the village of Simplon on the evening of the 20th.

"At length we alighted at the inn of the above-mentioned village, which is situated 4,548 feet (4) above the level of the sea. We arrived, exceedingly cold, and found the heat of a stove, in the only sitting-room the house afforded, very comfortable. We had not long been enjoying its beneficial warmth, when a gentleman and lady entered, and took their seats near us, half perished like ourselves with cold. After a few words exchanged in French and Italian, we mutually discovered, that the sounds of the English language were still more familiar to each other; and were equally surprised and pleased, to meet our compatriots in this wild region. We dined together, and passed a most agreeable evening, with Mr. F. and his very intelligent and agreeable lady."

This charming passage deserves to be quoted, if only as an example of the singular experiences, which could befall British women travellers, however young, in Switzerland and the Alps.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 349-350.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 350.
3 There are actually seven galleries and the one at Gondo is approximately 46 feet longer than she says.
4 This figure is too low by about 300 feet and is apparently taken from Ebel, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 238.
"We again breakfasted together the following morning, and being anxious to avail ourselves of this first opportunity of having our dear little girl baptised, by an English clergyman, we requested the favour of Mr. F. to perform this ceremony. He gratified our wishes with the most friendly politeness, and read the short, but solemn service, in a very impressive and devotional manner. My little darling was thus baptised, on the 21st of September, and admitted as a member of the visible church of God."¹

Possibly nothing so unlooked for had happened at the little inn since Napoleon stopped for a glass of milk!²

"She is, probably," wrote her fond parent, "the first English child who has been baptised on the summits of the Simplon."³

Leaving their "newly acquired English friends, with some regret,"⁴ they set out, on this bitterly cold morning, to cross the head of the Pass and descend to Glis, in the Swiss canton of Valais.

"We reached the highest summit of the chain which the road traverses, and which is 6,174 feet (5) above the level of the sea. After passing an Hospice, situated near this point, we began to descend,(6) and truly happy was I in the prospect of reaching more genial regions; as I had seen enough of frost, and snow, during the last winter, to satisfy my curiosity for this Hibernal scenery."⁷

Soon, however, the weather cleared and the prospect grew less austere, as they drove down through woods of larch and dark, luxuriant fir. Bright sunshine, alternating with dense mist, lit up mountain torrents cascading

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 350-351.
² A local tradition.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 351.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 351-352.
⁵ Too low by about 400 feet. Probably taken from Ebel, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 240.
⁶ The order of events, as given by the writer, is not quite correct. The Colstons must first have passed the hospice, then reached the summit and afterwards begun to descend. It is difficult to say which of the two hospices near the summit she refers to. "Near this point", i.e. the summit, might indicate the newer hospice, undertaken in 1802 by Napoleon and completed in 1825 by the Austin canons of the Great St. Bernard. It stands nearer both the summit and the road than does the older hospice, built by Stockalper in 1653, which stands off and below the new road and is where Wordsworth passed a memorable night in 1790.
to the valley below to join the Rhone. Over two of these streams, the Kanter and the Saltine, Mrs. Colston remarked the handsome bridges, which added to the picturesque beauty of the road.

"The wild majesty of the firs, which clothed the higher Alps," was gradually replaced by the softer beauty of the beech and ash, as they approached the lower slopes and came within sight of Brig, lying half a mile below the Napoleon Bridge, and of their destination, Glis.

"We left on our right the former, which is the best built of any of the towns in the Valais, (4) and to which the tin-covered domes of its convents and chateau, give an air of importance superior to the reality, and appear highly picturesque when glistening in the sun-beams." 5

Mrs. Colston would have no difficulty in making out the three distinctive "onion" domes of the Stockalperpalast and the extensive roofs of the Jesuit College and the Ursuline Convent, but to say that they gave "an air of importance superior to the reality" was to show her ignorance of the achievements of the "King of the Simplon", who built them off the proceeds of his trading monopoly in the Pass during the 17th century. Then, in its golden days, Brig was the northern terminal of the ancient trade route over the Simplon, but military considerations caused Napoleon's engineers to by-pass the town, the old and new routes diverging at the bridge over the Saltine. Down the latter, the Colstons bent their way towards Glis, to enjoy "a comfortable night's repose at a very pretty quiet inn." 6

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1 See Ebel, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 240. A tributary of the Saltine, better known as the Ganter.
2 The bridge is called after Napoleon.
3 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 354.
5 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 354.
6 Ibid.
The view from each of its rooms was so beautiful, that it seemed to Mrs. Colston built for an artist's residence and she longed to take up her abode there, to sketch the prospects its vicinity afforded, but, the next morning, on they went by the side of the Rhone, flowing rapidly down to Sion, through a fertile valley filled with trees and shrubs, bearing their autumn tints, where the birch, in particular, grew with great luxuriance and fringed with its graceful foliage the banks of the river.

Fresh from Italy, Mrs. Colston was quick to notice differences in Switzerland. The chill, damp air of the rainy morning she found far from agreeable, after the warm climate of the south, and her observation, that the houses they passed and the bridges they crossed were all of wood, was doubtless prompted by memories of how much more stone was used for these structures in Italy. In particular, she was struck by "the physiognomy of the peasants", which "bore no longer any resemblance to the Italian countenance. Their features were broad, flat, and although generally set off by the hue of health, which the mountain air bestows, they were for the most part the reverse of handsome." She remarked, too, that the appearance of the women was not improved by their "little round hats of beaver, almost in the shape of pans."2

They dined at the village of Turtmann and, afterwards, her husband, accompanied by Miss A., took a short stroll, very popular with tourists, to view a neighbouring waterfall, but -

".....as the weather was so unfavourable, and I was not yet so strong as formerly, I contented myself with staying at the inn," wrote the young mother, "and looking at a little home prospect, of which, somehow or other, I never tire."3

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 355.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 355-356.
Their "route from Turtmann continued through very romantic scenery" and they "passed the town of Leuck (celebrated for its baths of mineral waters)." At length, the castle of Sion and the bishop's palace rose to view, perched on their little hills overlooking the "populous and busy" capital of the canton. Like many another British tourist on the Simplon route, Mrs. Colston thought it a picturesque sight and, moreover, observed that here the "pan" hats of the Valais were worn with "gay ribbons round the brim."

The next morning, September 23rd, they left Sion and went on their way down the Rhone valley to Bex.

"Of all the country that I have passed through," Mrs. Colston wrote on her journal at the end of the day, "none has given me more delight, than that I have witnessed in this day's journey; which has afforded a combination of all the beautiful, sublime, and romantic objects which I can imagine."

They were, indeed, not two miles out of Sion when, so "highly romantic and beautiful" did its castle with the surrounding mountains and country appear, that they alighted from their carriages to take a sketch, the first, as far as Mrs. Colston tells us, that she had made in Switzerland. As they proceeded, "the road became perfectly beautiful."

Crossing "a picturesque wooden bridge over the magnificent river," they "now entered the grand valley of the Rhone, which is bounded by mountains, whose majestic summits covered with firs, seem to vie in elevation with the sky."

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 356. She confuses Leuk, at the mouth of the Dala, with Leukerbad, nine to ten miles up its valley.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 357.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
The exact meaning of the words, "now entered the grand valley of the Rhone," is not, however, quite clear, for the Colstons had, in fact, entered the valley two days earlier at Glis. Perhaps Mrs. Colston refers to the picturesque gorge, through which the river flows, after it turns to the north, near Martigny, and receives the waters of the Dranse, on which that town is situated. We have already seen, notably between Sesto and Feriolo, and again near the summit of the Simplon, that occasionally, in her narrative, she chronicles events not in the order in which they occurred. Here may be another example of the same fault, attributable to nothing more than a slip of the memory when writing up her notes at the end of the day. The little party of travellers must have first stopped at Martigny, taken a walk round the town, admired the striking ruins of its ancient castle, remarked signs of the devastation caused by the terrible floods of the Dranse in 1818, developed a keen appetite, enjoyed an excellent dinner, resumed their journey and then "entered the grand valley of the Rhone."

But she is entirely correct in her description of the next stage in their journey.

"While still at a very considerable distance, we came in sight of the noble fall of the Pissevache, which has a more imposing and striking effect from the surrounding dreariness, being the only moving object in this wild solitude."\(^1\)

Borrowing the idea, perhaps, from her guidebook, she scrambled up the rocks to the foot of the cascade\(^2\) and "highly enjoyed the view of its white waters, falling in sheets of foam."\(^3\) Though not to be compared with the

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 358.
3 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 358.

The Pissevache, or Falls of the Salanfe, descends about 200 feet from a ravine in the side of the Dent du Midi.
falls of Terni or Tivoli, she thought it had a character of grandeur peculiar to itself.

The next striking object in view was St. Maurice, occupying a most singular site on rocks above the river, narrowly enclosed between the base of two remarkable mountains, the Dent du Midi and the Dent de Morcles.

"At a short distance it has a most picturesque appearance," Mrs. Colston tells us, "and I could not resist taking a hasty sketch of it."\(^1\)

On their way out of the little town, they passed over its historic bridge and, though she repeated in writing both what local legend and Ebel\(^2\) told her, Mrs. Colston formed her own judgment of its origin and age.

"At the further end of the town the entrance is closed by a beautiful bridge over the Rhone, consisting of one noble arch. Julius Caesar is said to have been the founder of this bridge, but it does not look as if it had existed for so many ages."\(^3\)

She was right. Though in all likelihood it replaced another of Roman origin, the bridge had been built in the 15th century by Bishop Jost von Silenen, whose castle at Sion she had sketched, and whose castle at Martigny she had admired earlier that day.

Her eye was quick to note its strategic position.

"It is a singular circumstance, that the whole long valley of the Rhone is closed on this side, by shutting the gate of this bridge, so narrow is the pass in this spot."\(^4\)

Before this scene of matchless beauty, Mrs. Colston took out her sketching materials.

\(^1\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 358-359.
\(^4\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 359.
"The view of the river, mountains, woody glen, and picturesque buildings which this bridge commands, is of almost unparalleled beauty, so that I was again compelled to take two hasty sketches of this enchanting scenery."  

It will be recalled that Mrs. Colston introduced an element of originality into her book by using her own sketches by way of illustration.

In the words of the Preface, "Fifty lithographic prints of some of the most picturesque and beautiful points of view described in these volumes, taken from the original drawings of the author, accompany the work, and she hopes the pencil will supply the deficiencies of the pen, in placing these interesting scenes before the eyes of the reader."  

Of these fifty prints, the first twelve were drawn from scenes in Italy, the last twenty-seven from scenes in France and the intermediate eleven, numbers 13 to 23 inclusive, from Switzerland. The importance of good illustrations in a work like hers was not to be underestimated. We need only recall Lady Blessington's mot on Roger's Italy - "it would have been dished were it not for the plates."  

Possibly advised by Baron Denon, who interested himself in the execution of the plates, and possibly impressed by what she may have seen of his work, which was exhibited in the Paris Salon every year from 1819 to 1822, Mrs. Colston entrusted the reproduction of her sketches to François le Villain, whose studio, in the Rue de Sèvres, was frequented in its day by the most celebrated lithographic artists of the Romantic School. The result was a large folio volume, to be studied in conjunction with her journal.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. x.
3 A reference to the edition of 1830, illustrated by Turner and Stothard.
4 Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon, 1747-1825, director-general of French museums under Napoleon I.
It is not the concern of this thesis to pass judgment on the artistic merit of her work, which must have owed some of whatever success it won to the topicality of its subjects. At this time, for example, Italian scenes were all the rage and sold excellently. It was the aim of every artist to reach Rome and to reproduce upon his canvas the mellow light of the Campagna. Whilst there, Mrs. Colston had herself visited the studio of the Englishman, Morgan, the German, Metz, and the Swiss, "Keisermann." To this fashion, she therefore subscribed. Nor, it seems, was she averse to a bit of gossip, pictorially represented. Her sketch of the Villa d'Este, near Como, was made, it will be remembered, when the quarrels between George IV and his Queen had reached their scandalous height, and were published when Caroline had been dead for only a year.

Our interest, however, is with the drawings made in Switzerland. The first of these, no. 13, was made on September 23rd, at Martigny, but is not mentioned in the text of Mrs. Colston's journal. The second, no. 14, was made later the same day and must be one of the "two hasty sketches" mentioned above. The "river, mountains, woody glen, and picturesque buildings," which the St. Maurice bridge commands, all appear in her picture, which a little study proves to have been made from a viewpoint north of the town and facing up the Rhone towards the pyramidal peak of the Catogne.

1 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 148. This was probably J.W. Morgan, (op. 1819-33), who worked entirely in Italy, at Florence and Naples.
3 "a Swiss artist of great merit". Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 183.
4 Franz Keisermann, (1765-1833), of Yverdon, pupil of Duclos at Rome, patronised by Prince Borghese, painted landscapes and monuments. See also ibid., Vol. 1, p. 219.
The Bridge of St. Maurice.
Therefore, the 16th century castle at the foot of the Dent du Midi appears to the right of the picture while, to the left, at the foot of the Dent de Morcles, appears the end of the bridge with the gateway, which, in Mrs. Colston's day, was locked every night to prevent illegal entry from the canton of Vaud, marching here, on the right bank of the Rhône, with the canton of Valais on the left. The lady's sketch is today of some historical interest for, a few years after she saw it, the gateway was removed while, in 1942, a fall of rock disposed of the castle tower. It was also a fitting conclusion to a day which had afforded Mrs. Colston, as she tells us, a combination of the beautiful, the sublime and the romantic.

Soon after, our travellers were at Bex, lodged for the night in "a very comfortable inn"¹ with several other families of English, also, no doubt, using the busy Simplon route.

"The village of Bex," wrote Mrs. Colston, "is exceedingly pretty, and is remarkable for the salt-mines in its vicinity. I wished to visit them, but was rather fearful of taking cold; and as they were at some distance we did not delay to explore them."²

It seems that to delay was not in the nature of the Colstons, though, the next day being Sunday, Mr. C. took time to attend divine service before they set out for Vevey.

"At Bex the inhabitants are Protestant. Mr. C. went to church, and heard the service performed in French."³

We appreciate that, having crossed the Rhône, the Colstons had left the German-speaking, Catholic Valais for the French-speaking, Protestant

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 359.
² Ibid.
³ "at some distance" - about two miles.
⁴ Ibid.
Vaud, and are, consequently, rather surprised by a sentence, which comes immediately after Mrs. Colston's description of the Lake of Geneva, by whose shore they drove to Vevey.

"We here quitted the Valais, and entered the Pays de Vaud."¹

This, and her disparaging reference to the inhabitants of the Valais which follows - and which bears a suspicious resemblance to what Ebel has to say about indolence and dirt in the Lower Valais² - should, to be correct, have been placed after her description of the St. Maurice bridge.

One other point may be noted, before we take the road with our travellers for their eighteen miles' drive to Vevey.³ Mrs. Colston records in her journal no scruple of conscience at this journey undertaken on a Sunday - "a more beautiful drive I never enjoyed."⁴ We have already observed how she had changed in the past year.

If yesterday's scenes had given her more delight than any previously witnessed on her travels, to-day's made an even greater impression. Italy, itself, suffered by comparison.

"The mountains sink as we approach the lake of Geneva, and expanding, afford a view of its beautiful blue waters, nearly of the color of lapis lazuli. Not very far from the road, the Rhone enters the lake. The fine expanse of Lake Geneva, is a pleasing contrast to those who have lately witnessed the narrow, though picturesque shores of Como; - if the latter carry away the palm of beauty, the former is unquestionably superior in grandeur. The lofty, and magnificent mountains," she continued, warming to her subject, "their higher regions covered with perpetual snow, whilst beautiful verdure adorns the borders of the lake; the number of towns and villages, situated on promontories stretching out into the water, or upon the hills overlooking it; the purity and healthiness of the air; the clean countenances and cheerful aspect of the inhabitants, numbers of whom we met walking or

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 360.
² Ebel, op.cit., Vol. 4, p. 325.
³ As usual, an accurate enough estimate of the distance.
driving along the road, in their Sunday attire, rendered the prospect pleasing and delightful in the highest degree. I do not know," she concluded, with a burst of enthusiasm, "when I have found a situation more exhilarating to the spirits."1

To all this was presently added the pleasure of literary associations, in which this part of Switzerland was particularly rich.

"We now passed the castle of Chillon, which was built by the Dukes of Savoy, in the 13th century, as a receptacle for state prisoners; and which has of late years acquired a new interest, from the beautiful poem of Lord Byron, The Prisoner of Chillon."2

This being so, Mrs. Colston centred her description of the fortress on its famous dungeon. This was the only part which Ebel mentioned as worth seeing anyway.

"The prison," she accurately noted, "is partly excavated from the rock, and is almost dark: the roof is arched, and supported by large stone pillars..."3

Briefly, she related the story of Bonnivard, its most celebrated occupant, but she sought in vain, in the account, fastened to one of the pillars, of the tragical events which had taken place in this prison, to find "the history of the three brothers, whose heart-rending narrative Lord Byron's genius has rendered so painfully interesting," and so widely accepted as fact among British tourists, she might have added, had she known that the three brothers existed only in the imagination of the poet.

Briefly, too, she recalled another literary association.

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1 Compare, for example, ibid., Vol. I, p. 57, when she felt reproached at the sight of church-goers.
3 Ibid.
The Castle of Chillon.
"This castle, so striking in its situation and character, has likewise been selected by Rousseau, as the scene of the catastrophe which occasioned Julia's death."1

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"The fascinating pen of Rousseau" had, in fact, immortalised this entire district on the northern shore of the lake.

"We soon after passed through the sweet village of Montreuil; and at a little distance beyond is that of Clarens, which the pen of Rousseau has immortalized in his interesting, though not faultless romance, la Nouvelle Héloïse. It is a pretty village, with some fine trees, and a great quantity of vines surround it."4

Soon, they were at Vevey, "a pretty town, delightfully situated; the principal church commands a charming view of the grand rocks of Meillerie on the opposite shore, and the magnificent mountains of the Valais; the public walk by the lake can with difficulty be surpassed in beauty."6

The caps worn by the local women, neat, becoming, white as snow, "with the cheerful aspect of the wearers' countenance," made Mrs. Colston almost fancy herself in England - an interesting comment by the writer, and one which shows her beginning to observe not only the hats worn in Switzerland but also what was underneath them, something which, so far, she had not shown much sign of doing.

"We slept at this sweet place," she tells us, "and the following morning quitted it for the still more celebrated Lausanne, formerly the residence of our Gibbon."8

1 Ibid.
Though this is unmentioned in the text, Mrs. Colston made a sketch of Chillon from some point on the lakeside, possibly the small promontory near Territet, and it appears as no. 15 of her prints, dated, incorrectly, September 25th. Its several faults, e.g. in the architectural detail of the castle, in the distant buildings, relatively out of proportion, of Villeneuve and in the outline of the mountains behind this town, suggest that it was completed later from hasty work done on the 24th, a method of working which she often seems to have adopted.

2 Ibid.

3 An error for Montreux.

4 Ibid.

5 No doubt she refers to the 15th century church of St. Martin, built on a hill outside the town.


7 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 362.

8 Ibid.
On the way, the prospect became, if possible, still more enchanting, with their old friends, the Jura Mountains, towering like fleecy clouds over the horizon.

"After a most delightful drive", through villages and towns, of which St. Saphorin alone is mentioned, they reached Lausanne, which, in Mrs. Colston's estimation,

"...though greatly resembling Vevey, is superior to it in magnitude, buildings, and even in situation; it has a cathedral, and two churches, the former of which commands a delightful prospect."  

Brief as must have been her stay in Lausanne, Mrs. Colston drew its likeness well in her journal. Driving into the main square by the post-road from Vevey, she must have seen there the mediaeval church of St. Francis - the second church she mentions is less easily identifiable - and driving out to Moudon, up streets "inconveniently steep for carriages" - for Lausanne is built on the slopes of Mont Jorat - she must have seen, in the higher part of the town, the cathedral of Notre Dame, where she would appear to have stopped to enjoy the "delightful prospect" from the terrace on its south side.

Its many amenities, not the least of which were the educational establishments, whereby Lausanne had long rivalled even Geneva, had always attracted British residents, in numbers noticeable even to a passing tourist.

"The town, and vicinity of Lausanne, seemed peopled with English, and I was so delighted with what I had seen of both, that I felt much inclined to add to the number."  

But, the usual haste prevailed - "the advanced season of the year for travelling, rendered every day of importance" - and, turning their horses'
heads in the direction of Fribourg and Berne, they soon found themselves among scenes very different from the grand, snow-capped mountains and expansive lake, which had wellnigh exhausted their powers of admiration.

"We were now crossing the Jorat chain; wooded hills, pretty villages embosomed in trees, cattle feeding on the uplands, were objects which afforded a pleasing repose to the eye, and mind of the traveller, almost fatigued with sensations of admiration."¹

That night, they slept at Moudon, a town "containing no object worthy of attention." But this was hardly correct, for it contained a very fine 13th century church of Gothic architecture - her favourite style - which haste must have prevented her noticing.

Their road to Payerne, on the 26th, continued to lead through country "fertile, pastoral and richly cultivated," reminiscent of their own land, but this very fact must have quickened them to mark its alien features - tobacco, growing in the fields and hanging to dry from cottage eaves and again, as in the Juras and Savoy, the roofs of these cottages steeply pitched and extended well beyond their walls to carry off the snow.

"In this small town," Mrs. Colston wrote of Payerne, "the only object worth remarking, is an ancient bridge, with a Roman inscription."⁶

As we noted in her remarks on Brig, Mrs. Colston's knowledge of the history of Switzerland had its limitations, though with one aspect of it she was well acquainted as we shall see. Grounded as she was in the classics, what happened in Switzerland in Roman times must have seemed to

² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 363. Mentioned here but not in the relevant part of her journal.
⁶ Ibid.
her of more importance than what took place in the Dark Ages, though the story was there for her to read, in Ebel, of good Queen Bertha, spinning as she rode to Payerne.

It has already been indicated that our authoress was inclined to focus her attention more on inanimate objects than on living persons and to make little contact with the Swiss. The following lines in her journal are quoted as an exception to this general rule.

"Whilst taking refreshment at Payerne, a pedestrian traveller entered the room for the same purpose. He was a young man with rather a handsome physiognomy, and very respectably dressed." In the age and class to which she belonged, the writer would be inclined to regard any pedestrian traveller as hardly respectable, let alone "respectably dressed." "On his entrance he unfastened his knapsack, which was hung by a leathern girdle round his neck, and at the same time detached from the belt a leather bottle of brandy; a young poodle dog completed his travelling equipment. I was amused by the singular contrast which this Swiss pedestrian, thus literally (as the old ballad says) "standing in the midst of his goods," offered to our heavy carriage, with its huge imperial, its wells, and all the multiplied articles of household convenience, which we carried about with us. He was an instance of the advantage of having but few wants; for he had left Moudon nearly at the same hour as ourselves, and had thus performed the distance on his feet, almost in the same time which we had required to transport our possessions, and ourselves, with the assistance of six horses, including those of Miss A.'s carriage."

It is to be regretted that Mrs. Colston did not give us more studies of those she encountered on her travels in Switzerland, and, from the above extract, it will be observed that, though she had not lost her characteristic tendency to moralise as she wrote, she had greatly modified it since first setting pen to paper.

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1 Ebel, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 51.
From Payerne, they drove on a road "intolerably bad", but enjoyed a distant prospect of majestic, snowy peaks - they were looking at the Bernese Oberland - as they approached Fribourg. In her journal, Mrs. Colston described this town at greater length than any other she had so far visited in Switzerland. Her account owes little to Ebel and appears to be based mainly on personal observation. She described Fribourg's most singular feature first.

"The situation of this capital\(^2\) is the most singular, and extraordinary of any town that I have yet seen. The inequalities of ground on which the streets are built, are so great, that many are quite impassable in carriages. .... The pavement of the street of the Grande Fontaine, serves as a roof to the houses of the Court Chemin...... Some of the streets and houses are situated on the declivities of perpendicular rocks...... ; others on the banks of the Saline, which flows between these rocks. .......the town has a most picturesque appearance, but so singular, that no one who had not been there, would believe a drawing of it to be correct."\(^3\)

Edinburgh, which she had not seen, might resemble it, Tunbridge Wells had some similarity, but Fribourg was by far the most extraordinary and romantic. Unfortunately, the "dingy greenish colour" of its rocks and buildings gave an aspect of melancholy to its streets.

Her sightseeing tour, on the following morning, apparently covered the "handsome" cathedral, with its 356 ft. tower and its "curious carved work" above the principal gateway, "representing the devils thrusting the wicked into cauldrons of fire." As an admirer of the Gothic, Mrs. Colston would consider St. Nicholas "handsome" and there she observed, under the tower and

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1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 364.
2 Capital of the canton of Fribourg.
5 Ibid.
6 A figure not taken from Ebel, who says 300 feet, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 394.
above the main portal, a bas-relief, showing the Last Judgment, but it is interesting to note that she mentions only the righthand side, depicting the punishment of the damned, and ignores the lefthand side, depicting the reward of the blessed.

She appears to have seen, "in the centre of the town," the ancient linden tree, "which is between four and five hundred years old, having been planted in 1476, in commemoration of the battle of Morat." What struck her most in the church of the Augustines was "some curious sculpture" — this may be a reference to its fine Renaissance altar — and she "observed the ancient palace of the Dukes of Zoeringen," — possibly a mistake for the 16th century Rathaus, built on the site of a castle belonging to Berthold IV of Zähringen, who, as Mrs. Colston remarked, was the founder of Fribourg. She would certainly see this building, when looking at the old lime tree in the Linden- or Rathausplatz. It is unlikely that she had time to visit a hospital kept by the Soeurs grises, for, possibly on the recommendation of Ebel, the Colstons made a "little jaunt" to a remarkable hermitage hewn, as she tells us, out of solid rock, the work of two men for twenty-five years. This must have been the hermitage of St. Mary Magdalene, built, actually, in ten years between 1670 and 1680, by Jean Dupré of Gruyères and a "disciple". It lay a few miles downstream from Fribourg.

It was on this occasion that Mrs. Colston made the acquaintance of the char-à-banc, a comfortable conveyance, designed for narrow roads but with the

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1 Ibid. Between three and four hundred years old was it not?
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
6 Ibid., op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 367.
disadvantage of permitting an outlook on only one side of the way. She wrote of it as follows:

"As the road was too narrow and bad, to allow of either of our carriages carrying us, our Vetturino procured us one of the vehicles of the country, called a charabanc, which admitted three persons sitting sideways."^2

At a period when hermitages were a favourite setting for romantic tales — to go no further than the works of Mrs. Radcliffe or Sir Walter Scott — Mrs. Colston described this Swiss example in some detail, particularly its beautiful setting, above the rocky gorge of the Saline, and the extent of its various apartments which, however, seemed to her as inappropriate to a life of retreat as "the venison pasty and Burgundy of the Holy Clerk of Cockmanhurst."^3

In other ways, too, this was a most enjoyable excursion.

"We greatly enjoyed the beautiful views of the surrounding country which this little jaunt afforded us; the healthy, cheerful, and clean appearance of the peasants, the rosy cheeked children, the picturesque cottages, and farmhouses, and the general air of industry and content, which pervaded the aspect of their inmates, afforded a scene highly gratifying."^4

As usual, Mrs. Colston saw things with an artist's eye.

"The cottages in Switzerland, are the prettiest, and the most adapted to painting, of any I have seen. They are generally entirely formed of wood, having steep, sloping, and projecting roofs (the latter composed of small bits of wood placed over each other, in a manner resembling the scales of a fish), and pretty wooden balconies, and railings. The costumes of the Swiss peasants, are as picturesque as their habitations; and every thing, in short, in this country, is calculated for delineation."^5

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1 "...our vetturino, Pasquali, a servant to Balzani, at Florence, who had conveyed us from Italy, and all over Switzerland." Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 53.
5 Ibid.
After reading this, it is rather disappointing to find how little these cottages and costumes feature in such of her sketches as were printed, and it is rather surprising to find how the regional costume of Berne, which to most British travellers seemed graceful and beautiful, was regarded by her as slightly ridiculous.

"The women wear black stuff dresses, and black velvet bodies, a white chemisette, and very broad white sleeves. So far is not so much amiss, but the head dress is the most extraordinary that I have seen. On a black skull-cap is plaited a very broad border, made of twisted horsehair, and caused to stick up in such a form, as to resemble, except in their sable colour, a pair of butterflies' wings, so that they look just ready to take flight; to the back part, is attached bows of black ribbon, with ends which hang down nearly to the bottom of their gowns; their hair likewise is plaited with black ribbon, and depends in two long tails, like those of a Pacha; with all this machinery, they have almost the air of moving towers."

Most women would have thought this costume more attractive than, for example, "a brown plush cap, a dark green pelisse, surmounted by a cloak, with the hood up."3

As for "the inhabitants of Fribourg", they "intermix their hair with stuffed black ribbons, making the plait altogether as large as the cord of a ship, and adjust it in a circular form round their heads."4

So much sightseeing in and around Fribourg left little of the day in which to cover the eighteen miles5 to Berne. Driving to the northeast, as when they approached Fribourg, they again saw the peaks of the Bernese Oberland ahead, this time illuminated by the Alpengluh. Though the word is not used by Mrs. Colston, she describes the phenomenon with her usual sensitivity to the effects of light and shade.

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1 Obviously an error for "bodices."
2 Ibid.
3 Vide supra.
5 As usual, an accurate enough estimate.
"We passed through a forest of fir-trees, which with the darkening shadows of evening appeared quite awful. As we emerged from it, the reflection of the setting sun, cast on the snowy mountains which we saw in the distance, and on parts of the nearer objects, a bright rose-colored ray. The sudden transitions on the forests of fir and houses, from rose-color, to dark green, afforded a coloring highly beautiful, but so singular, that if represented in painting all who had not witnessed the effect in nature, would think it very unnatural."  

Our travellers entered the federal capital on the night of 27th September, and, for the first time in Switzerland, slept three nights in one place. The 28th and 29th were devoted to sightseeing but Mrs. Colston gives no indication of their itinerary, except to say that it began at the cathedral.

"We sallied forth to see the objects of interest which Berne contains, and first visited its Cathedral, which is a fine Gothic building; its tower appears less high than it really is, from its great breadth......"  

They climbed to the top of it such as it was in 1820, for it was not completed until 1894.

The heterogeneous collection of objects, astonishing to the beholder, which is then known to have filled the Museum at Berne, was reduced to "the usual curiosities of a museum" in our authoress's journal. Four exhibits only appear to have stuck in her memory, "the stuffed skin of the celebrated dog of St. Bernard, which saved the lives of 40 persons," "two rhomboidal pieces of crystal, which together weigh eight hundred pounds," many exact models of the Swiss mountains and valleys" and "a bust of the celebrated Haller," whom she

1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 369.
2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 370. "Cathedral" - more properly minster, as Berne was never the seat of a bishop.
4 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 370. She quotes a version of the myth that Barry was killed on his last rescue mission.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
briefly eulogised. As the Museum was open on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays,\(^1\) she must have been there during her first day in Berne, for the 28th was a Thursday.

Like every tourist in Berne, they went to see the bears, from which the city derived its heraldic emblem; the male animal was the largest of its species Mrs. Colston had ever seen. There were, however, other places of interest for the Colstons. Berne had long been renowned for the number and excellence of its charitable institutions, conducted upon lines far in advance of their time and of similar establishments in other parts of Europe. Ebel recommended a visit to three,\(^2\) of which they went to one.

"The two hospitals at Berne," ran her account, "are deserving of much praise. One is intended particularly for the relief of poor travellers, who have not money to carry them forward on their journey. On their entrance into this town, such objects are sent to this charitable asylum, - are kindly entertained there for three days, and are then furnished with a sum of money to proceed on their way. In consequence of this and other laudable institutions, no person dares to beg in Berne. Both these hospitals are handsome buildings."\(^3\)

Mrs. Colston gives the two hospitals no name, but the first is clearly a poor travellers' hospice of a kind found elsewhere in Switzerland, for example, at Altdorf. She does not positively state that she visited it. Nor does Ebel mention it. The second is clearly the Burgerspital, founded in 1307 and rebuilt in the 18th century. Over the entrance to this fine building, the inscription, "Christo in pauperibus", proclaims its function and identifies it as the one visited by the Colstons. Ebel refers to it simply as "The Hospital."\(^4\)

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4 Vide supra.
"The latter is exclusively appropriated to the relief of the sick poor. We went into most of the apartments, and it was truly gratifying," wrote Mrs. Colston, in the year of Florence Nightingale's birth, "to witness the cleanliness, order, and comfort, which pervaded every part of the establishment; in which this institution is so far superior to those of the same kind which we had seen in Italy. The mode of distributing the patients in several separate apartments, is far more analogous to our ideas of comfort, than the Italian plan, of having but one room of immense length for the whole number."

Mrs. Colston closed her account of Berne with a few desultory remarks on "the pretty public promenades" with their delightful views of the Aare below and the Alps beyond, the local government — "Berne is governed by two chief magistrates, called Avoyers, who are assisted by the council" — and the general appearance of the city —

"......this city is well built, its streets are broad, and its houses regular; it is notwithstanding entirely devoid of architectural beauty; and the heavy arcades, which support the houses of the two main streets, though they afford a convenient shelter from the rain, exceedingly disfigure the town."

Most visitors consider the old Lauben a distinctive and picturesque feature of Berne.

But one other of these remarks is worth quoting, as an explanation of why British travellers spared little time or thought for Switzerland until the dawn of the Romantic Movement and the return to Nature proclaimed by Rousseau.

"......after Italy," as she was in a position to say, "the traveller will find little to interest him in architecture, sculpture, or painting in transalpine cities, and it is nature only that he has to study in Switzerland."

No doubt to remember their stay in Berne, the Colstons purchased some "beautiful pictures of Swiss costumes and scenery," but without giving the artist's name in this instance.

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
There is ample evidence in Mrs. Colston's journal that she and her husband took an active interest in social problems. Not only did they visit charitable establishments in Berne, but they left the city on the 30th September to visit a boys' school, which had won itself a considerable reputation at home and abroad. The visit was given special interest by the fact that Miss A. was personally acquainted with one of the pupils. Leaving the capital "by a pretty bridge over the Aar,"¹ they drove northwards for about six miles to M. Fellenberg's seminary at Hofwyl, of which Mrs. Colston left a concise and favourable report in her book.

According to this, Fellenberg's method of education was based on what to-day would be called class distinction. Forty-five charity boys were "instructed in agriculture, carpentry, making cheeses, and almost every branch of rural economy."² They worked in the fields and on the two farms belonging to the school and were taught the three R's, twice a day for an hour. Their only recreation came after 4 o'clock, on Sundays.

Mrs. Colston compared this with what she had seen of charity schools in England.

"I missed the neatness, and exact order which characterise so many of our English charity-schools; but," she wrote, "this establishment comprises objects which they do not; and probably some of our countrymen, who have both the will and the power to do good, will take a hint for perfecting, and enlarging some of our institutions, so as to make them comprehend agricultural improvement."³

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1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 373.
   Probably the 15th century Unterthorbrücke.
2 Ibid.
She appears to have made no contact with the boys in order to ascertain their opinion but, at the "gentlemen's institution", with its hundred pupils, she met Miss A.'s young friend and ascertained his.

In the garden, they found this "very intelligent and agreeable young Scotch gentleman, .... (who belonged to a Scotch family distinguished for their abilities), practising various exercises, calculated to promote bodily strength and agility, on a wooden horse covered with leather."

According to him, there were, on his side of the school, thirty-three masters - as opposed to one on the other - the subjects they taught included painting, music, arithmetic and languages, and a "magnificent new building" was planned to accommodate additional young gentlemen. After several years at Hofwyl, he was entirely convinced of the excellence of its methods.

Having gratified their curiosity at Hofwyl, our travellers left and, turning eastwards into the Zürich road, proceeded four miles to the village of Hindelbank. The great attraction here was the tomb of Madame Langhans in the parish church.

"She died in her first accouchement, and her afflicted husband caused this monument to be executed by Nahl, a young

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1 Perhaps because Hofwyl was a German-speaking place and, although she translates a few words for the benefit of her readers, e.g. Staubbach, Jungfrau, Wetterhorn, Mrs. G. did not know German. Neither did her husband and Miss A. See Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 4.


