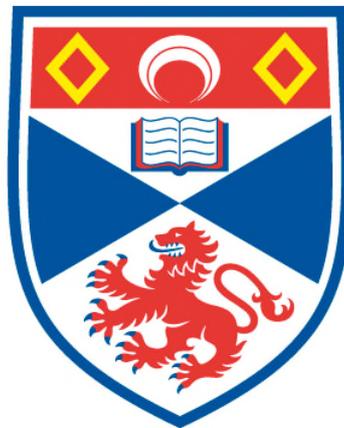


**TRAVEL IN THE ALPS: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
TRANSNATIONAL SPACE THROUGH DIGITAL AND
MENTAL MAPPING (1750s – 1830s)**

Jordan Girardin

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2016

**Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:**

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

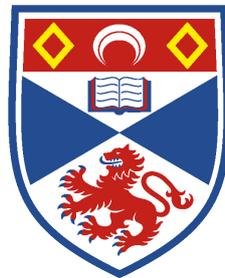
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/10648>

This item is protected by original copyright

**This item is licensed under a
Creative Commons Licence**

Travel in the Alps:
the construction of a transnational space
through digital and mental mapping (1750s – 1830s)

Jordan Girardin



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Ph.D.

at the

University of St Andrews

16th August 2016

Abstract

The period between the 1750s and 1830s witnessed a major change in travel practices in Europe, moving away from the traditional Grand Tour and focusing more on natural places, their visual power, and their influence on individual emotions. Such changes meant that the Alps ceased to be seen as a natural obstacle that had to be crossed in order to access Italy, and became a place to explore and a mountainous space *par excellence*. This thesis addresses the importance of mental mapping in travel literature and its impact on the construction of the Alps as a transnational space, which eventually facilitated the creation of a viable touristic market in the Alps as we know it today. The first part of the thesis analyses the transformation of the Alps from a natural frontier to a border region explored by travellers and their networks. The second part discusses the consequences of these changes on mental mapping and spatial representations of the Alps by travellers: it highlights the way external visitors often had very subjective interpretations of what the Alps meant as a term and a place, and conveyed those to other travellers through travel writing. Finally, the third part of this work investigates the development of an Alpine myth as a product of these shifting mental representations: the Alps became a set of expectations, typical images, and encounters to be expected.

1. Candidate's declarations:

I, Jordan Girardin, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 79,978 words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2013 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in Modern History in August 2014; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2013 and 2016.

Date _____ signature of candidate _____

2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of _____ in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date _____ signature of supervisor _____

3. Permission for publication: *(to be signed by both candidate and supervisor)*

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

PRINTED COPY

a) **No embargo on print copy**

~~b) Embargo on all or part of print copy for a period of ... years (maximum five) on the following ground(s):~~

- ~~• Publication would be commercially damaging to the researcher, or to the supervisor, or the University~~
- ~~• Publication would preclude future publication~~
- ~~• Publication would be in breach of laws or ethics~~

~~e) Permanent or longer term embargo on all or part of print copy for a period of ... years (the request will be referred to the Pro-Provost and permission will be granted only in exceptional circumstances).~~

Supporting statement for printed embargo request:

ELECTRONIC COPY

a) **No embargo on electronic copy**

b) ~~Embargo on all or part of electronic copy for a period of ... years (maximum five) on the following ground(s):~~

- ~~• Publication would be commercially damaging to the researcher, or to the supervisor, or the University~~
- ~~• Publication would preclude future publication~~
- ~~• Publication would be in breach of law or ethics~~

e) ~~Permanent or longer term embargo on all or part of electronic copy for a period of ... years (the request will be referred to the Pro-Provost and permission will be granted only in exceptional circumstances).~~

Supporting statement for electronic embargo request:

Date _____ signature of candidate _____ signature of supervisor _____

Please note initial embargos can be requested for a maximum of five years. An embargo on a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Science or Medicine is rarely granted for more than two years in the first instance, without good justification. The Library will not lift an embargo before confirming with the student and supervisor that they do not intend to request a continuation. In the absence of an agreed response from both student and supervisor, the Head of School will be consulted. Please note that the total period of an embargo, including any continuation, is not expected to exceed ten years. Where part of a thesis is to be embargoed, please specify the part and the reason.

Acknowledgements

Out of all the fantastic travels that I have studied in this thesis, my personal journey over the last three years was certainly the most eventful and rewarding. I have learnt an awful lot as a doctoral candidate: about my topic, about academia, about travel, and above all about myself. I am deeply grateful to so many people for being part of this adventure with me, and I will gladly spend some of my word count thanking them one more time for their incredible contribution.

First and foremost I must dearly thank Dr Bernhard Struck for being the supervisor anyone should hope for. I am grateful for our early discussions during my master's programme at St Andrews, and for the three years that resulted from that afterwards. His availability, knowledge, interest, and enthusiasm kept me going throughout this tumultuous journey and I will always be thankful for that.

I will always regard St Andrews as my academic home, the place where I found the support any early scholar should need. I therefore have to also thank all the other academics who at some point helped me improve either my personal research or myself as a researcher: I am thinking about Dr Sarah Easterby-Smith, Dr Konrad Lawson, Dr Tomasz Kamusella, Professor Richard Whatmore, and all the other staff members and fellow postgraduates with whom I engaged in diverse discussions. I also owe an awful lot to Ms Elsie Johnstone, Ms Jennifer Todd, Ms Melanie Forbes, and Ms Lorna Harris from the School of History's administration who all made my time as a Ph.D. student as smooth and well-organised as possible. Beyond all these fantastic colleagues I must also thank the University of St Andrews and the School of History in general, and all the people who decided to award me a very generous 600th Anniversary Scholarship, without which I never could have undertaken this project.

Whilst I was travelling across the Alps to find more local sources, many scholars and institutions gave me very valuable local support. Firstly, I am deeply grateful to the University of Basel and its Graduate School of History, who invited me into their department in the autumn of 2014, gave me access to their facilities, and truly made me feel part of their community. Within that department, my special thanks goes to Professor Martin Lengwiler and Dr Roberto Sala who supported and facilitated my time in Basel. When I was not in Basel, I was often happily seated on a train – many of you will know this is something I would never mind doing – and I met many helpful people in the destinations I reached. In Lucerne, Professor Jon Mathieu was an incredible point of contact who gave me the empirical support that I needed, and I will ever be grateful for that and for his participation in my viva voce panel. In Mendrisio, after a breath-taking train journey through the St Gotthard, I was lucky enough to spend a fascinating lunch with Professor Luigi Lorenzetti. I thank him for his advice and for his invitation to the *Association internationale pour l'Histoire des Alpes's* twentieth anniversary conference. In Neuchâtel, a Swiss city that is dear to my family and me, Professor Patrick Vincent brought his passion for travel literature into my historical work: I am thanking him very much for our discussions over a meal or by e-mail. I cannot thank the Viaticalpes team enough, especially Professor Claude Reichler and Dr Daniela Vaj, who accepted to meet me in Lausanne to discuss my modest contribution to a field they so fantastically spread to the wider public. Finally, in Évian and Thonon, across Lake Geneva, after a boat commute that Rousseau would have been jealous of, I was lucky enough to get incredible support from Dr Françoise

Breuillaud-Sotthas, who added a necessary point of view from the ‘other side’ of the lake.

In addition to the researchers, many members of staff in libraries and archives have made my work a million times more enjoyable and simple, and to them I can only say thank you. My thanks go to all staff of the National Library of Scotland, the British Library, the Swiss National Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, the Bibliothèque de Genève, the Archives de l’État de Genève, the Archives nationales, the Archives Départementales du Rhône, the Archives Départementales de Haute-Savoie, the Archives cantonales vaudoises, the Archives municipales de Lyon, the Archives municipales de Chamonix, the Archives de la Ville de Lausanne, the Archives communales de Vevey, the Archives municipales de Pontarlier, and the St Andrews Special Collections Library, where I was lucky to work for a year as a Cataloguing intern.