3 Ibid.


5 It is interesting to compare Mrs. C.'s account with the detailed, critical description given by L. Simon, who visited Hofwyl twice, in 1817 and in 1818. Switzerland, London, 1822, pp. 263-270, 462-477. A longer account by him was published in the Edinburgh Review, October, 1819, no. 64.
artist of great merit.\(^1\)

"Singular and touching" as they found the representation of "this interesting and beautiful female, rising with her infant" from her tomb, split asunder at the sound of the last trumpet, they did not omit to dine at the local inn, after which they set out for Thun, where they intended to sleep that night.

"The country through which we passed," Mrs. Colston wrote, "was perfectly delightful; but our enjoyment of it was a little impaired by the extreme badness of the cross-roads, which we were obliged to take before we could get into the high road again.\(^3\) Another more distressing impediment to our pleasure soon occurred.\(^4\)

This was a shooting accident of a most unusual kind.

"We constantly travelled with two loaded pistols, which were every day inspected to see that they were safe. But the extreme roughness of the road, as we imagine, caused one to go off. On a sudden we heard a great explosion, and concluded the back springs were broken; but we were soon informed of the nature of the accident; and when Miss A. 's carriage came up, we found, to our very great concern, that her poor vetturino was wounded by the discharge.\(^5\)

"The unfortunate sufferer," bleeding copiously from the thigh, was lifted into the carriage, while Tonson took over the reins. The kind-hearted Colstons now proposed stopping at the first inn, but the wounded man insisted they should carry on to Thun. The distress of the accident and the onset of

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   The wife of the Hindelbank pastor died in 1751. Haller wrote the epitaph for this unique tomb, which became one of the tourist sights of Switzerland. It is no more than mentioned by Ebel, op.cit., Vol. 3, p. 154, and the Colstons' visit may have been inspired rather by the detailed description given by Coxe, op.cit., Vol. 2, pp. 307-309.
   Johann August Nahl, (1710-1785), of Berlin, the most outstanding member of an artistic family.
3 At Hindelbank, they were on the main Berne-Zürich road and, to reach the main Berne-Thun road, would have to drive about eleven miles on secondary roads.
6 Ibid.
night marred their enjoyment of the lovely scenes through which they now travelled.

Passing through dark forests of fir, Mrs. Colston thought that "had we been in Italy, I should have felt fearful of being attacked by banditti; but Switzerland is a land noted for the honesty and consequent security of its inhabitants, though I fear" - drawing a false conclusion - "from the number of brigands, whom I saw in chains, working in the streets, etc., at Berne, that they do not deserve this character so much as they formerly did."

By eight o'clock they were safely at Thun, where, to their great relief, the doctor assured them that the vetturino's wound was not serious, as the ball had spent its force before it reached him.

Thun was the accepted starting point for tours of the Bernese Oberland and the next morning, on October 1st, the Colstons set out on one which was to last eight days. As their first night was to be spent at Interlaken, to which at this time there was no carriage-road from Thun, their coaches and heavy baggage were left behind and, with hand-luggage only, they embarked and were rowed up the Lake of Thun to Neuhaus. On this, her first voyage in Switzerland, Mrs. Colston thought the lakeside scenery "the most striking" of any she had seen. The view, looking up the lake to the Jungfrau, "offered a combination of all that is sublime and enchanting."

"The coloring in particular, was lovely beyond description; and the reflection of the snowy and wooded mountains in the crystal water of the lake, was soft and beautiful in the highest degree. What a subject for the study of a painter!"

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2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 391. This was the landing-stage for Interlaken and here guides and transport met the boats.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
Those who have looked on this scene will know that she did not exaggerate.

At Neuhaus, they hired char-à-bancs and made for Interlaken by way of "the picturesque village of Unterseen, the houses of which, including the roofs, are entirely built of wood; and on the latter were placed large stones, to prevent the wind or rain from unfastening them." They put up at the Chamois, a "neat and pretty inn." With "a couple of hours to spare," they took a short drive to view the Lake of Brienz, which Mrs. Colston pronounced "beautiful", but less so than that of Thun.

"It is about ten miles long," she stated incorrectly, "while that of Thun is near twelve in length." The latter is 1780 feet above the level of the sea, and Brienz is a little higher."

They went by Bonigen, which Mrs. Colston noted as a pretty village of wooden cottages without a street, and they returned apparently by another road, which led them through a small glen, where "flocks of cattle" waited to be milked by peasant folks, whose numbers and costumes "offered a singular and pleasing spectacle." Brief and uneventful as this excursion was, it played a significant part in the development of her feeling for Switzerland.

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid. The Brienzsee is under nine miles in length. The Thunersee is fourteen miles in length, but she may have been thinking of the distance from Thun to Neuhaus.
7 Ibid. More correctly, they are 1840 ft. and 1860 ft., respectively, above sea-level. Apparently she took her altitudes from Ebel, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 290 and Vol. 2, p. 203.
8 The Saxeten Valley?
"As we drove through these scenes," she recorded, "I experienced sensations of delight, which no countries that I had hitherto visited had excited."

It was a remarkable, unqualified tribute, the like of which she had not paid to France or Italy.

"I no longer wondered," she continued, "at the wellknown attachment which the Swiss feel to their country; for, though viewing it for the first time, I almost seemed to love it. Each mountain and valley, in a country, the features of which are so strongly marked, and so beautiful, must seem to those who have lived in their vicinity, like a well known friend. The sublimity of the mountains appears to elevate the mind above the vexations, the vanities, and the troubles of this lower world, and to purify it for communion with its Maker."

The next morning, October 2nd, they set off, up the "romantic and beautiful" valley of "Zweiluchiten", at its entrance "the remains of an ancient castle", to explore the valleys of Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, using, for the same reason as at Fribourg, two char-à-bancs and, even then, coming sometimes within a foot of the drop at one side of their narrow path, which ran above the torrent of the "Lucina." The day was dull and cloudy but they consolated themselves — and rightly — with the thought that the sombreness of the sky added to the grandeur of the prospect. Indeed, almost every step offered a subject for a picture and Mrs. Colston stopped several times to make a sketch, though, as she said, "The pencil only can give a faint idea of such scenery, for no description can convey to the minds of those who have not seen, any conception of them." In particular, her eye was caught by the "romantic wooden bridges", consisting of no more than

1 Ibid.
4 Ibid. The Castle of Unspunnen, believed to have inspired Byron's description of Manfred's castle.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
The Goat's Bridge over the Lucina.
two or three planks, which crossed the Lütschine, and she "took a sketch of 
one, which, with the surrounding accompaniments, formed a view perfectly 
picturesque." Entitled "The Goat's Bridge over the Lucina . . . . ," it 
was printed as no. 17 in her volume of lithographs.

Arrived at Lauterbrunnen, they walked, while dinner was preparing at 
the inn, to view the cascade of the Staubbach. Here, not for the only time 
on her travels, did the pleasure of realisation fall short of the pleasure 
of anticipation.

As many visitors are, Mrs. Colston was disappointed for, as she said,

"......there is very little water, and the immense height 
disperses it in foam, so that the particles are all separated 
in their descent. I think it therefore inferior, both in 
beauty and sublimity, to those of Terni and the Pissevache." 2

She made a drawing of it - no. 18 of her prints - which failed, 
however, to capture the peculiar glory of the Staubbach, which, streaming 
in the wind, had seemed to Byron like -

"....................the pale courser's tail, 
The giant steed to be bestrode by Death, 
As told in the Apocalypse." 3

As clouds and heavy rain were obscuring the Jungfrau and the 
neighbouring peaks, the Colstons decided to go no further up the 
Lauterbrunnen Valley but to turn back to Zweilützschinen and make for 
Grindelwald.

At this point, a word or two, on certain topographical details in

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 381.
3 "The village of Lauterbrunnen is very picturesquely situated, and I took 
a sketch from this spot." Ibid.
4 Manfred, Act 2, scene 2.
Mrs. Colston's journal for October 2nd, might not be out of place. To say, as she did, that they "passed through the valley of Zweilutschinin," was not entirely correct. Nor was she quite right in saying that the White Lütschine was "formed by the Staubbach and other cascades of the valley" of Lauterbrunnen. She would have written otherwise had she realised her project of proceeding further up the valley. Zweilutschinen was rather the place where, as its name indicates, the Black Lütschine, coming from above Grindelwald, united with the White Lütschine, rising below the glaciers of the Breithorn and fed by the cascades of the Lauterbrunnen Valley, to flow towards the Brienzersee. She was, however, correct in saying that the Black Lütschine descended from a glacier and that the valleys of Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald were "separated only by a chain of mountains."

Driving up the latter valley, Mrs. Colston noticed how it differed in character from the former.

"It is much wider," she remarked, "and on the whole more richly wooded; but both are so beautiful, that I should find it difficult to decide which is the most so." 3

Though she had seen glaciers for the first time when approaching Mont Cenis, the previous November, the two at Grindelwald were the first she had ever viewed distinctly. She found them "striking" but, she wrote, "I was rather disappointed in the expectations I had formed of their grandeur." 4

Our travellers had been on the way since early morning and Mrs. Colston now began to feel uneasy on account of little Arabella, as well she might, for it was about half past six at night when they at last reached the Chamois

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2 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 381.
3 Ibid.
1830. The Chamois at Grindelwald, by Schilbach.
at Grindelwald. As she said, it was just like the wooden cottages they had
so often admired but, accustomed as they were to the best, they seem to have
been unprepared for the modest accommodation afforded by this homely village
inn. Considering the season of the year and the altitude of the village,
it is no wonder that they felt some cold on the ascent to Grindelwald and
that they engaged the only room with a fireplace at the inn.

"There was but one room besides the kitchen, which had a
fireplace in it. In this we slept, though it was on the ground-
floor, and the windows had neither shutters nor curtains. Indeed, the wooden walls were so thin, that we heard every noise
from without almost as distinctly as if there were no partition;
and the building seemed scarcely more substantial," she remarked,
"than the little farm-houses, that are sometimes made for children,
to be furnished with paper cuttings-out."  

The next day, October 3rd, opened full of promise but closed full of
disappointment. When rain and mist defeated their plan, the Colstons
realised they had chosen the wrong season of the year to climb the Scheidegg.
A temporary break in the clouds enabled them, however, to glimpse the
majestic summit of the Wetterhorn, well-named, as Mrs. Colston remarked, the
stormy peak.

"It was a grand sight to view the lofty head of this
mountain, dismantling itself from the clouds, and suddenly
appearing like a new creation; but to our great disappointment,
the clouds soon resumed their former station, and veiled it again
from our sight."  

To stay longer at Grindelwald was to waste time but, before leaving,
they purchased a small engraving of its two glaciers, as an excuse to meet

1 3420 feet.
2 Contrary to what this statement suggests, there was no lack of privacy.
   As the wooden structure of the Chamois had a basement built of stone, the
   so-called "ground-floor" was really one up. Grindelwald was destroyed by
   fire in 1892, but the appearance of the Chamois is known from pictures such
   as Schilbach's engraving made in 1830, ten years after the Colstons' visit.
3 Ibid.
their hostess. This was the celebrated Elizabeth, who, before her marriage to the proprietor of the Chamois, had been known as "La belle Batailierè de Brienz." Mrs. Colston was not impressed with what she saw.

"I was disappointed at the first sight of Elizabeth, principally, I believe, because she is no longer young; but," she wrote, "when we examined her features and complexion, we were all compelled to allow that she is really a very handsome woman."2

The visitors' book at the inn was full of tributes to her rustic beauty but, said Mrs. Colston, coolly,

"For our parts, we thought that every thing, either witty, wise, or silly, having been said before us, it was needless for us to add to the stock of either."3

With a last look at the glaciers, they drove off down the valley to Zweilutschinen, with the intention of re-visiting the Lauterbrunnen Valley and sketching the "Sousbach", a waterfall less celebrated than the Staubbach but, Mrs. Colston thought, more picturesque. Here, too, the weather defeated them. A storm of rain and hail forced them, with unfinished sketches, back to their char-à-bancs and they gave up the idea of driving to the end of the carriage-road, at Lauterbrunnen, and riding from there up the glaciers and nearer to the Jungfrau. Instead, they returned to Interlaken and enjoyed a distant view of this majestic peak from the windows of their inn.

October 4th was given over to an excursion to "Meyringhen". The dull, rainy weather of the previous day attended their departure from Interlaken and their voyage up the Lake of Brienz. Its beauty and its air of solitude

1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 383.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
The Fall of the Giessbach.
impressed Mrs. Colston with the thought that, "seen under the aspect of a
more smiling sky, it would perhaps interest the traveller the more, from its
apparent seclusion from the turmoil of the world." As on the Lake of Thun,
they were in an open boat with three rowers, one of them a woman.

"It is customary here," she recorded, "for individuals of the
weaker sex to engage in this laborious occupation, and they appear
to be possessed of corporeal strength equal to the task."  

About "two-thirds" of their way up the lake, they saw the Fall of the
Giessbach. Leaving the boat, they climbed the precipitous shore of the lake
to a point about mid-way up the fall, where they were richly repaid for their
labour by the sight of the several cascades, which form the whole, magnificent
descent of the Giessbach. Mrs. Colston, without hesitation, pronounced it
the finest she had yet seen. As her range of travel widened, her standards of
comparison heightened and she wrote,

"It possesses a much fuller flow of water than the Staubbach;
the Pissevache has but a sterile and barren grandeur, compared with
it; and Terni must yield the palm, in nature, variety, and beauty."  

Hastily she sketched such "a picture of perfect beauty."

It was a spot much frequented by tourists, for whom provision had been
made in the form of a shelter, a visitors' book, in which the Colstons
recognised the signatures of many English friends, and "a worthy old Swiss

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1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 386.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. Actually it was more than three-quarters.
6 He was then about 46, according to Murray, Handbook, London, 1838, p. 83.
peasant", who acted as guide. He had formerly been a schoolmaster in Brienz and, as such, Mrs. Colston thought him worthy to be immortalised by a second Goldsmith. Unconsciously, she performed this task herself. Arabella had been left in the care of his four children, at their cottage near the foot of the fall, and, when her parents returned, the kindly man lit a fire and regaled them, against the cold, with "a little Kerswasher."

Here, as on the Simplon, the Colstons' little daughter set up something of a record.

"Struck by the singularity of so young a visitant, to such a spot, we wrote her name and age (two months and four days) on the cottage wall, that if she should ever live to visit these scenes at a more mature age, she may here find the memento of her early travels. The good old man promised it should never be effaced in his time, and that he would leave the same charge with his children."

These "four, fine, healthy looking children" contributed their share to the success of the occasion and, unwittingly, led Mrs. Colston into an error, which many another British traveller in Switzerland fell into.

"The old man has in this remote spot a pianoforte, on which he played us the air of "God save the King," while his children sung the words, in German, in very good time and tune."

Or so she thought, but the appropriateness of what the children sang escaped Mrs. Colston. If she had understood German, she would have known that they sang a patriotic hymn, and she would have realised that the national anthems of her country and theirs shared the same tune. The children followed it up with a rendering, "simple and touching," of the

2 Ibid. "...a Swiss spirit distilled from cherries, a little resembling whiskey."
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
popular "Ranz des Vaches," which every tourist in Switzerland made a point of hearing. The Colstons' contribution to the occasion took a monetary form and, as they re-embarked on the lake, father and children sang them away with "our own national air, but performed in a manner which I have only heard among the Swiss - with the voice, but without the words, making the melody sound as if produced by horns: - the effect is singular and pretty." Mrs. Colston does not, however, mention the word "jodel". Instead she wrote,

"We have heard much of Italian music, but I think the Swiss appear to rival them, at least in fondness for this art."  

Thus she rounded off her story of this happy encounter with a Swiss family.

In passing, it is interesting to compare our writer's story with what Murray, on the same subject, printed in his Handbook some years later.

"The cottage opposite the Falls is inhabited by the schoolmaster of Brienz, whose family and himself are celebrated as the best choristers of native airs in Switzerland. He is now a patriarch of 64, and most of his children are married; but he is training his grand-children to the same profession of songsters. The concert, accompanied by the Alpine horn, with which travellers are saluted on their departure, is very sweet."

Murray's words endorse Mrs. Colston's musical taste, but what of the instrumental accompaniment to the singing? Mrs. Colston thought the melody was produced by vocal means alone, and it is most unlikely that she would mistake the distinctive tones of the Alpine horn or fail to notice one of the longest musical instruments in the world. Murray, it will be recalled, did not personally visit every place he described. Mrs. Colston did, so

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Murray refers to the separate cascades, over a dozen of which together make up the Giessbach.
4 Murray, op. cit., p. 83.
her account is not to be set aside. However, having regard to the time lapse between her statement and his, Murray's may be as reliable, for even the youngest of the schoolmaster's children, whom Mrs. Colston saw in 1820 as "a boy of five years old", would be able to handle an Alpine horn long before Murray's Handbook was published in 1838 - a likely enough explanation of the discrepancy between the two statements.

To return to our travellers and their journey - crossing from the foot of the Giessbach to the north-east angle of the lake, they went on shore at Brienz. "A poor little place" Mrs. Colston called it, with black and dirty cottages, an aspect occasioned, she understood, "by the quality of the rosin used with the wood, in these parts." "There were only two decent-looking houses in the place," one of them the inn - there is no identifying the other - where they warmed themselves and partook of the bread, cheese and wine they had brought with them and waited for a conveyance to Meiringen, while the landlady expressed her astonishment that so young a child as theirs could bear so arduous a journey.

"......indeed we had been told before, by some of her countrywomen, that their own infants would not be strong enough to endure it," wrote Arabella's mother proudly. 3

When the conveyance arrived, it proved to be an open, springless cart, 6 in which they jolted "for twelve miles" up the valley of the Aare, till the Fall of the Reichenbach appeared in view and they reached Meiringen in the Haslital.

5 Ibid.
6 Discomfort must have made the journey seem longer: it was, in fact, under nine miles.
The last Fall of the Reichenbach.

The last Fall of the Reichenbach in the Valley of Hastl. Oct. 1819.
Probably because they had heard of the spectacular rainbow effect, produced on the water by the rays of the morning sun, they drove off, "immediately after breakfast", on October 5th, to visit three smaller falls—Alpbach, Müllibach and Falcherribach, the first of which Mrs. Colston thought "very pretty"—and then proceeded to the more celebrated Reichenbach. So delighted were they by the picturesque beauty of the lowest of its seven falls, that they—which means herself and Miss A., for Mr. Colston on these occasions preferred fishing—set down to sketch it. There was no hasty work done this day. By the time they had finished, the day was too far advanced to allow of their ascent to the highest cascade, so it was "The last Fall of the Reichenbach in the Valley of Hasli" that was published as the nineteenth of her lithographic prints. It held some personal interest for, in the foreground, appear the Colstons, arm-in-arm, she with her portfolio and he with his rod gazing at the cascade second only, in her estimation, to the Giessbach. Before they left, small specimens of gold particles found in its waters—hence its name—were brought for their inspection by some peasants.

The air was exceedingly sharp as they drove away down the Haslithal, and Mrs. Colston kept her baby completely enveloped in her large, thick cloak. Compared with those of Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, this valley seemed to her to have a milder character: barren rocks gave it "an air of dreary sublimity." The more she saw of Alpine glens, the more she wished to see.

"These Alpine valleys have great charms for me, and I only lament that it was not in our power to trace them up to the bases

2 Ibid. 
of the majestic mountains by which they are surrounded, and then enjoy the pleasure of descending, from these awfully sublime solitudes, to the beautiful, the fertile, and the cheerful abodes of our fellow-creatures.

We can imagine Mrs. Colston undertaking such an experience - she had the spirit for it - but at another season and without maternal cares. Instead, the Colstons returned, as they had come, to Interlaken and the Chamois Inn, to dinner and the enjoyment of more Swiss music, provided by three female singers.

The following morning, October 6th, they continued their return journey, by the way they had come, to Thun. An improvement in the weather increased their regrets at leaving the lovely scenery of the mountain heights they might have attained, had it been as favourable on the two preceding days, but already a wish to revisit the Oberland was forming in Mrs. Colston's mind.

"Indeed," she wrote in her journal, "I feel a great desire to revisit this wonderful, and lovely country; to see more of its mountainous, and less frequented regions, than I did to enter it in the first instance."

Whether she ever realised this desire is something her journal does not disclose.

Descending the Lake of Thun, Mrs. Colston, on account of Arabella, relinquished a "pilgrimage" to the cave of St. Beatus on the "left" shore, for he was "said to have come from England, and to have been the first preacher of Christianity in Switzerland." Many legends were told of him and she quoted the two most popular, how he dispossessed a dragon of the cavern at his first coming and how he customarily crossed the lake on a flying mantle - a convenient form of transport, she quipped, considering

1 Ibid.
3 Returning to Thun, she would have the cave to her right.
4 Ibid.
The Town of Thun, taken from the Lake, October 4, 1820.
the precipitous ascent to his abode. Of this lake, Mrs. Colston declared that to do it justice would require the pencil of a Claude but, unmentioned in the text of her book, she took a sketch of "A Promontory on the Lake of Thun, with the Mountains Monch, Eiger, & Jungfrau," as she saw them that day.

For October 7th and 8th, Mrs. Colston made two of the shortest entries in her journal. On the first of these days, the Colstons went to Thierachern - about three miles west of Thun - a viewpoint for "the Jungfrau, the Monak, the Eiger, the Wetterhorn." She names them in order as she would see them, from south- to north-east.

"The chain of Alps, rising one above another like waves of the sea in a storm, was truly grand, and extraordinary." 3

On the 8th, they "drove two miles" to visit "a cave of petrifaction." Unfortunately, Mrs. Colston gives no details which make possible its identification, there being several such places in the locality.

On this, her last day in Thun, Mrs. Colston made the pencil "supply the deficiencies of the pen" and left us a picture of "The Town of Thun, taken from the Lake, ....... " The words, "taken from the Lake," are, however, hardly correct, as the town is sited not on the lake but on the Aare, which flows out of it almost a mile away. The sketch would appear rather to have been made from an island, on which Thun is partly built, if we judge by the angle at which we are shown the 18th century church and, north-west of it, the unmistakable, square, turreted tower of the ancient castle, incidentally

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1 No. 20 in the volume of prints.
2 Unlike the order in which they are named on the corresponding print.
3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 393.
4 Ibid.
5 No. 22 in the volume of prints.
once in the possession of the Counts of Zähringen, whose "acquaintance"
Mrs. Colston had made at Fribourg and Berne.

Our writer does not mention making this sketch, but she refers to its
main feature in her journal for October 9th.

"This morning we quitted Thun, of which I need say nothing, but that it is a neat\(^1\) town, very prettily situated at the foot of a wooded hill,\(^2\) and having a castle, which adds much to its picturesque appearance, when viewed from a distance."\(^3\)

The Colstons were now on their way to Lucerne, travelling by Berne,\(^4\) where they dined, and sleeping that night at "Kilchberg",\(^5\) at a "large and comfortable inn," where, the lady noted, "there are none but females to be found, a singular contrast to the many we have been at, in France and Italy,\(^6\) where the inmates were all men."

No doubt the Colstons took this circuitous route to Lucerne - which involved two and a half days of travel - not only to see more of Switzerland but also to enjoy the easier travelling possible only on highroads in the early 19th century. Between Berne and Kirchberg, they would follow "the Zürich road" as they had on 30th September, when they visited the tomb of Madame Langhans at Hindelbank, beyond which Kirchberg lies, three or four miles to the north-east. On that day, it will be remembered, they had enough of "the extreme badness of cross-roads." The existence of a large inn at such a small place as Kirchberg is explainable, of course, by its position on a main route, where it crossed a river and was joined by a secondary road.

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1 Used, no doubt, in the sense of "clean."
2 The Grüsisberg, seen to the right on her sketch.
3 Ibid.
4 A mistake for Kirchberg. Kilchberg lies on the shores of Lake Zürich and must have been one of the "eighteen villages" she saw from the top of Mount Albis. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 3.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 393.
The countryside she saw this day would have seemed to her beautiful anywhere except in Switzerland, but, after the Bernese Oberland, no scenery would ever completely satisfy Mrs. Colston.

"...after the sublime and lovely scenery that I have just quitted," she wrote, "I find myself fastidious, and that I have no longer any admiration to bestow on more commonplace prospects."  

Their journey on October 10th lay through open country, richly forested with fir, beech and very fine oak. They "passed a pretty little lake to the left," - it must have been the Burgäschisee - "beyond which were high mountains in the distance," but Mrs. Colston does not seem to have recognised her old friends, the Juras. They drove through "Arbourg," whose site above the Aare is as picturesque to-day as when she so described it, though of the town, as she saw it, only the castle remains after a disastrous fire in 1844.

"It has a castle, and is the only regular fortress in this country."  

Mrs. Colston refers correctly to the old castle which, in the 17th century, became the one fortress possessed by the Swiss Confederation, though, in her day, it was used only for military stores.

They dined on the way at Zofingen, which she mistakenly wrote of as in Canton Lucerne, enjoyed a delightful drive to Sursee, near the northern end of the Lake of Sempach, and there slept.

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1 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 It is actually in Canton Aargau.
In her notes for October 11th, Mrs. Colston has much more to describe than the weather - "dull, and misty," - and the scenery - picturesque and wooded - as they approached Lucerne. Their road lay "for a long time" by the western shore of the lake and, had it not been for the mist, the Colstons, looking across its waters to the east, would have seen Sempach, on which the chief, historical interest of the neighbourhood is centred.

"On the opposite side of the lake is the town of Sempach," celebrated for the glorious battle of the 13th of July, 1386, in which the combined Swiss cantons, then few in number, defeated Leopold and the whole force of Austria."1

From Sursee to Lucerne was no more than fourteen miles, so they were at their destination before dinner-time.

"At a short distance from Lucerne we passed the Reuss, over a pretty and very long wooden bridge."2

This is almost certainly an incorrect allusion to the old wooden bridge over the Kl. Emme at Emmenbrücke, situated just above the meeting of that river with the Reuss and just about three miles from Lucerne. Here Mrs. Colston found much to write about.

"The view of Lucerne, situated on both sides of the Reuss, over which it has three bridges, with its castle on a rock overlooking it, forms a very pleasing picture."3

On this day, her view of the town was hastily taken - "whilst dinner was preparing for us at the inn" - and her reference to its "castle" may therefore actually be to one of the nine watch-towers on the Misegg Wall, which has encircled Lucerne since the early 15th century. As for the three

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid. Approximately six miles.
3 Ibid. To be correct.
4 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
bridges, driving in from Emmenbrücke up the left bank of the Reuss, the Colstons would cross into the town by the old toll-bridge - the Reussbrücke - observing to their right and left, respectively, the Kapell- and Spreuerbrücke, which were for foot traffic only. It is surprising, however, that Mrs. Colston does not mention a fourth and longer bridge, the Hofbrücke, which spanned the end of the Lake of Lucerne and near which she must have embarked for Kussnacht. The omission is understandable: there was so much else of interest in both capital and canton of Lucerne.

"The canton of Lucerne is Catholic," she wrote, with no trace of the religious prejudice that had characterised her writing in France and Italy, "as we should have discovered had we not known it before, by the church-yards which we passed during our journey; these being filled with gilded and painted crosses, one above each grave."1

Though she cared less for the stone houses and their tiled roofs in the capital of Lucerne than for the wooden ones in the cantons of Fribourg and Berne, she preferred the regional costume worn by its country people rather than theirs.

"Their costume is singular, and on the whole, pretty, but it looks better in a picture than in reality," she wrote. "They wear very short petticoats; some of them barely had their knees covered; their dress consists of a variety of colors, a scarlet worsted binding (which looks like ribbon), round the bottom of their gown, has a gay effect; and the round yellow Leghorn hat, with a very low crown, embellished with bows of pink and green ribbon, and with artificial flowers, is exceedingly pretty."2

In contrast to the Valaisians, she described the people themselves as "fair complexioned, fresh colored, and, generally speaking, handsome."3

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
Having read a "pleasing account of this subject in Coxe's letters to Melmoth," Mrs. Colston and her husband made a point of seeing the celebrated model in relief of central Switzerland, made by General Pfyffer. Unique and novel at the time of its completion in the latter half of the 18th century, it had become the sine qua non of a visit to Lucerne and an influential factor in the development of tourist travel in Switzerland and the Alps. With two slight discrepancies - the length of the model and the age of the General when he completed it - Mrs. Colston's brief description is based upon Coxe's lengthy account, which was written from personal acquaintance with Pfyffer and, during the years 1776-1785, personal observation of his work.

At the principal bookseller’s in the town, probably Meyer's, which specialised in "books, prints, panoramas, and maps, relating to Switzerland," the Colstons examined another important contribution to the growth of travel in the Alps. This was "a panorama of the extensive mountainous prospect which the Rigi commands; this excellent representation was painted by Keller, of Zurich." It must have interested them for an ascent of that very peak was their immediate project.

After a hasty dinner, they embarked on the lake, which Mrs. Colston
rightly described as –

"..... exceedingly beautiful, being both very extensive, and offering a continual variety of prospect, in consequence of the irregularity of its form, and the number of small promontories which stretch into the water, ..... "

They "enjoyed a delightful row of two hours and a half, to the village of Kussnacht, situated at the foot of the Rigi," where they put up at a new inn, l'Aiglon Noir, "so neat and pretty that we could have felt inclined to make a longer residence there, than our future plans would permit."

With these words, Mrs. Colston closed her journal for October 11th. As we shall see by her entry on the 12th, they were very nearly the last she ever wrote.

An ascent of the Rigi had long been an accepted part of the British traveller's itinerary in Switzerland, for the way to the top was not too strenuous and the resulting view was quite unrivalled. The only real difficulty was the unpredictable nature of the local weather. The morning of the next day appeared little favourable for their purpose but the Colstons, having come thus far, were determined to go further and set off on horseback, each with an attendant, soon after eight. Ere half the ascent, thick cloud enveloped them, obscuring every object and continuing, with only a temporary break, until they reached the hospice at the Rigi Staffel, still some distance below the summit. Here they waited a couple of hours, hoping for a clearance, taking some refreshment and amusing themselves with the visitors' book, in which the previous entries proved that other travellers had been as unfortunate as themselves. Despairing of the view they had come so far to see, they commenced the descent of the mountain and now occurred one of those adventures,

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
in this case singular and not at all amusing, which Mrs. Colston recollects in her journal.

"I had not been much alarmed in ascending," she wrote, "but yet I did not feel my courage equal to the trial of riding down these precipices, and therefore resolved to walk. ....... After descending three parts of the way, I began to feel a trembling in all my limbs, which took from me the power of proceeding further. I therefore resolved to mount my horse, which the guide brought up to me on a little green knoll, that I might ascend the more easily."¹

It was then a fatality nearly occurred.

"But the animal turning suddenly round," she went on, "before I had well seated myself, I lost my hold, and finding I must fall, endeavoured to assist myself by springing. Having reached the ground, I attempted to escape from the near neighbourhood of the horse, not being aware that the bridle having in the fall slipped round my neck, I was dragging the animal after me. My attendants, who were near at hand, quickly extricated me from this danger, and thus, by the goodness of Providence, I safely escaped from an accident which might have been attended with serious consequences."²

Notwithstanding her alarm, she remounted, rode down to Küsnacht and very sensibly went straight to bed at the inn, "as the best means to avoid suffering from the unusual exercise I had taken."³

Next morning, a low atmosphere still obscured the Rigi and Pilatus and dissuaded the Colstons from sailing further up the lake. They therefore returned to Lucerne. En route, "in compliance with the advice of Mr. Ebel," they landed on the rock of Altstadt — beside the promontory of the Meggenhorn — where, after they had searched in vain for the obelisk, "erected in honour of the three heroic deliverers of Switzerland, Werner Von Stauffach, Walter Furst, and Arnold Von Melchtal," they learned that it had been destroyed by lightning. A more careful, preliminary study of Ebel would have saved them the trouble for, according to his Manuel, its shattered remains had

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² Ibid.
been housed at General Pfyffer's in Lucerne since 1796.

Our travellers never believed in wasting time and, at Lucerne, "whilst some slight refreshments were preparing for us," they "went to the Town-hall." This would be the 17th century Rathaus in the Kornmarkt, at the end of the Reussbrücke. There they saw the portraits of former Avoyers of the canton and "a number of historical paintings, commemorating the heroic deeds of... all the most distinguished champions of their country's liberty," of whom, it is noticeable, Mrs. Colston names only William Tell. It is also interesting to notice that her eye was caught by what has always been considered one of the finest features of the Rathaus.

"The apartments of this mansion are lined with wainscoting, very curiously carved." 4

"From hence," she continued, "we visited the Arsenal... ." 5

To reach the 16th century Zeughaus, their quickest and most obvious way would be across the Reussbrücke and to their right, along the left bank of the river.

"Amongst other curiosities," she wrote, "we viewed the banner of the town, which was borne by the Avoyer 6 de Gundoldingen, at the battle of Sempach, in 1386, in which that excellent citizen was slain. We likewise saw the iron collar, lined with sharp points, which was intended by the Austrians to torture the Avoyer. Did we not see the durable memories of such cruelty, one could hardly believe the relation which history gives of it to be true." 8

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 More correctly, "Schultheiss", or Mayor.
7 A member of the family which ruled Lucerne for over fifty years during the 14th century, he commanded its troops at Sempach.
8 Ibid.

The curiosities she viewed in the Arsenal are now housed in the Historical Museum of the Rathaus.
Mrs. Colston's acquaintance with the history of Switzerland had rapidly improved since the day she crossed the Simplon and looked down on the "tin-covered domes" of Brig.

The Colstons were now bound for Zug, travelling that afternoon, for most of the way, through "a varied and pleasing landscape"\(^1\) in the valley of the Reuss. Their enjoyment was a little diminished, however, "by the extreme badness of the road, which was in parts almost like the bed of a river."\(^2\) They were likewise impeded by gates, closing the road, which sometimes there were children waiting to open but which at other times had to be opened by one of their own attendants. At some distance from the town, they came in sight of the Lake of Zug, inferior in interest and beauty, Mrs. Colston called it, to others she had previously seen. With this opinion few of her readers would disagree.

"We drove to the Stag, a very good inn, and whilst our dinner was preparing, the landlord (who is a very intelligent young man, and speaks English well) accompanied us to see a painting, by Annibal Caracci, at the church of St. Oswald. This sacred edifice is dedicated to our Saxon king of Northumberland of that name."\(^3\)

We can imagine the pleasure with which Mrs. Colston would look at this 15th century church, built in her favourite Gothic style, and the eagerness with which she would approach the painting, for readers of an earlier section of her journal will remember how she had admired examples of Caracci's work, seen at various places in Italy.

The day closed with a sunset walk by the margin of the lake. Writing up her journal for the 13th, she added a short paragraph on the past history and

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1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 490.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
present government of Canton Zug, the material for which does not appear to have come from her usual sources, Ebel and Coxe. Could it have come from the landlord of the Stag? Mrs. Colston calls him "very intelligent": the fact that he could speak English may, of course, have made him appear more so by contrast with most of his countrymen who, at this time, could not.

Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic era, political speculation was widespread in Europe, and what more likely than that a forward-looking, young Swiss should discuss local politics with interested visitors from a country, which prided itself on its love of liberty and had fought for it as stubbornly as Switzerland?

On the morning of the 14th, with their host as cicerone, the Colstons went to see a private mansion, where they were particularly interested by one room, for on the wainscoting were painted the costumes and arms of the Swiss cantons, while above hung a collection of portraits of the French kings, presented by one of them to the distinguished Swiss family, once owners of the mansion but now extinct.

Before they left the town, Mrs. Colston noted a special feature of its houses.

"The houses at Zug are built of stone, and the exterior painted, like those in Italy."  

Of the two routes from Zug to Zürich, their next destination, the Colstons, "like true lovers of the picturesque," chose the one by Mount Albis, for, though the worse of the two, it commanded a prospect which, they were told, would compensate for their disappointment on Rigi.

2 The Zerlauben family.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 2.
4 Ibid.
"The face of the country improved in beauty as we proceeded," wrote Mrs. Colston, "......the small lake of Turler by which we passed, afforded a succession of charming prospects, but which the increasing badness of the road prevented me from enjoying completely."1

At length they reached the foot of Mount Albis.

"......and here we had a reinforcement of an ox, a cow, and a woman to drive them, in addition to our vetturino, and his five horses. I thought we never should have reached the top in safety, for the ascent was like driving up the roof of a house, the road filled with large stones like the bed of a torrent, and passing along the brink of a precipice. At length, however, we attained the highest point which the road passes, and getting out of the carriage, walked about a quarter of a mile further to the summit of the mountain."2

Below them, on one side, lay the lake "looking like a glassy mirror," with the city of Zürich and eighteen villages on its banks. On the other, they viewed the lakes of Türl, and Zug, in the distance, Rigi and Pilatus, beyond them the Jungfrau and all its "soaring companions," and, in the remoter distance, the mountains of the St. Gotthard. A clearer atmosphere to the north would have enabled them to see Lake Constance, and, to the west, the cantons of Lucerne and Soleure. Mrs. Colston writes of the prospect with such accuracy that we may wonder whether her information did not come from a copy of Keller's engraving of this panoramic view, purchased, perhaps, at Meyer's in Lucerne.

"I should think," ran her journal, "that any traveller who has been so fortunate as to witness all this, and a still more extensive prospect from the summit of the Righi, lit up by the beams of a fine setting sun, has nothing more of the kind to see - this lower creation can offer him no nobler spectacle!"3

An hour and a half later, they were in Zürich.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 3.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
They "drove to the Hôtel de l'Épée, which is the principal inn of the town, and is delightfully situated immediately opposite the lake, the view extending to the high mountains of Berne." 1

Had not Ebel recommended it, for its view, as one of the two best hotels in Switzerland? Mrs. Colston's journal describes it as built partly on that one of the "three long wooden bridges" on which a market was held every Monday.

As the Hôtel de l'Épée, or the Schwert, continued to function in the present century, we know its precise location - by the Weinplatz, at the western end of the Rathausbrücke, on one of the quays lining the left bank of the Limmat, as it issues from Lake Zürich. The Colstons slept there two nights.

Seen from Mount Albis the previous day, Zürich and its lake had presented a "gay and beautiful" sight. On her arrival in the city, it appeared to Mrs. Colston "most agreeably situated" but, after a day's sightseeing, she criticised it as "an ill-built town, the streets being very narrow, and many of them exceedingly steep."  2

As the 15th of October was a Sunday, they were unable to gratify their interest either in social problems, by visiting the orphan and blind institutions, or in "natural curiosities," by seeing the private collections of which Ebel gave such a formidable list. However, they visited the Town Hall - to reach it, they would require to walk only to the opposite end of the bridge from their hotel - saw the council chambers, dismissed the decoration of the latter as

1 Ibid.
2 Ebel, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 433.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 3.
6 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 4.
7 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 6.
8 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 4.

Ebel was resident in Zürich.
"not worthy of notice" and found fault with the "bad style of architecture" of the former. Built in fine, Italian Renaissance style, the Zürich Rathaus could not be expected to appeal to a lover of the Gothic like Mrs. Colston.

From here, they must have walked a short distance along the Limmat Quai, on the right bank of the river, for, she tells us, their next visit was to the "Bibliotheque." The town library was housed in a former church, the Wasserkirche, so called, though she does not mention it, because its lower floor lay beneath the level of the Limmat, which washed its walls. Here the Colstons inspected the portraits of former burgomasters, celebrated reformers and men of science - "Bullinger, Lavater, Gessner, Zimmermann, Bodmer, Zwingle, and many others" - who had won for Zürich "the appellation of the Athens of Switzerland." In the library of this city, proud of its Protestant tradition, they were shown Lady Jane Grey's letters to Bullinger. Or did they ask to see them? It is noticeable that everything they saw in the Wasserkirche was cited, as worthy of notice, by Ebel. This included "a large bassorello of a great part of Switzerland," similar to General Pfyffer's at Lucerne and which pleased Mrs. Colston "exceedingly."

As she surveyed this model, the thought struck her -

"......I was no longer surprised at the difficulties we experienced in travelling; but rather wondered that with the encumbrances of a heavy carriage, and a baby, we could traverse so much as we had, of a land, consisting almost entirely of lakes and mountains."10

1 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 5.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Mrs. Colston summarised his career in a lengthy footnote. Ibid.
5 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
As we survey her journal, the same thought more than once strikes us!

Whether this sightseeing tour of the city extended beyond the Town Hall and the Library to include its churches, is not made clear in the lady's journal, for she disposes of them in a single, sweeping statement, at once inaccurate and inadmissible.

"Zürich," she wrote, "has four churches, but neither of them is worthy of observation." ¹

Zürich had more than four churches, but presumably she refers to the four generally regarded as of the greatest interest historically and architecturally - the Grossmünster, where Zwingli preached, the Fraumünster, the Predigerkirche and the Peterskirche, where once Levater was incumbent. This is not to count the Wasserkirche, which in Mrs. Colston's time, no longer served as a place of worship. None of these may be dismissed as unworthy of observation.

As in her account of Berne, Mrs. Colston concluded with a few general remarks, on local costume, for example: "the costume of the women is a neat, tight dress. ...... The men wear three-cornered hats" - and on the status of Zürich in the Swiss Confederacy - "Zürich has the precedence among the Swiss cantons; it is one of the most extensive and populous among them, containing above 182,000 inhabitants." ²

They left Zürich on October 16th, a day of pouring rain, the like of which they had not seen since leaving Como. Under such conditions, what little they observed of the scenery appeared "less striking than that we have visited," ³ and,

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid. Statistics apart, this last statement came from Ebel, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 469.
certainly, if Mrs. Colston was thinking of the cantons of Berne and Lucerne, she was right. They appear to have followed the post-road north-east to Winterthur for, below them at one point of their journey, they saw the windings of the Toss."

"Winterthur," she correctly described as "a considerable town. The inhabitants appear industrious and commercial. At some miles distance from this town, we came to Frauenfeld, the capital of Thurgovia; where, the day being too far advanced for us to proceed further, we passed the night."

So ended her account of what seems to have been a dull day in every sense of the term.

The 17th of October was little better. However, the sky must have cleared considerably for a time at least, for they saw in the distance the "fantastically and singularly shaped" mountains of Appenzell and, beyond, those of Tyrol, while "the view of Constance, situated between the upper and lower lakes of that name, which are connected by the Rhine was, as we descended to it, exceedingly beautiful." Mrs. Colston supplies no details of their route to Constance, but we may assume that they took the post-road, via Pfyn, Müllheim and Engwilien, where such a view would be seen. Upon their arrival, they attempted an excursion on the lake but a fresh downpour quickly finished this.

As already expressed, our intention in this thesis is to give a complete and detailed account of Mrs. Colston's journey in Switzerland, but, except in so far as they bear upon this, to give less attention to her travels elsewhere.

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1 Ibid. The Töss, a left bank tributary of the Rhine.
2 Approximately nine miles.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
Therefore, we shall say little of her two nights and one day in Constance, 1 which lay, as she herself mentions, in the Duchy of Baden, except to remark that, in accordance with their usual practice in other large towns, the Colstons paid flying visits to the principal sights in and around it. Mrs. Colston expressed no great enthusiasm for any of these. The town, she wrote, was in "a very decayed state," the houses were ill-built, the streets bad and the cathedral insipid. To her, the most pleasing feature of Mainau Island seems to have been the view, from the windows of its castle, of the distant mountains of Appenzell, while the lake was not to be compared with those of Lucerne, Thun, Brienz or Geneva.

On the morning of the 19th, they set out for Schaffhausen, coasting the northern shore of what Mrs. Colston calls the "upper lake" but which was really the Untersee, or lower part of Lake Constance, and of which they must have seen the last at Radolfzell. They had heard that this was a better road than the one which followed the course of the Rhine, but, she wrote, "in these parts bad is the best." Still on German territory, they dined at Singen, passed through "some wretched villages", their cottages "a complete contrast to the beauty of those of Berne and Fribourg," re-crossed the Swiss frontier, though she does not say so, and met the course of the Rhine at Schaffhausen, which they reached a little after dark.

Taking advantage of the fine weather on the morning of October 20th, the Colstons and Miss A., who was still with them, set out in their carriages to visit the "grand object," which had always attracted British travellers in

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 8.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 10.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 11.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
Switzerland to Schaffhausen. This was, of course, the great Fall of the Rhine, which lay about three miles below the town.

"Our guide-book having informed us that the first view which we caught of the fall in pursuing the usual road to the Castle of Inwart, was a disadvantageous one, we turned our eyes in another direction, and did not discover it till we reached the banks of the river, immediately opposite the cascade."\(^1\)

If, by the words "our guide-book", Mrs. Colston is referring to Ebel, then she certainly did not follow his guidance. His advice to the tourist was to approach the greatest fall in Europe by the left bank of the Rhine and to see it, for the first time, from the Castle of Laufen, because, from its elevated position on a high rock at one end of the fall, it afforded, in Ebel's opinion, a view more transporting - from the side and above - than could be obtained from the Castle of Wörth, which, situated opposite, at a bend on the right bank of the Rhine, afforded a view less impressive - from the front and below - to those who came, full of ardour and impatience, to look upon one of the most amazing scenes that Nature had formed in Switzerland. Ebel followed this up with the suggestion that the tourist should descend the rock of Laufen to the Fischetz, a small, covered, wooden gallery, which would enable him to stand in its very spray and indulge the emotions aroused in him by the sight of the fall. It is very evident that Ebel assumed enthusiasm and energy on the part of his reader, for his next counsel was that the tourist should regain the heights of Laufen and look at the fall from a small pavilion, built for that purpose on the brink of the precipice. Then, as the cascade was worth seeing from every side, he should re-descend to the Fischetz and be ferried across to see it from Wörth. Next, he should proceed up the right bank of the river to Neuhausen and, finally, gaze down on the fall from the side opposite to Laufen.

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1 Ibid.
Certainly, by "our guide-book" Mrs. Colston is not referring to Cox, who left an excellent description of how he visited the fall, in 1776, by riding across Grubenmann's famous wooden bridge at Schaffhausen and down the left bank of the Rhine to Leufen, where he dismounted and viewed the cascade, first from above and then, descending the rock, from below. He next crossed the river and looked at it from a point evidently in the vicinity of Wörth and then again from the iron foundry below Neuhausen, after which he returned to Schaffhausen by the way he had come.

The percipient reader of the lady's journal will observe that the Colstons, as compared with Ebel and Cox, made the trip, as it were, in reverse. There would appear to be two reasons for this. First, after visiting the fall, their intention was not to return to Schaffhausen but to go on to Basel. Secondly, as Mrs. Colston earlier said, they had quitted the road which followed the course of the Rhine. This road ran by the left bank of the river and was the one followed by Cox and Ebel to Leufen, but the one followed by the Colstons to Neuhausen, and later to Basel, lay on the right bank though, between Neuhausen and Waldshut, it drew away from the river and ran several miles to the north of it, via Neunkirch, Erzingen, Oberlauchringen and Tiengen. It is therefore apparent that they drove from Schaffhausen down the right bank of the Rhine and, as they approached the village of Neuhausen, must deliberately have averted their eyes - no mean feat, for the compelling roar of the water can be heard a long way off - so that they did not discover the fall till they reached the bank of the river immediately opposite it.

2 Colston, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 11.
The Fall of the Rhine.
"The view which now presented itself to us was striking and beautiful," Mrs. Colston afterwards recalled in her journal, though, at the first glance, she had been disappointed with its deficiency in height as compared with other falls she had recently seen in Switzerland. This is a reaction commonly experienced by tourists at Schaffhausen, who feel, however, as she did, that this deficiency is "more than compensated by the extraordinary breadth of the fall, the amazing quantity of water, which is thus precipitated, and the impetuous violence with which it descends."

"I attempted a sketch of it," she went on, "and found that the longer I contemplated the scene, the more my eyes were satisfied with its beauty, and rivetted by its grandeur."

This was the last to be mentioned and the last to be printed of all her sketches made in Switzerland and it is full of interest for her readers. First, because of its viewpoint, which is at, or very near, the Castle of Wörth for, whatever Ebel might say about the view from Laufen being emotionally more rewarding to the romantic traveller - an opinion supported by what Mrs. Colston wrote and shared by most who have visited the spot - there is no doubt that the view from Wörth was pictorially more satisfying to the artist, since only from here could the fall be seen in its entirety. Secondly, because of its detail, for her drawing shows us many features of the scene mentioned by Coxe, Ebel and herself. In the foreground sails the ferry to Laufen and here she added a humorous touch, for the passengers are seen in an attitude of ecstasy and in clear defiance of the ferryman's traditional orders, to sit down and to keep still. To the right rises the rock of Laufen, at its foot the

1 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 No. 23 in the volume of prints.
Fischets and at its summit the castle, with its corbie-stepped gable, and the pavilion, where visitors paid a small fee to enter. To the left is the hill of Neuhausen and below, by the water's edge, the old iron foundry, though the distance at which she worked would prevent her seeing and including in her sketch the small dam, which provided water for the foundry wheels and protection for the foundry buildings against the sweeping force of the current.

After sketching this scene, Mrs. Colston and her companions crossed to the Laufen shore and made their way to the extremity of the Fischets, which extended almost into the fall.

"...there the awful grandeur of the scene delighted, at the same time that it almost terrified me. The volume of water raging, roaring, and foaming, above, below, and around the spectator, nearly stupifies his senses; his eyes are bewildered by gazing on the rapidly moving mass of white foam, which shakes the gallery on which he stands, while his ears are wholly deafened by the thundering sound. It seems as if all around him would be swept away by the impetuous element."1

No better account could be written of the emotional effect produced upon the spectator, who stands in close proximity to one end of the Rhine Fall at Schaffhausen.

Returning to their carriages waiting near Wörth, our travellers resumed their road, which was to take them through the wooded region of the Black Forest to Basel. Heavy rain for the rest of the day made their journey uncomfortable, but they were too thankful for the interval of fine weather, which had allowed them to view the Rhine Fall, to feel disposed to repine. Where they stayed that night, Mrs. Colston omits to mention and supplies no details whereby we may hazard a guess.

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1 Ibid.
By the evening of the next day, October 21st, they were in Basel and, as they travelled much of the way through the German state of Baden, no more than an indication of their route need be given. It is clear that they followed the post-road, for she mentions crossing the Wutach. This must have been at Oberlauchtringen, which, though only a small village, boasted a bridge and a relay station. At a short distance beyond "Thungen", they saw the junction of the Wutach with the Rhine and, later, the union of the latter with the Aare below Coblenz but, to see this "large village", the Colstons must have looked to their left across the Rhine as their road, which had led them away from the river at Neuhausen, now brought them back to it, within a mile or two of "the forest town of Waldshut."

Mrs. Colston tells us that they passed through "Albbrugg" and "Lauffen" - easily identified as Albruck and Laufenburg, both on the right bank - and her particular reference to the Rhine at the latter place suggests that here the Colstons returned to Switzerland for, as she points out, the Rhine, in this part of its course, forms the boundary between Switzerland and Germany and we know that the post-road used the Laufenburg bridge. Moreover, the fact that they later dined at Rheinfelden, which is on the left bank, supports this theory.

"Our route from thence offered nothing particularly striking, till we entered Basle, which is divided into two parts by this noble river."

So ended the entry in her journal for October 21st.

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 13. The village of Thungen.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 16.
For their two nights spent in Basel, the Colstons, like all travellers
of affluence and consequence, put up at The Three Kings, situated, as
Mrs. Colston observed, immediately on the Rhine and from which they enjoyed
"a delightful view of this majestic river." Her general impression of the
city, gathered, presumably, on her first day there, is entered under
October 22nd as follows.

"The city of Basle is large, and contains many neat, and
pretty houses, but it is on the whole ill-built, and offers little
to attract the admiration of strangers. It has a very long wooden
bridge over the Rhine, which river constitutes its sole
ornament; ......"  

It is difficult to evaluate this impression of the city, since Basel was
considerably rebuilt in the 19th century, later than the time of her visit in
1820, but that it had little to admire and the Rhine is its only ornament are
opinions unshared by most who have visited it. Indeed, the writer herself
seems to have found plenty to interest her there.

The most important building in the town has always been the Cathedral,
or Münster, and here the Colstons had the good fortune to begin their
sightseeing under the best of guides.

"We probably took a greater interest in the antiquities of
this church, from having them shewn and explained to us, by a
complete local antiquary, in the person of the clerk, who
recalled to my mind the Captain turned Antiquary, introduced in
the preface of Sir W. Scott's work, entitled The Monastery,
although our acquaintance apparently possessed a character very
differently modified."

As Tbel has little to say about it, we may assume that Mrs. Colston's
description of this "large and handsome edifice," as she so rightly calls it,

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 18.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 17.
4 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 16-17.
was based on what the clerk showed and explained to her. Two facts emerge from what she wrote; first, that the old soldier turned antiquary was an authority on his subject and, second, that Mrs. Colston afterwards recollected in her journal comparatively little of what she saw and heard. Apparently her guide related the history of the Münster, which, as a result of fire, earthquake and religious strife, had been built and altered several times, for Mrs. Colston wrote -

"We commenced our peregrinations over the town by visiting the Cathedral, which is a large and handsome edifice, partly in the Norman-gothic, and partly in the more simple Gothic style. It was built in the year 1019, but many of the materials were taken from the ancient church, which had stood nearly on the same spot."  

A keen antiquarian would not draw attention to the different styles of architecture, which can be seen in Basel Münster, without relating the events of which they were the consequence, and of one of these events Mrs. Colston appears to have retained only an imperfect memory, for, when a new cathedral replaced the original, 9th century church, it was not built but completed and consecrated in 1019. Destroyed by fire in 1185, this structure was, in its turn, replaced by the Romanesque cathedral which, with a number of alterations and additions, has stood from the 12th century until to-day. But even more interesting is Mrs. Colston's reference to "the ancient church" for, of this, little was known until long after her day. In 1947, excavations behind the choir revealed a chapel, or crypt, the Carolingian origin of which was proved by the fact that it did not lie along the middle axis of the Münster, but rather to the south of it, thus confirming the clerk's words that the old,

1 Romanesque, to be exact.
2 Ibid.
original church had stood nearly on the same spot.

He certainly knew and pointed out to his visitors what was worth seeing, for Mrs. Colston's journal ran on —

"Of these were some very grotesque Saxon capitals, which by the distortions of the limbs, appeared to represent devils, and were therefore placed in a very singular situation as supporters of a church...... ."1

It is not difficult for us to identify what she saw. The choir-ambulatory contains four remarkable columns with capitals, quaintly carved with motifs of spiritual significance, one of which portrays the torture, by fiends, of the damned, but here again Mrs. Colston's memory betrayed her. The capitals are not a relic of the 9th century church but belong to that of the 12th.

The Münster and its cloisters are rich in tombs and epitaphs and the clerk must have been at pains to indicate the most interesting.

"There are many monuments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on which repose the stone images of valiant knights, clothed in armour, and bishops clad in their episcopal robes."

"Stiff" and "extraordinary" as they might appear to one who had recently seen the graceful and imaginative sculpture of the Romans, Mrs. Colston might also have described as dignified and noble the recumbent effigy of, for example, Bishop Arnold von Rotberg, placed in the north side-aisle in 1459, beside that of Ritter von Thierstein, which had lain there since 1318.

On this subject, we can hardly believe that the clerk would fail to point out the fine, 13th century tomb of the Empress Gertrude Anna von Hapsburg on the gospel side of the choir or that Mrs. Colston, if she saw it, would fail

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
to write of the sculptured figures of this mother and her child as she had of the much inferior monument at Hindelbank. Instead, she mentions the tombs of "the celebrated Erasmus" and "three other .... reformers." As with bishop and knight, their names, with the exception of "Oecolombardius," escaped her memory, but we may be sure she referred to Oecolampadius, Grynaeus and Meyer, who are, however, interred not, as she said, like Erasmus in the cathedral but in the adjoining cloisters. Her remark that "there formerly existed some good paintings in this church, but they have been destroyed by time," is evidently a reference to those, attributed to Holbein, which once adorned the organ gallery.

From the interior of the Minster, their guide would naturally lead the Colstons to the cloisters, which were used as a place of interment by the most distinguished local families and personages until thirty years after she was there, for Mrs. Colston tells us -

"On our remarking that the prospect from the church-yard, though fine, was not so extensive as that from the Cathedral at Berne, our guide, in his zeal for the honour of the spot so dear to him, replied by describing the extent of the view which we did not see, the mountains of Vosges, the Juras, and the Glaciers, which the nearer hills concealed from our sight." 5

Here, on the Minsterplatz, in the heart of the town, on the historic site where the Romans had founded it, the Colstons must have taken their leave of this worthy son of Basel.

Art had long flourished in the town and, of the many artists working there

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Mentioned by T. Martyn, Sketch of a Tour through Swisserland, second edn., London, 1788, p. 34.
about 1820, the Colstons, with their interest in art, chose to visit Wocher, in whose studio they admired the landscape work for which he was noted and examined, but did not purchase, a painting on sale for £2,500. Wealthy as they were, their refusal of the picture could not have depended on its price but rather on its authenticity for Mrs. Colston, with her not inconsiderable knowledge of the subject, cautiously described it in her journal as "a fine painting, which is said to be an original of Raphael's."

Their sightseeing for the day ended with a visit to "a pretty garden, belonging to an individual of this town." Unfortunately, Mrs. Colston mentions neither his name nor the locality of his garden, which, with its Chinese temples and bridges, its grottos, modern statues and Roman antiquities from Augst, "all crowded together in a very injudicious manner," seemed to her in the worst of taste, but then it will be remembered that few continental gardens, even those of Isola Bella, measured up to her English standards of horticulture.

She added a characteristic note to her journal for 22nd October.

"The female head-dress prevailing here among the lower orders, is a little black cap covering only the crown of the head, with bows of black ribbon, sticking up in such a manner, as to resemble a pair of ears, and accompanied with the long plait of hair hanging down the back, to which we were now become quite accustomed."  

1 Marquard Wocher, (1760-1830), of German origin, painter and engraver, in 1806 made the first panoramic painting of a Swiss scene - the area of Thun, which the Colstons saw at his house in Basel.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid. Was it the Hermitage at Arlesheim described by Coxe, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 186-188?

4 Where, driving from Rheinfelden to Basel the day before, Mrs. Colston had passed the most important Roman remains in Switzerland.


6 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 18.
The next day, Mrs. Colston and her husband must have returned to the Minsterplatz for they visited the public library, which stood on the north side of the cathedral, overlooking the Rhine. On this occasion, her memory did not play her false: everything she described in her journal for the 23rd is known to have been in this library at the time she visited it. She afterwards recalled having seen, "besides a considerable collection of books, some very good paintings by Hans Holbein, who was a native of this town."

"I particularly admired a wooden cabinet, containing, on six panels, (sic) a representation of the principal circumstances of our Saviour's sufferings," she wrote, with her customary sound judgment in the field of art. "It is singular to observe, how different the character of countenance and costume, which both the Swiss and Flemish painters give to the individuals of their pictures, is from those of the Italian school. The latter is unquestionably the most beautiful, the most intellectual, and imaginative; - but the excellence which the former have obtained in the clair obscur, and their truth of imitation, give them a just claim to rank high amongst the works of art."

She admired also "a cabinet of natural history, containing some pretty specimens" - most likely the Fesch or Annone collection - and looked at manuscripts of Erasmus, Luther and Calvin. But what impressed her the most, as it has so many who have seen it, was "a copy of an extraordinary set of pictures, called The Dance of Death, the original of which was painted by an individual at the time of the plague." Mrs. Colston, it will be noted, did not fall into the common error of attributing the original frescoes in the Predigerkirche to Holbein.

1 Ibid. She refers to Holbein the Younger, 1497/8 - 1543. The paintings she saw are now in the Basel Kunsthalle.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 18-19.
4 The worst outbreak of the Pest was in 1340, but another occurred during the final sittings of the Grand Council, 1431-48. The time-worn remains of the frescoes are now preserved in the Basel Historical Museum.
"The idea is singular," she wrote, for indeed the Totentanz of Basel has no parallel anywhere and the moral effect it was designed to create was acutely felt by Mrs. Colston. "Death is represented under a variety of forms, leading away his reluctant prey; from the pope, the cardinal, the bishop, the sovereign, down to the poor cripple, who appears as unwilling to resign to the all-conquering enemy his crutch, and rags; as the former were to yield up the tiara, the hat, the mitre, and the sceptre."

With this memorable conclusion to their visit, the Colstons left Basel and travelled through "pleasing country" to their stop for the night "at a village called Langenbruk, where we met with the accustomed imposition and exorbitant demands of the Swiss innkeepers, but not with so much comfort as usual."

This remark expresses her single criticism of Swiss hôteliers but also expresses her general satisfaction with Swiss hotels.

She has left us no information regarding their route to Langenbruck, save that they "left the Rhine, at a few miles distance from Basle." We may therefore assume that they posted about seven miles eastwards through Muttenz to Pratteln, where, leaving the valley of the Rhine, they turned southwards to Liestal, up the valley of the Ergols, and thence by its tributary, the Frenke, to their resting-place for the night.

Her account of their journey from Langenbruck to Soleure on the 24th contains only a description of the scenery through which they passed, so again we are left to assume that their road ascended to Balsthal, where a narrow defile, dominated by the ruined castles of Alt- and Neufalkenstein, would allow them to pass a spur of the Juras, and that it then descended to Oensingen and continued below the south-eastern side of the mountains to Soleure.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
"We set out early, having a very mountainous stage to reach Soleure, and had two horses added to our ordinary number. The greater part of this journey was very picturesque and beautiful. Rocks and mountains, luxuriantly clothed with the dark foliage of the fir, ruined castles, situated on their summits, and mountain torrents, flowing in various directions, reminded me of the scenery of the Juras, to which great chain of mountains these lower ones form a distant approach."

Driving into Soleure, Mrs. Colston was reminded of towns in France. This is understandable, for she had now entered the part of Switzerland most akin to that country and a town having a long, historic connection with France. Rain, which had fallen steadily for the last two days, obliged them to lodge here for the night.

Continued bad weather on the 25th did not, perhaps, allow them a very favourable view of the town, built in two parts, divided by the Aare but united by two wooden bridges, as Mrs. Colston noted, and, to her and her husband, "the church of St. Urse" seemed all that deserved the traveller's attention - a mistaken impression, but one which their customary haste gave them no time to correct, for they purposed that day to reach Neuchâtel. Accordingly, they visited the 18th century, baroque cathedral of St. Ursus, which she described rightly as "a large and fine building" but wrongly as "in the Corinthian style of architecture." Nevertheless, she paid it an outstanding compliment.

"This single handsome church, situated amidst the woods, mountains, and lakes of Switzerland, gave me more pleasure than I have felt from the sight of many finer edifices in Italy."

The most direct route from Soleure to Neuchâtel lies by Grenchen, Biel, the western shore of the Bielersee, La Neuveville and St. Blaise, but,

1 Ibid
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 20.
3 Ibid. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Baillie described this church as "of Grecian architecture," (op. cit., p. 313), but this was a subject on which she was not "particularly learned." Ibid., p. 97.
recalling that the stretch by the lakeside was not completed until 1837, we understand why the Colstons took the road up the valley of the Aare to Aarberg, despite warning that rain, falling for the last fortnight, had swollen the river to a dangerous level. Before long, they found themselves and their carriages in serious trouble.

"......a bridge, which we had to pass, having been partly broken by the swell of the water, we were advised to alight from our carriages by the inspector of the roads, who was on the spot, giving directions for its repair; the carriages, however, passed without accident; and after proceeding some miles further, along a wretchedly bad road, we safely reached Arberg."¹

This town, where they dined, was not, Mrs. Colston was careful to point out, the Aarburg they had passed on their earlier journey to Zürich. Meantime, the costumes of the women and the pretty wooden cottages told them they were back in the canton of Berne.

We are given no details of their route from Aarberg to Neuchâtel, but we may judge that they went by the post-road south-westwards to Siselen and Ins, for they "saw, at a small distance, the lake of Morat." The historic field of Morat had long been a place of pilgrimage for all who recognised its significance in the history of Switzerland. Many had written of it, among them Mrs. Colston's favourite poet, who had compared it with Marathon. She, too, must have thought of it as a spot not to be passed in vain, for she wrote -

"This lake is celebrated for the victory gained on its banks by the Swiss cantons over Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in 1476, in which the whole army of the latter was destroyed."²

To this she added a brief panegyric on the Swiss in their fight for liberty.

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 21.
2 Ibid.
3 Childe Harold, Canto 3, verses LXIII-LXIV.
5 Vide infra.
A brief but violent storm, a vivid rainbow and the descent of darkness marked the remainder of the day's journey, but the road improved after Aarberg and the abatement of the floodwaters by the Lake of Neuchâtel allowed them to arrive safely at their destination, where they were accommodated "Aux Balances."

A lengthy description of Neuchâtel, as she saw it on a fine autumn day in 1820, is not to be expected from our writer, for her principal object in going there seems to have been a visit to the former residence of Rousseau, on the Island of St. Pierre in the Lake of Biel. She limited herself therefore to these words.

"The town is finely situated on a rising ground above the lake, and we passed several very handsome houses in its environs. The public promenade above the lake is quite delightful, commanding the charming view which I have just mentioned, so that this capital possesses altogether many attractions, at least for me."  

The view referred to was of the Alps and as, according to Mrs. Colston, "Les Balances" was "situated close to the lake," near where the Seyon entered it, they had not far to go to enjoy it, possibly to what is now the Quai du Mont Blanc, where a high wind sent the waves foaming and dashing onto the pebbly shore and gave to the lake a resemblance to the sea. So far, however, as she does describe Neuchâtel, Mrs. Colston is accurate.

In contrast to this brevity, she wrote at length of the Island of St. Pierre. To reach it, our travellers drove to "Teuffelen," and there embarked for this beautiful, little island, which "rises literally like a gem from the bosom of the water," and which quickly cast its spell on Mrs. Colston.

1 Of the canton of Neuchâtel.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 22-23.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 25.
5 Ibid.
"It is indeed unique," she wrote, "and looks calculated to be the abode of fairies or enchantresses, or any such aerial beings, rather than for those of grosser mould. It was indeed eminently suited for the residence of the enchanter in flesh and blood, Rousseau, who here passed two months,¹ which he often afterwards asserted were the happiest of his life."²

This and her description of the island indicate that Mrs. Colston was acquainted with Réveries du Promeneur Solitaire.

As most visitors do, the Colstons went to the islet for the sake of its association with the philosopher, and it is interesting to compare Mrs. Colston's censorious remarks at his tomb in the Pantheon with what she now wrote, if only to observe how, in the course of her travels, her principles had endured but her outlook had widened.

"Such a scene, so beautiful, so secluded, is calculated to inspire those sentiments, "not of earth," which his writings breathe; faulty, as unhappily they are in their principles and tendency. Here the irritability of unbounded pride, and morbid sensibility, were soothed by the loveliness of Nature, which seems as if, in this spot, she sought a retreat where evil and sorrow should not enter."³

The Colstons saw Rousseau's modest apartment in the house of the Intendant, or Governor — no tourist ever failed to do so — and then, sensible of its charm and the beauty of its setting, walked about the island till the wind, rising, sent them back in haste to their boat.

"......our four rowers had rather hard work to get us back; for though the lake is in this part very shallow, the wind was so high, that there were great waves on it. An English family who made this little voyage an hour after us, had still greater difficulty in returning...... . Providentially we reached the land without accident, and returned to Neuchâtel to dinner. My little darling accompanied me on this expedition; ...... ."⁴

¹ In 1765.
² Ibid.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 25.
After a stormy night, the Colstons woke on the 27th of October to a day of pouring rain, which boded ill for the enjoyment of their journey to Yverdon. Before leaving Neuchâtel, they purchased "a set of beautiful engravings of the Simplon, from Mr. Lory's drawings," and then set off along the lakeside road, which offered a fine prospect of the water - "agitated by the wind and rain, ....its deep blue color was varied by the curling edges of white foam" - and of picturesque towns and villages, set among woods and vineyards, sheltered on the west by the lower ranges of the Juras.

"At a short distance from the town we perceived a small river issuing from a rock near the road, and having a most picturesque appearance."  

About a mile beyond where the gates of Neuchâtel then stood, the Colstons had observed the Gorge of Serrières, where, in a manner typical of limestone areas such as the Juras, a rivulet, having its source in some reservoir deep in the heart of the mountains, suddenly emerged to fall within half a mile's distance into the lake. Her admiration of this beauty-spot rendered her oblivious of the stone bridge with one magnificent arch, which General Berthier had built in 1807 and by which she crossed the ravine.

As witness both her writings and her drawings, Mrs. Colston delighted in waterfalls.

"A little further on" - as they neared Boudry - "the Reuse" forms an exceedingly pretty cascade, as it flows towards the lake into which it falls."

Unlike many ardent travellers of her day, Mrs. Colston did not note the name of every town or village through which she passed, and of the many between

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1 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 25.
4 Better known as the Areuse.
5 Ibid.
Neuchâtel and Yverdon she mentioned only one - Grandson - and that for its historic association, "the battle which Charles the Bold lost there in 1476." Of their destination this day she wrote -

"Yverdon is well situated at the bottom of this extensive lake; but as this is the narrowest part of it, this town must yield to Neuchâtel in beauty of situation, as well as in size, and in the elegance of its buildings." 2

In the opinion of the Colstons, the town contained only one object particularly deserving attention - "the celebrated establishment of M. Pestalozzi for the instruction of youth." 3 In 1806, the great Swiss pedagogue had converted a 12th century castle, once a stronghold of the Zähringens, into a boys' school and made it the centre of his educational activities, though the experiment was to end in failure in 1825.

Mrs. Colston's account of a morning spent in observation of its work is the most sustained passage on any one topic in the whole of her journal. She and her husband, and doubtless Miss A., whose interests were similar to theirs, were taken on a conducted tour of the establishment by the Greek master, who happened to be an English clergyman and an able exponent of Pestalozzi's aims and methods.

2 Ibid.
3 His life and work are best described in the words of the epitaph, inscribed on his monument in the cemetery of Birr (Kt. Aargau), on the occasion of his centenary: Hier ruht / Heinrich Pestalozzi / Geboren in Zürich den 12. Januar 1746 / Gestorben in Brugg den 17. Hrnung 1827 / Retter der Armen auf Neuhof / Prediger des Volks in Lienhard und Gertrud / Zu Stans Vater der Waisen / Zu Burgdorf und Münchenbuchsee / Gründer der neuen Volksschule / In Iferten Erzieher der Menschheit / Mensch, Christ, Bürger / Alles für andere, für sich nichts / Segen seinem Namen.
4 Ibid.
5 Most travellers in Switzerland made a point of visiting it.
6 Though this is all the information about him that Mrs. Colston gives us, no doubt he was the Rev. Charles Mayo, (1792-1846), who took some English pupils to Yverdon in 1819 and remained there, until 1822, as teacher and English chaplain, in order to master Pestalozzi's principles and methods, to the advancement of which, by lecturing, writing and opening his own school, first at Epsom and later at Cheam in Surrey, he devoted the rest of his life. His best-known works were Observations on the Establishment and Direction of Infant Schools, (1827), and Memoirs of Pestalozzi, (1828).
From him, Mrs. Colston gathered that "the general idea on which M. Pestalozzi proceeds is, the endeavour to promote the development of the youthful faculties, by simplifying the elementary principles of knowledge, and rather leading the mind to discover useful truths by the exertions of its own powers, than furnishing it with positive knowledge, which probably, in many instances, it may not comprehend."  

Mrs. Colston questioned her informant. Had M. Pestalozzi not adopted some of the ideas embodied by Rousseau in *Emile*?  

Yes, certainly, was the reply, but he had reduced them to a practicability which Rousseau had not. Pestalozzi had also drawn many of his principles from the English philosopher, Locke.  

In what respects did Pestalozzi's system differ from Fellenberg's?  

The former's aim was to develop the faculties, the latter's to give positive knowledge, was the answer, and the Englishman drew their attention to the fees charged - £200 per annum at Hofwyl but only £30 at Yverdon, where English boys, however, paid £10 more for they had extra masters. Pestalozzi's "system was therefore more calculated to promote the universal benefit of humanity," whilst M. Fellenberg would, doubtless, form many superior characters in the higher walks of society." He then enlarged on the moral training and disciplinary methods practised in the school and referred to their influence on the work of Bell and Lancaster.  

"I need scarcely add to this imperfect account," wrote Mrs. Colston, "the observation, that I was exceedingly interested by this visit, and think M. Pestalozzi's plans appear founded on good sense, and directed by sound judgment."  

The universal diffusion of knowledge through schools of this type would bring many social changes but, she concluded, "the hand of Providence is plainly

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2 It is interesting to note how close Mrs. Colston's words at Yverdon are to the corresponding line in Pestalozzi's epitaph. Vide supra.  
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 28.  
4 Bell visited Yverdon about four years previous to Mrs. Colston.  
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 29.
discernible in these changes, and we therefore need feel no anxiety for their result."1

The same day, October 28th, they proceeded on their way to Lausanne but delayed at the "ancient and picturesque"2 town of Orbe for the purpose of calling upon Lory, a set of whose engravings, it will be remembered, they had bought the previous day. They "were gratified by a sight of some very beautiful pictures by that excellent artist."3 He had just returned from making a coloured sketch of a bridge over the River Orbe on the road which they were about to follow to Lausanne.