Along the way, many archivists and librarians went a step further and really engaged with my topic, looking for extra sources in their collections and giving me more advice than I could dream of. I feel very humbled by such dedication, without which my thesis would have not reached this level of variety. In chronological order, I wish to thank Mme Sandrine Becel at the Archives municipales de Chamonix, Mme Elisabeth Hancy at the Maison Gribaldi in Évian-les-Bains, Mme Sandra Neplaz at the Archives municipales d’Évian-les-Bains, Mme Lucie Hugot and Mme Sandra Ollin at the Archives municipales de Thonon-les-Bains, Mme Fanny Abbott at the Archives communales de Vevey, and Mme Martine Simon-Perret at the Archives départementales de Haute-Savoie in Annecy.

In the final months leading to the submission of my thesis, I was very kindly invited to Gotha in Germany where I spent a month at the Forschungszentrum and the Forschungsbibliothek of the University of Erfurt. I was very generously funded by the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung, whom I thank very much, and I received incredible academic support from the research centre. Therefore I want to express my gratitude to the entire team who made the final moments of this long adventure much easier, especially Professor Martin Mulsow, Professor Iris Schröder, Ms Kristina Petri, and Mr Stefan Müller. I also thank very dearly Mr Sven Ballenthin, who guided me through the incredible Perthes collection in Gotha. I equally thank all my colleagues with whom I engaged in very constructive discussions in the final moments of editing and writing up.

I am thinking dearly about my friends and family who either supported me along the way or offered their help when I needed it whilst travelling for research. Special thanks goes to Mr Nicholas Skeavington and Mr Maxime Chervaux for taking some time to read through parts of my thesis: their feedback was much appreciated.

Last but not least, I am more than thankful to Molly for putting up with my fleeting delusions mostly involving mountains, travel, trains, and obtaining a Ph.D.

This work is the product of many passions that have grown in unexpectedly gigantic dimensions since my childhood. I dedicate this thesis to those who allowed this to happen, and to all those who will keep doing so.

J.G.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	v
List of Abbreviations	viii
Note on Place Names	ix
Introduction	1
Part I	
Travelling in the Alps, from borderline to borderland: shifting practices, rising itineraries and emerging networks	
Chapter 1: Where travel and nature meet: the Alps at the crossroads of new European passions	21
Chapter 2 Exploring v. crossing: changing itineraries within the Alpine space	38
Chapter 3 From individual experiences to interconnected networks: the rise of <i>an</i> Alpine space	58
Part II	
Where and what are the Alps?	
Mental mapping and spatial representations of the Alpine space	
Chapter 4 Where are the Alps? Defining and experiencing borders in a transnational space	81
Chapter 5 What is 'the Alps'? Spatial understanding and social representations of the Alpine space	110
Part III	
The birth of the Alpine myth: from mental representation to spatial mystification	
Chapter 6 Different levels of Alps? Visual comparison, Alpine legitimacy, and travel satisfaction across the Alpine space	138
Chapter 7 The Alpine myth under scrutiny	149
Chapter 8 Lake Geneva, the Alps <i>par excellence</i> ? Mental mapping and Alpine construction in the epicentre of the Alpine myth	170
Conclusion	187
Bibliography	201

List of Abbreviations

- A.C.VD. Archives cantonales vaudoises
Vaud cantonal archives
Chavannes-près-Renens, Switzerland
- A.C.Ve. Archives communales de Vevey
Vevey municipal archives
Vevey, Switzerland
- A.D.74 Archives départementales de Haute-Savoie (74)
Haute-Savoie departmental archives
Annecy, France
- A.E.G. Archives de l'État de Genève
Geneva archives
Geneva, Switzerland
- A.M.C. Archives municipales de Chamonix
Chamonix municipal archives
Chamonix-Mont-Blanc, France
- A.M.L. Archives municipales de Lyon
Lyon municipal archives
Lyon, France
- A.M.T. Archives municipales de Thonon-les-Bains
Thonon-les-Bains municipal archives
Thonon-les-Bains, France
- Arch. Nat. Archives nationales
French national archives
Paris & Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France
- A.V.L. Archives de la Ville de Lausanne.
Lausanne city archives
Lausanne, Switzerland.
- B.G.E. Bibliothèque de Genève (Service des Manuscrits)
Geneva central library (Department of Manuscripts)
Geneva, Switzerland
- F.B.G.S.P. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Sammlung Perthes
Gotha research library of the University of Erfurt, Perthes collection
Gotha, Germany

Note on place names

Since this thesis is juggling between sources in multiple languages – mainly French, German, English, and Italian – the name and/or spelling of certain places will vary in the quotations. However, the body of the text will attempt to remain consistent, either by choosing a commonly accepted English spelling or the local language one if the former does not exist. Here is a selection of the most recurrent place names in such situation. The name in bold is the one that will be chosen.

French	German	Italian	English	Other
Genève	Genf	Ginevra	Geneva	
Chamonix				Chamouny
Berne	Bern	Berna	Berne	
Lucerne	Luzern	Lucerna	Lucerne	
Milan	Mailand	Milano	Milan	
Turin	Turin	Torino	Turin	
Lyon		Lione	Lyons	
Marseille			Marseilles	
Montbéliard	Mömpelgard			
Grisons	Graubünden	Grigioni	Grisons	
Valais	Wallis	Vallese	Valais	
Zurich	Zürich	Zurigo	Zurich	
Bienne	Biel			Biel/Bienne
Neuchâtel	Neuenburg			Neufchatel
Ile-Saint-Pierre	St. Petersinsel		St Peter Island	
Bâle	Basel	Basilea	Basle	

Introduction

In October 1813, while Napoleon's German campaign was striving to establish the French Empire's domination of Western Europe, the young Julie Bourrit sent a letter from Lyon to her grandfather Marc-Théodore in Geneva. The latter had spent his life exploring the Alps, climbing their peaks, venturing through their valleys, and publishing written descriptions of what he had seen. His granddaughter Julie was back from a few weeks' voyage to Milan that had taken her across the mountains. In that letter she told her grandfather:

J'ai été de Suze à Lanslebourg complètement à pied; oh quand je suis dans les montagnes, je m'aperçois que je suis de la famille Bourrit, je ne me possède pas de joie, j'éprouve un genre de sensation qu'il ne m'est impossible d'exprimer; aussi en traversant le Valais, le Simplon, le Mt Cenis; les échelles, j'étais presque folle; pourquoi mon cher grand Papa n'étais-tu pas avec nous, que j'aurais aimé dessiner avec toi, courir avec toi, m'écrier avec toi, ah que c'est beau, que c'est grand; que sont les ouvrages des hommes comparés à ces hautes montagnes, à ces riantes vallées, à ces belles cascades et tant de beautés dont fourmille la Nature.¹

Julie Bourrit's proud words to her grandfather reflect the general fascination for the Alps in the early years of the nineteenth century. This fascination was a product of a circular and interdependent relationship between the increasing number of travellers visiting the Alps and the growing amount of travel literature published at that time. Indeed, published travel accounts and works of art celebrating nature, such as Romantic poetry or paintings, often depicted the Alps as a truly natural environment where, as the proponents of the Enlightenment had stated a few decades earlier, mankind could finally embrace its true essence. Besides, the first half of the nineteenth century saw the development of new techniques and technologies, enabling the rise of modern tourism. More travellers would soon be able to visit the Alps, and would keep writing about them.