From the fact that they stopped at Orbe may be ascertained their route to Lausanne - by La Sarraz to the road-junction at Cossonay. Here the more obvious route to take would be the one branching south-eastwards to Lausanne, but Mrs. Colston's remark that they dined at a village - unnamed in her journal - and "afterwards descended for several miles, till we reached the lake of Geneva, and shortly afterwards the town of Lausanne,"4 suggests that they may have chosen the other continuing south to Morges on the lake, by the side of which they would then drive for about eight miles to their destination.

At this point in her narrative, Mrs. Colston gives no reason why they went out of their way to Geneva in order to return to Lausanne but, referring to what she wrote on their previous visit, five weeks before, we may assume that what they had then seen of the town and its many English residents had attracted them back.

2 Ibid.
3 Matthias Gabriel Lory, (1784-1846), was at this time an art master in a school at Neuchâtel. He and his father, Gabriel Ludvig Lory, (1763-1840), were among the foremost landscape artists of their day and their works were greatly in demand by tourists in Switzerland. In 1811, they produced a volume of 35 aquatints, Voyage pittoresque de Genève à Milan par le Simplon, from which the engravings purchased by the Colstons must have been taken.
"We passed this day at the agreeable town of Lausanne," ran her entry for October 29th. It was Sunday and they were edified by an example of religious toleration, rare in other parts of the Continent.

"We attended divine service in a small church, where both the catholic and protestant forms of worship are successively performed, — a happy instance of Christian charity existing between the two churches."2

They afterwards visited the cathedral and admired the fine prospect from its terrace, though, in their opinion, it yielded in beauty and extent to that seen from Berne or Neuchâtel.

They must also have walked or driven on the Promenade de Montbenon, west of the centre of the town, for she wrote —

"The public walk at Lausanne is remarkably beautiful; it extends about a quarter of a mile, and is planted with two rows of trees on each side. A good view of the town is enjoyed from hence, which is built in a singular position, on three very steep hills."3

Mont Jorat, on which Lausanne is built, is, in fact, intersected by ravines in such a way as to make it appear more than one hill.

Across "the fine expanse of water which the lake here presents," they admired "the grand rocks of Meillerie," inseparably associated with the poetic lines of Rousseau, and "Les Dents d'Oches, on the opposing shore, which are well characterised as teeth......."4

It is evident that they had hoped to visit the house of Gibbon. "La Grotte", where he had lived for ten years and completed his great work, in 1793, was conveniently near the centre of the town, but they were disappointed.

"The house in which he lived is now occupied by an English lady of quality; and I was informed that no vestiges remained of their

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid. This may be the second church she referred to in her journal for September 24th. Vide supra.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 32-33.
former occupant, distinguished at least" - the qualifying phrase will be noted - "for intellectual preeminence."¹

"The situation of Lausanne, and the prospects enjoyed from it," went on Mrs. Colston, "are the sole objects of interest which it affords to the traveller. So many of our countrymen make it their residence, that it has been named the English Town; and they lead here a life of continual visiting and amusement."²

She forgot the attraction of its benign climate and the fine educational facilities it offered. These contributed greatly to its pleasant social life and its large foreign colony.

The next day, on October 30th, they set off by the lakeside road to Geneva, probably, between Lausanne and Morges, retracing their route of the 28th, though of this Mrs. Colston gives no indication. Nothing was wanting to make their journey agreeable. The day was remarkably fine, the lake "as smooth as a mirror,"³ in striking contrast to what they had seen at Neuchâtel.

They passed through "Preverange,"⁴ which is prettily situated on a little promontory stretching into the water. The bank of the lake was covered with vines, from which the excellent wine is made which bears the name of this district, La Côte."⁵

They came to Morges - "well situated and commercial"⁶ - and to Nyon - "very ancient, and was the Colonia Equestris Noviodunum of the Romans."⁷

¹ Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Preveranges.
⁵ Ibid. "La Côte is rather the region lying further to the south-west, between Rolle and Aubonne."
⁷ Colston, op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 34.

Founded by Julius Caesar in 44-45 B.C., Colonia Julia Equestris Noviodunum formed an enclave between the Allobroges in the region of Geneva and the Rhone Valley, the Sequani on both sides of the Juras and the Helvetii to the north-west.
Intensely sympathetic towards the people of Switzerland in their many battles against oppression she continued —

"Above the towns of Nyon and Rolle, are still to be seen the remains of a wall, which was sixteen feet high, and nineteen thousand feet long; and which Julius Caesar built to join the Juras with the Leman Lake, and thus to raise an insurmountable barrier between the Helvetians, and the Allobroges.¹ The former race then, as since, distinguished by their bold and martial spirit, fought two bloody battles with Caesar,² but were each time defeated by him, and compelled to return to their ancient limits."³

À propos of nothing in particular, Mrs. Colston interpolated two observations on this page of her journal; the first, a reference to the Vaudois custom of belling the cows when pastured in the mountains — a custom by no means confined to this canton — and the second, a reference to "the habit of smoking segars, as they sit or walk, which is universal throughout Switzerland, and indeed forms almost the constant occupation of a Swiss peasant."⁴

The main event of the day came when, following the old Roman road from Lausanne to Geneva, they —

"......stopt at Copet, to pay a passing tribute of veneration to the memory of that distinguished female, whose talents and writings still shed a powerful degree of interest over the place where she long resided, and where her ashes now repose,"⁵

As her observations on other women writers and artists show, Mrs. Colston was something of a feminist, proud of the achievements of her sex in the fields of literature and art.

1 She refers to the earthen rampart, mentioned by Caesar in his Gallic War, book I, chap. viii.
   It was not, however, near Nyon or Rolle but on the left bank of the Rhone below Geneva. Staehelin, op.cit., p. 76.
2 In 58 and 52 B.C.
3 Colston, op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 34.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 35.
"I believe," she now wrote of Madame de Staël, "that I take a stronger interest in the recollections which regard this authoress's memory, from the sympathy of sex, which seems a bond of union between us; and perhaps from the feeling of gratified pride, that our sex should have been illustrated by a writer, possessing such originality of thought, such force of expression, and inimitable beauty of sentiment."¹

Familiar with Corinne as with La Nouvelle Héloïse, Mrs. Colston compared her work with that of Rousseau, much to the latter's detriment, and ascribed its sublimity to the fact that - "it is because she was a Christian, that she has thought, and written so finely."²

At this time, Madame de Staël had been dead for only three years and her memory was still green in this "large and comfortable mansion,"³ where an old servant showed the visitors round in the absence of the family at Paris, regaled them with stories of her former mistress and disappointed them in one respect only - "by a singular article in the will of M. Necker,⁴ her father, all persons excepting those related to the family, were prohibited from seeing the monument"⁵ or tomb of Madame in the adjoining grounds.

Within a short time of leaving Coppet, the Colstons and Miss A. were driving through the outskirts of Geneva, across the Rhone and into the centre of the town, while "the setting sun tinged with a beautiful rose-color the snowy summits of the mountains; the bright hue lingered on Mont Blanc some minutes after the rest had faded, ......"⁶ - an accurate observation on the part of the writer. This time they did not put up at Dejean's in the suburb of Sècheron, but at Les

¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 35-36.
² Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 36.
³ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 35.
⁴ Jacques Necker, (1732-1804), of English descent and Swiss birth, was French Minister of Finance under Louis XVI.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 36.
Balances, which, in their time, was a hotel of equal repute but more conveniently placed for sightseeing and not so expensive. It was not too late in the evening for a stroll and a look at the shops.

"The jewellery of Geneva is considered particularly good, and we became the purchasers of a few trifles. We walked along the passeggiata, which is almost as beautiful as that at Lausanne; and from whence Mount Salève is seen....."\(^1\)

On their first visit in November, 1819, the Colstones had seen no more of Geneva than "a few back streets" and "a glimpse of the lake and the surrounding mountains,"\(^2\) but, on their second, in November, 1820, they were determined to see much more, so on November 1st - their wedding anniversary be it noted - they drove along the highway to Gex, by which they had first entered Switzerland, in order to reach Ferney, "the former residence of the great wit of the eighteenth century, Voltaire,"\(^3\) to which tourists of British and all nationalities flocked as to Coppet. There is a certain fascination in entering the house of a celebrity. Though the owner may have departed, the atmosphere he has created remains, and so we find Mrs. Colston enchanted on the Island of St. Pierre, disappointed at the door of La Grotte, gratified at Coppet and now curious at Ferney.

"I always look with great interest," she wrote, "at the abodes of distinguished characters, when they contain vestiges of the objects with which they had surrounded themselves in their favourite retirement; since these seem to give an insight into those peculiar features of mind and disposition, which constitute the individual character. In the two apartments which remain as they were in Voltaire's time, there is much of this nature to gratify curiosity."\(^4\)

Mrs. Colston was repelled by what she saw. In the philosopher's sitting-room hung "a very singular picture, which the person who accompanied us, and who had known Voltaire, said was painted according to his directions."\(^5\) The principal

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\(^1\) Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 37.
\(^2\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 53.
\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 37.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Ibid.
figure in it was, of course, Voltaire, extravagantly represented in a scene at once allegorical, historical and mythological, where Apollo and the Muses, Louis XIV and the Court of France combined to do him honour, while savage beasts and fiery flames disposed of his enemies. It seemed to Mrs. Colston the height of "egregious, and almost incredibly ridiculous vanity."\(^1\) In the adjoining bedroom, besides the inscribed urn which once contained his heart, was an engraving of his mausoleum. Mrs. Colston found this equally "eccentric and capricious."\(^2\) Only the pouring rain prevented her examining "this singular monument"\(^3\) in the local churchyard. In the same room were to be seen engravings of French wits, who had been his contemporaries, English writers - "amongst whom is Milton"\(^4\) - a portrait of Frederick the Great, one of Voltaire having a floral surround embroidered by the Empress Catherine of Russia, and "another likeness of himself, strongly expressive of the contemptuous sneer, and lurking malignity, which are so forcibly marked on all the representations of his physiognomy."\(^5\)

Mrs. Colston found nothing here to alter her original impression of the "soi-disant philosopher of Ferney."\(^6\) The best she could write of him was -

"It is said that Voltaire was very charitable, and contributed much to the happiness of the poor who inhabited the village of Ferney. We may well allow him the virtue of charity; he needed it, "to cover a multitude of sins."\(^7\)"

Mrs. Colston's journal for the following day, November 2nd, gives a rather disjointed account, written perhaps in haste, of where they went and what they saw, added to which are her observations on Geneva, its famous men, its past history and present government and its principal article of commerce, in that order.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 38.
2 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
7 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 39.
They "made an excursion to see the meeting of the Rhone and the Arve, at a very short distance from Geneva."\(^1\) Tourists were in the habit of driving about a mile and a half from the Porte de Cornavin to a high tongue of land — Le Bois de la Bâtie — lying between the two rivers, there to observe the meeting of the waters. Curiously enough, Mrs. Colston, who thought that "the junction of two considerable rivers is, at all times, a fine sight,"\(^2\) did not mention what generally impressed tourists most at La Jonction — the remarkable sight of the opaque, grey water of the Arve, on their left, flowing parallel for several hundred yards before mingling with the clear, blue water of the Rhone, on their right.

It is very probable that our travellers stood at the usual viewpoint for Mrs. Colston remarked —

"The hill, on which we stood, commands an exceedingly pleasing view of Geneva; this singular city has water on every side: on one is the lake, on the other the Rhone, almost as wide as a lake in this part, whilst the Arve flows in a third direction, very near the suburbs of the town, at the foot of Mount Salève."\(^3\)

Though she considered it inferior to Lausanne in beauty of situation, she would prefer it as a place of residence: its environs offered more of variety and interest. She longed to make an ascent of the Salève or Voirons, but there was Arabella to be considered. An unusual feature of the city was "the high wooden piazzas attached to the houses."\(^4\)

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 40.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.

Mrs. Colston does not elaborate this feature but Coxe mentions them. ".... the houses are high, and many, which stand in the trading part of the city, have arcades of wood, which are raised even to the upper stories. These arcades, supported by pillars, give a gloomy appearance to the street; but are useful to the inhabitants in protecting them from the sun and rain." Op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 319-320.

See also —

"....the so-called dômes; wooden pillars and low-built shops jutting out on each side of the main street. These picturesque, but inconvenient structures were removed in 1826 and 1871."

Among its distinguished sons were Bonnet, Necker and Rousseau, whose birthplace could be seen in a street named after him. M. de Saussure, author of *Voyages aux Alpes*, had been a member of the Academy, like Beza and Calvin.

"An excellent collection of natural curiosities, made by M. de Saussure, still exists here; and a great taste for natural history and science prevails in this city, as it has, indeed, for centuries past," she wrote. 3

Mrs. Colston was correct in regarding Geneva as the intellectual centre of Switzerland. Her short but accurate outline of its history emphasised the struggle of its citizens, throughout the centuries, to maintain their civil and religious freedom against the Romans, the Germanic tribes, their own prince-bishops, the neighbouring state of Savoy and, more recently, "the transient imperial power of France."

As for its government, she wrote, "The legislative power is vested in a general assembly of the citizens; the executive in a magistracy composed of two councils, the council of twenty-five, and that of two hundred." 5

It will be remembered that the first thing the Colstons did on arrival in the city was to purchase some articles of jewellery. They would seem to have been costly for she wrote -

"The jewellery of Geneva is so beautiful, that it is difficult to resist the temptation of spending more money than one ought in making purchases. It is the principal article of commerce that the Genevese carry on, and, particularly since the great influx of English, is become an abundant source of wealth to the inhabitants." 6

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1 Charles Bonnet, (1720-1793), philosopher and naturalist, author of *Considérations sur les corps organisés* and *Palingenésie philosophique*.
2 This was his home but he was born in his grandfather's house across the Rhone, on the left bank.
4 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 41-42.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 42.
6 Ibid.
We have noticed elsewhere in Mrs. Colston's journal the omission of a day's entry. Of this, November 3rd is another example, understandably so, as preparation was necessary for the journey ahead. November 4th was to be their last day in Switzerland, when they left Geneva for Lyons.

"This day we left Geneva, having there with regret parted from Miss A., with whom we had enjoyed many pleasures, and weathered some difficulties."  

And, as the Colstons drove off down the valley of the Rhone, between the Juras and the Alps of Savoy, their thoughts involuntarily turned back to the day when they had seen Switzerland for the first time, as they now saw it for the last.

"We continued to drive between the Juras, and the Savoy mountains, whose tops were covered with snow; thus passing along the base of the former range, whose summits we traversed last year, nearly a month later. Their aspect was even now bleak and unwitning, and I was thankful that our present course lay through the plains, or rather was almost a continued, though gradual descent."  

Looking back, she enjoyed a farewell view of Mont Blanc and "the delightful Leman Lake."

"I contemplated this charming prospect as long as it was possible to see it," ran the final entry in the Swiss section of her journal, "and sighed inwardly as I bade adieu to the beautiful country of Switzerland."  

The Colstons spent the remainder of their time abroad in touring the south of France and then returning to Paris, where the first part of her book went to the press while she was still engaged on the conclusion. In chapters XVI-XXII, she described their experiences as they travelled down the valley of the Rhone,

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 43.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 42.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 257, fn.
in Provence and among the Pyrenees, through Les Landes and the valley of the Garonne. No more need be said of this part of her journal, since it has little or no relation to her travels in Switzerland beyond a few allusions and points of comparison, which will be mentioned later. In the concluding chapters of her book, numbers XXIII-XXVI, she described Paris and its environs even more thoroughly than she had Rome.

While regretting that she did not do the same for Berne, Basel, Geneva or Zürich, we must bear in mind first, that her time in Switzerland was more limited and secondly, that, though she professed to write "originally for her own amusement and for the eye of partial friends" at home in Somerset or Oxford, she now, by the very act of publication, solicited a wider audience, who were generally more interested in France and Italy than they were in Switzerland. The possibility of visiting these countries, after the return of peace in 1815, had created among tourists a brisk demand for travel books and, among writers, a keen competition to supply them. How was the work of an unknown authoress to succeed among "its already celebrated, its more voluminous, more learned and meritorious competitors"?

Some lines, written while in Italy, indicate how Mrs. Colston solved this problem. We know that, in her estimation, Corinne and the fourth canto of Childe Harold were "the best guides and companions of the visitor to Rome," but she made no attempt to imitate them. Instead, she showed greater wisdom in the lines in which she referred to the difficulties facing the writer, who would describe Rome.

"In discussing these ample topics, the difficulties to unlearned, and ordinary writers are great. The deep-read classic, and the

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 199.
indefatigable antiquary, have already published detailed accounts of the historic records of the antique monuments, and sculptured marbles contained in the latter. The artist, and the virtuoso have, in like manner, described every mosaic, every statue, every ornament in the forum. What, then, can a modern writer venture to say?  

Conscious of her own limitations in the field of classical scholarship, Mrs. Colston gave her solution of these difficulties as follows.

"It is better, in my opinion, to wave (sic) all description on subjects at once so extensive, and so well known, and simply to make a small number of observations relative to the impressions on my own mind, occasioned by a few of these celebrated objects."  

Similarly, in writing of Switzerland, she made no attempt to compete with Ebel and Coxe but succeeded by following the bent of her own genius. She wrote neither a methodical guidebook, nor a political treatise, nor yet a series of letters, but something even more personal, for letters are always addressed to another but a journal is intended primarily for oneself. The form taken by her writing was simple but effective. In her journal, the reader shared her experiences and accompanied the writer through every scene that she visited, day by day, the more so as she followed the counsel of Dr. Johnson and "wrote her memorandums in presence of the objects, and as they were passing before her eyes on her route." The form was matched by the style of her narration. With no straining after effect, Mrs. Colston kept the even tenour of her way and held the interest of her reader to the end of her story.

What observations, relative to the impressions on her own mind, did she make on Switzerland?

Historically, she regarded Switzerland as a nation distinguished, above all, for its love of liberty. The heroic battle of the Helvetii against Rome, the

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 186-187.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 187.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. ix
triumph over Austrian tyranny at Sempach, the overthrow of Burgundy at Grandson and Morat, Geneva's long struggle against oppression and, more recently, the return of freedom with the fall of Napoleon, these constituted what seemed to her the most striking aspect of Swiss history.

"The stranger who passes, even rapidly through Switzerland, feels a sympathy in the history and in the victories of the natives, which surprises him," she wrote, after visiting Morat. "The reason is evident; their history is that of a people resolved to enjoy lawful freedom, the birth-right of man, or to perish in the attempt. Their victories were conquests over oppression and tyranny; in such, every human being feels a spontaneous interest."¹

This was in happy contrast to what she had seen on the other side of the Alps and she observed, also, how this liberty was freely and generously extended to others by the grant of political asylum to such as Madame de Staël.

Her imagination was not fired to the same extent by the equally great, if less spectacular, political achievements of Switzerland, though she briefly outlined the form of local government in operation at Berne and Geneva. That she knew something of the origin of the Confederacy is implied, however, by her reference to the three patriots of the Forest Cantons, who met at Ritli in 1307, and her description of the government of Zug shows her awareness of an important feature of the federal constitution - the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the cantons.

Though she said little of the Swiss economy apart from the manufacture of watches and jewellery, that flourished at Geneva, and the commercial traffic, that flowed over the Mont Cenis, she was impressed by "the general air of industry and content" abroad in the land, and her mention of the new inn at Küssnacht, the obliging hôtelier at Zug, the worthy guide at the Giessbach, the zealous clerk at Basel Münster, the work of Keller, Pfyffer, Wocher and Lory, and

¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 21.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 367.
the many visitors from Britain relates to an industry, which was then at an early stage of its development but which was later to make Switzerland the most prosperous centre of tourism in the world.

On the contrary, she wrote enthusiastically and at length on Swiss social and educational achievements, such as the fine hospitals in Berne, ungrudgingly maintained by the local authorities - unlike the infirmary at Lodi and superior to that at Milan - Fellenberg's seminary - from which she considered English charity schools had something to learn - and the work of Pestalozzi - whose influence had reached England through Bell and was to be further disseminated by Charles Mayo. Both these schools, she noted, were attracting pupils from Britain.

As regards religion, Mrs. Colston remarked how it varied from canton to canton, yet, though Neuchâtel, the Valais and Lucerne might be Catholic while Vaud and Geneva were Protestant, denominational strife belonged to the past, as she realised in a church at Lausanne. Moreover, in contrast to Italy, there was no exhibition in Switzerland of that morbid curiosity, evinced by Protestant tourists when, for example, a cardinal was buried or a nun took the veil,¹ and from which the Colstons themselves were not entirely exempt.

But most of her observations referred to its scenery, described in some of her finest passages, since it was chiefly for this, as she said, that the traveller came to Switzerland and the Alps. In a manner typical of her age and beholden to Byron, she admired the grander aspects of Nature, mountains, forests and ravines, lakes, glaciers and cascades, particularly when seen under the influence of winter. Thus she excels in her account of crossing the Juras and

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 186, 182.
the Mont Cenis. In her subsequent journeyings, few scenes would satisfy her after these.

"......very interesting," she wrote of a Pyrenean ravine, "......yet, ......the scenery, in grandeur and beauty, is inferior to that of the Simplon."\(^1\)

Of a waterfall at Gavarnie, "In picturesque beauty it does not rival those of Switzerland, which are, almost all, embellished by the most luxuriant verdure, whilst this barren rock does not nourish a single tree to form a point of comparison."\(^2\)

And, speaking as an artist, "Had I been less familiar with lake scenery, I might have been more struck by the view of that before me...." - the Lac de Gaube in the High Pyrenees - "but I have passed little lakes in Switzerland, on which in that picturesque country the traveller scarce pauses to bestow a passing glance, that would afford better subjects."\(^3\)

It was her especial good fortune to be blessed with an artist's eye, and she found everything in Switzerland "calculated for delineation." In her day and since the end of the 18th century, artists, such as Turner, Cozens and Brockedon, had done much to open the eyes of their countrymen to other lands, including Switzerland, and to this important work Mrs. Colston contributed her share.

Her adverse observations on Switzerland were few and consisted of a single allusion to avaricious landlords - but mild compared with her strictures on others in France and Italy\(^4\) - one or two complaints about the state of the roads - but those were secondary routes and no worse than others she had travelled in Burgundy or Valsugana - an occasional petty cavil at regional costumes - but this was merely a matter of opinion - and, of all the parts of the Continent that she visited, Switzerland was the one which she repeatedly

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 181.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 196-197.
4 For example at Terni, Vol. 1, p. 217.
expressed a desire to revisit.

How far did Mrs. Colston succeed in realising her literary aims?

She certainly realised her hope of keeping the reader awake in Switzerland and her journal must have stirred recollections in those who had travelled and entertained also those who had not, but the degree of utility her work afforded to future travellers was limited and not to be compared, in this respect, with Ebel's, which outlined itineraries, recommended hotels, cited and described the principal objects deserving attention and advised on matters of expense, health, pedestrian tours for different categories of travellers, books, maps, currency and language. If tourists obtained any such practical information from Mrs. Colston, it was, in the main, by inference from what she wrote, for it must always be remembered that the Colstons were wealthy and toured Switzerland the easy way — en voiturier, which meant a word to Pasquali on their proposed destination and the rest could be left to him. This, for example, explains the infrequency of detailed itineraries, names of hotels and matters of expenditure in her journal, which was addressed primarily to others as well-to-do as herself.

Unwilling though we may be to find fault with her work, one criticism must be made. The undue haste, with which she travelled and for which she expressed some qualms, gave insufficient time for a close or thorough study of Switzerland. We therefore find it most creditable that her observations and impressions are, in general, so accurate, but also most regrettable that she saw so little of the people — much less than she saw in France or Italy — for there are Alps to admire in many countries but Swiss, only in one.

No doubt, on the occasion of the publication of her first book, Mrs. Colston experienced some trepidation, as she waited to hear what the critics would say. She was rewarded with the following notice — a fair comment on her work.
"The author appears to have been indefatigable in her researches, and she has given us descriptions of every object in her route which was worthy of the smallest notice; so that her volume will be a great acquisition to future Tourists, as well as a fund of information and amusement to stay-at-home Travellers."¹

¹ European Magazine, August, 1823.
Chapter 7

From among the many, who have left some record of their travels in Switzerland between 1750 and 1850, several reasons have inspired the choice of Mariana Starke for special mention and study. One, and not the least inspiring, has been the fact that little is now known of this authoress and less has been written. The discovery of her life and works therefore presents a challenge to research. Another has been that the background of her life was full of historical interest and that its prolongation enabled her to give, and us to receive, a clear picture in her works of two distinct phases of travel in western Europe, the period before and the period after its lengthy interruption by the Napoleonic Wars. By their nature, her works are a further reason for this choice for, as one of the most widely travelled women of her age, not only in Europe but also in more exotic climes, it was fitting that she should become a writer of guidebooks and so lead others into paths of travel, which were often productive of literary results. Though unhappily lacking the pen of an Austen, she was one of the first to describe the social life of the British in India1 and she familiarised readers with Pompeii and its temple of Isis2 before it was known as the scene of a popular novel, with St. Praxed's porphyry columns and peach-
blossom marble\textsuperscript{1} before it was thought of as the place for a bishop's tomb, with the Rhone and the Lake of Geneva before they were seen through the eyes of Childe Harold. But to study her literary career is to exercise patience, for her best work came late, with time and maturity.

In this present study of British women travellers in Switzerland and their relevant literary works, it is not necessary, or even possible, to outline the entire career of each one, unless, as in the case of Mariana Starke, there is some special interest in doing so. Some of these women wrote about Switzerland without previous literary experience. Others wrote of their journey with no other purpose than their readers' amusement. Those who communicated their experience in a form as personal as the diary or journal, readily communicated their personality also. She was different. To appreciate this difference, we must learn something of the events which gave rise to it and we shall thereby, incidentally, discover the remarkable personality with which she was endowed.

"Dear!" cries Mrs. Languish, "do you know, Colonel Prattle, who this authoress of the Sword of Peace is, that keeps herself thus incog.?

"Oh! yes, Madam; I am credibly informed she is a grocer's daughter in Thames Street, that has returned an unsuccessful candidate from India for gold mores, and lacks of rupees; a mere adventuress, Madam."

"Nay, Colonel, hardly so! for she bears rather severely upon that point."

"By no means a necessary consequence she should not be so, Madam, upon that account;" replies Counsellor Seafar.

"Pooh!" interrupts Mrs. Gabble, "no such thing, I assure you; for a particular friend of mine, who is extremely intimate with the friend of a particular acquaintance of a friend of Mr. Jackson's, whose son is continually among those literary geniuses, who know every

\textsuperscript{1} Travels on the Continent: written for the use and particular information of Travellers, London, 1820, p. 262.
author in the kingdom, confidently assured me, from the most
undoubted authority, Sir, that her father was a parson, and she
had run away with a strolling player; and as she has a romantic
turn, and a great deal of assurance, after having hawked this
Sword about from theatre to theatre, prevailed on the Manager in
the Hay Market to bring it out, as the only means to prevent
herself, her husband, and six children, from absolute starving.¹

This veil of anonymity, under which she entered the world of letters with
a play in 1788,² was raised in 1800 to reveal Mariana as a competent writer of
travel literature, but has long since descended to cover her with an obscurity
that is now almost oblivion. Handbooks for travellers are a highly perishable
form of writing and, whatever the merits of their first edition, need constant
revisal, if they are not to fall victim to the passage of time as did hers.
To-day, as little is known of her as of her books. Though many years of a
long and varied life were passed among scenes and events of great social and
historical interest, she appears, as a writer, to have lacked not so much the
desire as the ability and, to an extent, the opportunity to record them with
any great measure of success and, since she witnessed rather than played an
active part in those events, fame, in this respect also, passed her by.

"Air-borne, behold, a beauteous Nymph appears,
Whose brows about the Amaranthus twines!
Her strong right-hand an ample mirror rears;
Bright, in the left, a gorgeous chaplet shines.
She speaks — and quick engender'd by the sound
Laurel, and bays, and ilex, deck the plains —

² She accounted for this anonymity as follows:— "A woman, however possessed
of genius, wit, vivacity, or knowledge of the world, unless she continues to
veil them under the modest, delicate reserve, which should ever characterise
her sex, destroys their effects, and renders herself a being pitied by men
of sense, envied, yet ridiculed, by every woman of her acquaintance."
Ibid., p. vi.
'Tis Fame! — And lo, a thousand echoes round
Repeat, "from Indus to the Poles," her strains!
Refulgent Phantom, at thy feet I kneel —
O, let that dazzling diadem be mine!
My history in thy mirror clear reveal,
And Life itself I'll offer at thy shrine!
Unfruitful prayer! — Caprice, with tyrant — away,
Hath chas'd the visionary Form away."

Her biography, in consequence, has never been written and our knowledge of
her life, character and literary career must be pieced together from the meagre
information afforded by three or four notices in the contemporary press, a few
references by bibliographical and other writers, some pages of a personal nature
in her works and whatever may reasonably be deduced from such scant and scattered
material. We know, however, with certainty that she was no more the daughter of
a city grocer or a country parson than the wife of a strolling player with six
starving children. If such speculation on her origin was rife in 1788-89,
Mariana heard it with amused contempt, for it bore not the slightest resemblance
to the facts.

Born in 1762, she was the eldest daughter of Richard Starke and Mary
Hughes, whose marriage announcement, in 1759, described him as "formerly
governor of Fort St. David, in the East Indies." The date is significant for,
in 1758, this factory of the East India Company, founded in 1690 on the
Coromandel Coast at Cuddalore, had fallen to the French. This may explain its
governor's presence in England the following year but, if he was temporarily
under a cloud — for the Comte de Lally had carried the siege with an ease and

1 The Beauties of Carlo-Maria Maggi, Paraphrased: to which are added Sonnets:
by Mariana Starke, Exeter, 1811, p. 51.
2 According to her obituary notice. Vide infra.
3 Daughter of Isaac Hughes of Banstead, in Surrey. D.N.B.
5 Cambridge History of India, 1929, Vol. 5, p. 104.
rapidity humiliating for the British\(^1\) - he appears to have stayed in the Company's service and returned to India, this time to Madras, where Mariana spent the formative years of her life,\(^2\) thanks to her father's position, in circumstances of privilege and affluence. Those were the stirring times of Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, when the British power in India hung in the balance against the French, when sweeping reforms were made in the country's government, in the army and civil service, and when the very existence of the British settlements was threatened by the fierce assaults of the Marathas on Bombay and the Sultan of Mysore on the Carnatic. Against this epoch-making background she grew up, moving in circles where Clive and Hastings were personally known, watching from the walls of Fort St. George as smoke rose from the nearby villages, sacked by the marauding bands of Haider Ali.

When the time came for his retiral, Mariana's father sailed for home and settled with his family, which now included three daughters and a son, in a country house on the outskirts of Epsom. "Hylands"\(^3\) stood on the north side of the Dorking road, not far from her mother's village of Banstead and within easy driving distance of London.\(^4\) To Mariana, the cool beauty of the gentle Surrey

\(^1\) Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 159.
\(^2\) Her infancy may have been spent in England. See Starke, The Beauties of Carlo-Maria Maggi, op.cit., "The Destruction of Jerusalem," p. 15.
\(^3\) "Hylands" is shown on sheet XIX of the first Ordnance Survey map of Britain, which was based on a survey made in 1866 and published in 1871. Among "Gentlemen's seats adjacent to Epsom," it is described as follows:- "At the south-west entrance of Epsom is a large and handsome brick Mansion, formerly the seat of Governor Starke; ....... It occupies a good situation; and commands, from the back part, some pleasing views of Woodcote and its neighbourhood." E. W. Brayley, A Topographical History of Surrey, London, 1850, Vol. 4, p. 367.
\(^4\) The obelisk on Banstead Downs was fourteen miles from London.
landscape must have seemed in strange contrast to the cruel, burning glories of the East, and some idea of her new way of life may, perhaps, be gathered from the pages of *Pride and Prejudice* or *Mansfield Park*, where the characters move in a comparable environment. Others besides the Starkes had found this part of England a place for quiet retirement, pleasant society and cultural pursuits.\(^1\) Rousseau had once stayed in a cottage at the foot of Leith Hill\(^2\) but, in the latter decades of the 18th century, the Lock family exerted a benign influence from Norbury Park and Richard Sharp entertained a chosen circle at Fredley.

Nearby, at Juniper Hall, a distinguished group of French *émigrés* had taken refuge: Talleyrand was there for a time and Madame de Staël, also Arthur Young's old friend, the Duc de Liancourt, and the son of Governor Starke's old enemy, the Comte de Lally. Amongst them, Madame d'Arblay had found a husband and gone to live at West Humble in a cottage built with the proceeds from *Camilla*, while Jane Austen visited her cousins at Bookham Rectory.

In these circumstances and surroundings, Mariana scored her first success, *The Sword of Peace*. It opened at the Haymarket under favourable auspices. The cast was headed by Miss Farren, in the rôle of Eliza Moreton, supported by John and Sarah Kemble as David Northcote\(^3\) and Louisa Moreton, cousin to the above. The manager, George Coleman, had done everything conducive to success, even to the writing of the prologue, and, in addition, the play had topical appeal for a

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\(^1\) For an interesting account, see C. Hill, *Juniper Hall*, London, 1904.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 73.

\(^3\) It would be interesting to identify this central character.

"... the character of David Northcote is a real one. To Indians, this is needless: the sketch, however, is not too faint, I hope, for others: it was dictated by a heart glowing with gratitude and admiration of his noble and unbounded goodness!"

London audience, aware of the current, sensational trial of Warren Hastings. 1
This five-act comedy had a six-nights’ run 2 and was “tolerably well received,” 3
though the critics called the authoress romantic, which was just, and more
acquainted with novels than with life, which was not. 4 Her reply was a spirited
letter in the columns of the Morning Chronicle. Wisely she had begun by writing
of what she knew, but her powers of execution were unequal to the task she set
herself of presenting, with authentic detail, 5 life among the British in India
from a woman’s point of view 6 and, out of promising material, she was unable, for
example, to create any character remotely resembling the stature of Colonel
Newcome. 7 That “this piece is not unproductive of interest, though the incidents
are not numerous, nor the characters very strongly marked” 8 is a fair comment.

For us, the play is not unproductive of interest in that it discloses
something of Mariana, not her early environment alone but her character. In 1768,
she was still young and inexperienced enough to be frank. We may therefore
venture to assume that the opinions expressed by her heroine are her own, the more
so that the scene of action is identical with the one in which her character and
outlook had been formed.

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1 Cambridge History of India, op.cit., Vol. 5, p. 310.
2 Rev. John Genest, Some Account of the English Stage, Bath, 1832, Vol. 6,
   pp. 510-511.
4 “I am one of those very few who never could read further than the third page of
   a novel in my life, except Tom Jones . . . . . .” Starke in a letter to the
   Morning Chronicle, quoted by D. E. Baker, Biographia Dramatica, London, 1812,
   Vol. 3, p. 313. Baker mistakenly gives 1789 as the date of production of this
   play.
5 See, for example, Starke, The Sword of Peace, op.cit., pp. 33-34, stage directions.
6 An interesting comparison may be made with John Macdonald, who presented it from
   a servant’s point of view at the same period, 1769-1772. Memoirs of an 18th
7 Born at Calcutta in 1811, Thackeray, too, spent his early years in India. His
   favourite novel was also Tom Jones, according to the introduction to Pendennis.
No sooner arrived at Mazagahagagha on the Coromandel coast, with Louisa, who is on a sentimental mission to recover a fallen officer's sword, than Eliza is discovered "struggling hard against the stream of prejudice and custom" to preserve herself from their effects. The intrepid spirit with which, a stranger in a strange land, she enters upon a two-fold quest for her personal fortune and her lost love, surprises Louisa to whom she resolutely declares, "If we would be successful in every event of life, we must be active, help ourselves, and not depend on others: ......."

As we shall see, in her later life and works, Mariana faced the most challenging situations with the same energy, self-reliance and independence.

On the important topic of love, Mariana had vindicated herself against the critics with -

"I wished to avoid all ridiculous romance, particularly respecting the passion of love, and to paint that kind only which is founded on true merit and esteem, not the arbitrary impulse of the moment; and to have had the satisfaction of uniting moral benefit with the pleasing entertainment of elegant comedy; not wishing to descend to buffoonery or disgrace my own character, merely to gratify a gallery."  