1. Letter from Julie Bourrit to Marc-Théodore Bourrit, Lyon, 22 October 1813, B.G.E., Ms 9142/7.

Translation: I went from Suze to Lanslebourg completely by foot. Oh, when I am in these mountains, I realise that I am a member of the Bourrit family. I do not restrain my joy, I experience a type of feeling that it is hard for me to explain. Whilst crossing the Valais, the Simplon, Mont Cenis, I was nearly mad. Why, my dear Grandpa, were you not with us. How I would have enjoyed drawing with you, running with you, shouting with you "This is beautiful, this is grandiose! What are mankind's achievements compared to these high mountains, these deep valleys, these beautiful waterfalls and this many beauties that compose Nature?"

This general movement – a greater appreciation of nature on the one hand, a rising number of travellers on the other – is widely acknowledged in the history of Europe. So is the general chronology of Alpine history in that period. By the nineteenth and twentieth century, the Alps had become the three entities that they are nowadays: a border region (*Grenzraum*), a space of circulation (*Durchgangsraum*) and a lived space (*Lebensraum*).² Indeed, what is fascinating in the case of the Alps is the variety of ethnic, linguistic, religious, and national boundaries running along valleys, lakes, peaks and passes. Nowadays, one acknowledges France, Monaco, Italy, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Germany, Austria, and Slovenia as ‘Alpine countries’ – meaning that Alpine mountains partially or totally cross each of these states’ territories. Back in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, since nations-states had neither emerged nor gained their modern shape yet, boundaries were more abundant and diverse; their impact on social, cultural, and linguistic interactions were just as powerful as a nation-state’s passport check. Consequently, local communities in the Alps remained relatively isolated and rarely interconnected with other Alpine populations up until the 1850s, according to Pier Paolo Viazzo’s *Upland Communities*.³ Despite this complex physical and political layout, the Alps succeeded in becoming “the Playground of Europe” by the middle of the nineteenth century:⁴ travel networks had emerged, certain cities and towns had become meeting points and socialising centres, roads had been turned into thoroughfares. These characteristics all consequently facilitated the establishment of tourism in the Alps in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This work is a study of how the Alps emerged as a recognised space in European mentalities; how the term ‘the Alps’ gained a consistent meaning in the mind of those who were not from the region. Benedict Anderson famously said that nations were imagined “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear from them, yet in the

2. Jon Mathieu, “Der Alpenraum”, in *EGO – European History Online*, 4 March 2013, <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/border-regions/jon-mathieu-der-alpenraum>> [accessed 6 March 2015].

3. Viazzo describes this lack of Alpine interconnection as a period of ‘autarky’ up until the 1850s. Pier Paolo Viazzo, *Upland Communities: Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 9.

4. Gavin de Beer, *Early Travellers in the Alps* (London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1930), p. viii.

minds of each lives the image of their communion”.⁵ This work offers both a similar and different approach on the space called ‘the Alps’. Similar because the Alps rose as a concept even though their members hardly met; one could see an individual mountain, a valley, a massif, but never an entity called ‘the Alps’. Different because it will argue that the ‘Alpine space’ was created by travellers and foreigners, not by local Alpine populations. The ambition of this work is therefore to prove that the early forms of travel and discovery in the Alps in the later part of the Enlightenment were a key factor in constructing the Alps as an acknowledged region. These early travellers wrote diaries and travel accounts describing their visits of the Alps, then published them back in their home cities. Those were thoroughly and passionately read by the elites of Paris, London, Berlin, and elsewhere, who consequently embarked on Alpine tours themselves. Whilst on their Alpine tours, their representation of space were framed by the travelogues they had read: ‘the Alps’ were starting wherever the travelogues and guidebooks said they were, and corresponded to whatever definition had been put forward. The various encounters and experiences that these people would face inspired the travel accounts that they wrote and published after their tour, before a third generation read them. This cycle was repeated over decades, gradually building a particular reputation and representation of the Alps in the mind of those who were not familiar with them.

This thesis will show that the place of the Alps in Europe was that of a mental space,⁶ framed by those who visited them and opened them to the world – more significantly so than a historical region built by local populations. Despite the limited knowledge that external visitors had, these published travelogues and travel guidebooks were successfully spread and popularised: they presented the Alps as a unique region that was worth exploring, but they also exaggerated and deformed some of their aspects. For better or worse, this made a strong transition between the proto-period before the 1750s during which the Alps were relatively unknown and disregarded, and the rise of tourism as a modern socio-economic practice supported by the technical progress brought by the Industrial Revolution from the 1830s

5. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso, 2006), p. 6.

6. The concept of mental space, inherent with that of mental mapping, is explained later on in this introduction.

onwards. However, this could never have happened without the contribution of local Alpine populations. Although these had no agenda in opposing or supporting the popularisation of their region, local inhabitants, councils, scientists, and elites interacted with travellers from Britain or from the non-Alpine areas of continental Europe. Their decisions, attitude, socialisation, and resistance all framed the way the Alps would be communicated to the rest of the world.

There is an abundance of academic literature on the Alps. This has been even more visible for the past twenty years, as historians from the Alpine region – Swiss, French, German, Italian, Austrian and Slovenian academics mostly – came together to further Fernand Braudel's statement affirming that mountains' specificity was to be exempt from any history.⁷ Jean-François Bergier, a major name in Swiss scholarship on the Alps, particularly initiated this shift from the *Alpes traversées* to the *Alpes vécues*. Thus the Alps became an object of historical research, Bergier's expression being used for the founding conference of the *Association internationale pour l'Histoire des Alpes*.

The Alpine space grew into a research object and a discussed historical space. This is what Jon Mathieu explained in his history of the Alps:

Was ist ein historischer Raum? Ein Gebiet mit einem wie auch immer beschaffenen politischen Zusammenhalt oder ein Gebiet, dessen Bevölkerung gewisse Erfahrungen teilt, ohne notwendigerweise Notiz davon zu nehmen, oder einfach ein Gebiet, das von Historikern und Historikerinnen untersucht wird?⁸

Lately the question among Alpine historians has therefore been, as Mathieu wrote, to show whether the Alps match this definition or not – whether they are a legitimate dimension for a historical space. The uncertainty around the existence of an Alpine scale of analysis⁹ and the aforementioned 'autarky' among Alpine populations have

7. Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1946), p. 30.

8. Jon Mathieu, *Geschichte der Alpen 1500-1900: Umwelt, Entwicklung, Gesellschaft* (Vienna, Böhlau, 1998), p. 19.

Translation: What is a historical space? An area with a secured political cohesion or an area whose population shares certain experiences without necessarily noticing it, or simply an area that is examined by historians?

9. In *Die Alpen!* Anne-Marie Granet-Abisset exposes the problem faced by Alpine historiography. French-speaking historians have rarely chosen the Alps as their object of research: they rather focused on more specific regions. As a result, 'the Alps' as a modern academic object was the product of other types of scholars such as geographers.

kept the answer blurry, which as a positive result allows for the development of interdisciplinary perspectives on the study of the Alps.¹⁰ Nevertheless, if wondering if the Alpine scale has continued to be debated over, the Alpine theme itself continued to thrive, and handfuls of works have discussed the history of Alpine regions.

In the frame of this thesis, the question of the representations of the Alps is key: how have local and external populations seen the Alps for centuries? Simona Boscani Leoni and Jon Mathieu's *Die Alpen!* offers a greater understanding of the evolution of European perceptions on the Alps, therefore criticising the simplified dichotomy between a pre-Enlightenment horror vision of the Alps and a golden age starting in the late eighteenth century.¹¹ This assumption follows Marjorie Hope Nicolson's wider interpretation of 'mountain gloom' and 'mountain glory', the former prevailing until the 1750s and the latter rising since then.¹² There is indeed a more nuanced truth to bring, which was undertaken in *Die Alpen!*: from Scheuchzer's early letters about the Alps to his contacts in Zurich in the 1730s to the incorporation of the Alps as part of a Swiss national identity in the political discourse of the post-1815 confederation, the Alps prove to have been a constantly utilised space since the first prehistoric settlements. The purpose of this thesis is therefore not to question whether the Alps grew as a human space from the Enlightenment onwards: it is to see what travellers thought of it, how they saw it, how they imagined it, and how they allowed these representations to eventually feed into modern cultural practices and economic touristic markets.

Travel in Europe and more particularly in the Alps is therefore another concern and has also been extensively studied. The main travel phenomenon taking place in the early modern era is the Grand Tour, which was a common practice among young male members of the European elites: it consisted of touring Europe for several

Anne-Marie Granet-Abisset, "Les historiens français et les Alpes, entre oubli, marginalisation et redécouverte; éléments pour un parcours historiographique", in Jon Mathieu & Simona Boscani Leoni (eds), *Die Alpen! Zur europäischen Wahrnehmungsgeschichte seit der Renaissance – Les Alpes ! Pour une histoire de la perception européenne depuis la Renaissance* (Oxford, Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 375 – 391.

10. Jon Mathieu, "Der Alpenraum als Thema der Geschichtswissenschaft", in *Die Alpen: Raum – Kultur – Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Reclam, 2015), p. 50.

11. Jon Mathieu & Simona Boscani Leoni (eds), *Die Alpen! – Les Alpes !*, p. 31.

12. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: the development of aesthetics of the infinite* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1959).

months, following a standard itinerary connecting Europe's major cities – London, Paris, Amsterdam, Vienna – before the final part of the journey into Italy, in order to visit the places of the Antiquity and the Renaissance. The organisation of this phenomenon – typical itineraries, cost, number of travellers – have been thoroughly analysed and researched by authors such as Jeremy Black. The latter, who has remained a reference for this topic, has published several works discussing how each country undertook and experienced the Grand Tour. While *The British and the Grand Tour* focused on British travellers' experiences on the Continent,¹³ his other works – *France and the Grand Tour*¹⁴ as well as *Italy and the Grand Tour*¹⁵ – concentrated on how the countries themselves, as these key itineraries crossed them, were affected by the practice of the Grand Tour and how some of their elites did take part in this cultural phenomenon. However, a new generation of researchers has recently taken over the topic: many of them have questioned the Grand Tour beyond a purely national perspective. Rosemary Sweet, for instance, has investigated the Grand Tour through the lens of urban history. She argued that classical antiquity ceased to be at the centre of travellers' desired urban landscape, and that socialisation took a more important role in the early nineteenth century.¹⁶ Gilles Bertrand focused on how the Grand Tour changed the practice of travelling and influenced the early years of tourism.¹⁷

The Alps are of course included in the study of the Grand Tour, since its purpose was to reach Italy from the north of Europe, therefore crossing the mountains as a simple necessity. As it will be explained later in the early parts of this thesis, the Alps remained paradoxically unpopular and unexplored until the Grand Tour evolved and its itineraries diversified, following key routes less institutionally. Once travelling became a more individual and personal experience, the visual aspect of mountains

13. Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London, Croom Helm, 1985).

14. Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

15. Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003).

16. Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: the British in Italy (c. 1690-1820)* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 8 – 9.

17. Gilles Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour revisité : pour une archéologie du tourisme. Le voyage des Français en Italie (milieu XVIIIème siècle – début XIXème siècle)* (Rome, École française de Rome, 2008).

started to attract people to the region. The story of the visual attraction of Alpine landscape has been studied by historians such as Claude Reichler. Reichler has conducted extensive research about travellers in the Alps, subsequently focusing on the great attention to landscapes and visual emotions. In *La découverte des Alpes et la question du paysage*, Reichler remarked that the myth of the Alps was born centuries prior to the Enlightenment: the emergence of spas, the importance of religion, the creation of the myth of William Tell in the sixteenth century all contributed to a certain visual and symbolic interest towards the Alps.¹⁸ However, the eighteenth century truly brought consistency and a more general popularity to the Alps¹⁹, linking the mountains to the idea of freedom and towards a more intimate relationship between mankind and nature. This essential period, whose crucial importance came from the numerous travel accounts and images published, made way for the birth of tourism in its modern shape. The works of Laurent Tissot offer an in-depth presentation and analysis of the actors who contributed to the rise of tourism. The periodisation of this process has been discussed; whereas some argue that the Napoleonic era provided the early forms of mass tourism, others believe the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the actual mutations towards an established form of tourism.²⁰ In any case, Tissot explains that by 1900, tourism's democratisation really had started.

What is missing in the plethora of works on the Alps is an analysis of the construction and the acknowledgement of this process in non-Alpine opinions, which will explain through which processes early forms of travel popularised the Alps and prepared them for the swift rise of tourism in the nineteenth century.

The rise of the Alpine Space: time, space, actors, and institutions.

This work identifies a spatiotemporal bracket that substantially developed the image of the Alps as one consistent space in Western European mentalities. It will be

18. Claude Reichler, *La découverte des Alpes et la question du paysage* (Geneva, Georg, 2002), p. 7.

19. Claude Reichler, *Les Alpes et leurs imagiers: Voyage et histoire du regard* (Lausanne, Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes, 2013).

20. Laurent Tissot & Cédric Humair (eds), *Le tourisme suisse et son rayonnement international: "Switzerland, the Playground of Europe"* (Lausanne, Antipodes, 2011), p. 10.

argued that over a longer period stretching from the 1750s to the 1830s, the Alps went from being seen as a hostile natural frontier to becoming a celebrated space at the heart of Europe. This periodisation transcends the general milestones used in modern history: ‘moments’ such as 1776, 1789, 1815 are all of course part of this analysis, but the wider phenomenon that witnessed the change of perception of the Alps embrace different start and end points. This periodisation can already be found in Alpine historiography:²¹ the second half of the eighteenth century saw a combination between an intensification of scientific discoveries and explorations on the one hand, and a more pronounced interest for aesthetics and nature on the other. The end of this period under investigation – the 1830s – can be seen as a new beginning in many different fields; for borders, as the nations-states would grow stronger and stronger from then on; for travel, which was transformed at that point into a modern economic market – the tourism industry. Therefore, by the 1830s, the Alps’ transition from natural obstacle to transnational space was well underway in order to open them to an emerging global world.

With this in mind, travellers, explorers, and scientists from Britain, France, the lowlands of Switzerland, and Germany will be the central element of this analysis. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the initial changes which later brought the Alpine space to public existence were mostly external events and developments. The Enlightenment, which conveyed and promoted the idea that individuals should be in greater contact with nature, did not originate in the Alps. Those who gradually visited and explored the valleys and peaks of the Alps knew very little about the region at first. This thesis is an examination of how external admiration helped frame a region’s image and representation. There are two interwoven points which will be developed later on. First, the argument is not to show that the Alps are a pure product of proto-tourists and non-Alpine visitors. It has been previously written that foreigners “made the Alps”.²² instead, it will be shown that foreign interest indeed brought the Alps to life on the European scene, but this was achieved in conjunction with dynamics

21. In the introduction to his monograph on the aesthetic discovery of the Alps, Claude Reichler wrote: “Une période est apparue particulièrement intéressante, celle du tournant du XVIIIème siècle entre les années 1770 et 1830 environ.” (A particular period has stood out, towards the end of the eighteenth century between the years 1770 and 1830 approximately). In Claude Reichler, *La découverte des Alpes et la question du paysage* (Geneva, Georg, 2002), p. 13.