Her heroine is equally forthright on the subject of matrimony. Husband-hunting she regards "with the most sovereign contempt" and the marriage-market as "more disgraceful to our sex than that of the poor slaves to a nation."

Such being her views, it is therefore not surprising that, though Eliza might be

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1 Starke, The Sword of Peace, op. cit., p. 11.
2 Ibid., p. 1.
3 Ibid., p. 2.
4 Ibid., p. 4.
5 Ibid., p. 5.
6 In a letter to the Morning Chronicle, quoted by Baker, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 313.
7 Starke, The Sword of Peace, op. cit., p. 5.
united to her Edwards in the interests of the plot, Mariana remained a spinster.

There was also a certain haughtiness about Eliza towards, for example, the vixenish Mrs. Tartar.

"...... please to remember that my rank and fortune in this place gives me a right to think myself the first woman in it." 2

Perhaps the same hauteur which helped, in later years, to earn Mariana the title of "Countess of Sorrento." 3

From pride of class is only a step to pride of race, always characteristic of the British abroad, the speaker in this instance being not Eliza but Jeffreys, her man-servant, who has just freed a black slave and is determined to make him "a lad of spirit, like an Englishman, or else, what's your liberty good for?"

" - An Englishman - ay, he lives as he likes - lives where he likes - goes where he likes - stays where he likes - works if he likes - lets it alone, if he likes - starves, if he likes - abuses who he likes - boxes who he - likes - thinks what he likes - speaks what he thinks - for, damme, he fears nothing, and will face the devil." 4

We cannot tell how many plays she wrote in all. The success of the first, though slight, was no doubt sufficiently encouraging for her to write more and we

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1 On title-pages and in bibliographies, etc., she is usually given the courtesy title of "Mrs." This was common in the 18th century, when "Miss" was reserved for children.
2 Ibid., p. 36.
4 The faithful Jeffreys, who introduced some comic relief into the play. "I have been us'd to laugh and make others laugh all my life long." Starke, The Sword of Peace, op.cit., p. 64.
5 i.e. an Indian. Ibid., p. 30.
6 Ibid., pp. 31-32.
know, with certainty, of two. In 1791, The Widow of Malabar was acted at 
Covent Garden. The scene of this tragedy was laid also in India but the plot 
was not original, being an "imitation" of Lemieur's La Veuve de Malabar, which 
had enjoyed a vogue at Paris. In 1800, The Tournament was printed but never 
played. Also an "imitation," it was based on a German tragedy, Agnes Bernauer, 
and was judged inferior in language and sentiment to The Widow. These two 
plays need not detain us here. Their lack of originality makes them of less 
value than The Sword of Peace in a study of their authoress.

In the meantime, family events had occurred to turn her thoughts in another 
direction and, in the end, her literary gifts to the work for which they were 
best suited. With the death of one daughter in 1792 and the serious illness 
of another, the household at "Hylands" broke up and, for the second time in her 
life, Mariana found herself in a completely new environment, at the centre of 
great events and in situations which would evoke her exceptional powers of 
organisation, management, courage and resource.

1 It will be noted that its appearance was coincidental with the opening of a 
new stage in the prolonged trial of Warren Hastings. See Cambridge History 
of India, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 310.
"Trag. by Miss Starke. Acted at Covent-Garden, 1791. Not wholly destitute 
See also:- 
D. Rivers, Literary Memoirs of Living Authors of Great Britain, London, 1798, 
D.N.B. would appear to be wrong in dating this play as 1798.
2 See:- 
Genest, op. cit., Vol. 10, pp. 219-220.
3 "Louisa Starke, daughter of Richard Starke of Epsom, 18th April, 1792. Taken 
from The European Magazine and London Review." Musgrave's Obituary, London, 
Her brother, Richard, had already left home, entered the army and been commissioned in the 2nd Lifeguards. Her sister, Louisa, had died on April 18th and her remaining sister was suffering from consumption, which rendered it imperative that she should go abroad for, according to medical opinion of the day, where well-to-do patients were concerned, the climate of Italy offered the best chance of a cure. In her case, Nice was recommended. She did not go alone. The four remaining members of the household, father, mother and two daughters, must have set out soon after Louisa's death for, according to Mariana, they were in Nice before the end of May. So began the seven years' continental residence and travel on which she was to base Letters from Italy, the book that established her reputation as a writer of travel literature in 1800 and that furnishes us with an outline of her movements from 1792, when she went abroad, until 1798, when she returned to England.

When the Starkes arrived there, Nice was a town not under French but Sardinian rule, a situation they were soon to see reversed, under the most alarming circumstances, and here Mariana's story of those seven years begins. She gives no indication of how her family travelled to the Riviera, except to mention that it was in their own, English-built coach, drawn by six horses.

1 Vide infra.
2 "Nice was recommended as the best winter-climate, and we consequently spent many months in that City; .... .... " Starke, Letters, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 257. "many months", as we shall see, was an error.
3 See also Extracts from the Correspondence of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, ed. The Earl of Bessborough, London, 1955, p. 185. "I have the greatest hopes from Nice," she wrote, having gone there with her ailing sister, Lady Harriet Duncannon, the year before Mariana did.
4 Ibid.
Up to a point, however, their itinerary may be reconstructed with the aid of Travels on the Continent, a second travel book, which she published in 1820. Resolving, as she tells us in the Introduction, not to bring out a fourth edition of her earlier work but to bring out an entirely new one, and being anxious to prove herself a faithful historian, she spent the years 1817-19 re-visiting the Continent, observing the alterations, which had taken place there during the last twenty years, and bringing her information for travellers up to date. She then opens her account with these words.

"On re-visiting Calais, in May, 1817, after an absence of twenty years, I discovered no apparent change either in the town or its inhabitants; ......."

From this, we may reasonably conjecture that the Starkes took the most frequented Channel crossing and landed there from Dover in 1792. Their next move is also fairly certain. As mentioned in an earlier chapter of this thesis, all but a few British tourists bound for Switzerland or Italy, made a practice of visiting Paris en route and we may assume that Mariana's family were in this majority, from the way she enumerates the striking changes, which had taken place in that city within the last twenty years. In view of the political situation in 1792 - the imprisonment of the Royal Family, the executions and the violence of the mob, prelude to the September massacres, and the National Assembly's declaration of war on Austria and Prussia as recently as April 20th - it does, at first, seem strange that they should have gone near Paris at all but, provided their passports were in order, there was technically no reason why they should not, for Britain and France were at peace. Indeed, that spring, no less

1 Starke, Travels, op.cit., p. v.
2 Another example of an error in time. It was twenty-five years since she last visited Calais.
3 Ibid., p. 1.
4 Ibid., pp. 6, 7, 43-44.
a person than Prime Minister Pitt had declared that "there never was a time
when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect 15 years of
peace than we may at the present moment." However, as regards the next stage
of their journey, from Paris to Nice, no hint of their itinerary can be found in
_travels on the continent_ for, in 1817, Mariana was not bound for the Riviera
but, being "anxious to see the new military route over the Jura-Alps and the
Simplon to Milan," chose her way from Paris accordingly.

Once at Nice, her family were not long content to stay there. At the end
of May, they undertook an excursion to Switzerland, travelling by the Col di
Tenda to Turin and thence by the Mont Cenis to Geneva. This arduous route,
which entailed a double crossing of the Alps and was hardly suited to an
invalid, was possibly chosen because it was a popular one and because it ran
through Sardinian territory and avoided the troubled state of France. Of her
first visit to Switzerland, it is enough, for the present, to say that its
highlight was "a drive to see Voltaire's Villa at Ferney" and that it will be
dealt with at greater length when we come to consider, in its entirety, all that
Mariana wrote about that country. For the meantime, our purpose is to
establish the main facts of her life and to observe her development as a writer
of guidebooks by means of such brief and scattered biographical data as are to
be found in _Letters from Italy._

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1 Unless in the Appendix (Vol. 2, pp. 39-42), where there is some evidence that
they travelled by road from Paris through Nevers and Moulins to Lyons, thence
by boat down the Rhone to Avignon and again by road via Aix, Fréjus, Cannes
and Antibes to Nice.
2 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
5 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 20-23.
Before going further, however, it would be as well to acknowledge the difficulty involved in this purpose by drawing attention to the discrepancies which appear, from time to time, in her statements regarding dates, places and events. Two examples have already been noted and a third occurs in the first of her "letters", though in fairness let it be said that these discrepancies are of a kind to mislead a 20th century research student, reconstructing the pattern of her life, but not a 19th century tourist, planning a continental holiday, and therefore do not seriously impair the value of her work. The third example concerns the dating of her excursion to Switzerland.

Travelling by stages, she and her family drove by Sospello, Tenda, Limoni and Savigliano to Turin and then by Novalesa, Lanslebourg, St. Jean de Maurienne, Aiguebelle, Aix and Frangy to Geneva. Nowhere, from start to finish of this journey, does she give an exact date, save at Lanslebourg where, she tells us, the evening of their arrival they watched a procession in honour of the Fête de Dieu.¹ Now, in the calendar of the Catholic Church, the Fête de Dieu, or Corpus Christi, is a movable feast, the date of which depends upon Easter. In 1792, Easter fell on the 8th of April and therefore Corpus Christi was celebrated on the 7th of June. There is no evidence that the Starkes stayed longer than a night anywhere en route so, counting the stages back from Lanslebourg, we might conclude that they set out from Nice on the 1st of June — which agrees with Mariana's remark that "we undertook this journey during the end of May"² — and then, counting forwards, that they arrived at Geneva on the 12th, if two other, contradictory statements did not occur to upset this calculation.

In the first of these contradictory statements, Mariana says,

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 18.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 1.
"...from hence (i.e. Susa) to Novalesa we were immured between mountains so high that the sun seemed to set at six in the evening, though it was the middle of June; ..."

Yet, according to our calculation, the Starkes covered this stretch of their journey in the first week of the month, reaching Novalesa on the 6th.

In the second of these statements, she says that, at Novalesa, as they prepared to cross the Mont Cenis next day,

"We were next accosted by a troop of Muleteers, who enquired at what hour the baggage was to set out, and upon my answering, "At five o'clock," they replied, That, as the next day was Sunday, I must pay a Priest for saying mass to them at four, or they would not go at five; ..."

Yet, if the following day was Corpus Christi, it could not have been a Sunday but a Thursday.

The explanation of these conflicting statements, of course, may simply be that Mariana, who was not a Catholic, mistook the occasion of the fête at Lanslebourg and it is worth noting that, in 1792, Trinity Sunday fell on the 3rd of June and also that the next Sunday, the 10th, coincided with the feast of a local saint, Landericus of Novalesa, an 11th century Benedictine monk martyred by drowning in the Arc on which, it will be remembered, Lanslebourg stands. Whatever the festival the Starkes watched, the point has been made that Mariana's work occasionally shows a certain carelessness with regard to detail which, in the case of Letters from Italy, tends to obscure her movements between 1792 and 1798.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 11.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 13.
4 The "revised, corrected," second edition of Letters from Italy, 1815, has nothing to offer towards the elucidation of this point.
But to return to where we left her family in Switzerland — unfortunately, their sojourn at Geneva was cut short by rumours of an impending war between France and Sardinia and they decided to return to Nice.\(^1\) Mariana gives no reason for this imprudent step but, recollecting their intention to settle there for the good of her sister’s health, we may suppose that the greater part of their baggage had been left in store at Nice, while they visited Switzerland, and that this influenced their decision. It is interesting to note, at this point, the emergence of those qualities which enabled Mariana to travel successfully herself and to advise others how to do the same through the medium of her guidebooks. On the outward journey from Nice, the Starkes had travelled \textit{en voiturier}, only to learn how tedious and expensive such a method of travel could be. In consequence, on the return journey they travelled \textit{en poste}, at least as far as Turin\(^2\) —

"...the whole of our expense going post amounted to one-third less than when we went \textit{en voiturier}, besides which we travelled with much more convenience\(^3\) — but from Turin to Nice —

"...we agreed with a Voiturier to take us thither, fearing it might be difficult to procure a sufficient number of post-horses beyond Tende ......\(^4\) —

and to read Mariana’s account of how this was arranged is to surmise that hers was the organising ability, which carried it successfully through.\(^5\)

But a sterner test of her resource — and personal courage — awaited her when, on the 22nd of September, they arrived at Nice, which now wore "an

\(^2\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 29.
\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 28.
\(^4\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 29.
appearance of smothered apprehension" at the imminent approach of the French Republican army.¹

In the second of her "letters,"² which deserves special mention as being one of the most personal and enthralling of all twenty-five, Mariana relates how tension mounted daily in the city. On the 23rd of September, they were lulled into a state of fancied security but, on the 24th, she noted significantly that the Jews were going away and the French emigrants packing up. On the 25th, the Bishop of Nice called at the Starkes' hotel to allay their fears but, on the 26th, the French fleet appeared off shore. On the 27th, an order was issued requisitioning horses and mules, whereat an universal panic seized all ranks for any hope of escape by land was now blasted. Escape by sea seemed equally hopeless for, on the 28th, sixteen sail of the line could be counted, standing off and on near the port. There was no time to be lost. While all Nice hesitated in fear and indecision, Mariana acted.

"I immediately went to the quay, with an intention of hiring an English Merchantman (our nation being at peace with France,) and getting my Family and Friends embarked before the City was bombarded, a circumstance which we hourly expected to take place: but no English vessel could I find ready for sea, though I engaged one to convey us to Genoa the moment her Captain could procure ballast; for, in a Nissard-felucca we durst not venture, lest she should have been sunk by the enemy."³

The expected bombardment did not take place but, equally alarming, the forces of law and order evacuated the city and, while escaped galley-slaves looted and terrorised and panic-stricken refugees fled to the mountains, an active fifth column did its worst, 10,000 French troops entered the city and Nice was "liberated." An immediate embargo fell upon all shipping. No vessel could

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 30.
² Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 25-47.
³ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 32.
leave port and an agonising wait of over a week followed for the Starkes.

"......but, on the 8th our Captain came with looks of joy to announce "That the embargo was taken off," we therefore prepared to embark, and being advised to make as little parade as possible on our way to the port, my Family went two and two by different paths, while I, being obliged to stay to the last, walked down, dressed as a Servant, passing all the French posts without the slightest molestation; indeed, so civil were the Soldiers, that when I reached the water's edge they called a boat to convey me to the ship."1

Not without further danger and delay, the ship took them to Italy.

"We landed at Genoa on the 14th of October 1792, after a rough voyage; though the consideration of having escaped from actual danger reconciled us to gales which were, in themselves, sufficiently violent to intimidate fresh-water Sailors. From Genoa we went by sea to Leghorn, and then proceeded to this City (Pisa) ...... ."2

It is easy to establish from her Letters which parts of Italy Mariana visited. It is not so easy to establish when she visited them or the sequence of her movements between 1792 and 1798. Apart from the inaccuracies already discussed, to which her writing was prone, this difficulty arises from the fact that, while her first two "letters" are of a personal nature and describe her experiences in Switzerland and at Nice, this personal element is reduced to a minimum in the following five, which are historical and describe the contemporary, political situation in Italy for, once again, Mariana found herself at the centre of great events.

"Having witnessed the first entry of the French into Italy," she wrote, "resided in Tuscany when they seized Leghorn and endeavoured to revolutionize Florence, and having been at Rome in March 1797, when they threatened to overthrow the papal Government, and in February 1798, when that threat was realized, I am tempted to give such a short account of these transactions as Persons on the spot only are capable of detailing."3

1 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 43-44.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 48.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. iii.
In spite of how they are dated, the next sixteen "letters" tell us more of her movements. They describe the principal cities of Italy — Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples and Florence again in that order — and are dated, according to when she last visited them¹ — 1792, 1796, 1798, 1798, 1798, 1797 and 1798 respectively. The departure from chronological order will be noted. Possibly the authoress decided to present the cities in the order in which they were likely to be visited by her readers, most of whom would enter Italy by sea at Genoa or by land over the Mont Cenis. The last two "letters" purport to be written at Dresden and at Cuxhaven in 1798 and describe, at considerable length, the Starkes' return journey from Italy to England.

Of the contents of Letters from Italy we may say that Mariana's visit to Switzerland will be dealt with later, that her experience at Nice has been sufficiently discussed and, lastly, that we are concerned with her work not as a historian, when she was not at her best, but as a writer of travel literature, when she was.

During this period, a feature of the social life in certain Italian cities and towns was the larger or smaller British community whose members, abroad from motives of health, fashion, economy, cultural interests or embarrassments of one sort or another at home, rented palaces and villas from their aristocratic owners, mixed in local society and followed a seasonal pattern of movement from place to place. It was fashionable to spend the summer up at a villa outside Florence and the winter down in the city, preferably Rome, while Pisa and Rome too, barring the malarial months, were the favourite resort of invalids. The Starkes appear to have followed this accepted pattern to a certain extent. Mariana tells us,

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 181.
for example, that for seven successive years they visited Florence,\(^1\) staying one summer at the historic Villa Riccardi\(^2\) and again, for a considerable time, at the more famous Villa Careggi.\(^3\)

She writes also, "Towards the end of October, 1796, we quitted Florence, and went to pass our winter at Rome.\(^4\) ... At this period we visited the public Museums, and had the mortification to find many of the most celebrated statues packed up; while the poor Custodi\(^5\) who attended us shed tears on our enquiring for the dying Gladiator. "Alas!" cried he, pointing to a large packing-case, "it is there, prepared for its journey."\(^6\)

On more than one occasion, their movements were dictated by considerations of personal safety. While at Florence, in 1796, they "with other English Families, were desired to retire into the country"\(^7\) on the approach of Bonaparte and his army. The following year, they were forced to leave Rome for the same reason and to take refuge at Naples. They returned to the capital in October, 1797, to find great shortages of food and other necessities. But wherever they found themselves, Mariana assiduously visited churches, museums, art galleries, public monuments and archaeological sites, gathering at first-hand the material she was to incorporate in her guidebooks, storing in her retentive memory\(^8\) whatever might prove useful to her readers on their travels, not omitting the practical details of everyday life and its needs and, as a result of her experience, producing work which drew a tribute from Murray almost a century later.\(^9\)

\(^1\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 311.
\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 307-310.
\(^4\) Later known as the Villa Spence and situated on the road from Florence to Fiesole. For its history, see J. A. Ross, Florentine Villas. With reproductions in photogravure from Zocchi's etchings etc., London, 1901, pp. 26-36.
\(^6\) A typographical error for "custode."
\(^7\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 118, fn.
\(^8\) Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 118, fn.
\(^9\) Vide infra.
But, with the Starkes, the overriding consideration was not the accepted social round or their personal safety but the health of their younger daughter and we therefore find them resident for a time also at Pisa. Among other British visitors there, they met Celia, the Dowager Countess Spencer, and between her and Mariana, who seems to have possessed a gift for friendship, a warm affection grew, with the older woman falling naturally into the rôle of "guardian angel" and the younger into that of protégée. One result of this friendship was a new literary venture for Mariana. What it was and how it came about are best told in her own words.

"The Poems of Carlo-Maria Maggi, an obsolete Italian author, who flourished during the latter half of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century, happened, several years since, to fall into the hands of the Countess Dowager Spencer; who, notwithstanding the obscurity of the style, discovered in these Poems, so many beauties, that she was tempted, when resident at Pisa, to print a Scelta of his works; some copies of which Scelta she kindly gave to me, saying, the Poems it contained, tho' generally speaking unfinished, might, if abridged in some parts, and considerably lengthened in others, make a better figure in the English, than they had hitherto done in the Italian dress.

Anxious to profit by this hint, I immediately translated The Sonnet to Hope, and imitated The Ode to Burilla, adding, however, many ideas of my own. I then endeavoured to adapt to the situation of Italy, about the year 1794, The Ode on the destruction of Jerusalem; and, in short,

1 Starke, The Beauties of Carlo-Maria Maggi, op. cit., p. 49. "On Sympathy."
2 "To be with Friendship's holy flame inspir'd,
   (Foretaste, perhaps, of Heaven's supreme delight;")
3 Ibid., p. 50, "On Friendship."
4 "..... Friendship only, as Life's sun descends,
   Like evening shadows, strengthens and extends."
5 Carlo-Maria Maggi, 1630-1699, of Milan, scholar, public servant, leading poet of his time and a prolific writer in many forms, including the lyric and drama. Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano, Roma, 1961, Vol. 12. Characteristically, Mariana errs in his vital dates.
6 i.e. a selection.
7 Starke, The Beauties of Carlo-Maria Maggi, op. cit., pp. 10-17. "Addressed to the Italian People, during that period of the last war, when the British Navy protected Italy." Composed 1793-94 (ibid., p. 17, fn.). This poem, in which England is shown as the saviour of Europe, may owe something to Addison's A Letter from Italy. Mariana was certainly acquainted with his works. See e.g. her Letters, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 157.
by degrees, selected, what seemed to me, the chief beauties of
the Scelta.

I am well aware that, in translations from the greater Poets,
closeness is the grand desideratum, the sine qua non: but, in
translations from those who are called minor Poets, it may perhaps
be less essential. I presume, therefore, to submit to the Public
the following Paraphrase of the Beauties of Carlo-Maria Maggi: and
if his ideas, mingled with my own, should ever chance to pour the
balm of Sympathy into the wounds of Affliction, my purpose will be
answered. 1

With these words, Mariana attempted to introduce Maggi to an English-
speaking public in a slim, octavo volume of fifty-one pages and twenty-eight
poems, eighteen of them sonnets. The poems belong to the earlier years of her
residence in Italy, their date of composition being fixed by that of the "Ode
on the Destruction of Jerusalem" and by the dedicatory lines addressed to
Lady Spencer, when she was on the point of quitting Italy some years before
Mariana did. The lapse of approximately seventeen years between the composition
of the poems and their publication in 1811 is not explained in the Advertisement
but may simply have been due to her failure to find a publisher. This is not to
be wondered at, because Mariana was offering not a translation of all, or even part,
of Maggi's poetry but something very different. By abridging some,
lengthening others and altering all, she had produced a "paraphrase" - of a
selection made by her, from a selection made by her friend, from his poetical
works, and numbers eleven to eighteen of the sonnets were "not embellished with
any of Maggi's ideas" but were entirely her own. Moreover, the quality of the
"paraphrase," some opinion of which may be formed from the extracts quoted here,
nowhere attained outstanding merit and, in some places, fell far below it. The
book came out at Exeter. Clearly no London firm would handle it.

1 Starke, The Beauties of Carlo-Maria Maggi, op. cit., Advertisement.
2 Ibid., p. 44.
Disappointed as she must have been, desirous as we know she was, of literary fame, this is fortunate for us. The less of Maggi, the more of Mariana is to be discovered in these poems. Neither in theme nor mood can they be considered the work of a writer free from care and sadness who, if she were not so, would not have composed a sonnet to Hope, Grief, Apathy or Sympathy or spoken as she did of her youth.

"Where are the fancied joys which erst could shower
On this young head ineffable delight?
Where are the fancied woes whose freezing power
The opening bloom of Happiness could blight?
Where are those hopes which led me to desire
Love's rosy chain, or Glory's proud array?
Awhile they flam'd, a fierce and dangerous fire,
Then, like the transient whirlwind died away.
Strong-wing'd Fancy, hence! delude no more!
My brightest thoughts were nought but fragile glass;
No longer their destruction I'll deplore,
But, of the scatter'd fragments, form a mass,
Which, in the furnace of Experience, join'd,
Shall prove, henceforth, a mirror for my mind."

We may be sure her cares were not material. Had there been lack of money, Mariana would have attacked this problem with characteristic energy. Her cares were of a more insidious nature, from which she sought relief, not in attack but in the defence that religious consolation affords. From the reliance on self, so evident in _The Sword of Peace_, she had turned to reliance on God.

"'Tis our's, then, not to murm'ur, but obey;
And th' with sharpest thorns HE plant our way,
Tho' Slander's venom'd breath our fame destroy,
Tho' rank Disease enpoison every joy;
Nay, th' that keenest of all pangs we prove,
The loss of those whom more than Life we love,
'Tis our's to kiss the hand which holds the rod,
And own the Father in the chastening GOD."

1 Ibid., p. 38.
2 "Money, girl, is the universal good - and we cannot expect to attain it any more than others without difficulties." Eliza Moreton in _The Sword of Peace_, op. cit., p. 2.
It is hard to tell how many of those ills were personally felt. Slander, she may not have experienced but disease and death in those she loved, she knew. Those were the cares which often must have marred her opportunities for literary work though, at the same time, they brought her first abroad and ultimately to her finest work, her books of travel.

"I presume not to imagine myself correct in every thing I have advanced," she wrote, in the introduction to her first book. "The occupation of a Nurse has often prevented me from obtaining accurate knowledge on points worthy of minute investigation." 1

It is apparent that, whether because she was the most willing, apt or energetic of her family, on Mariana devolved the burden of household duties while they resided in Italy. With a father no longer young and a sister in poor health, this was to be expected, but to what extent the burden was shared by her mother, at this time in her later fifties and in sound health, to judge by the advanced age she afterwards attained, there is no hint in what Mariana then or later wrote. Her Letters from Italy are singularly free from disclosures of an intimate, personal kind. They tell us nothing, for instance, of the appearance or personal habits of her relatives and but little of their character, though we catch a glimpse of their kindliness and generosity in Mariana's description of the dance they gave at the Villa Riccardi for the local peasantry and, again, in her charming tale of Teresa, the Tuscan goat-girl. Her extreme reticence,

2 Judging by Robert Clive, (1725-74), who went to India in 1743 and became his deputy at Fort St. David in 1756.
3 Cambridge History of India, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 144.
with regard to those whom she mentions so infrequently as "my family," extends to their names, ages and even degrees of relationship to herself. Thus the younger sister, to whom she was so devoted, is simply referred to as "an invalid"¹ or as "a young Lady afflicted with weak lungs."² We can, however, form a better picture of their comfortable, upper middle-class way of life than we can of them for, though Mariana does not always do so by direct statement, she indicates in her writing, quite distinctly, the style in which they travelled, the superior accommodation to which they were accustomed, the good living which they enjoyed and the standard of service which they required from domestics, innkeepers, couriers and other such functionaries as are encountered by those who travel.

Mariana's extreme reticence extends not only to her family but also to herself, of whom we can learn little beyond what her actions tell us, though her commentary on the sights she considered most worth the attention of visitors to Switzerland and Italy is also revealing. Impersonal literary form as a guidebook tends to be, the tastes, studies and predilections of its writer nevertheless inevitably stamp a special character upon it and it is easy to see where Mariana's cultural interests lay - in the direction of literature, history and art. Nowhere could she have found a sphere more favourable to their growth than in Italy, where the happiest and latest years of her life were spent.

But more than half this life still lay before her when, in the spring of 1798, the Starkes left Italy for home. Their original purpose in going abroad had failed. Probably, after seven years' trial, they were forced to the

¹ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 6.
² Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 188.

Judging by the names of the two principal, female characters in The Sword of Peace, her name was possibly Eliza.
conclusion that no further improvement in her sister's health was to be expected even from the congenial climate of Italy. Moreover, the political situation in Europe had altered. Their country had been at war with France since 1794 and, despite Mariana's statement to the contrary, the Starkes may have felt that there was now some risk for British nationals remaining longer abroad. They certainly took great care over the matter of passports for the homeward journey and they chose a route very different to the one they had taken through France in 1792.

"Owing to the present state of Europe, we found it necessary to provide ourselves with a French, a Cisalpine, and an Imperial passport, in order to travel with safety from Florence to Hamburg."  

From Florence, which they left in April, to Yarmouth, which they reached in July, their journey took over three months, for the Starkes appear to have been in no hurry and to have frequently paused, en route, to indulge their passion for sight-seeing. Mariana's description of this journey, contained in the last two "letters" of her book, is of two-fold interest, as illustrating travel conditions in western Europe between 1750 and 1850 as well as those personal experiences, which enabled her to write with authority for the guidance of tourists less knowledgeable than herself.

"We began our journey from Florence hither (i.e. Dresden), on the 12th of April, with a light strong German post-chaise unloaded, and a Voiturier's coach for our baggage; each carriage being usually drawn by three mules; ...... ."  

Evidently they had disposed of their English-built coach, which required six horses and would have been unsuitable, as we shall see, for the type of road which lay ahead.

2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 189.  
Crossing the Apennines, they set out for Venice by way of Bologna and Ferrara, being ferried over the Po on the way to Rovigo and Padua and finishing this stage of their long journey by gondola. It was not unusual for British travellers returning from Italy to include Vienna in their itinerary. This the Starkes did. Leaving Venice, they passed the Piave on a bridge of boats and approached the Alps to cross them by the Pontebba. Here, as on the Col di Tenda and the Mont Cenis six years earlier, Mariana found the views "sublime" and the Alpine plants, which enamelled the rocks, "particularly beautiful."¹ She noted, too, the Alpine bridges, "made of wood and covered at the top" and, less happily, the "enormous goitrous swellings" which afflicted many of the inhabitants, especially the women.²

From now on, the Starkes' journey was fraught with diverse hazards, mostly of common occurrence in travel at this period. Not least of these was the much-maligned customs.

"Ponteba, the Frontier Town of Carinthia, is a miserable place; and here, our baggage underwent so rigorous an examination in the open street, before we were suffered to drive to the inn, that it required Argus's eyes not to be plundered of every thing valuable our trunks contained, and Goliath's strength to unpack and repack after the fatigue of a twelve hour's journey: such, indeed, is the inconvenience Travellers must necessarily be exposed to at this custom-house, that I would advise nobody to pass Ponteba who can possibly go another way; it being the great object of the Custom-House Officers to thieve, for which purpose they endeavour to throw small parcels on the ground under the carriages, and even examine coach-seats, writing-boxes, and letters. They seize gold and silver lace, snuff, and tobacco, and for unmade silks, gauzes, &c., they oblige you to deposit double the worth, to be paid back, however,

² Ibid.
Mariana propounded some astonishing theories in her footnotes, e.g. on the Phoenician origin of Devonshire cream. For her opinion on the cause of goitre, see her Letters, op.cit., 1815, Vol. 2, p. 91, fn.
when you quit the imperial territories. They accept no fees, and are slower in their operations than it is possible to conceive."1

Everything along the Starkes' way suffered, of course, by comparison with the country they had loved and left. Thus, for them, the beauty of the landscape was spoiled by the German villages. Their wooden houses seemed "uncouth" and -

"the inhabitants are as uncouth as their dwellings, and the very crows2 and oxen ugly; so, at least, they all appear in the eyes of Persons long accustomed to the elegant architecture, polished manners, and beautiful horned-cattle of Italy."3

In addition, many of the inns they stayed at left much to be desired. There was seldom, wrote Mariana, a wash-basin to be found in any country inn in Germany, and the beds were so narrow and so short that anyone above five feet had absolutely to sit up all night supported by pillows.4 Though with respect to provisions they found no cause for complaint - and coming from the Starkes this was praise indeed - yet one requisite to a comfortable meal was difficult to obtain - clean table linen.

"We were actually obliged to purchase a couple of table-cloths and six napkins on our journey, so terribly were we annoyed by the dirty linen which was produced everywhere but in the very large Towns."5

As usual, there was trouble with dishonest innkeepers and Mariana did not hesitate to denounced the culprits.

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2 Surely a typographical error for "cows."
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 208-209.
4 This odious comparison was omitted from the second edition.
5 Compare:- "The beds in the inn (at Mengen, in the Black Forest) are so short that poor Shelley sleeps every night with his feet protruding from the bottom of his bed."

Thus at Vienna, "the white Bull once was tolerable; but the present Master is so notorious a Cheat as not to scruple, after making a clear bargain, to deviate from it in every particular; besides which, his dinners are so bad that it is scarcely possible to eat them."¹

There is no doubt that, in the long run, this kind of writing had a salutary effect on unsatisfactory hôteliers.

By Villach, Klagenfurt and Bruck, they had arrived at Vienna where, presumably, they stayed for a time, since Mariana gave an account of the city and its principal sights² for the benefit of other tourists.

Their route now lay through the provinces of Moravia and Bohemia to Prague and was still beset with difficulties. Leaving Vienna, "......we proceeded in two hours and a half to Mallebern, where, in consequence of one of our party being taken ill, we were compelled to pass the night at a bad inn,"³ an experience that was repeated at Planian.⁴ As for the state of the roads over which they travelled, it varied in proportion to the zeal and efficiency of the local authorities, charged with the upkeep of their own section of the highway, and it therefore ranged from fine through passable to rough and execrable. This was a subject upon which Mariana gave her readers both warning and advice.

"Next morning we drove, in five hours and a half, to Aussig, through a road, bad at all times, and excessively dangerous after rain, being rocky in some places to a degree that risks breaking heavy carriages to pieces, and so rotten in others that the lightest vehicle can scarcely escape overturning, unless held up by Men. And, to encrease the danger of this road, it lies close to the Elbe, on the brink of a precipice.

Travellers, whose carriages are heavy, should put their baggage into a waggon, and themselves either upon horses or into a light calash, between Lobositz and Aussig;⁵ and Invalids ought not to attempt going any way but

² Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 217-222.
³ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 223.
⁵ The modern Losovice and Ústí nad Labem lie ten miles, or so, apart on the Elbe to the north of Prague. The road the Starkes travelled still exists.
on horseback, the jolts being so violent that it requires considerable bodily strength to bear them; as a proof of which two Persons who went in carriages at the same time with us broke blood-vessels, while others were overturned, and nearly killed with fatigue."\(^1\)

But it would be wrong to give the impression that, for these hardships, there were no compensatory pleasures on this journey. Mariana’s enjoyment of the majestic scenery of the eastern Alps was unspoiled by the state of the roads at this part of her journey.

"The road from L’Cspedaletto to Villach has been made about ten years; it seems to have undergone a recent repair, and certainly possesses one great advantage, that of being, perhaps, the only approach to Italy which does not lie over the summits of the Alps. It is indeed very remarkable, that although we were surrounded by these cloud-capped mountains the whole way, we seldom, if ever, descended a hill steep enough to render a drag-chain necessary; neither did we perceive any fault in the road, its narrowness excepted; and this was particularly troublesome to us, as we frequently met hundreds of artillery-waggons, and were sometimes compelled to stop a full hour while they passed."\(^2\)

In contrast to those at Ponteba, the customs at Vienna were "very civil" and, at Dresden, an obliging official "waited upon us to our inn, where, on being presented with a couple of florins, he examined nothing."\(^4\)

Nor were all the innkeepers cheats.

"At Czaslau in Moravia, we slept at The Post-House, a tolerable good inn, where the Master is remarkably civil and honest; for we left at this inn a pair of pistols, which were sent after us."\(^5\)

The weapons suggest preparedness for trouble on the road but the precaution appears, in their case, to have been unnecessary.

Of the cities on their itinerary, Mariana thought Venice was "less strikingly

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 230-231.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 212-213.
magnificent than many other cities of Italy,"¹ but Prague seemed to her "one of the noblest cities in Europe"² and her description beginning "Dresden is a beautiful City,"³ must have influenced many to visit it.

Nevertheless, Mariana does not disguise the fact that the journey, at times, was literally an endurance test that almost proved fatal for her sister.

"One of our Party, a young Lady afflicted with weak lungs, was made alarmingly ill by crossing the Apennine to Bologna, (it being a journey of two days over these mountains, which are quite as cold as the Alps;) and in passing through Germany her sufferings were so great, that I frequently thought she would have died, owing to the stoves, which are universally substituted for fireplaces; to damp beds, for there are no warming-pans, and consequently no means of drying beds in Germany; to the piercing air of the Alps between Venice and Vienna; to the severity of the climate in Moravia and Bohemia; and to the excessive roughness of the roads between Prague and Dresden. Nevertheless, we endeavoured to guard against some of these inconveniences, by providing ourselves with fur travelling-caps, warm loose dresses, thick boots lined with fur, and great-coats, which we were glad to put upon our beds in Moravia and Bohemia, where there are no coverlids except small eyder-down quilts, which generally slip off ere the night be half spent. But, notwithstanding every precaution that Prudence can suggest, it seems to me impossible for Invalids to attempt the journey we have just taken, without imminent risk to their lives."⁴

But, when they had left Prague, reached Dresden and, "hearing that the road was execrably bad,"⁵ had preferred to sail from that city down the Elbe to Hamburg and the port of Cuxhaven, they luckily met with a packet, ready to sail for Yarmouth, and, a week later, found themselves at last in England. Exhausting as it had been, the valuable experience of this transcontinental journey, from the

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¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 195.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 188-189.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 249.
shores of the Mediterranean across the Alps to the shores of the North Sea, was not lost upon Mariana, who made of it a fitting conclusion to her *Letters from Italy.*

From the time of her arrival home in the autumn of 1798 to the time of her departure abroad in 1817, only the broader outlines of Mariana's life can be discovered but not its smaller details, within the scope of the research and the limit of the time involved in this thesis. It is patent, however, that yet again she adapted herself to a change of circumstance and environment, which were similar to those of the old days at Epsom. Her family may, indeed, have gone back to that part of England, but this would hardly agree with her statement that she was living at a distance from London, when *Letters from Italy* was published shortly afterwards in 1800. Our information on the composition of this work and the difficulties, which attended its preparation for the press, comes from the Advertisement to the second edition, which followed the first at an interval of fifteen years.