22. Jim Ring, *How the English Made the Alps* (London, John Murray, 2000).

happening at a local level. This is, secondly, the reason why local actors will not be omitted: instead of being opposed to external visitors in an imagined ‘battle for the Alps’, the role of Alpine populations and institutions will be measured and included to the very same phenomenon. By continuing to be in charge of maintaining the infrastructures as well as the socio-economic life of their territories, local populations were given the opportunity to discuss this travel phenomenon and to give a singular trajectory to the creation of the Alpine space.

With a specific period and a particular social group in mind, the thesis will also address a precise geographic area within the Alpine region. Indeed, although this work argues that the term ‘Alps’ gained a universal meaning from the 1750s onwards, it will also be underlined that this was achieved in a much smaller framework than the actual mountain range. As the analysis focuses on travellers from Western Europe, its investigation will be centred on a ‘north-western crescent’ stretching from Savoy to the eastern confines of present-day Switzerland, in the region of Graubünden: as it will be demonstrated later on, this region was the epicentre of the phenomenon that this thesis is attempting to explain. By zooming in further, the region of Lake Geneva will be the focus of the analysis, which will attempt to demonstrate that the reputation and the conceptualisation of the Alps was gained in that very corner of the mountain range. The morphology of the region, its popularity during the Enlightenment, as well as its excellent interconnection with multiple travel and scientific networks made it the Alpine region *par excellence* and therefore would guide those who were looking to find out what and where the Alps were. However, this does not mean that territories south of Savoy and east of did not belong to *the* Alpine space. Rather, this thesis will explain that the reputation gained by the Alps in Western Europe was the product of practices, events, and phenomena, most of which took place in this small north-western corner of the mountain range. The Eastern and Southern Alps witnessed an equally important relationship between their local populations and visitors coming from other parts of the world. While this thesis will explain how the term ‘Alps’ was a mental creation of the British, French, and Germanic elites, out of travel phenomena happening in the north-west of the Alps, the same mechanisms could be addressed for the Bavarians and their understanding of their own Alps, as well as for current-day Austrians and Slovenians. This elaborated history, which has attracted many scholars’ attention, will be taken into account in this thesis.

Methods & approaches: conceptualising the Alps as physical, transnational, and mental space

In order to demonstrate the rise of the Alps on the European map, this thesis will consider Western European travellers as the forerunners of this phenomenon. Many of the travel accounts published in western European countries will be extensively analysed and the way the Alps were described and presented will be underlined. In addition to this qualitative approach, a wider and more quantitative method will be adopted: itineraries of about a thousand travellers between 1732 and 1832 will be investigated, compared, and explained, using a database built throughout this project, based on Gavin de Beer's *Travellers in Switzerland*²³ as well as additional primary research. In order to truly show that this process did not only succeed in making the Alps popular to non-Alpine communities, local sources will be used to show that the rising number of external visitors was acknowledged by local populations. By taking into consideration decisions by municipal councils, hotel documents, local diaries, and letters, the thesis will underline that the popularisation of the Alps was both supported and contested by certain branches of the local population.

Taking these primary analyses further, the ambition of this thesis is to suggest and define the creation of an Alpine space of travellers between the 1750s and the 1830s in the north-western corner of the Alpine region. For historians it is an obvious necessity to keep time and space solidly tied together. This is neither a new concern nor a recent trend: works by France's *École des Annales*, be it Fernand Braudel's work on the Mediterranean, Emmanuel Le Roy-Ladurie's *Montaillou*, or Lucien Febvre's study of Alsace – would analyse a particular space over a long period of time, therefore arguing that the long-term mutations of one given space are more capital than the study of events. The difference back then was that the space chosen was rather consensual: whether it was a small French town like Montaillou, a border region like Alsace, or a supranational space like the Mediterranean, those were all acknowledged and recognised by academics as well as non-experts. The ambition of this work on the Alps is to draw new boundaries, observe where the Alps started and stopped in the mind of travellers, what they were made of according to them.

23. Gavin de Beer, *Travellers in Switzerland* (London, Oxford University Press, 1949).

Later on, actual definitions of space in a social and historical sense emerged in the 1970s. One of the most convincing is Henri Lefebvre's three-point classification offered in *La production de l'espace*.²⁴ According to Lefebvre space is composed of three aspects: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space.²⁵ The first one, also known as *l'espace vécu* or lived space, corresponds to daily practices and actions within that entity. They are composed of all the social interactions, economic transactions, and general political relations between individuals, who may be local inhabitants or external visitors. They guarantee the durability and the cohesion of the social space. Representations of space, as defined by Lefebvre, "are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations". In other words, representations of space are made of the official images and messages designed by public authorities to those experiencing said space, like official cartography and architecture. They help consolidating a visual and cognitive consistency. Finally, representational space is the most unofficial, least patent, and perhaps most crucial part of the triad. It relates to the cultural and visual representations of the space in individual minds, such as underground art, personal diaries, or unofficial literature. They give space a subtler and less deterministic aspect. They give individuals an opportunity to influence the way the space is seen by others. The tripartite definition of space as defined by Lefebvre will guide the rise of the Alpine space both in nineteenth-century history and current historiography, and to address the aforementioned research questions.

Although the predominance of space in historical discourse is not new, the past twenty years have witnessed a reiterated interest for it. Often called the spatial turn or *Wiederkehr des Raumes*, it is defended by authors such as Jürgen Osterhammel like a new blend of history and geography which leads to the creation of sub-disciplines such as "historical geography", "historical cartography", or "geographical history".²⁶ In other words, the importance is to question space with new

24. Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris, Anthropos, 1974). For a translated version in English, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991).

25. *Ibid*, p. 33.

26. Jürgen Osterhammel, "Die Wiederkehr des Raumes: Geopolitik, Geohistorie, und historische Geographie", in *Neue Politische Literatur* (Vol. 43, No. 3, 1998), pp. 374 – 397.

dynamics and themes brought in by geography or politics – topics such as borders, exchanges, knowledge circulation. Inspired both by Lefebvre’s structured definition and the more recent works by the spatial turn, this thesis presents travellers’ Alpine space under three aspects: this space created by the early waves of travellers will be seen as physical, mental, and transnational.

First, following Lefebvre’s work, the Alps will be seen as a physical space for travellers, or as Lefebvre called it, a ‘lived space’. It is intended to show that travellers explored an area that was structured around networks, points of contact, and well-known itineraries. The main argument here is to explain that this lived Alpine space was the product of external visitors themselves – travellers, scientists, explorers. They had greater interactions with the Alpine space as a whole than those who lived there permanently. While locals had a more genuine contact and more elaborated relationship with the region on a daily basis, travellers were much more eager to describe, express, and give an opinion about the Alps as a wider region; their interactions and actions were acknowledged and provoked the development of hotels, urban centres, and scientific exchange. These phenomena all contributed towards the popularisation of the Alps and their development on the European map.

Second, travellers also transformed the Alps into a mental space. In other words, the definition of ‘the Alps’ gradually shifted away from the mere physical presence of mountains and became a concept made of multiple references and spatial representations. The acknowledgement of the Alps as a region was far more than a matter of cultural identity or political decisions. It is also explained by the change of mentality in public and individual minds vis-à-vis the Alps and people’s growing recognition of the Alpine space in Europe. The methodological question which needs to be addressed is that of mental mapping. Used for the first time in 1948 in a scientific experiment with rats, the term ‘mental maps’ refers to a set of abstract representations which allow an individual to progress through a particular space or environment.²⁷ In the case of travellers in the Alpine space, it will be essential to understand what spatial indications travellers had in mind when touring the Alps: as aforementioned, these spatial representations were transmitted from travel accounts to

27. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, “Mental Maps. Die Konstruktion von geographischen Räumen in Europa seit der Aufklärung”, in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (No. 28, Vol. 3, July – September 2002), pp. 493 – 514.

travel accounts over generations. As they were not written by local inhabitants, these spatial references were not always accurate but nevertheless contributed towards the building of the Alps' reputation in Western Europe. It will be therefore crucial to question the impact of each statement: if a traveller previously read that Geneva was located within the Alps, he or she is likely to consider Geneva as Alpine once he visited the city, and equally likely to write again in his own travelogue.

Historians have already delivered multiple works on how certain regions of continental Europe were mentally conceived in people's minds: for instance, the acknowledgement of Eastern Europe as an imagined region,²⁸ despite its lack of natural boundaries such as rivers or mountain ranges, was insightfully analysed by historians of travel and space: Adamovsky wrote that the real emergence of the concept of Eastern Europe in western minds dated back to the 1810s and 1820s and was the creation of geographers. Through cartography, they were deciding which geopolitical entities were or were not part of 'oriental Europe' – opinions diverged, but the term entered the public sphere which allowed it to exist²⁹. The situation of the Alps vis-à-vis mental mapping is more delicate: if mountains are such an obvious physical element, why was it not easy to draw and define the boundaries of the Alpine space along the first and last peaks?

Optimising the analysis of the mental dimension of the Alps is a task that historical research could not undertake on its own. Inspired through history, neighbouring disciplines will be used in order to understand how travellers conceived the space that they were exploring. Beyond the field of human and social science, cognitive science also has a role to play to address the representation of the Alps. Dan Sperber's "epidemiology" of representations is the most reliable system able to precisely define the rise of the Alpine space in the travellers' minds. Sperber's theory is best summarised in the following quote taken from one of his shorter works:

An epidemiology of representations is a study of the causal chains in which these mental and public representations are involved: the construction or retrieval of mental representations

28. Works on Eastern Europe as a mental space include Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: the map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994) and Bernhard Struck, *Nicht West – Nicht Ost: Frankreich und Polen in der Wahrnehmung deutscher Reisender zwischen 1750 und 1850* (Göttingen, Wallstein, 2006).

29. Ezequiel Adamovsky, "Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810-1880", in *The Journal of Modern History* (Vol. 77, No. 3, September 2005), pp. 600 – 601.

may cause individuals to modify their physical environment, for instance to produce a public representation. These modifications of the environment may cause other individuals to construct mental representations of their own; these new representations may be stored and later retrieved, and, in turn, cause the individuals who hold them to modify the environment, and so on.³⁰

Thus, Sperber brings together notions that might have been left out in a more traditional historical approach: cultural anthropology and psychology, mental and public representations. This is indeed what this thesis will attempt to achieve: to discuss how personal experiences – travelling, reading – and public actions – getting published, socialising with fellow travellers – worked together to develop a particular image of the Alps as a space of travel and connections.

Finally, as it was both a physical space of exploration and a mentally-constructed object, the Alps also became a transnational space for travellers. Although a widely-accepted definition of transnational history is yet to be written, multiple “spaces of transnationality”, where interactions between people occurred across nation-state boundaries, can be highlighted.³¹ This is what shall be done in the case of the Alps. Many authors have offered ways to undertake a transnational analysis. It is the case of Ian Tyrrell, who wrote that transnational history “is the movement of peoples, ideas, technologies and institutions across national boundaries”,³² but also physical or cultural frontiers: as aforementioned, these types of borderlines were scattered across the Alps, and travellers would cross them regularly. Equally, Patricia Clavin compared transnational history to the observation of ‘honeycombs’ in a hive:³³ by analysing each structure, each hub – the honeycombs – and the links between them, one can both analyse a situation holistically, adopt a smaller-scale approach, and be aware of the cross-boundary relationships which frame the overall environment.

Thus, by analysing the actions undertaken by travellers across the Alps – their visits, the borders they crossed, the evolution of their spatial interpretations depending

30. Dan Sperber, “Anthropology and Psychology: Towards an Epidemiology of Representations”, in *Man* (New Series, Vol. 20, No. 1, March 1985), p. 77.

31. For more on transnational spaces, see Peter Jackson et al. (eds), *Transnational Spaces* (London, Routledge, 2004).

32. Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States history in global perspective since 1789* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 3.

33. Patricia Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism”, in *Contemporary European History* (Vol. 14, No. 4, November 2005), pp. 421 – 439.

on what place they were visiting – a more accurate analysis of the Alpine space will emerge. This approach indeed combines the attention to space that was previously mentioned as well as the importance of non-Alpine individuals in this process. This thesis aims to refute the idea of a certain agenda for the Alps: this phenomenon was certainly not planned, it was rather transmitted through connectivity between individuals.

Transnational history can therefore be seen as a new research behaviour rather than a new discipline. The real, hidden necessity in this work is to be transnationally aware, not transnationally obsessed. Territorial and political borders, as they were originally intended to be, are frames and guidelines in people's actions, movements, and projects. Historians should aim to follow their subjects' movements. If Alpine travellers and explorers constantly crossed political and linguistic boundaries, these people were, so to speak, transnational practitioners and will be analysed as such. There is therefore a clear need to insert the Alps into a historiographical landscape. This thesis aims to take these cross-border interactions into account in order to address a broader question: when did the Alps become 'the Alps'? When did an Alpine space properly emerge and start to be mentioned? When did localities begin to consider that they might be part of a larger entity? When did the Alps begin to be seen as a supranational and transnational region in Europe, recognised both internally (by its inhabitants) and externally (by visitors, readers, and observers, readers from outside)?

Structure of the thesis

In order to define this process best, the analysis will be composed of three different parts, which correspond to three characteristics the Alps gained during the period underlined by this thesis.

The first part will define the rise of the Alps as an explored space. It will address the changes which occurred in the field of travel practices, and how those impacted the way people were moving within the Alps. From being seen as an obstacle, a frontier between territories, and a general eyesore, the Alps became an object of fascination for the European elites, a must-see place and a mountainous region *par excellence*. General travel itineraries substantially changed and redefined the tradition of the Grand Tour. From a borderline, the Alps became a borderland, an

interconnected space, and a giant network. Certain towns and cities became hubs of that network, hosting points of scientific debates, places of socialisation between travellers, gatherings of locals and expatriates. Travellers ceased to cross the Alps in a straight line in order to get to Italy as quickly as possible; they started to explore valleys, to remain based in a certain city for many months, to go on short day tours, to connect with local financial supports, to consider themselves part of an expatriate community. This was the very first step in the creation of the Alpine space, and certainly the most authentic, as it was linked to grander cultural phenomena – the Grand Tour, the Enlightenment, Romanticism, Revolutions – and deeply relying on viable relationships with native communities. Foreigners travelled to the Alps because the cultural evolutions and social revolutions which London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and other urban hubs were facing put their elites on the move, and brought them to this emerging peripheral region. On the other side of the story, local towns acknowledged this movement, started debating over its advantages and opportunities. Scientists, mayors, guides, innkeepers, coach drivers became mediators between the world of visitors and that of natives: they played a vital role in preventing the so-called Alpine space from remaining the product of deluded foreigners.