"The first Edition of this Work was written abroad, where the Author had so many domestic duties to fulfil, that she could only find leisure sufficient to draw up a hasty statement of facts; and therefore designed, on returning home, to correct her style, and make considerable improvements in her account of the cities, customs, and manners, of Italy. On returning home, however, she was visited by a long and dangerous illness, which bereaved her of power to amend those faults in language that naturally arise from a seven years' deprivation of English books, and even incapacitated her from pointing out in the Errata many typographical errors, which her distance from the Press rendered unavoidable."

She may, at this period of her life, have spent some time in Wales, for the eve of her departure from Florence had been the day of her brother's wedding to a Welsh heiress, Miss Ravenscroft of Laugharne Castle in Carmarthenshire, where the

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Two examples of the typographical errors, to which she refers, have been noted above.
couple and their children afterwards resided. She may have been at Bath when The Sword of Peace enjoyed a brief revival there in 1809. At all events, the publication of her poems at Exeter in 1811, the introduction to the second edition of her Letters written at Exmouth and, later, her obituary notice suggest that Mariana was not on holiday in Devon but had been living there for several years when, in 1816, her mother died at the latter town, which, like Brightonstone, Weymouth and other watering-places on the south coast, had grown fashionable during the years when the British were debarred, by the Napoleonic Wars, from travelling abroad. In short, throughout the years intervening from 1798 to 1817, she would appear to have been preoccupied with family life and interests, the social round followed by the class to which she belonged and, of course, her literary activities.

It will be recalled that her play, The Tournament, was also published during this period, but her most important work was indisputably Letters from Italy. Its two volumes were excellent value at 6/- and doubtless would have sold even better than they did, in both English and German versions, but for

1 "At Lougharne, co. Carmarthen, R. J. Starke, esq., late captain in the 2d life-guards, to Miss Ravenscroft, only daughter of Col. R. of Lougharne-castle, lieutenant-colonel of the Carmarthenshire militia."
For the birth of their children, see:
2 Genest, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 517.
3 Vide infra.
4 "The rage for German plays still continues. The stage abounds with them, and the press is loaded with translations, ....... ."
6 Translated into German, 1802. D.N.B.
the curtailment of foreign travel due to the war. However, with the end of hostilities in 1815 and the re-opening of the Continent to British tourists, there came the opportunity for a second and a third edition to appear and a fourth to be projected, when it became apparent to the writer that her book was out of date.

In the interests of readers, whom the peace now permitted to go abroad, certain alterations to suit changed times had, of course, been made in the second edition. The section on passports, for example, quoted above, was omitted as being no longer valid and, after so many years, the rascally landlord of the White Bull was spared re-mention. Still Mariana's revisionary work on the new editions did not go far enough for, in one important respect, her book had fallen behind the times. This was in the matter of prices. Inspired by a characteristic prudence in finance, she had everywhere quoted current prices in the edition of 1800. Referring, for illustration, to the expenses of the journey made by herself and her family from Turin to Geneva in 1792, she had written —

"From hence to Geneva we proceeded en voiturier, paying for the same number of horses as before, (i.e. six) 43 louis d'ors, the 2 buonamano, the passage of Mont-Cenis, and expenses at inns inclusive."

And of the return journey, made a few weeks later —

"The passage of the Mountain cost us 184 Piedmontese livres, besides a trifling buona-mano to the Porters, making in all near ten pounds sterling; ...... ." 3

1 Dedicated to a friend, Mrs. Thomas, who had "corrected the press and aided the labours of the Author." (Starke, Letters, op. cit., 1815, Vol. 1, p. v.) This lady, (nee Parkhurst), was the widow of a clergyman and resided at "Abele-Grove", near "Hylands", in Surrey. (See Brayley, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 367.)
Though meagre in comparison with what Samuel Sharp had furnished in his Admonition of 1767 — as many pages as she had lines — such information was useful to travellers only if revised periodically and kept up to date, whereas Mariana was content to repeat in the second edition of her Letters what she had written in the first, by which time her facts were not fifteen years behind the times but actually twenty-three, since they referred back to 1792. As for the section giving "Established prices for the passage of Genis," which she added to the Appendix of the second edition, this was also out of date — if not borrowed from another author — for all evidence points to the contrary that she travelled on the Continent between 1798 and 1817.

Who quotes specific prices in his guidebook gives hostages to fortune and to time. Few writers were, in this respect, so bold as Mariana. Johann Ebel avoided this pitfall most carefully in his Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse. An introductory section of this early guide to Switzerland, headed "Des dépenses qu’exigent les voyages en Suisse . . . ," was couched in the most general terms and, for the city of Berne, with its hotels, museum collections, public conveyances, baths, lending libraries and cafés, the author stated not a single price.

John Murray, in his Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, generally regarded as the first English guide to that country, ventured no more for the same city than the charges at one hotel, the Falke, that admission to the Museum was obtainable by "a small fee" and that baths on the Aare cost "1 fr., linen included." Thus

1 See chapter 1 of this thesis.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 256-258.
4 Zürich, 1805, Vol. 1, pp. 36-50.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 151-164.
6 London, 1838, pp. 64-69.
if Ebel's and Murray's guidebooks began by helping their readers less in this way than Mariana's, at least they did not end by misleading them when times changed and prices with them.

In other ways too, the passage of time had depreciated the value of Letters from Italy. Since 1800, many changes had taken place in the superb art and museum collections, which were among the main objectives of visitors to Italy and their main reasons for purchasing guidebooks. By 1815, Mariana's information on these collections was no longer reliable. To take a famous case: if prospective tourists in 1800 were interested to learn that the "Dying Gladiator" had gone off in a crate to the Louvre in Paris, in 1815 they were more interested to discover whether it had returned to the Capitoline in Rome.

In addition, the time had come not only for the revision of old material in her guidebook but also for the inclusion of new. New roads, for example, laid down since the beginning of the 19th century, now awaited travellers on the Continent: in particular, the fine highways built by Napoleon over the Alps. In the greatly enlarged Appendix to the second edition of her book, a footnote illustrates how far out of touch she now was with travel conditions abroad.

"There is another passage," she wrote, describing travel routes over the Alps, "namely that of Simplon, which leads from Haut Vallais and German Switzerland to Milan; but, though short, the road is so inconvenient, and even dangerous, that I would not counsel travellers to go this way."¹

In a supplement to this Appendix, she also introduced a brief description of this route but it, too, was of purely antiquarian interest, borrowed from a writer who had crossed the Pass in 1785. To this, with typical disregard of previous statements, she added —

"...but the wonder-working hand of that great and extraordinary personage, Napoleon, has transformed it not only into a safe, but an excellent road, with every needful accommodation for travellers: indeed, it may now be considered as by far the most eligible route from France and Switzerland to Italy."¹

But she could not describe the Simplon as she once could the Mont Cenis or Pontebba, and she was unable to offer practical advice on the most suitable type of carriage for the road or even whether a drag-chain was necessary for braking on the declivities.

Still, it is apparent from the enlarged Appendix to the second edition that Mariana was striving to keep abreast of the times, that, for example, she had become aware of Switzerland as something more than a corridor, through which the traveller fearfully or carelessly passed on his way to Italy. Though unfortunately based only on material abstracted from another author, here is a section of her work to be considered later, along with the rest of her writing on Switzerland.

Nevertheless, Letters from Italy had outlived its utility. This and the post-war re-opening of the long-cherished interior of Europe, which produced a vast exportation of British tourists and a resulting demand for up-to-date guidebooks, all called for a new work from Mariana. In this rapidly expanding branch of the literary market, there was now keen competition. It has been reliably estimated that "for ten years from 1819 an average of seven travel books on Italy appeared every year," to which may be added an increasing number on Switzerland and the Alps. One only course of action lay open to Mariana. She must herself re-visit the Continent, gather the necessary material at first-hand

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 548.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 258-275.
3 Annual Register, 1814, p. 219.
and write an entirely new guidebook. The intrepid spirit displayed at the siege of Nice in 1792 was undaunted by the passage of a quarter of a century and in May, 1817, at the age of 55, she resumed her travels and entered upon the last and most successful phase of her literary career, the fruit of which was to be *Travels on the Continent*.

It would be tedious - and pointless, considering the intent of this thesis - to attempt to follow our writer a second time over the entire ground which she covered in 1792-98 and which she professed to re-visit in 1817-19. It would be also deceptive, for it is clear that Mariana was unable to resist the temptation of incorporating in her second guidebook much of the material she had used successfully in her first. Since she did so, often without alteration, revision or regard for consistency, the results were sometimes incredible, inaccurate and even absurd. Thus readers of *Letters from Italy* will recall how, on her homeward journey in 1798, Mariana was detained by the illness of one of her party, first at Mallebera and later at Planien: she repeated this story in *Travels on the Continent*. They will also recall how the jolting endured on the road between Lobositz and Aussig occasioned a haemorrhage in two of her travelling companions: by an unbelievable coincidence, this happened again, in 1819. For a writer "ambitious to prove herself a faithful historian," she was placing too great a strain on her readers' credulity. Moreover, though she represented this section of the road as rocky and rotten at the end of the 18th century, it was misleading to do so twenty years later without first ascertaining

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1 Vide supra.
3 Vide supra.
4 Ibid., pp. 533-534.
5 Ibid., p. 533. "boggy", however, replaced the original "rotten".
its condition by re-travelling the route and this, by her own admission, she
omitted to do. The account of her journey from Florence to Cuxhaven was
doubtless authentic when printed in 1800 but clearly fictitious when re-printed
in 1820, for, in 1819, Mariana came home for the second time from Italy —

".....through Florence and Milan, by the Simplon, to Geneva;
and over the Jura Alps to Poligny, Dijon, Melun, Paris and
Boulogne" —

travelling from Rome to Boulogne in her own landaulette with another lady and two
servants.

Nevertheless, in spite of such flaws, the well-merited success of her new
book was both immediate and lasting and, if we know little of her life for the
eighteen years that remained of it, we may yet be certain of this, that they were
years of achievement in the fields of travel and literature, which she had so
outstandingly combined. New and revised editions of Travels on the Continent
succeeded the first. By 1824, a fifth had appeared with a new title and
considerable additions. It was followed by a sixth in 1830, a seventh in the
same year and an eighth, according to Lowndes, in 1833, by which time her book
had substantially altered in style and format and its original price had doubled
to 15/-.

In actual fact, the eighth edition, published by Murray of London in
1832, had been re-printed by Galignani of Paris in 1833. There was even a

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1 Ibid., Appendix, p. 161. See also p. 64, fn.
2 Ibid., Appendix, p. 165.
3 Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent.
4 Lowndes, op. cit., p. 2495.
5 Travels in Europe, for the use of Travellers on the Continent, and likewise in
the Island of Sicily. To which is added, an Account of the Remains of
Ancient Italy, and also of the Roads leading to those Remains. By Mariana
6 Travels in Europe, for the use of Travellers on the Continent, and likewise in
the Island of Sicily. To which is added an account of the remains of
ancient Italy, and also of the roads leading to those remains. By Mariana
Starke. Eighth edition, considerably enlarged, and embellished with a map.
Paris: Published by A. and W. Galignani: and may be had of Pratt and Barry:
Brussels. 1833.
ninth edition, brought out by Galignani in 1836 and sold at 15 francs. A comparative study of these several editions shows that Mariana now realised the importance of keeping her work up to date, for each was revised, as carefully as she knew how, from the one preceding it and, if she could not describe the Simplon from personal knowledge in 1815, by 1833 she knew it better than most British women who had travelled in Switzerland and she could write with authority -

"The Author of this Work has passed the Simplon four times; namely, in May, 1817; in June, 1819; in October, 1824; and in October, 1827 ....... "

Indeed, her vigour and love of travel were retained to the end of her long career, when in March, 1838, an obituary notice appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine.

"At Naples, on her way to England, Mrs. Mariana Starke, authoress of Travels in Italy, etc."  

In a later number of the same periodical, this was amended and enlarged.

"At Milan, on her journey from Naples to England, aged 76, Mrs. Marianne Starke, of Exmouth, authoress of Travels in Italy, eldest dau. of the late R. Starke, esq. of Epsom, many years Governor of Fort St. George, Madras; also at Dinah, in Britany, in his 34th year, Richard John Hughes Starke, esq. nephew to the above, and eldest son of the late Lieut.-Col. Starke, of Laugharne Castle, Carmarthenshire."

2 Starke, Travels in Europe, 1833, eighth edition, p. 37, fn. 3.  
4 A courtesy title.  
5 A misspelling, which has occasioned error in references made by later writers.  
6 Presumably a mistake for "Dinard."  
7 According to Miss C. Fell Smith, writing in D.N.B., R. J. H. Starke wrote the epilogue for The Widow of Malabar. As he was born in 1804, (vide supra), and the play appeared in 1791, this is impossible. She must have confused him with his father, R. J. Starke.  
Having sketched her career and development as a writer, we must now consider her work with particular reference to Switzerland. As we have seen, she formed her first acquaintance with that country in 1792 and made it the subject of her first "letter from Italy," with its opening lines reminiscent of John Dennis on the Mont Cenis in 1683.

"As you wish for a description of that chain of Alps which seems designed by Nature to protect Italy from the invasions of her Gallic neighbours, I will send you a short account of our late excursion over these mountains to Geneva." 1

Like him, she experienced fear at the sight of the Mountain but, later, delight in its beauty.

"...there is not perhaps in the world a scene more astonishing or more truly sublime than the passage of this Alp, which is supposed to have been opened by Pompey." 2

Well as she has described it, it is unnecessary for us to consider her description at length, for the passage of the Mont Cenis and its principal features, as they were in the years preceding the construction of Napoleon's road, have already been covered in detail in an earlier part of this thesis and Mariana's account adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the subject but, at times, reads like the echo of former writers.

Setting out from the Auberge Royale, where Walpole and Gray had lodged after crossing the Pass, the Starkes travelled from Turin with the party accompanying the Dowager Duchess of Ancaster, of whose kindness to her invalid sister, on this difficult journey, Mariana wrote a grateful acknowledgment.

At Novalesa, their coach was dismounted and loaded on mules, while the Starkes -

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 12.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 18.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 17.
muffled in "fur-caps, warm great-coats, and half-boots lined with hare-skins," for the cold of the Alps, of which Addison had complained one December, could be "scarcely supportable," even in June, and "a thick, wet fog" enveloped the summit - were borne in open chairs or sedans up to the head of the Pass. On the part of the porters, there was none of the wild buffoonery that had alarmed Walpole and Gray and, seated in an open chair, such as Coryat had been the first to describe, Mariana was entertained by their recital of tales from Marmontel. Fifty-four persons in all, they stopped at "l'Hôpital des Pèlerins," where a warm fire welcomed the travellers and the monks supplied them with dinner - "...as good, plentiful, and even elegant, as it could possibly have been in a populous city. With the desert came children, who brought salvers filled with all the different flowers that enamel Cenis ..." - the last a charming custom, still to be met with in certain parts of the Alps. They made thereafter a rapid descent to Lanternbourg, where their coach, remounted, awaited to carry them on to Geneva.

After this promising start to Mariana's account of her first visit to Switzerland, the reader is prepared to hear more of where she went, what she saw and whom she met, during her three months' stay. It was an interesting time to go there, for plenty of good society was then to be found particularly at Lausanne and Geneva.

Of this, a description occurs in the Recollections of Lord Cloncurry who,

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 6.
2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 8.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 16.
4 Jean-François Marmontel, 1723-1799, author of Contes Moraux, which enjoyed great popularity at the time. The scene of one of the most charming, "The Shepherdess of the Alps," was set in the region of the Mont Genèvre.
6 Cloncurry, Valentine Lawless, Lord, Personal Recollections of the Life and Times with Extracts from the Correspondence of --, Dublin, 1849.
at the age of nineteen and soon after leaving college, went in 1792 and remained for about two years at Neuchâtel, Geneva, Basel and Lausanne, which last he described as "a pleasant town, for you can have as much society as you please without being intruded upon."

"There were a good many English at that time in Switzerland," he wrote and, naturally, the names he recalled more than half a century later were of men, then young like himself and making the Grand Tour.

"......the present Earl Digby (then Lord Coleshill), with whom I lived in the same house; His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Lord Boringdon (afterwards Earl Morley), Lord Morpeth (father to the present Earl of Carlisle), ...... Lord Carmarthen (afterwards Duke of Leeds), Lord Cholmondeley, and Mr. afterwards Earl Annesley" and "Mr. Beckford, the well-known author of Vathek ...... "

But he recollected also Mariana's acquaintance, the Dowager Duchess of Ancaster, and he referred to -

"......the incongruous mixture of society in the Swiss towns, where English people of fortune and rank, and the double exiles of the Irish Brigade, French royalist émigrés, and repudiated revolutionary patriots, were huddled together in extraordinary, but not uninteresting confusion."

A parallel account of the same milieu is found in the writings of a number of British women, who then visited Switzerland. From a letter to her banker, Coutts, dated 1792, we know that the Duchess of Devonshire was then at Geneva, ostensibly travelling for the good of her sister's health but actually "banished"

1 Ibid., p. 5. Born in 1773.
2 Ibid., p. 10.
3 Ibid., p. 12.
4 Ibid., p. 17.
5 Ibid., p. 11.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 13.
8 See, for example:
9 Devonshire, op. cit., p. 192.
to the Continent by her husband on account of her debts. She was accompanied not only by the Duncannons but also by Lady Spencer, her mother, and Lady Elizabeth Foster. From the journal of Lady Holland we learn something too. In 1791, far from the brilliant position the future would bring her as the wife of Lord Holland and a leader of Whig society, she was then the unhappy, young wife of her first husband, Sir Godfrey Webster, and, seeking distraction in travel, had gone, like Mariana, in the first place to Nice, then to Switzerland and later to Italy. She has left a brief record of the social life she enjoyed that summer, staying at Mon Repos, outside Lausanne.

All too typical of British women in Switzerland, she wrote, "My society was composed of a mixture of French and English, to the utter exclusion of the Swiss." Society, in those days, revolved around Gibbon.

"Gibbon had for several years withdrawn himself from the turbulence and neglect of his own capital to share the quiet and enjoy the adulation of the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud. He was treated by them more as a prince than as an equal. Whenever he honoured their goutées with his presence every person rose upon his entrance, and none thought of resuming their chairs till he was seated. His whim arranged and deranged all parties. All, in short, were subservient to his wishes; those once known, everything was adapted to them."

But she also set down in her journal the names of "the Sheffields, Trevors, Mr. Pelham, Duc de Guignes, Mde. de Juigné, and Castries."

Two years later, returning to England, she travelled through Switzerland and paused at Lausanne where sadly, she noted the changes that time had wrought in her friends. The Cholmondelys were there and Lord Morpeth, but Lady Sheffield

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1 Born in 1771, she was then twenty.
   Compare: - "She (Lady Webster) lives entirely with the French; the Swiss do not like her much, and she returns the compliment very thoroughly."
   Holroyd, op. cit., p. 64.
3 Holland, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 2.
4 Ibid.
and Madame de Juigné were dead, the Duchess of Ancaster dying and alarmed by the state of affairs in France, Gibbon had left for home.

But of all this distinguished society, which gathered at Lausanne and Geneva towards the close of the 18th century, Mariana wrote not a word, perhaps because she would have considered it misplaced in a work like Letters from Italy, intended for publication and neither a book of personal recollections nor anything so intimate as a journal.

If then, we learn nothing - with one notable exception - of those whom she saw in Switzerland, can we discover where she went and what she did?

She wrote of no more than a single event. It was, as we might expect, a visit to the house of Voltaire, long an accepted feature of every journey in Switzerland and topic in every book that described it.

"During our residence at Secheron we took a drive to see Voltaire's Villa at Ferney, with an account of which I shall close my letter."  

Though Voltaire had been dead these fourteen years, the flow of visitors to Ferney, far from ebbing, had, if anything, increased. Like our writer, they came to remark on the unchanged state of the house since its master's decease - though, according to Lady Holland, "it was in a desolate, ruined state" - on his vanity as expressed in his famous portrayal acclaimed by Apollo, on his salon and bedroom with portraits and cedial urn. Mariana's account of her visit is, however, indifferently given and by no means better than that of most other female pens. This may be due to its having been written several years after the event.

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 69.
4 Holland, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 3.
5 The "letter" is dated 1792, but it is significant that, mentioning the portrait of Catherine the Great in Voltaire's bedroom, Mariana refers to "the late Empress." Catherine died in 1796.
We might think that she travelled from Geneva no further than Ferney, did we not find, in a note to a subsequent "letter", a definite allusion to Lausanne and to Gibbon. This occurs in connection with her discussion of the route which Hannibal used when crossing the Alps and which she believed to have been by Monte Viso, or the Col de la Traversette, an opinion that has gained some support in more recent times. To this discussion, she added the following note, not in the first but the second edition of her book.

"When I was at Lausanne, I consulted Gibbon with respect to this route; and he seemed to think it might, very probably, be that pursued by Hannibal: ....... "

Since, on her later visits to Switzerland, Gibbon no longer was at Lausanne, she must have met him during her first. So, by this chance, we learn that she did drive further than Ferney in 1792. Yet her entire description of Switzerland amounted only to this -

"......driven to GENEVA, or rather to Sécheron, where THE HOTEL D'ANGLETERRE is most excellent. Geneva, said to contain near thirty thousand Inhabitants, is delightfully situated on the banks of an immense Lake, and possesses environs peculiarly rich and charming, especially to Persons who have just passed the barren mountains of Savoy."

But, though the attractions of society, education and exploring the Alps might draw the British to Switzerland at the end of the 18th century, as yet the pursuit of health drew them elsewhere. A century later, the Starkes would have taken their invalid daughter to Davos instead of to Nice or Pisa. Strange as

See also Letters, op. cit., 1815, Vol. 2, pp. 69-75.
She repeated this in Travels, op. cit., p. 510.
If, as she suggests, Gibbon inclined to her view, he certainly wrote in favour of the Mont Genèvre as Hannibal's route.
4 As a result of the work of Dr. Spengler, the first patients came to Davos about 1865.
it seems to us now, this was a point on which Mariana wrote very strongly, being persuaded by experience that the lives of many consumptive persons might be saved if they were, above all things, interdicted from crossing the Alps to spend the summer in Switzerland, "one of the most unequal climates of Europe."

One other section of Letters from Italy must now be considered - the Appendix, or traveller's guide, on which rests our claim that Mariana was the first woman to write a guidebook dealing even partly, as hers did, with Switzerland and influencing later writers like Murray and, through him, Baedeker. As we already have noticed, it re-appeared, greatly enlarged, in the second edition and it is therefore in this form that we propose to consider it now.

Though this was something which would later diminish almost to the point of vanishment from her work, Mariana addressed herself to the reader in highly personal fashion.

"I am likewise encouraged by a hope," ran her introduction to the second edition, "of being serviceable to those of my compatriots who, in consequence of pulmonary complaints, are compelled to exchange their native soil for the renovating sun of Italy, to insert a few observations .......

I have also given, in the APPENDIX, some particulars relative to expenses upon the Continent; that families, induced by motives of prudence to reside in countries where the elegancies of life may be commanded by a fortune barely adequate to furnish necessaries in their own, may not have the mortification of finding their plans defeated by the extravagance of a Courier, or by the impositions frequently practised upon strangers."

In this hope and endeavour, she was eminently successful, though we may sometimes smile at the singular medley of facts, the earnest advice and the homely details poured forth on her readers. An excellent example of this - and an

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 261.
3 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. xv.
4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. xvi.
eloquent commentary on travel conditions abroad in the later 18th and earlier 19th centuries - may be found in the section entitled, "Things most requisite for an invalid (and, indeed, for every family) to be provided with, on leaving England."

"A cot, so constructed, that it may be transformed into a sofa-bed; two leather sheets, made of sheepskin, two pillows, two blankets, two bedside carpets, sheets, pillow-cases," - 2

folded to a convenient size, these sheets, pillows and blankets could also be used in a carriage as cushions, making a leather sheet the envelope -

"a zinzalière, or mosquito-net, made of thin gauze, a travelling-chamber-lock," - 4

this could always be bought before leaving London and was easily fixed to any door in less than five minutes -

"towels, table-cloths, napkins" - 6

strong, but not fine - 7

"pistols, knives, a pocket-knife to eat with, silver table-spoons, soup, tea, and salt-spoons, a silver or plated tea-pot, a block-tin tea-kettle, a phosphorus tinder-box, or patent pocket-light, a tea and sugar chest, a "soldier's comfort"" - 8

and she gave addresses where travellers might purchase this last, useful invention, which answered the purpose of a night-lamp, a chauffe-pied, and a saucepan for cooking meat and vegetables and was very little larger than a lady's reticule -

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 135-141.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 135.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 139.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 135-136.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
"tea, Cayenne-pepper, ginger, nutmegs, oatmeal, portable-soup, sago, pens, pen-knives, Walkden's ink-powder, wafers, razors, strap and hone; needles, thread, tape, worsted, pins; saddles, side-saddles, and bridles; gauze-worsted-stockings; flannel; cork, or common double-soled shoes and boots" - 1

such footgear was absolutely needful to resist the chill of brick and marble floors -

"the London and Edinburgh Dispensatory; De La Lande's Voyage en Italie; a thermometer, a medicine-chest, with scales, weights, a rhubarb-grater, an ounce and half-ounce measure for liquids, a small marble or glass mortar, a set of instruments for cleaning and filing teeth, toothbrushes," - 3

and a pharmacopoeia consisting of -

"James's powder, castor-oil, bark, hartshorn, sal-volatile, aether, pure opium, liquid laudanum, paregoric elixir, ipecacuanha, emetic tartar, vitriolic acid, essential oil of lavender" - 4

for four or five drops of lavender oil would drive all bugs or fleas from a bed, while the same measure of vitriol would render wholesome a large decanter of bad water -

"spirits of lavender" - 6

those who got soaked, should strip as soon as possible, rub themselves down with new, warm flannel, and then put on dry, warm linen, scented with lavender -

"camomile-flowers, antimonial wine, calomel, super-carbonated kali, blistering salve, caustic, lint, opodeldoc." 7

Next, she entered into technicalities on the subject of transport and discussed the relative merits of crane-necked coaches and those without perches, recommending -

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 136-137.
5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 139.
6 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 137.
7 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 141.
8 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 137.
"a strong, low-hung, crane-necked English carriage, with well-seasoned corded springs, sous-soupentes, and iron axle-trees; strong wheels, properly corded for travelling... " - 1

and such spare parts as went with it —

two drag-chains (the one with an iron shoe, the other with a hook); two drag-staffs; a box, containing extra linch-pins, nails, and tools for repairing, mounting, and dismounting a carriage — a well; a sword-case; a very light imperial; two moderate-sized trunks" - 2

and she explained how best to pack, load and secure them —

"lamps, and a stock of candles fitted to them." 4

A second-hand carriage in good condition, she went on, was preferable to a new one. An outside seat for a man-servant — "not suspended on the springs, but fixed to the boot, and slung upon leathers" — frequently proved useful. 6

Every coach should be made to lock up and its wheel-boxes be brass.

Her all-embracing advice covered "letters of recommendation to all our ministers on the Continent": these were "highly needful." So, too, were passports. In fact post-masters, at and within a forty-five miles' radius of Paris, were not obliged to supply a stranger with horses unless he exhibited the necessary document, obtainable from the French Minister in London, "without any expense, except a trifling gratuity to the minister's servant." She warned, too — but with specific reference to Italy, not Switzerland — of the "gross impositions" practised on travellers by language-masters and innkeepers, valets-de-place, mechanics, the lower classes and — couriers. Indeed, she was

1 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 138-139.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 139-140.
10 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 140.
never done disparaging couriers, as we have earlier noticed in describing these
functionaries.

Besides this useful compendium, the Appendix included twelve separate
sections, which enlarged the scope of her guidebook and aimed to assist the
tourist in the following countries, France, Italy and Germany, Portugal, Spain,
Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Russia, Poland and Switzerland. To write
of the first three, she could draw upon personal knowledge but, of the next
eight, only by drawing upon the knowledge of others. She could furnish the
traveller for France with advice on cross-Channel packets, French money, posting
and post-roads and, with regard to Paris, the principal sights, the best hotels,
lodging-houses, traiteurs and restaurateurs as well as postal arrangements but,
for Spain, she had to fall back upon Townsend and, for Russia, acknowledge her
debt to Coxe. For the last of these twelve countries, she appears, too, to
have borrowed, though the source of her information on Switzerland remains
uncertain.

She began this section by briefly informing her readers that, since 1814,
the voliturin, Dejean of Geneva, had resumed his conveyance of passengers from
London to Calais and thence, by coach, via Paris to all parts of Switzerland
and she gave the address of his agent in London. She then went on to describe
three "passages," by which the Alps might be crossed by those going from

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 379-468.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 373.
Townsend, 1739-1816, geologist and divine, studied at Cambridge and Edinburgh,
took orders, travelled in Ireland, France, Holland, Flanders, Spain and
Switzerland, became chaplain to the Duke of Atholl, and latterly rector of
Pewsey, Wilts. D.N.B.
William Coxe, Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, London, 1784.
Switzerland to Italy: the St. Gotthard, the Great St. Bernard and the Splügen.

She opened her account of the Gotthard Pass at the terminal town of Altdorf, capital of Uri, where a number of routes converged. Like Lanslebourg, Brig, Martigny or Chur, Altdorf was an assembly point for people, goods, guides and sumpters bound for the Pass and the existence of an age-old hospice—mentioned elsewhere in this thesis—bore witness to the fact.

"This," she wrote, "is one of the most frequented routes from Switzerland into Italy; and the journey from Altorf to Bellinzone is easily accomplished in three days, whether on foot or on horseback; neither can this passage be called dangerous at any season except while the snow is melting; that is, while the avalanches are most liable to fall."2

On the whole, she was right for, though her source is uncertain, her information is accurate. What may be called the central pass of the Alps had indeed increased its traffic since Roman times and more since the 12th century, when an approach from Altdorf in the north, up the valley of the Reuss and through the hitherto impassable Schöllenen Gorge to the south, was made possible by building the Teufelsbrücke over the river and the Stiebendebrücke over the gorge. The first, reputedly built by the Abbot Gero of Einsiedeln, with the assistance of one who gave it his name, was a bold, stone arch, flung across an abyss of a hundred feet, while the second was a mere platform of planks, about

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 258-260.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 258-259.

"The whole trade from Switzerland to Italy, passes over this mountain; and they often travel in bands of forty laden mules. The destruction occasioned by the avalanches, which also bring rocks along with them, is so much dreaded, that they are obliged to keep the strictest silence, lest the vibration of the air should bring down the snow. The excellence of the road over the mountain of St. Gothard is owing to its being kept up for this yearly commerce." Devonshire, Georgiana, Duchess of, The Passage of S. Gotthard, Berne, 1816, p. 88, note 14.
3 In office from 1101 to 1122.
two hundred feet long – comparable, perhaps, to-day to the wooden gallery running along the Aareschlucht – sprayed by the fierce rush of the Reuss as it hung, suspended by chains, from the face of the rock, beneath which the railway from Göschenen now ascends to Andermatt in the Urserental. By Mariana's day, the shortage of wood for repairs in this green but virtually treeless valley had sealed the fate of the "Foamy Bridge." Between 1707 and 1708, the Swiss engineer, Pietro Morettini of Locarno, had pierced the first of all Alpine tunnels some seventy-two yards through the mountainside and travellers thankfully passed the gorge by means of the safer and drier, if darker and less spectacular, Urnerloch, or Trou d'Uri. So the route became more frequented than ever till, at the start of the 19th century, three hundred persons, with as many sumpters, were using the Gotthard route, on an average, each week though, as she pointed out, they had no choice but to ride or toil on foot by a bridle-path, that was roughly paved with the local granite at the end of the 13th century – "A granite girdle o'er the mountain thrown."¹

By the time she was writing, however, it is doubtful whether the frequency of this route was comparable, for example, to that of the Simplon, which had boasted a carriage-way since 1805, for it was not until 1830 that Emmanuel Müller of Altdorf completed one over the Gotthard, the Urnerloch was enlarged to admit vehicles and a new Devil's Bridge superseded the old.² In 1815, the Pass remained as it was in August, 1793, when Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, became the first British woman to describe, and compose a poem on, her crossing,³ or in 1794, when Helen Maria Williams was the first to do so in prose.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 81.
² The old bridge was carried away by a flood in 1888.
³ Ibid., p. 86, note 1.
In her account of the Pass, Mariana outlined each of the three days' itinerary.

"On the first day you go from Altorf to l'Hôpital: the Pfaffensprung, the Cascade, the Devil's Bridge, the Schöllenen, the Urner-loch, and the beautiful prospect presented by the Valley of Urseline, are the objects best worth a traveller's attention."  

Again she was right in every detail. The Pfaffensprung, or Priest's Leap, seen as the traveller approaches the village of Wasen, may best be described as resembling the Soldier's Leap, at the Pass of Killiecrankie in the Scottish Highlands, and is named in memory of a monk's exploit in the days before the Reuss was bridged. The Cascade, referred to, must be the one that descends near the Devil's Bridge and the Valley of Urseren, indeed, presents the traveller with a perfect contrast as, leaving the bleak grandeur of the Schöllenen Gorge, he emerges through the gloomy Urnerloch into its verdant beauty. Mariana's account is quite clearly taken from one who had travelled this way himself, with an eye for its most impressive features.

At the "Hospice des Capucins," she informed her readers, a kind reception, a clean apartment and a comfortable bed welcomed the traveller.

"On going away, you leave in your plate a few pieces of silver to contribute towards the support of this useful establishment."  

But here she paid the price of plagiarism and fell into error, for the hospice, dating back to at least the 14th century, had, long before 1815, fallen upon evil days. Overwhelmed by an avalanche in 1775, it was finally destroyed by Masséna's troops, during his memorable campaign against Suvarov in 1799, and the Capuchin ministry was suspended till the parishioners of Airolo subscribed.

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2 Ibid.
towards the building of a new hospice in 1834. Mariana must have borrowed from a writer who had known the Pass ere the close of the 18th century and, in this respect, she misled her readers, though an inn is known to have existed on the summit of the Gotthard at the time when her book was published.

No doubt because tourists usually liked to know the exact height to which their travels had taken them, Mariana quoted the altitude of the St. Gotthard as 2,690 feet—about 200 feet too low, but then she wrote at a time when such measurements were not made with the same degree of accuracy as they were later.

"The second day," she went on, "you go to Grand-Péage (Gross Zollhaus), where the inn is a good one." 3

This is, no doubt, a reference to the narrow defile of Dazio Grande, through which the Ticino passes below the village of Rodi and which took its name from the presence of an ancient toll-house at this strategic point of the Gotthard route.

"The third day you reach Bellinzona.

This route is much embellished by the river Tesin, the forest of firs, the pasturages, the pretty hamlets placed here and there in elevated situations, and the vines, poplars, chestnut, walnut, and fig trees, which continually present themselves to view....."

2 She refers to the summit of the Pass, there being no peak of this name.
4 See David Pennant, writing to William Coxe with reference to 1786:—

"At Dacio we found comfortable accommodations: that village consists only of a few houses, seated at the entrance of a pass, capable of being defended with ease against the whole force of Italy. A wall and gate is added to its natural strength, but their principal use is to prevent contraband trade, and to exact also a small toll for the merchandise which passes that way."

a description that might have been written to-day, so little has this part of Switzerland altered.

"From Bellinzona," she concluded, "you may proceed to Milan by the Lake of Como, or visit the Lake Maggiore." 1

Such was her account of the Gotthard route over the central Alps, brief, borrowed, of little use as a guide to travellers but accurate, save in the matter of the Capuchin hospice. In no way can it be compared with the description found in the pages of William Coxe or Helen Maria Williams.