The second part of the thesis will identify and question the mechanisms which transformed the Alps – a physical mountain range – into a mental space. The rising number of travel accounts published in non-Alpine places about the Alps all conveyed the authors' perceptions of the region; those who read said travel accounts would then travel, bearing in mind the descriptions they had read. By embracing those boundaries, attitudes and representations in their travels, these new travellers kept writing and publishing, and those after them did exactly the same. With this cycle firmly established in the late eighteenth century, the Alps ceased soon enough to only respond to visual and scientific descriptions, but became a mental concept within travellers' minds.³⁴ Questions such as “what are the Alps?”, “where do the Alps start?”, “who lives in the Alps?”, “what shall we find there?” started to frame the very essence of those travel accounts. A thorough analysis of travel diaries, published accounts and private letters will show the extent to which the answers and

34. Bernhard Struck explained this in the case of Poland and Eastern Europe in *Nicht West – Nicht Ost: Frankreich und Polen in der Wahrnehmung deutscher Reisender zwischen 1750 und 1850* (Göttingen, Wallstein, 2006).

representations were not unanimous. The crucial role revolutions and war played in this fluctuating cloud of representations will be addressed: Napoleon's conquest of Europe and isolation of Britain heavily altered the way British travellers saw the Alps in the early nineteenth century. As they could not travel to Europe for fifteen years, the post-Waterloo period was highly significant for them in the changing image of the Alps and its preparation for modern tourism. The wave of enthusiasm after 1815 accelerated the publication of travel guidebooks, which became more official and legitimate than any other travel account. By crossing cultural studies, social history, cognitive science, and literary analysis, this chapter will embody the ambition of this work: to prove that the Alps became all but a mountain range in the wake of the Enlightenment.

Finally, the Alps did not remain a mere mental concept. Over time, they became a narrative resembling a myth at times, with its set of exaggerations and expectations. Travelling to the Alps became a necessity and a ritual in the golden age of Romanticism: not being able to visit them was nearly as big a fault as choosing the wrong valleys, peaks, and towns to visit. The magnificent view of Mont Blanc and the peaks of Savoy and Switzerland did no longer only matter for their visual power, but they also became symbols: they represented freedom, political change, cosmopolitanism, Rousseau's quill, Byron's adventures, Shelley's inspiration, Frankenstein's sorrow, Bonaparte's territorial planning. Although this significance is powerful, it was equally problematic: dialogues between locals and visitors became more extended and passionate, yet their depictions in travel accounts never stopped to become more literary and approximate, and the description of Alpine populations would get dangerously close to colonial considerations. Meeting locals suffering with cretinism or goitre became part of the Alpine myth, part of the experience to live. Some places became 'more Alpine' than others, because they were more able to convey what the Alps meant to their visitors. These key stages were the final steps preceding the complete conversion of the Alps into a space of tourism, marketing, and postmodern territorial valorisation.

Part I

Travelling in the Alps,
from borderline to borderland:

shifting practices, rising itineraries and emerging networks

The middle of the eighteenth century witnessed profound changes regarding the relationship between individuals and society across Europe. While the Renaissance had brought an important reawakening of the arts and culture, the period around the mid-eighteenth century put the questions of education and society at the centre of the elites' cultural preoccupations. Travel came in as one of the factors that would contribute to people's personal developments. Originally disregarded, if not abhorred, the Alps increasingly became a place where that culture of travel could be best expressed. This emerging interest for nature, spurred by the Enlightenment and developed further by the Romantic movement, had a drastic impact on the number of travellers visiting the Alps and on their itineraries. Not only did travellers start to explore the Alps rather than merely crossing them, but they also contributed to forging consistent networks and interconnections across the region, making way for a physical Alpine space of travellers to rise.

This first part of this thesis explores the correlation between the mutations in the practice of travel and the evolution of travel behaviours in the northwestern corner of the Alps. It addresses the first steps that organised travel in the Alps as an increasing number of travellers were starting to come by, thanks to the shaping of key itineraries and structured networks. In the first chapter of this first part, the cultural changes in Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century will be underlined in order to understand how travel gained a new perception: from a rigid and institutionalised practice, it became a personal project from which individuals could construct their own education of the world. In order to analyse this, the renewed meaning of the term 'travel' will be scrutinised through the study of the main dictionaries and encyclopaedias of the eighteenth century. Further, as travel gained a new popularity, nature became a prevailing theme in fiction, in poetry, and in travel literature. Works by the *philosophes* started to promote nature as a new environment where mankind could thrive; best-sellers such as Rousseau's *Julie* spread the celebration of nature across Western Europe and put the elites on boats and coaches to discover the natural wonders of the continent.

The second chapter will highlight which itineraries were created as a result of the change of perception vis-à-vis travel and the Alps. Some major itineraries of the Grand Tour, which would usually avoid the Alps or try to cross them as fast as possible, lost their popularity. New itineraries within the mountain range, less direct and offering more opportunities to discover the Alps, emerged and became widely

prevalent. These itineraries allowed travellers to plan their tours according to what they expected to see through each route. This chapter will analyse some of the new key regions whose perception changed rapidly after the 1750s, such as the valley of Chamonix, the Valais, or the Bernese Oberland.

Finally, as Alpine travel became a common practice and key itineraries were identified by foreign travellers, the Alps witnessed the development of multiple travel networks. As they were chasing the best experience within the Alps, travellers were equally searching for a structured and comfortable way to do so. Their social relations with individuals sharing their occupation, their destination, their social rank or their nationality helped create interconnections across valleys and peaks. The third chapter will therefore investigate where the main hubs and nodes emerged in the Alpine space, how knowledge about the Alps was transferred from one place to another, and to what extent travellers and scientists embraced those network centres.

Chapter 1

Where travel and nature meet: the Alps at the crossroads of new European passions

The late eighteenth century is often seen as the birth of the modern era, when key political changes and cultural transformations changed the way our modern world works nowadays. This turn of events was described by Reinhart Koselleck as the *Sattelzeit*. This ‘saddle period’, according to him, stretched from the 1750s to the 1850s and was primarily materialised by a ‘change of language’ whereby concepts acquired a meaning that is closer to our contemporary understanding. That semantical turn was characterised as a consequence of social and political changes that had modified the meaning of key concepts such as power,³⁵ freedom, violence, and revolution. In addition to that, new terms such as liberalism or socialism emerged at that time and have kept their modern meaning ever since.³⁶

However, most themes covered by Koselleck and *Begriffsgeschichte* are of juridical or political nature, and their only consequence was seen through the lens of time. His analysis of concepts and definitions, and their evolution in intensity, was mainly undertaken on a temporal basis, examining their evolution across time.³⁷ Koselleck investigated very little about the meaning of these changes for space and movement during the *Sattelzeit*. Yet the study of the latter is extremely fertile, as the general conceptual changes addressed by Koselleck changed the way individuals saw space and territories, too. This change of language gave travel a new educational meaning, and as a result encouraged the European elites to discover the continent. Nature became a prevailing theme and a source of passion for artists and tourists, as

35. Reinhart Koselleck, Werner Conze & Otto Brunner (eds), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, Band 3* (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1982), p. 885.

36. Niklas Olsen, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck* (Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2012), p. 171.

37. Gabriel Motzkin, “On Koselleck’s Intuition of Time in History”, in Hartmut Lehmann and Melvin Richter (ed), *The Meaning of Historical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte* (Washington, German Historical Institute, 1996), pp. 41 – 46.

well as an object of study for scientists. The Alps soon became an adequate space in which these new aspirations for travel and nature could be expressed to their most dramatic extent: Alpine travel consequently gained a significant popularity that did not decrease thereafter.

Nature and travel at the heart of the Enlightenment and Romantic movements

This very same shift affected the field of travel and paved the way for what would later become modern tourism. A close look at dictionaries and encyclopaedias published during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries shows the connection between travel and education at that time. Regardless of their place and date of publication, or their format, dictionaries often highlighted the educational and international aspects of the practice of travelling. Even dictionaries featuring very short definitions, such as Samuel Johnson's, hinted at the diverse and rich dimensions of travel:

1. Journey; act of passing from place to place (Prior)
2. Journey of curiosity or instruction (Bacon)
5. *Travels*. Account of occurrences and observations of a journey into foreign parts (Watts).³⁸

In this case, in addition to the mere process of moving from one place to another, the tasks of observing manners and ideas in foreign countries are underlined and understood as necessary. The educational aspect is also reminded in the second definition: "journey of curiosity or instruction". Travelling was thus seen as a constructed object, with goals, practices, and expectations. Some other dictionaries' definitions, such as the one composed by Nathan Bailey, are somewhat confusing, as the word itself 'to travel' comes from the French *travail*, 'work'. Here it says: "To travel – to journey, to labour, to take Pains; to be in Pain in Childbirth"³⁹, before the following definition for 'Travels' which only refers to "Journeys, Voyages". By looking for the definition of 'Journey' itself, one finds: "Travel by land". It almost suggests that travel is just not worth describing, or cannot be described in a short phrase.