Similarly, we may criticise Mariana's "Passage of the Grand St. Bernard." 2

"Persons who wish to go the shortest way from French Switzerland into Italy usually cross the Grand St. Bernard," she began. 3

Her account, however, is uneven in that she described the ascent on the Swiss side, from Martigny to the summit Hospice, at greater length than the descent on the Italian side, from the summit to Aosta, which she did in a single sentence. The distance between these places and others along the route, she quoted correctly, the modern reader remembering, in this connection, that she drew from a literary source anterior to the end of the 18th century and that the distances quoted refer to the ancient track, by which Napoleon made a three-days' march with his troops to Marengo in 1800. Some years later, a newer and safer track partly replaced the old. Unlike her "Passage of the St. Gotthard," she did not exactly give the number of days taken to cross the St. Bernard but inferred that it was two, the usual time taken by those who travelled without artillery.

"At Liddes (where the ascent begins to grow steep), travellers commonly stop to see the collection of minerals and antique medals belonging to the Cure of Arbeley." 4

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 260.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 260-262.
4 Ibid.
The Cure's "antique medals" must have been part of the great quantity of coins found on this Pass, which was constantly used by the Romans, but her account omitted to mention that a better collection could be seen at the Hospice.

A league beyond Liddes, she informed her readers, the traveller reached St. Pierre, where the carriage-way ended. Carriages, in fact, were unable to drive the entire length of this Pass till 1905.

The glaciated landscape she here described as follows.

"This country is remarkable for deep hollows bordered with rocks; into which hollows, the Drance precipitates itself with such violence as to exhibit a scene, by many people preferred to the fall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen."¹

The route, indeed, ascended the valley of the Drance to the head of the Pass, but for Mariana, or the writer from whom she borrowed, to draw a comparison with the Fall of the Rhine suggests that neither had ever been at Schaffhausen.

Beyond St. Pierre, she warned, "you begin to travel upon snow, which is so hard that a horse's hoof scarcely makes any impression upon it,"² the road leading through two valleys, the first called "Les enfers des Foireuses,"³ and the second "La Valée de la Combe."⁴ They are identifiable, respectively, as a rocky defile better known as the Pas de Marengo, between the settlements of Cantine de Proz and Hospitalet, and as a broader part of the valley lying beneath the western flank of the Grande Combe.

She then proceeded to describe the Hospice, "the most elevated of all human habitations in the old world."⁵ (Mariana was evidently unaware of the fourth Cantoniera on the Stelvio Pass, or Stilfsersjoch.) She wrote in praise of the

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¹ Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
Austin canons, of their devoted ministry freely given to travellers without
distinction of rank, sex, religion or race, and of their famous dogs. She
suggested an excursion to the "Col de Ténèbres (which is not a very fatiguing
excursion), in order to see a fine view of Mont Blanc."¹

She then concluded, "The valley wherein l'Hospice stands, is long,
narrow, and terminated by a small lake, on the extremity of which the
convent is erected. Near this place there formerly was a temple of
Jupiter. From l'Hospice you descend in six or seven hours to Aoste,
which contains several monuments of antiquity; and from Aoste, you may
either go to Turin or Milan."²

In all this she was right, but her account must yield in every point to the
journal of Lady Holland from whom comes our earliest available description of the
Great St. Bernard, written by a British woman and founded on personal experience,³
for Mariana's acquaintance with the St. Bernard, as well as the St. Gotthard,
consisted of no more than a distant view, obtained when crossing the Mont Cenis
in 1792.⁴

We may claim, however, that Mariana was first with a description of the
Splügen, though not on the grounds of personal knowledge. She wrote of it⁵ much
as she had of the other two passes.

"Persons travelling from Suabia, or the country of the Grisons, to
Venice, will find this the shortest route," she began.⁶

¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 262.
³ Holland, op.cit., Vol. 1, pp. 64-68.
⁶ For a concise, modern account, see San Bernardino Strasse, Avers-Splügenpass,
publ. by the Generaldirektion der Post-, Telegraphen- und Telefonverwaltung,
Bern, 1951.
By "country of the Grisons" she revealed again that her source of information was prior to 1799, for it was not until then that the Grisons was forcibly joined by Napoleon to the Helvetic Republic and ceased to have a history separate from that of the other Swiss cantons.

In describing this passage of the Alps, she gave neither the distance nor the time taken between posts and of these named only a few from its northern terminus at Coire (Chur) to its southern at Chiavenna in Italy. Thus, for the greater part of the way, between Coire and the village of Splügen, where the ascent proper to the summit began, she mentioned neither the important bridge-town of Reichenau, where the trail turned south from the valley of the Vorder- to that of the Hinterrhein, nor Thusis, near the northern end of the dangerous gorge called the Via Mala, nor Andeer, beyond its southern extremity, all of them main relay-stations on the Pass.

She continued with a warning against avalanches. The greatest caution must be used not to disturb the air even by loud conversation, for this could provoke them. Beyond Coire, she wrote, carriages could not go and in this she was not out of date, for Giulio Poccobelli of Melide did not complete his modern road through the Via Mala much before Carlo Donegani finished his up the Italian side to the summit in 1823. ¹ For transport, the traveller could choose between chair, horse or sledge according to the season. The passage was "infinitely more fatiguing than that of St. Gothard."² Its wild sublimity reminded the traveller of Milton's Chaos or Dante's Inferno - an apt comparison. In fact, the author, from whom Mariana borrowed, seems to have been well acquainted with the Pass for she wrote -

¹ See, however, Coxe, Travels in Switzerland, op.cit., Vol. 3, p. 170. 
"From Coire, you proceed through a road called Via Mala, to Splügen, passing in your way the Paten Brucke, where, from the bridge, you look into an abyss which the rays of the sun never enlightened; and at the same time, listen to the tremendous roaring of the Rhine, which forms in this place a circular basin, whence it issues, like a silver thread, out of a narrow passage in the rocks."1

This section of the route is identifiable with that one of the two bridges, constructed by Christian Wilderer of Davos in 1738–39, usually referred to as the Middle Bridge, there being three altogether in the Via Mala.2 The circular basin is most likely the one formed by the Rhine near the village of Rongellen.

Quitting this defile, the traveller entered the "Schamsertal, one of the most romantic vallies of the Alps."3 Here Mariana described the enormous firs — they were actually pines — that grew in the Rheinwald and the magnificent fall of the Rhine — in the Roffla Gorge — which would defy the powers to limn even of Salvator Rosa. The path was so narrow beyond the village of Splügen — at certain places, a mere four feet — that she enjoined her readers to send on a guide to forestall awkward encounters with oncoming sumpters.4 The passage of the Splügen was, as she said, fatiguing, especially in winter.

"In order to pass the mountain, you lie down at full length in a traineau drawn by an ox, with your head next to the pole, because the ascent is so steep that your feet would otherwise be considerably higher than the rest of your body. It takes a couple of hours to reach the summit."5

Two hours, that was, from the village of Splügen.

"In descending on the opposite side, called the Cardinal, you pass terrific precipices; at the bottom of which runs the Lyra .... ."6

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1 Ibid.
2 For a good description of the Via Mala and of this bridge, see Coxe, Travels in Switzerland, op.cit., Vol. 3, pp. 171-172.
4 "Three hundred horses are said to pass daily in this season of the year." Coxe, Travels in Switzerland, op.cit., Vol. 3, p. 162.
6 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 264-265.
The modern reader must here bear in mind that Mariana did not describe Donegani's modern carriage-way, which skirted the eastern shore of the tiny Lago di Struetta, source of the Liro, then ran above the left bank of the torrent down to Pianazzo and Campodolcino, avoiding the dangerous Liro Gorge to the west, between Isola and Campodolcino, and threaded the defile of San Giacomo to reach Chiavenna. The reader must recall that she described the old mule-track, which also followed the lakeside but, where the stream emerged, turned to the right to follow it more closely down to Isola by way of the Val del Cardinello, notorious for its avalanches such as swept through the columns of Macdonald's forces in the winter after Marengo, and then through the Liro Gorge to Campodolcino.

In the style of the old "catastrophic" school of geology, she wrote of "the melancholy Valley of St. Jacques,\textsuperscript{1} where the traveller went down "amid broken rocks and fallen mountains (in rude confusion piled upon each other, like the disjointed fragments of a demolished world)\textsuperscript{2}, to soothe his fatigue with "the balmy zephyrs of Italy.\textsuperscript{3}" He then embarked at La Riva and sailed to Como or to Bergamo. Though a navigable channel between the Lago di Mazzola and the Lago di Como made the former voyage possible, a glance at the map would have shown Mariana that the latter was quite impossible.

Whether the pun was intentional or not, she finished her account of the Splügen by mentioning the "Bourg de Pleurs, completely buried by a fallen mountain; a calamity which has changed a country once the seat of industry, ease, and cheerfulness, into a gloomy desert.\textsuperscript{4}" She made the calamity sound very recent but Plurs, or Piuro, had been buried by a landslide as far back as 1618, ten years

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 265. Val di San Giacomo.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Ibid.
\end{itemize}

after Coryat passed that way.

From this section of *Letters from Italy*, with its description of three of the most important passes in the central, western and eastern Alps respectively, Mariana's view of Switzerland will be seen tending to that of earlier generations of travellers, who regarded the country not as their ultimate goal but rather a wilderness, through which they must pass to attain the promised land of Italy. From the following section, however, her attitude will be seen inclining to that of more modern travellers from Britain, who, in ever increasing numbers, women among them, were discovering that, if Switzerland could not compete with Italy in the field of the arts, it surpassed that country in other respects, apparent in her outline of a three days' excursion the tourist might profitably make from Geneva to the region of Mont Blanc.\(^1\) Politically speaking, this was not travel in Switzerland, but we may justify its inclusion here, on the grounds that the region was closely allied both by nature and tourism. It was indeed the cradle of British Alpinism and Mariana was well aware that the valley of Chamonix and its glaciers were still the most popular part of the Alps, as far as her readers were concerned, whatever their interests.

It is evident that, in writing, she again borrowed from the same, or a similar, source as before in describing the passes. For each of the three days she gave an itinerary with the distance and time involved, wrote of the scenery and touched on places of interest *en route*. Transport and cost, guides, inns and alternative routes came also within her purview. She had something to say of the natives and the local fauna, and she did it all rather better than she had the three passes. The extracts, which follow, are typical.

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On the first day, she began, continuing to address her readers in the direct, personal manner, which we saw adopted by Martyn in his guidebook —

"Set out early in the morning for Salenche (Sallanches), either in a close carriage, or a Swiss cabriolet¹: the road is excellent, the country rich and beautiful. About mid-way stands the town of Bonneville, where you bait your horses at Les Trois Maures, in the market-place; after which you pass a stone bridge five hundred feet long thrown over the Arve,² and proceed to Cluse (Cluses), a place chiefly inhabited by watchmakers. You then cross the Valley of Maglans (Magland), which affords a great variety of scenery .... ...³

Presently, you would be greeted with a fine view of Mont Blanc — this, of course, was the main objective of most tourists since the Romantic Movement had begun to open their eyes to the beauty of Nature — and would continue to see its "awful and stupendous beauties"⁴ all the way to Sallanches. There, she advised you to "drive to the house of the Sieur Genêt, who furnishes horses and mules for the continuation of your journey."⁵ Characteristically, she added a word on costs — "the usual price charged by Swiss Voituriers is a gros écu per day, for every horse."⁶

On the second day, she continued, you set out for Chamonix, a journey of about eight hours, on foot, horse or char-à-banc. "The road is, generally speaking, rough, but safe, and the views are wild but picturesque."⁷ It led you past the Lake of Chedde, Mont Blanc — "this gigantic Alp, primeval with a world whose several changes it has quietly witnessed"⁸ — reflected in its waters. You could then choose between the route which passed the Arve by the "Pont de Chèvres,"⁹ or

¹ That is, a char-à-banc.
² The Arve Bridge, built in 1753: which narrows the date of Mariana's source of information to the second half of the 18th century.
³ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 266.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid. A house which must have disappeared in the fire that consumed the town in 1840.
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 269.
the better path along the Valley of Servoz, in order to reach the Valley of Chamonix, which she described in romantic style as follows.

"You now discover from the heights your road traverses, the singular and wonderful valley of Chamouni, whose verdant clothing is beautifully contrasted with cloud-capped mountains silvered by eternal snow; gloomy forests, chiefly composed of firs; cottages and hamlets scattered here and there; and rocks of reddish porphyry and granite, interspersed with glaciers of a dazzling whiteness, whence rise sea-green pyramids of ice, which, when illuminated by the sun, exhibit a prospect more easy to imagine than describe."1

She warned that, approaching the town, you were liable to be accosted by persons offering their services as guides, for these latter-day marons had found a lucrative source of income in the tourists, who had read of and now themselves desired to visit the peaks and glaciers, made famous by the scientific experiments of de Luc and de Saussure and by the climbing exploits of Balmat, Paccard and their own countrymen, Pococke, Wincham and Beaufoy. It was for such tourists, amateur Alpinists, botanists or geologists, that Mariana now wrote —

"...to rid yourself of their importunities, it is advisable to mention the name of some well-known guide, adding, that he is the one recommended to you."3

"The botanist and mineralogist," she concluded, in her miscellaneous way, "may find ample amusement in this valley, which is likewise famous for excellent honey, sold at Chamouni in little barrels that cost one écu each. Chamouni contains two inns, both of which are good, though that of Madame Conteran is generally preferred to the other."4

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 268-269.
4 Ibid.
The third day of this trip from Geneva to the area around Mont Blanc was best spent visiting Montanvert, the Mer de Glace and the source of the Arveron. For this — a popular excursion, especially with ladies, since it could be undertaken by anyone able to ride or walk a short distance from Chamonix — it was necessary, however, to engage "careful and judicious guides," and Mariana recommended several, quoting from her source to the extent of giving their noms de guerre, probably without realising the importance of these to men living in a small, fairly remote Alpine community, which had a limited range of patronymics — Lombard, called Le grand Jorasse, Cachat, le Géant, Tournier, l’Oiseau, "Blamat, le Mont Blanc," and Charlet, le Mercure — names that reflected their mountaineering feats. Thus Cachat had won his name on the Aiguille du Géant and a place in the history of Alpine exploration by acting as guide to de Saussure and, in 1826, to Professor Forbes, while "Blamat" was the companion of Paccard in 1787. All these men are mentioned in the lists of Chamonix guides published before the end of the 18th century, but of this our writer was probably quite oblivious. These men, she went on, expected to be paid a "gros écu" per day, all found, and a porter should also be hired to carry "cold provisions and wine," enough for the whole party. Ladies might perform the journey by chair — six porters to each — but —

"...good walkers had much better trust to their feet, taking the precaution to wear thick soled half-boots with flat heels."  

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1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 270.  
2 Ibid.  
5 Ibid.  
You set out, she explained, at 7 a.m. on muleback, following a route which ascended through forests of fir, exhibiting traces of ancient avalanches, to a narrow, rugged path called "Chemin des Crystalliers." Mariana appears to have known that crystal-hunting was a local occupation and a holiday sport, which engaged professional and amateur alike, though she makes no reference to the souvenir trade, which flourished in Chamonix and neighbouring villages for the benefit of unsuccessful hunters. At this path, she went on, you dismounted and sent your mule back to Chamonix or ahead to the Arvérion source, your second objective of the day. Having admired the view of the Arve Valley outspread below, you continued upwards on foot to the "Hôpital de Blair, built by an English gentleman of that name," and to the Mer de Glace, of which she could not -

"...give a better idea than by comparing it to a tempestuous ocean whose towering waves have been suddenly rendered motionless by an All-powerful Hand, and converted into solid masses of crystal" - 3 a comparison drawn by many who have seen it, among them Windham and his Swiss correspondent, Martel, in the first account of it written in English.

Should you, she cautioned, venture upon the surface of this sea - and this was surely why her sourcebook recommended guides, since the ascent to the glacier was comparatively safe and easy - especial care was needed to avoid its many cracks and chasms. She also described and named some of the "needles," which formed "the Court of their august Sovereign Mont-Blanc," - "Midi, Dru,

1 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 19.
Bouchard (Bochard), Moine, Tacul and Charmeaux (Charmoz). To these, she added "the six Glaciers which descend from Mont-Blanc into the Valley of Chamouni," - "Gras (Grias), Tacconnaz, Bossons, Montanvert, Argentiere, and La Tour," naming them in order, as they descended to the valley, from south-west to north-east. She advised dining at Blair's cabin or -

"La Pierre des Anglais (an immense block of granite), so called from two English gentlemen, Messrs. Windham and Pocock, who, in 1741, made it their dinner-table, after they had penetrated, without a guide, into these unknown regions."

Unfortunately for Mariana's reputation as a writer of reliable guidebooks, Blair's cabin, put up in 1779, had fallen down by 1812. Nor does she mention the only shelter to be found in that place at the time she was writing, namely, a little "temple," erected in 1795, "à la Nature," by M. Desportes, French Minister at Geneva and ardent disciple of Rousseau, but which, by 1815, had deteriorated into a drinking locale for the muleteers and no place for a lady. The unfortunate result of using other than primary sources of information is also illustrated, at this point in her work, by her references to Pococke and Windham. Their party included more than two English gentlemen and also several guides.

"We took with us several Peasants," wrote Windham, "some to be our Guides, and others to carry Wine and Provisions."

As for the legendary block of granite used by them as a dinner-table, Windham's account makes no mention of it, though Martel's letter contains this line -

"....we dressed our Victuals, and dined under the Shade of a great Rock."

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 273.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 An Account of the Glaciers, op. cit., p. 5.
6 Ibid., p. 17.
But to return to Mariana's narrative - from "Le Pierre des Anglais," you descended by "the Chemin des Chevres" - the name speaks for itself - "a short, but abominably rugged path," from which it was not uncommon to behold the fall of avalanches and which led you to the source of the Arvéron. This was to be discovered in an ice-cavern at the snout of the Montanvert glacier.

Her descriptions, though borrowed, could be excellent, as here -

"The Voûte de Glace that renders this spot so famous, resembles a grotto of a stupendous height and magnitude; the partition walls of which, seem cased with the finest pier-glass; and the eye, deceived by this illusion, thinks it discovers a long suite of chambers. Small rain pours down from every part, and forms, if I may so express myself, an aquatic hall (in colour like the purest ether); from the extremity of which, issues the river Arvéron." 3

There is no proof in Letters from Italy that she ever saw this herself: quite the contrary.

It will be remembered that she advised sending the mules on from "le Chemin des Crystalliers" to this point. Here, then she said, you remounted your mule and proceeded back to Chamonix.

The question now was, how to proceed back to Geneva. To vary the route, you might go by the Col de Balme, which offered sublime prospects not only of Mont Blanc but also of the Valley of the Rhone, the Valais and the Bernese Oberland, but, she wrote -

"I would, however, rather counsel travellers to return by Six (Sixt), and Thonon; whence it is easy to embark upon the lake, and proceed to Geneva." 4

This section of the enlarged Appendix, in the second edition of Letters from Italy, concludes with a paragraph on the people of Chamonix and the local fauna.

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 273-274.
It is quoted below, not for its original observation or comprehensiveness, for it has neither, but as a typical example of the impression received not by British tourists in Switzerland and the Alps who, passing hurriedly or carelessly by, noted only the cretins, or who, ignorant of local language or dialect, dismissed its users as slow and surly, or who, without knowledge of local conditions, deprecated the way of life, but rather as the impression received by those more enlightened travellers, frequently women, who made more intimate, sustained or sympathetic contacts with Alpine communities. Indeed, readers may find these contrary impressions nowhere better illustrated than in the same book where, respectively, Mariana describes the people of Germany, seen en route, and those of Italy, seen in residence. As for the fauna, of all Alpine wild life it was the chamois that had most effectively captured the imagination of the British tourist, who had extended this interest to weave a halo of romance round its hunters, as in Manfred.

"The inhabitants of this country are well-looking, sensible, frank-hearted, and remarkably courageous; and many of the guides understand something of natural history and astronomy. The woods are peopled with rabbits, white hares, martens, and ermines; the rocks, with marmots and the amiable chamois. These last-named animals live together in flocks, and generally frequent vallies where no sportsman can penetrate; while a few are constantly detached from the main body as scouts, and others perform the duty of sentinels. The agility and intrepidity with which the chamois leaps from precipice to precipice, and scales rocks almost perpendicular, should teach the boldest Alpine-traveller not to be vain of his achievements."

What more Mariana had to say about Switzerland in Letters from Italy, second edition, is to be found in a few scattered passages.

In one of these, she detailed a "Route from Augsburg to Constance, Schaffhausen, and Basle," in the traditional manner of the old livres de postes -

1 Act 1, scene 2.
3 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 311-314.
relay-stations listed in a column and, opposite, the number of posts between each, with brief, descriptive notes. Four of these relay-stations were on Swiss territory, Schaffhausen, Laufenburg, Rheinfelden - since 1802 - and Basel.

For the attention of travellers bound for Schaffhausen, she wrote -

"Best inn, La Couronne. The Bridge merits notice; it was constructed by a common carpenter, named Grubenmann. The two public Libraries and The Cabinet of M. Amman likewise deserve attention. About one league from Schaffhausen, on the way to Zurich, is the celebrated fall of the Rhine; and travellers who wish to see the terrestrial rainbows, which this wonderful Cataract exhibits, should visit it before nine o' clock in the morning."¹

We know from contemporary literature, such as Fidel's Manuel, and from personal observation, that this note is, for the most part, accurate enough for a guidebook. La Couronne, or the Krone, was one of the town's principal inns, there were two public libraries, one the municipal and the other belonging to the society of Protestant ministers, M. Amman's cabinet was noted for its shells, fossils and marine specimens, but the fine, two-spanned trestle bridge, built by Johann Ulrich Grubenmann of Teufen in 1755, had ceased to merit attention since 1799, when French troops burned it down. Did Mariana appreciate the full meaning of the term "common" as applied to its builder? That his bridge-building achievements were the result of natural ability without formal training? Possibly not, since she was never in north-east Switzerland, where most of his work was to be seen. It is only fair to say, however, that she redeemed her error with one of the dozen notes, placed at the end of her book.

"The ruthless hand of war has destroyed the celebrated bridge at Schaffhausen."²

Of Laufenburg, in the itinerary from Augsburg to Basel, she noted correctly -

"Another fall of the Rhine, but not equal in beauty to that of Schaffhausen."³

¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 312-313.
³ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 313.
It was rapids, rather than a fall, that the traveller observed as he posted over the river by a covered, wooden bridge which, however, she failed to mention.

Of Rheinfelden -

"The Gwild is worthy of its name. Between Rheinfelden and Basle you pass Augst, where there are remains of Roman antiquities."

By "Gwild" did she mean guild-house? Or was it the fine Rathhaus, still to be seen there?

As for Augst, books of travel, dealing with Switzerland, had seldom forgotten to mention the most important Roman remains to be found in the country, ever since Basilius Amerbach, Professor of Law at Basel University, had made the first scientific excavations there in 1588-90.

Lastly, of Basel she noted -

"Basle is said to contain 15,000 inhabitants. The objects best worth notice in this city are: The Arsenal - The Bridge over the Rhine - The Cathedral, a Gothic edifice, which contains some antiquities, and the tomb of Cranmer - The Hôtel de Ville, which contains a hall painted by Holbein - The houses of Burckhardt and Sarasin - The Botanical Garden - The Dance of Death on the walls of a burial-ground, supposed to have been done by a pupil of Holbein's - The Public Library, which contains paintings by Holbein, antiquities, natural-history &c. Basle is embellished with a University. Inns, Aux trois Rois - À la Cigogne. There is a singular custom in this city, that of setting all the clocks one hour too fast."

Like her note on Schaffhausen, this was, in the main, correct. The Münster, Rathhaus and University had for long been outstanding features of the city, which was noted also for the fine residences of the old, burgher families like Burckhardt and Sarasin, built especially in the 18th century and still to be seen in places like the Ritter- and the Augustinergasse, but the modern tourist, who attempts to use Mariana's guide, will look in vain for the 13th century wooden

1 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 313-314.
bridge, once the only permanent crossing of the Rhine between the city and the sea but now replaced by a 20th century, granite structure. The Drei Königen may still be found but modernised since the mid-19th century, like so much else in the same quarter of the city. It was always considered superior to the Storch, which catered for a less distinguished clientele with, at one period, opposed political affinities. The modern tourist may still enjoy the beauties of the Botanical Garden but, for the treasures of the Arsenal, he must now go to the Historical Museum. Even in 1815, when she was writing, it was ten years too late to find the Totentanz in its original position and twenty years too late to wonder why the clocks were one hour fast. This was the inevitable result of using borrowed material, unchecked.

Finally, in this study of Mariana's work as a writer of guidebooks, as seen in her long-neglected Letters from Italy, we come to the "notes" on its final pages. One on the voiturin, Dejean of Geneva, and another on Grubenmann's bridge have already been mentioned and a third, on pedestrianism, remains to surprise us because, although Ebel had, from the first, been an advocate of pedestrian tours as the best way to see Switzerland, the British, at least, had been slow to take up the idea.

"Persons who wish to see Switzerland to advantage," Mariana wrote, "should travel on foot; a mode so commonly adopted that the foot-passenger is as well received, even at the best inns, as if he travelled in a splendid equipage. The expenses incurred by travelling on foot thro' Switzerland seldom exceeds five shillings, English money, per day, half-a-crown being, on an average, the price of a table d'hôte supper, with wine and lodging; and pedestrians should make supper their principal meal." 1

Though this was probably the last thing Mariana or most members of her social class would have thought of doing, for to them the margin between pedestrianism

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and vagrancy was a narrow one, it is interesting to find her writing in this way in 1815, heralding the approach of a new type of traveller in Switzerland, vigorous walkers and lovers of nature like young Sir Roderick Murchison, or the Rev. John Sheppard, who made a pedestrian tour over the Scheidegg in 1816, or, in 1820, the Wordsworths, William, Mary and Dorothy, whose journals preserve a record of their tour, or Charles Joseph Latrobe, between 1825 and 1830, author of The Alpenstock and The Pedestrian.

Having considered the work on which Mariana established her reputation as a writer of travel literature, we must next consider the work on which her reputation finally rested.

In Travels on the Continent, to give it its original title, Mariana wrote with a new authority for, rightly "feeling how impossible it is to give an accurate and circumstantial account of any country, without residing in it," as she said in her Preface, she had spent two years from 1817 on the Continent that, as she said, "I might write from the spot, and trust nothing to memory." This, indeed, was what gave its value to her new guidebook and commended it as a model to John Murray.

The last twenty years, she informed her readers, had seen great changes in conditions of travel. Accommodation for travellers had been materially augmented by the increase and improvement of inns in France, Italy and Switzerland. Fine bridges had replaced many inconvenient and dangerous ferries. No expense or skill had been spared to make roads, once rough and mountainous, smooth and level, in particular on the Alps, formerly practical only by mule, sledge or chair and now so easy of ascent that post-horses, attached even to a heavy berlin, could traverse

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1 *Letters Descriptive of a Tour through some parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany in 1816, with Incidental Reflections on some topics connected with Religion*, Edinburgh, 1817, p. 270.
4 Ibid.
them speedily and safely. But, while the comfort of travel had been thus considerably increased, so also had the cost of residing on the Continent, in consequence of a steep rise, in capital cities, of the *taxes de séjour* and, still more, of a great influx of British travellers. Those who desired to travel with economy, she counselled to do without couriers, famed as they were for extravagance, and rather to use the service provided by the voiturins, Dejan and Emery, "whose carriages set out, almost every week, from London, to various parts of the Continent."\(^1\) However, "persons blessed with health and affluence should travel in their own carriage,"\(^2\) *en poste* through France and, generally speaking, *en voiturier* through Switzerland and the Italian States. This, in fact, was her own method.

If, however, British tourists were spending more time than ever in Switzerland, the majority still hoped to cross the Alps and see Italy too, and Mariana advised them that —

"The most frequented post-road from Paris to southern Italy is through Lyons, and over the Mont Cenis to Turin, Bologna, and Florence: but the most interesting route is that to northern Italy, by Dijon, the Jura Alps, Geneva, and the Simplon."\(^3\)

The Simplon, she added, was shorter\(^4\) and, later in her book, she described how she took this way herself.

Lastly, ever mindful of invalids, she ventured a few observations relative to health and based on long, personal experience.

Such were the main points of her Preface as far as travellers to Switzerland were concerned.

In the main part of her book, chapters 1 to 12,\(^5\) Mariana abandoned the letter

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\(^5\) *Ibid.*, pp. 1-545. (The pages of the Appendix are separately numbered 1-300.)
form, unsuitable as it was for a guidebook, but retained the literary framework of a journey, undertaken and described by the writer, so as to enable her readers to undertake it successfully too. We are concerned with no more than its passages dealing with Switzerland, and therefore pass quickly over those stages of her journey by which she reached Calais and visited Paris, then posted by Sens, Joigny and Auxerre to Dijon and by Auxonne, Dôle, Poligny and the Col de Faucille to Gex and Geneva.

Of crossing the Juras she wrote —

".....so judiciously are the ascents and descents of this pass managed, that a drag-chain is seldom requisite even for heavy carriages; though, ..... , the road, in some few places, would be rendered much pleasanter, and indeed much safer, by the addition of parapet-walls" — 1 adding, on a later page of her book —

"..... Travellers ought not to attempt passing the Jura during winter, nor very early in the spring, lest their progress should be impeded by snow." 2

Descending the eastern flank of the mountains into Switzerland, like all who travelled this way in good visibility, she was arrested by a prospect unique beyond words and wrote, in the spirit of the times —

"This side of Jura is embellished with luxuriant pasturages, neat cottages, and noble woods of beech and fir, which clothe its summits; but what particularly arrests the attention of Travellers on descending toward Gex, is a prospect, abruptly presented to their view, of the Pays de Vaud, the Lake of Geneva, and the stupendous Glaciers which surround it; a prospect so perfectly unique, rich, beautiful, and sublime, as neither to be described nor imagined; and all I shall say of it is, that I am persuaded there are few persons who would not think themselves recompensed for almost any degree of fatigue by seeing this prospect to advantage." 3

"Having passed Gex," she went on, "and the Villa once belonging to Voltaire at Ferney, we entered Geneva; crossing on the way to our

1 Ibid., p. 52.
2 Ibid., Appendix, p. 34. The truth of this remark is best seen in the travels of Mrs. Colston, described in the preceding chapter.
3 Ibid., pp. 55-56.
hotel in that city, two Bridges, whose arches are bathed with the waters of the Lake, ........ "1

To which hotel did she go? On her first visit, in 1792, she had stayed at the Hôtel d'Angleterre and she says that she now did so again, resting there for a day before going to Chamonix. But the passage of time had not robbed Mariana of her innate ability to enlighten the traveller while baffling the researcher. The road from Gex to Dejean's hotel, in the lakeside suburb of Sécheron, north-east of Geneva, did not lie over two bridges and into the city and, making allowance for her habit of using her Letters to fill out her Travels, we may rather assume that she stayed at L'Écu de Genève, an assumption based on the following passage.

"The best hotels in the city of Geneva are, Les Balances, and L'Écu de Genève; at the latter of which, the charges are moderate, the dinners well served, and the beds good; but the smells in this house render it unpleasant. We paid three francs a head for dinner at the Écu de Genève."2

Both these hotels stood on the south bank of the Rhone and, to reach them, the traveller coming from Gex had to cross first a bridge, connecting the north bank to the narrow Île, which divided the waters of the Rhone as they issued from Lake Geneva, and then another, connecting the Île to the south bank. Both hotels have continued in business to the present century, in the Rue du Rhône and the Place du Rhône respectively, and, allowing for 19th century reconstruction of this quarter of the city, we may say that, at the end of the second bridge, she would pass the older hotel to the right, as her landaulet turned off to the left and carried on for some 200 yards before drawing up at the Écu, which the modern traveller may still find unaltered in one respect - its fine outlook on river and lake.

1 Ibid., p. 56.
2 Ibid., p. 57, footnote.
When Mariana arrived on her second visit, at "the commencement of June,"¹ 1817, Geneva was more crowded with British than ever. They filled lodgings and hotels in both city and suburbs and rented villas in the environs. Their numbers justified the loan of the hospital² chapel by the local authorities, where a representative congregation attended Episcopal services on Sunday mornings, the spiritual descendants of Bishop Burnet's flock of 1685-6.

"I heard," wrote one visitor, the Rev. John Sheppard of Frome, "an English clergyman address a numerous congregation in that place, a great part of whom came from the country seats in the vicinity, which, as well as the city itself, were at that period, as you well know, inundated by our countrymen; who unfortunately do not all exhibit British manners or education in such a way as to remove prejudice or promote respect."³

This was in 1816, when Byron had taken the Villa Diodati and the Shellesys, a smaller house at Montalègre nearby,⁴ though they could hardly be called representative of the British community. The position was unaltered the following year, when Thomas Raffles, another visitor from Britain, found that —

"The chapel was very respectfully attended by English families, resident chiefly in the vicinity of Geneva. There were several carriages, and some with coronets, at the door, after service."⁵

Yet as in her first book of travel, so in her second, Mariana was silent as regards socialities, unsuitable as they were for a guidebook. Nor was she any more communicative on the vigorous, intellectual life of the city in 1817, for which we must rather turn to the correspondence of George Ticknor⁶ for a detailed account, but she certainly wrote more of Geneva than she had in Letters from Italy.

¹ Ibid., p. 59.
² A charitable institution for the relief of the poor.
⁵ See also M. Shelley, History of a Six Weeks' Tour, London, 1817, p. 98.
⁶ Letters, during a tour through some parts of France, Savoy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, in the summer of 1817, Liverpool, 1818, p. 168.
Changed days warranted this augmentation and the purpose of Travels on the
Continent required it.

According to what she now wrote, Geneva's population had remained at the
same level as in 1792 - "30,000 inhabitants." The ancient stronghold of the
Allobroges, she told her readers, adding a historical touch, occupied a delightful
situation by the Lake, but possessed "fewer public buildings, worth note, than
almost any other large city of Europe." This criticism is appreciable, when we
remember that she was lodged in the lower part of the old town - la Ville basse
which, with its tall houses and narrow streets, must once have reminded John Knox
of the Scottish capital. It was a criticism commonly made by other contemporary
writers like Sheppard, Hog and Williams, who saw the city some fifteen years
before its modern reconstruction began.

"....but this deficiency," she admitted, "is counterbalanced by
the fine views from its ramparts, and the peculiar richness and beauty
of its environs; which boast a considerable number of handsome villas,
and a great variety of delightful walks, rides, and drives."

Like other old Swiss towns, Geneva was fortified and had walls - the ramparts
did not disappear till the middle of the 19th century - and she warned that
travellers, arriving later than ten at night, would find themselves on the wrong

1 Starke, Travels, op.cit., p. 56.
2 Ibid.
3 Sheppard, op.cit., p. 174.
"Geneva will not delight the traveller by regular or splendid buildings," in 1816.
4 Roger Hog, Tour on the Continent in France, Switzerland, and Italy, in the years
1817 and 1818, London, 1824, p. 36.
"....you are somewhat disappointed in your expectations of it .... ."
5 Hugh William Williams, Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands, Edinburgh,
6 Starke, Travels, op.cit., p. 56.
side of the gates till they opened at five in the morning, perhaps reminding her readers that just such a predicament had proved a turning point in the career of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

She mentioned also the Public Library, "open every Tuesday morning, from one to three." 1 This was far from correct. Tuesday was the day for consulting the books, but for the rest of the week, Saturday and Sunday excepted, the original museum of Geneva was open for longer, and there visitors might inspect —

"... rare and curious books, and an ancient Roman silver shield, adorned with bassi-rilievi, and found in the bed of the Arve, during the year 1721." 2

This, most probably, is a reference to the fine specimen, with the inscription, "Largitas Valentiniani Augusti," and a bas-relief, showing the Emperor Valentinian addressing his troops, which is now on exhibition in the modern Musée d'Arts et d'Histoire.

Though, in 1817, Geneva was still little larger than when Voltaire declared he had only to shake his wig to powder the whole republic, and hardly large enough to be lost in, it is noticeable how Mariana's book falls short of modern guides in that she fails to give the location of what she describes; in other words, how the traveller might go to reach hotel, library or even the famous "Hydraulic Machine," 3 which supplied the city with water and which she mentioned as worthy of notice. Yet this engine, which the French engineer, Abeille of Rennes, had installed in 1708 4 and which had engaged the attention of every practical-minded British visitor, between 1750 and 1850, from Pennant 5 onwards, stood on the Île, in full view of the windows of her hotel. Another surprising omission is that,

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., pp. 56-57.
3 Ibid., p. 57.
though she touched on its history in Roman times, she ignored the more important rôle played by this city, so closely connected with Knox, Calvin, Beza and Farel, at the time of the Reformation.

Apart from its Alpine setting, all visitors were agreed that Geneva's principal scenic feature was its Lake. Mariana stated its dimensions, briefly, as nineteen leagues in length "at the widest part"¹ - too long by four - and as three to four leagues in breadth - actually nearer three.

"It abounds with fine fish," she added, "and its banks are said to be visited by forty-nine kinds of birds."³

A trivial remark, but prompted, perhaps, by some awareness of the intense interest in natural history and other branches of science, which then distinguished Geneva.

The locality was full of possibilities for excursions and Mariana gave an outline of two. Not to the Salève, a popular, easy ascent, made with the help of ox-drawn sleighs and well within ladies' capacity, nor to the nearby Bois de la Bâtie, a pleasant resort and excellent viewpoint for admiring the junction of Arve with Rhone to the west of the city. Rather, she wisely chose to describe the two, perhaps the most popular, which she had made herself. Those seeking a deeper import in this choice might set it down to Mariana's position relative to two generations of travellers - the earlier, who travelled abroad to admire the works of Man, and the later, who travelled to admire also the works of Nature.

The first was a visit to Voltaire's villa, "the object generally thought best worth, in the immediate vicinity of Geneva,"¹ but we need not pause over this re-write of a passage from Letters from Italy already discussed. The second was

¹ Starke, Travels, op.cit., p. 57.
² Ibid. She later mentioned the lotte, for which the Lake was famous. Ibid., p. 68, footnote.
³ Ibid., p. 57.
⁴ Ibid.
a longer, three days' trip to the "celebrated Valley of Chamouni" and, though she did use old material from the corresponding passage in her earlier book, the form taken by this new account - a journey undertaken by the writer - the personal manner of narration, the fuller and finer description of natural scenery, the more detailed itinerary, the revision and supplementation of information, all convince that, in 1817, Mariana was not content to draw on some other author's account but herself joined the tourist throng, that went to explore Chamonix and the region of Mont Blanc, there to "write from the spot, and trust nothing to memory."

This region, with its almost unrivalled Alpine scenery, had grown more popular than ever. Stephen Weston, another visitor that season, for the local weather restricted visitors to the summer months or the early autumn, ascribed this enthusiasm to the works of Bourrit and de Saussure. Description des glaciers de Savoie had been published in 1773, the first volume of Voyages dans les Alpes by 1779. Thereafter, Weston maintained, Chamonix had an annual influx of a thousand tourists from all parts, as the visitors' book at the Hôtel d'Angleterre was there to prove.

Roger Hog, in the same year, wrote to the same effect.

"All the hotels, and all the tables d'hôte, were full of people from different parts of the world, who stop for two, or at most, three days, which is sufficient, if the weather is fine, to see all that is to be seen .... .."4

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1 Ibid., p. 59.
2 Ibid., loc.cit.
3 S. Weston, La Scava etc.: to which is added, A Journey to the Simplon, by Lausanne, and to Mont Blanc, through Geneva, London, 1818, p. 88.
4 Hog, op.cit., p. 44.
See also Williams, op.cit., p. 43.
"In the vale of Chamouni, people of all nations meet to see its bordering wonders .... .." In 1816.
Some of the English-speaking visitors came from as far as America. George Ticknor, fresh from his academic success at Göttingen and professor designate of Harvard, came, the same September as Hog, with "Dr. Edward Reynolds, Mr. Edward Brooks of Boston, and Dr. Wagner of South Carolina,"1 to the foot of Mont Blanc — in four years, Dr. Howard and Jeremiah van Rensselaer would be the first of his countrymen at the top — and wrote home to his parents —

"I dare not attempt to tell you what I saw and felt in these strange solitudes .... The Mer de Glace remains solitary in my recollections of the stupendous works and movements of nature."2

But, in the year of Mariana's visit, and the year preceding, according to Lady de Clifford, the majority of the visitors appear to have been "English."

"On the day when we visited these icy wilds (the Mer de Glace) there were not less than thirty persons who came to indulge a similar curiosity. Almost all these were English."3

Of differing types and interests, the visitors were alike in their enthusiasm for Chamonix. Ordinary tourists like Sheppard4, Hog5 and Raffles6 came, and geologists on a working holiday like Professor Playfair who, guided by Jacques Balmat, came seeking additional data in his study of the Huttonian Theory, undeterred by his age, defeated only by the weather,7 for, as Weston rightly pointed out, "It is very possible to go to Mont Blanc without seeing it .... ."8

Poets came to draw inspiration; Byron, with his friends from the Villa Diodati in

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1 *Life, etc. of George Ticknor*, op. cit., p. 154.
4 Sheppard, op. cit., pp. 196-197, gave a good description of the development of tourism there. In 1816.
7 John Playfair, *Works*, Edinburgh, 1822, Vol. 1, pp. xxvi, xxvii, xxxi. This was in 1816.
8 Weston, op. cit., p. 92. Also pp. 84-96, for his visit to Chamonix, in 1817.
1816. "How I wrote there!" he afterwards recalled of his time in Switzerland. The Poet Laureate included the region in his tour of 1817. Nor did Southey prove to be "one of those who can appreciate no kind of landscape but his own."

There were artists, like "Grecian" Williams and James Cockburn, whose avowed intention was "to trace and describe the union of stupendous and beautiful scenery which characterizes Switzerland" and the Alps. On horse, mule, and char-a-banc they came, or on foot like Sir Roderick Murchison who, leaving his wife with her Swiss cousins, tramped to this Alpine valley from Vevey, covering in three days one hundred and twenty miles.

Un fortunately for the theme of this dissertation, most of the visitors were men though women came too, perhaps with fathers or husbands. There were ladies in Raffles' party and he recorded meeting there "the daughter of Admiral N— she in a char à banc, he on a mule." We know, too, that Mary Shelley accompanied her husband and sister in 1816, as did Lady Frances Shelley, wife of a distant kinsman. Nor was Mariana alone, though we are given no clue to her companions' identity. Unlike her and the Shelleys, few of these women left a literary record which found its way into print.

In Travels on the Continent, Mariana's record of her visit was not relegated to the Appendix, as the corresponding passage in the second edition of Letters

5 Raffles, op. cit., p. 18.
6 M. Shelley, op. cit., pp. 141-170. These pages were, however, written by Percy.
from Italy had been, but was brought forward, as part of her travels, into the main body of the text. To conserve time and space, however, our attention will be directed only to those points in which it differed from what she wrote in 1815.

Thus, the route she described was the same, at least as far as Chamonix, but it was far more detailed than before. On the first day of the excursion, she described how she left Geneva, as soon as the gates were open, and, travelling as tourists still must who choose to go there by road, passed Chêne, noting on the way the castles of Mournex (Mornex) and Essery (Les Esserts), crossed the Menoge, drove through the villages of Nangi (Nangy) and Contamine, observing the ruined castle of Fossigny (Faucigny), and reached Bonneville.

And the best way to show how the two accounts differed, in style as well as in content, is to quote a passage from the later work parallel with one, already quoted, from the earlier.

"Our first stop was at Bonneville, rather a large town, containing two inns; either of which can furnish a good breakfast and delicious honey. After baiting our horses for an hour and a half, we resumed our journey; crossing the Arve on a stone bridge, 500 feet in length, passing through the small town of Cluse, and then traversing the delightful valley of Maglans, rich in corn, vineyards and fruit-trees, enamelled with flowers, and encircled by enormous and fantastically shaped Alps, crowned with woods of beech and fir, and exhibiting the most wild and picturesque scenery imaginable. These Alps seemed gradually to increase in magnitude as we advanced, while the dells, through which our road lay, gradually grew narrower." 2

A comparison of the two passages will show how Mariana's writing improved with the use of original instead of borrowed material.

She did not pause at Sallanches but crossed the Arve to St. Martin, to sleep the first night at "a good inn," the Hôtel de Mont Blanc, which commanded "a particularly fine view of that part of the mountain denominated Dôme du Gouté." 4

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2 Ibid., p. 60.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
an authentic touch in her narrative, for the peak rises to view approximately
twelve miles from the village. Here, for the remaining part of the journey, she
and her friends hired a char-a-banc, mules and guides.

"Our guides," she wrote, "were Jean Riant, Vinence Riant, and
Colas Dufour; and we found them all civil, careful, and intelligent."\(^1\)

Certain parts of her former narrative were retained but expanded. "In the
neighbourhood of Servoz are lead-mines veined with silver" became —

"We breakfasted at Servoz, a small village containing one solitary
inn, somewhat like a hedge-alehouse in England; but where good honey
and eggs may be procured, and likewise good coffee. Continuing our
route, we passed a stream called the Servoz; and then, crossing the
Arve on a picturesque bridge, discovered, to our right, the ruins of
the Chateau de S. Michel; and, to our left, an abyss, where, empaled
in jagged rocks of the most sombre hue, interspersed with fir-trees,
flows the Arve, exhibiting a scene sublime even to horror"\(^2\) —
a description owing something to Burke.

Presently, "After ascending some way, by the side of this ravine,
we at length entered the far-famed valley of Chamonix; first observing
the Glacier of Taconai; then, that of Bossons; and, at a distance,
that of Bois;"\(^3\)

An accurate description of features which the guides would certainly point
out and name.

In this account of Chamonix, as she saw it in 1817, she included, as
elsewhere in her new book, a historical note.

"This town owes its existence to a convent of Benedictines,
founded, in 1099, by a Count of Geneva; but the valley in which it
stands might probably have been unknown at the present period, if two
English gentlemen, Messrs. Windham and Pocock, had not, in the year 1741,
discovered it; and given to modern Europe details respecting a place
which, even the Natives of Geneva, though only eighteen leagues distant,
had never heard of."\(^4\)

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1 Ibid., p. 61.
3 Starke, Travels, op. cit., p. 62.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
This was in line with the slightly exaggerated prominence generally given by English writers to their countrymen's "discovery" of the valley. The monastery's original charter, in fact, bears the seal of Count Aymo of Geneva, and was granted during the pontificate of Urban II, which fixes its date between 1088 and 1099. Probably 1090 or 1091 is a date more likely to be correct than the one she gives. At this monastery, from their institution in 1530, fairs were regularly held and must have attracted outsiders and therefore, rather than its location away from the mainstream of traffic in the Alpine regions, its long winter from October to May possibly accounted for the "remoteness" of Chamonix. Pococke and Windham only discovered the district as a resort for tourists.

She repeated her former description of the valley but now ended it with -

"......, nevertheless, so much has been said in praise of this valley, that I own I felt disappointed on seeing it."

Though de Saussure had found no inn on his first visit in 1760 and been forced to board with the curé, in Mariana's time there were two, "both tolerably good." At which did she stay? Was it the Hôtel de Londres, where Percy and Mary Shelley with Jane Clairmont had stayed the previous season? Was it at the Hôtel d'Angleterre with the visitors' book that Weston mentioned?

Practical as ever, Mariana noted that here, as at St. Martin, she paid for dinner -

"......five francs a head - for beds, two francs a head - and for breakfast, two francs and a half per head" -

and, before they left, she and her friends -

1 Ibid., p. 63.
2 Ibid., p. 62.
3 Shelley, op.cit., p. 140.
4 Starke, Travels, op.cit., p. 65.
"..... entered our names, and made our remarks in the travellers' 
book, which is a curious composition, .... "1

Other features of the region engaged her interest, such as the souvenir trade 
in minerals, seals and necklaces made of local crystal and "insects and plants 
indigenous to the higher Alps." Perhaps, like Lady Frances Shelley the previous 
year, she might have written -

"..... we amused ourselves by visiting the cabinet of a marchand
naturaliste, where I bought a collection of plants and minerals."3 

What she did say was that "the honey of Chamouni was excellent." None 
would dispute this point. It had always been one of the chief commodities sold 
at the local fairs.

It will be remembered that, in Letters from Italy, second edition, Mariana 
described a visit to the Mer de Glace. Her intention to go there in 1817 was 
defeated because, at the time, the glacier was "clogged with snow, and threatened 
by avalanches" and the guides advised against going. Unwilling, as usual, to 
discard what seemed to her good material for her new book, she adroitly disposed 
of the passage by introducing it as a long footnote, bringing it into line with 
what she now wrote by, for example, omitting the names of "needles," glaciers and 
guides, and substituting in the main text an account of her own visit to the 
Chapeau, "a giddying eminence opposite to Montanvert," above and rather to the 
west of the glacier's terminal.

Mariana's party began the ascent in a char-à-banc, then, as the gradient 
steepened, they continued on mules and finally completed it on foot, "each of us

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., p. 63.
4 Starke, Travels, op. cit., p. 63.
5 Ibid.
7 Starke, Travels, op. cit., p. 64.
taking the arm of a guide," and being provided with "the customary walking-sticks at Chamouni, which are six feet in length, with a sharp iron spike at the end of each." We have already remarked on the anonymity of her companions, but this we may here say that, the party having at St. Martin engaged three guides, three mules and a carriage, which normally conveyed three passengers, her companions were two in number and both ladies, to whom, as to Mariana, the guides lent a helping hand on the Chapeau.

Having visited Chamonix and returned to Geneva, Mariana's intention was then to go over the Alps to Italy. It is unnecessary, however, to describe in detail her description of a journey which, in general, was no better or worse than most others written by her countrywomen — by Jane Waldie, to name one, whose equally uneventful crossing of the Simplon was made the same summer, though in the opposite direction. Yet to compare their accounts is to notice a difference in the motives inspiring them, for the primary purpose of Sketches Descriptive of Italy was to interest the reader, whereas the ulterior motive of Travels on the Continent was to assist the tourist.

To this end, as she had done on her visit to Chamonix, Mariana gave her itinerary from Geneva, by the southern shore of the Lake to Thonon, Évian, St. Gingolph and Vionnaz to St. Maurice, in the valley of the Rhone, and by Martigny, Riddles, Sion, Sierre, Visp and Brig to the Pass and across to

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Jane Waldie, Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817 with a brief account of travels in various parts of France and Switzerland in the same years, London, 1820, Vol. 1, p. xix.
Domodossola. One or two curious misstatements may have puzzled her readers, such as the "fine road," from Geneva, "bounded by the Jura mountains on the right, and the Lake of Geneva, with its stupendous glaciers on the left;" or the view over the water from Évian, "the town of Morge being exactly opposite; and, still further to the left, that of Lausanne;" inaccuracies caused, perhaps, by conflicting memories of having gone this way in 1817 and returned by it two years later. To the same end, Mariana directed the reader's eye to the sublime prospect of "the bold and varied outline presented by the Alps" and to "striking objects," such as the Dents du Midi and de Morcles and the massif of the Great St. Bernard, to "the picturesque ruins of an ancient Castle" or the "romantic situation" of a hermitage, and to "the magnificent cascade of the Pissevache," with the ingenuous report that, at the top of this fall, about two hundred feet up, "are frequently found trout, which could in no way get thither, but by leaping, or flying upwards." She stirred his memory at "the rocks of Meillerie (immortalized by Rousseau)," at the "magnificent stone bridge .... a Roman work" at St. Maurice, of Theban legion fame, and at Martigny by pointing out the marks left by the "sudden and dreadful inundation of the Dranse; which occurred not long ago." She

1 Starke, Travels, op. cit., p. 67. A misstatement which was never corrected. See edition of 1832 (p. 40) and of 1833 (p. 35).
2 Ibid., p. 68. Altered to "the town of Morge being immediately opposite, and that of Lausanne within sight" in the edition of 1832 (p. 40) and of 1833 (p. 35).
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 70.
5 Ibid., p. 68.
6 Ibid., p. 69.
7 Ibid., p. 70.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., p. 68.
10 Ibid., pp. 69-70.
11 Ibid., p. 71. In 1818.
drew his attention to practical details of the road, such as passing the Savoy
customs at Dovaine, sleeping a night on the way – at Sion, for example, "Le
Lion d'Or is a good inn; and Le Croix blanche, though less good, is
tolerable"¹ – and realising that "German is the language spoken at Sierre,
and throughout the Haut-Vallais."² The apprehensive traveller was reassured
by her account of the Pass, for, though she did not ignore certain contingencies,
due mainly to the weather, she laid greater emphasis on the amenities of the
route.

".....there was not a cloud in the sky,"³ when she crossed nor,
she wrote, "did I experience the slightest sensation of cold: the
day, however, ..... was especially favourable; affording us continual
sunshine, without one gust of wind; -- agremens seldom met with by
the Alpine traveller."⁴

So gradual was the inclination of this wonderful road, on both sides of the
mountains, that to "drag"⁵ the wheels even of heavy carriages was needlessly.
The traveller ascended almost imperceptibly, engrossed by the sublimity of the
scene, till he realised with surprise the eminence he had attained. To provide
shelter for men, cattle and carriages in the event of a sudden storm, refuges
were built, at short intervals, at the most exposed places on the road. She
had breakfasted at the third refuge on the ascent of the Pass and later, on the
descent, dined on delicious trout at Le Soleil, a "particularly good"⁶ inn at
the village of Simplon. Having praised the bridges, the galleries, which she
misleadingly called "grottos," the parapet walls and the drainage system, which
were features of Napoleon's highway, she had one criticism to make.

¹ Ibid., p. 72.
² Ibid., p. 73.
³ Ibid., p. 74.
⁴ Ibid., p. 80.
⁵ Ibid., p. 75.
⁶ Ibid., p. 80, footnote.
"Here, and here only," she wrote, "that is, immediately after quitting the Glacier Grotto, the road was bad; not, however, in consequence of any radical defect; but merely because the Cantonniers had neglected to clear the snow away."¹

This is in complete contradiction to Jane Waldie, who described "the whole stupendous work" as being "in a state of decay," the roadway blocked with fallen rocks, its supporting walls collapsed, the arches of many of the bridges shaken and their railings swept away.²

Mariana was particularly impressed by the scenery on the Italian side of "a pass which exhibits scenes it would be vain to attempt particularizing, as they beggar description,"³ but her finest passage was, in fact, devoted to the miracle of the Simplon highway.

"This road is the only passage of the Alps which human labour has made practicable for heavy waggons and artillery; and when we contemplate the stupendous height of the Simplon, the numerous and appalling precipices with which it abounds, the impetuous torrents which deluge its sides, and the tremendous avalanches by which its woods are frequently rooted up, and its rocks overthrown, we cannot but acknowledge that Men who, in defiance of obstructions such as these, could form a road exempt even from the appearance of danger, capable of braving the most furious storms, resisting the giant-hand of Time, and conducting human beings, cattle, and every kind of carriage, quickly and safely, during all seasons of the year, through regions of eternal snow, deserve, in point of genius, to be ranked not only with, but even above the ancient Romans; whose works of this description, surprising as they are, can, in no instance, vie with the descent into Italy, from the cloud-capped village of Simplon to the rich vale of Domo-D'Ossola - ."⁴

Finally, in this résumé of Travels on the Continent, we must examine that section, which may, with most reason, be regarded as the traveller's guide, namely, the lengthy Appendix.⁵ It went far beyond the Appendix of Letters from Italy, second edition, on which it was based, for old material was re-arranged - notes

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1 Ibid., p. 79.
3 Starke, Travels, op.cit., p. 80.
4 Ibid., p. 76.
5 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 1-300.
and footnotes, for example, were incorporated at appropriate places in the text - information was fuller and more up to date - though some errors were not eradicated - and the provision of a good index was a novel feature. In short, it was more compact, methodical, reliable and readily consulted. To examine its every point relating to Switzerland would be tedious and we shall, therefore, limit our consideration to those points in which it differs from its prototype of 1815.

Thus, in the first chapter, the long list of things most requisite for travel abroad was no longer principally inspired by considerations of invalidism but, with a change of emphasis, was given as "useful to Travellers in general; and some of them particularly needful to Invalids," and it was now headed by the first requisite of all, a valid passport and where to obtain it with the necessary visas.

A reference to the forerunner of the modern travellers' cheques in this list was an innovation.

"Circular Exchange-Notes, from Herries and Co. S. James's Street, or Hammersley and Co. Pall-Mall, are particularly advantageous to Travellers; because payable at sight in all the principal cities of Europe; and likewise exempt from the deduction of one per cent, to which common letters of credit are subject."  

Letters of introduction to all British Ministers on the Continent were recommended as before, but now not only to "respectable Italians" but also to all "respectable Foreigners."

The list of necessary articles was increased by the addition, to the already imposing array of cutlery, of "a carving-knife and fork," to the "block-tin tea-kettle" of a "tea-pot, tea, and sugar-canister, the three last so made as to fit into the kettle," and, to the footwear, of "clogs, called Paraboues," with the

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1 Ibid., Appendix, p. 5.  
2 Ibid., Appendix, p. 4.  
3 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 4-5.  
5 Starke, Travels, op.cit., Appendix, p. 5.  
6 Ibid.  
7 Ibid.  
8 Ibid., Appendix, p. 6.
address where to buy them in the Tottenham Court Road. The already well-stocked medicine chest now included Iceland moss, sweet spirit of nitre, Epsom salts and "Shuttleworth's drop-measure, an article of great importance."¹ The directions on carriages were repeated with some additions to the spare parts carried - "anti-attrition grease," cheaper to buy at home than abroad, and "a patent-chain and padlock for every outside package."² She believed in leaving nothing to chance and therefore also explained how wheels should be "corded" on bad roads.³ This time, she recommended reliable coach-builders by name - "Elliott and Holbrook, Westminster Road," inventors of carriages without perches, and "Savage, in Queen-Street, Long-Acre," who fitted up travelling coaches "remarkably well."⁴

Apparently her instructions for the use of vitriolic acid as a purifying agent had been misinterpreted, for now she inserted a rider to the effect -

"After the vitriolic acid has been put into the water, it should stand two hours; and then three parts of the water should be poured into another decanter, and the rest thrown away."⁵

This must have appreciably reduced the casualty-rate among tourists.

Lastly, and wisely for the time she was writing, she adjured travellers that they should -

"never fail, before they enter an Inn upon the Continent, to make a strict bargain with the Landlord, relative to their expenses; and bargains of every description should be made in the currency of the country."⁶

The third chapter of this Appendix was devoted entirely to Switzerland.⁷

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., Appendix, p. 7.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid., Appendix, p. 8.
⁷ Ibid., Appendix, pp. 76-83.
In it, Mariana supplied fresh information on post-horses — procurable only in some parts of the country, at a cost per day of "an ecu neuf" for a saddle-horse or mule, and 12 to 16 florins for a pair of draught-horses, with the driver's tip\(^1\) — and on Swiss currency.

"Accounts are kept in livres and batz;" she wrote, "one Swiss livre being ten batz, or thirty French sous. The louis-d'or, the Napoleon, the French ecu, and demi ecu, are the coins which pass best throughout Switzerland."\(^2\)

But this was by no means the whole answer to the vexed question of the Swiss monetary system in 1820. Granted that most British travellers visited Geneva, many were beginning to extend their tours to Lausanne, Berne, or Lucerne and other parts of the country where, if a different coinage was not in circulation, the coins had a different value. An awareness of the difficulties involved may have inspired Mariana's advice to strike all bargains in local currency. Helpfully, a footnote on an earlier page told how Napoleons could be obtained before leaving Britain, at the ports of Dover, Brighthelmstone and Southampton.\(^3\)

Some observations on living at Geneva were also an innovation in *Travels on the Continent.* She informed that the British mail arrived with "the French Courier," at 6 p.m. on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday and left at 8 a.m. on Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday.\(^4\) The cost of living was high in Geneva, but there were families willing to take a boarder for four louis-d'or a month. To take private lodgings and dine out cost twice as much. With souvenirs in mind, she drew attention to the watches and "gold trinkets of all descriptions,"\(^5\) for which the town was famous. Geneva, she pointed out, was well served for transport

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1 Ibid., Appendix, p. 76, footnote.
2 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 76-77.
3 Ibid., Appendix, p. 13.
4 Ibid., Appendix, p. 77.
5 Ibid.
and communications. Diligences ran twice a week to Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Lyons, Grenoble and, via the Mont Cenis, to Turin.

Her descriptions of the St. Gotthard, Great St. Bernard and Splügen Passes in *Letters from Italy*, second edition, were re-written in improved style, no longer in the second but in the third person, and with added detail, practical, historical and trivial.

The first\(^1\) was little altered. The time taken to cross the St. Gotthard was now given as four days, with resting places at Urseren,\(^2\) Airolo, Giornico and Bellinzona. Her error regarding the Capuchin hospice was repeated. It cost not less than 24 l. d'or to dismount a carriage at Altdorf, transport it over the Pass and assemble it at Giornico. These were the main points of difference as compared with the corresponding passage in *Letters from Italy*.

The second\(^3\) was enlarged with facts relating, for example, to the transport of coaches over the Great St. Bernard and the cost of hiring mules and horses, to the great numbers of white partridges to be seen on the ascent and to the monastery dogs, which "seldom bark, and never bite a stranger,"\(^4\) to the remains of a Roman military column at St. Pierre, to the temple of Jupiter on the summit, now replaced by the monastery, and, in its chapel, the monument recently erected by Napoleon to the memory of General Desaix, fallen at Marengo. These historical references illustrate nothing so much as the gaps in Mariana's knowledge of the history of the country she was trying to describe, for, neither here nor elsewhere, does she give any impression of having a knowledge of the centuries covering Switzerland's fight for independence against Burgundy and Austria, the rise of the Confederacy and the

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1 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 78-79.
2 The village of Andermatt.
3 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 79-81.
4 Ibid., Appendix, p. 80.
Reformation, which lay between Roman times and her own.

The third description, that of the Splügen, was but slightly changed. She added that -

"the safest and pleasantest mode of passing this Alp is under the guidance of the Messager, who goes every week from Lindau to Milan, and undertakes, for a certain price, to defray all the expenses of the passage, board and lodging inclusive" - ²

though the existence of this functionary was nothing new except in her mention of him. Already, by 1500-1600, when we first begin to hear much of British travellers in Switzerland, there were regular postal services in and across the country. This particular courier either sailed across or went round the head of Lake Constance to Fussach, then on to Feldkirch and Chur and then, by the route she described, to Milan.

She omitted, however, her previous reference to the "Bourg de Pleurs" ³ and the comparison of the scenery of the Splügen to Dante's Inferno and Milton's Chaos, reserving it to express her view of the Simplon.

This concluded the chapter devoted to Switzerland.

All that now remains to be mentioned in the Appendix to Travels on the Continent is the "Route from Augsburg to Basle," ⁴ and a final note. This itinerary was substantially the same, with a few omissions - surprisingly enough, her recommendation of the Krone, which was still in business at Schaffhausen - and a few errors - though Basel was now described, and correctly, as "a flourishing commercial city," ⁵ the clocks, according to Mariana, were still an hour fast and the Totentanz in its original position. The notes, on the final pages of the Appendix to Letters from Italy, second edition, had now, in Travels on the Continent, been

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1 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 81-83.
2 Ibid., Appendix, p. 82.
3 Starke, Letters, loc.cit.
4 Starke, Travels, op.cit., Appendix, pp. 188-190.
5 Ibid., Appendix, p. 190.
absorbed into the text — the one, for example, on pedestrianism\(^1\) — but there was a new one, of practical value and worth a mention, telling how to obtain passports at short notice and how Fisher and Co. at Charing Cross would exchange banknotes for Napoleons "at a few hours' notice."\(^2\)

It is customary to sum up an account like the present with a critical assessment of the author's work but this, except on the credit side, we propose not to do, conscious that enough has already been said, or implied, in passing, of Mariana's faults and convinced that her merits deserve more attention. Her slow progression to her final achievement — something more than a travel narrative and nothing less than a practical guidebook — may have been sufficiently stressed, but what may not have been emphasised is the originality of her work. Her only possible models, as far as Switzerland was concerned, were Martyn and Ebel, but there is no positive proof that she was acquainted with either, and she certainly did not follow them but struck out on a line of her own, incidentally becoming the first British woman to attempt a guidebook dealing with France, Italy — and Switzerland.

It is therefore disappointing to find the scant notice accorded her in the classic pages of Coolidge's *Swiss Travel and Swiss Guide-books*.\(^3\) Like the other, few writers, who mention her, Coolidge took no account of her groundwork, laid in *Letters from Italy*, and, in consequence, no cognizance of its development in *Travels on the Continent*. In a single paragraph, which far from did her justice, he said nothing of the earlier work and, of the later, nothing of its first edition beyond the date and the title, copied from Lowndes inaccurately, as the bibliographer gave it, and, of its fifth, "of which Mr. Tuckett possesses a copy," only the date, 1824.

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\(^1\) Ibid., Appendix, p. 76.
\(^2\) Ibid., Appendix, p. 276.
He referred, also, to its seventh edition, from a copy in his possession quoting 1829 as the date, which Lowndes gave as 1830, and to its eighth, with some uncertainty as to the date - "1832 or 1833" - probably occasioned by an eighth edition having been published by Murray at London in 1832 and another by Galignani at Paris in 1833. He apparently had no access to copies of these editions, for the date appears on the title-page of both. His knowledge of the last edition may have been drawn entirely from a "very interesting sketch of Swiss travel in the thirties" - 1830's - contributed to The Alpine Journal by C. Marett. 1 Coolidge, of course, was interested in Travels on the Continent only in so far as it dealt with Switzerland, and, alluding to the seventh and eighth editions, he wrote -

"Both the later editions contain, besides some practical hints as to horses, prices, etc., only half a dozen pages relating to Switzerland, which describe the routes over the St. Bernardino, St. Gotthard, and Great St. Bernard." 2

A statement with which we are not in entire agreement, for it ignored the pages relative to Switzerland, including Geneva, Ferney, Chamonix, the Valley of the Rhone and the Passage of the Simplon, which number more than "half a dozen" in the main body of the text, 3 and it clearly referred only to Chapter 3 of the Appendix. 4 Technically speaking, it was indeed correct. The Appendix was written as a practical traveller's guide but, as we have earlier remarked, the main part of Travels on the Continent, though presented under another literary form, was written for the same purpose and should, therefore, be included in any consideration of the work as a guide to Switzerland. Moreover, had Coolidge collated the first and

2 Coolidge, Swiss Travel and Swiss Guide-books, op. cit., p. 74.
4 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 565-571.
eighth editions, he would have seen some interesting developments. Since 1820, for example, new roads had been built and posting facilities extended in Switzerland. These Mariana described in 1832, particularly the route crossing the Splügen, from St. Gallen to Bellinzona,\(^1\) and, keeping up with the times, she mentioned also the latest form of transport to appear in Switzerland.

"... when weather permits," she wrote of a service inaugurated in 1823, "there is a constant intercourse from town to town, on the lake of Geneva, by means of Steam Boats."\(^2\)

She might have added "and likewise on the lake of Neuchâtel," where a similar service had operated since 1826, but this information was given in a footnote in the edition of 1833.\(^3\)

Equally disappointing is the slight reference made to Mariana's work by Marett. Comparing her with Ebel, he noted that the latter, in his guide, 1824 edition, seldom or never gave the name of an inn but:

"... Mrs. Starke, in her Traveller's Guide (1832) gives the names of the inns along the post-roads, and says that Chamonix 'contains tolerably good inns,' and that 'the new inn is neat and comfortable'."\(^4\)

He noted also her quotation of hotel prices at Chamonix.\(^5\) They are identical with those she originally quoted in Travels on the Continent, 1820.\(^6\)

But, if brief, the highest praise of her work came from the writer best qualified to assess it — from John Murray, "author, inventor, and originator"\(^7\) of the well-known handbooks. In an earlier chapter, we have recounted their origin; how, landing at Hamburg, on his first visit to the Continent in 1829, he realised from personal experience the need for books of this type and, perceiving the worth of Travels on the Continent, was thereby induced to create his own.

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1 Ibid., Appendix, pp. 567-568.
2 Ibid., Appendix, p. 566.
3 Appendix, p. 31.
4 Marett, op.cit., p. 476.
5 Ibid., p. 477.
6 Starke, Travels, op.cit., p. 65.
Now is the time to repeat his praise.

"Hers was a work of real utility, because, amidst a singular medley of classical lore, borrowed from Lemprière's Dictionary, interwoven with details regarding the charges in washing-bills at Sorrento and Naples, and an elaborate theory on the origin of Devonshire cream, in which she proves that it was brought by Phoenician colonists from Asia Minor into the West of England, it contained much practical information gathered on the spot."  

The italics are not Murray's but are given to denote that feature of her work which most impressed him.

But if Coolidge saw Travels on the Continent as a "guide-book to Switzerland," Murray thought of it as "for Italy," which, in the main, it certainly was and as which, no doubt, Mariana herself regarded it. In spite of this and his high opinion of its practical value, Murray's first handbook for Italy, in 1843 - albeit written by Octavian Blewitt - made no acknowledgement to Mariana, any more than his first handbook to Switzerland did, in 1838, though in it he was pleased to mention the assistance given "by my good friend and fellow-traveller William Brockedon, the artist." The omission in the Swiss handbook is, however, readily understood if we set her slight acquaintance with the country beside that of Latrobe, whose two books were of considerable use to Murray in compiling his guide. Its appearance the year when Mariana's life and work were completed might be called symbolic.

In its later editions, upon which Coolidge and Marett based their remarks, Mariana's guidebook altered in style and format. The personal touch vanished and the homely detail, which had lent both charm and amusement, to say nothing of utility, was eliminated to such a degree that, to read the editions of 1832

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1 Ibid.
2 Coolidge, Swiss Travel and Swiss Guide-books, op. cit., p. 74.
and 1833 is to wonder how far, and even, sometimes, if at all, Mariana was responsible for them.

Readers can observe the changes which came over her work by comparing the following passage, from the eighth edition, with the corresponding passages, quoted above, from Letters from Italy and the original text of Travels on the Continent.

Of the jaunt to Chamonix, she now wrote -

"Travellers usually stop to bait their horses and take refreshment at Bonneville; the next village, or more properly speaking, the first Town on this route, containing a considerable number of houses, and two Inns; either of which can furnish a good breakfast and delicious honey."¹

As for its altered format, Travels on the Continent finally approximated to the ideal laid down by the first writer of English guidebooks to Switzerland, to Thomas Martyn's "volume of a portable size."² Printed in double columns - with a view to economy, portability, or both - the book was reduced by half in size and weight, and was easily slipped into a gentleman's pocket or a lady's reticule. This advantage was a little offset by the smaller lettering, which must have been harder to read in a coach but tolerable in the smoother motion of a steamer. By the time trains were running in Switzerland, the book was consulted only for curiosity's sake or amusement, though the facetious comments of latter-day readers still held that tribute of praise, which it had always deserved. In the example which follows, Mariana's readers, if any there may ever be now, will recognise and enjoy the allusions to Travels on the Continent.

¹ Starke, Travels, op. cit., 1832, p. 36.
Young Gentlemen, going abroad in their raw age,
Have need of a decent compagnon-de-voyage,
Like Pallas, who once condescended, they say,
To abandon Olympus's blisses,
Her sex to disguise, and the posters to pay
For the Hopeful of prudent Ulysses.

0 needless 'tis now that her honors, and bodice
Should be turned into breeches and boots by a Goddess:
Mrs. Starke, that most learned old matron, will save a
Youth's turn, or they misrepresent her,
Will chatter of flannel and thread, like Minerva,
And spout crabbed Greek, like old Mentor.

'Tis clear, though divinely inspired, that acuter
Than her could be never or Courier or Tutor;
From the price of a house to the pace of a Vet,
From the relics stupendous of Rome,
To where you can purchase the best heavy wet,
The old woman's always at home.

Cyclopean walls, and Gorgona Anchovies,
Westphalian hams, and proconsular Trophies,
Swiss chalets, Dutch Inns, and Sicilian cloisters,
Dambe, Silurus, Tiber, or Po,
Quails, ortolans, sparrows, Marsala, Port, oysters,
For her nought's too high, or too low.

Weird woman, indeed! human things and divine,
She crams in one page, nay, and oft in a line;
Like a poet in phrenzy her vision can glance
In a twinkling creation all o'er,
From Parthenope's Bay to the pavés of France:
Say, what could the Goddess do more? 1

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1 Contributed by "Honeycomb," to Notes and Queries, 2nd series, 1857, Vol. 3, p. 87, under the heading:-
"Mrs. Starke's Continental Guide. Those who lived before the days of handbooks will appreciate the following lines, incerti auctoris, which I found written in a copy of the above very useful, but now obsolete, book."
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