More encyclopaedic dictionaries give a better idea of the meaning of travel in the eighteenth century. In the German-speaking sphere, Johann Heinrich Zedler's

38. Samuel Johnson (ed), *A Dictionary of the English language: in which the words are deduced from their Originals, Explained in their different meanings, and Authorized by the names of the writers in whose works they are found* (London, A. Wilson, 1812), p. 664.

39. Nathan Bailey (ed), *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary – Twentieth Edition, with considerable Improvements* (London, Osborne et al., 1763).

Universal-Lexikon gave a detailed definition of the term *Reisen* in a twenty-page-long entry.⁴⁰ Its introductory phrase indicates that travelling to other countries should neither be banned nor praised, but seen as an experience from which something useful, harmful, or beneficial may emerge.

Daß man fremde Länder beziehet, ist eine Sache, welche schlechterdings weder zu tadeln noch zu loben. Denn man hat aus der Erfahrung, das solches manchem nützlich, manchem schädlich, wenigstens nicht ersprießlich gewesen, welches alles von dem Gebrauch desselben, ob es vernünftig oder unvernünftig angefrellet wird, dependiret.

The rest of the article puts a strong emphasis on the importance of observing, even more so than reading or meditating: “Du must auch auf Reisen mehr observiren, sehen, hören, und aufschreiben, als lesen oder meditiren”. At the time of its publication in 1742, many travels were undertaken as part of someone’s religious education, where they were taught in various places across Europe. Other movements, for political or economic reasons, also alternated between travel and extended sojourns. The sedentary aspect of their journeys allowed both observation and profound intellectual activities.

The *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d’Alembert, often regarded as the pioneer of Enlightenment ideas, offered three different definitions of the term *Voyage*. While the first two were very brief and focused on the movement of people from A to B, and its logical relationship with commerce, the third one was composed of nine paragraphs and is explicitly linked to the term ‘education’.

Les grands hommes de l’antiquité ont jugé qu’il n’y avoit de meilleure école de la vie que celle des *voyages* ; école où l’on apprend la diversité de tant d’autres vies, où l’on trouve sans cesse quelque nouvelle leçon dans ce grand livre du monde ; & où le changement d’air avec l’exercice sont profitables au corps & à l’esprit.⁴¹

Travelling therefore found its originality and interest in its diversity and through the constant discovery of Otherness. The definition continued by establishing that the main purpose of travelling should be “d’examiner les mœurs, les coutumes, le génie des autres nations, leur goût dominant, leurs arts, leurs sciences, leurs manufactures &

40. Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosse vollständige Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, Vol. 31, (Leipzig, Zedler, 1742), pp. 366 – 385.

41. Denis Diderot & Jean le Rond d’Alembert (eds), *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, Briasson, 1751), pp. 476 – 477.

Translation: Great men from the Antiquity considered that there was no better school in life than the one of *travels*; a scole where one learns the diversity of so many other lives, where one constantly finds a new lesson in this great book of the world, and where the change of air due to exercise are profitable to both body and soul.

leur commerce”.⁴² Finally, instead of restricting this definition to a theoretical dimension, the authors suggested a place where these different aspects of educational travel were combined, stating that “there is a country in particular, beyond the Alps, that deserves the curiosity of all those whose education was developed by the Arts”.⁴³ Although what was written defined very well how travel was perceived and undertaken at that time, this 1751 definition did not represent anything new; on the contrary, it very much embodied the travel practices that had been in place for more than a century. The Grand Tour corresponded indeed to that definition offered by the *philosophes*. The Grand Tour was an institutionalised practice among young male members of the European elites – the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie – and consisted in touring places of Europe with a view to eventually reaching Italy. By doing so, their education as young members of the elite would be complete, and this could be explained through three main goals: visiting Europe’s main capitals, meeting both continental and British members of the gentry in Europe, and finally visiting the remainders of the nobler period of the Antiquity. Lynne Withey summarised this practice by saying that in order “to become a fully educated member of elite society, they believed, one had to see the ruins of classical Rome as well as the churches and palaces and art collections of the great Continental capitals”.⁴⁴ This practice was therefore very much institutionalised and limited to certain key itineraries to take, and certain places and people to visit.

The middle of the eighteenth century witnessed changes around the practice of the Grand Tour. In addition to a reiteration of the importance of travel and education, the rise of the Enlightenment made way for a growing interest for natural environments. Botany, zoology, geology, physics, and chemistry were gradually replacing the more static and less empirical disciplines of natural history and natural philosophy,⁴⁵ therefore inviting scientists and amateurs to undertake scientific

42. *Ibid.*

Translation: to examine the habits, customs, and genius of other nations, their dominant tastes, their arts, their sciences, their productions and their trade”.

43. *Ibid.*

Original: “Il est en particulier un pays au-delà des Alpes, qui mérite la curiosité de tous ceux dont l’éducation a été cultivée par les lettres”.

44. Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (London, Aurum Press, 1997), p. 7.

45. John Gascoigne, “The Eighteenth-Century Scientific Community: A Prosopographical Study”, in *Social Studies of Science* (Vol. 25, No. 3, August 1995), p. 575.

journeys. Nevertheless, the relationship between man and nature was already a common discussion in philosophical works. By the middle of the eighteenth century, many thinkers had incorporated nature in their works. John Locke, like his predecessors, stated that all human beings could enjoy “the same advantages of nature”.⁴⁶ To achieve this, Locke wrote that these advantages should be reached alongside each and everyone’s pursuit of happiness: freedom and happiness lay in mankind’s ability to discover itself in a natural environment.

One novel, published in 1761, profoundly anchored the importance of nature in European minds and promoted the genuine power of nature: Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse*. In this novel, which soon became a best seller, Rousseau portrayed the epistolary exchanges between two lovers living on the banks of Lake Geneva. The setting of the plot, on a lake and at the foot of the mountains, is constantly mentioned throughout the book, often through philosophical digressions during which he discusses our role as human beings. For instance, the paragraph below added to the third edition of the novel is displayed just after an assertive critique on the excess of luxurious tastes:

Celui qui voulut bâtir une haute tour faisoit bien de la vouloir porter jusqu'au Ciel; autrement il eût eu beau l'élever; le point où il se fût arrêté n'eût servi qu'à donner de plus loin la preuve de son impuissance. Ô homme petit & vain, montre-moi ton pouvoir, je te montrerai ta misère!

Au contraire, un ordre de choses où rien n'est donné à l'opinion, où tout a son utilité réelle & qui se donne aux vrais besoins de la nature n'offre pas seulement un spectacle approuvé par la raison, mais qui contente les yeux & le cœur.⁴⁷

Julie was an incredible success, with over seventy editions published throughout Europe by the outbreak of the French Revolution.⁴⁸ In the same period the institutionalised itineraries of the Grand Tour were less and less followed. Travellers

46. Cited in Thomas G. West, “The Ground of Locke’s Law of Nature”, in Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller, Jr., & Jeffrey Paul (eds), *Natural Rights Individualism and Progressivism in American Political Philosophy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1 – 50.

47. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse. Lettres de deux Amans, Habitans d'une petite Ville au pied des Alpes* (Amsterdam, Marc-Michel Rey, 1772), p. 41.

Translation: Whoever wanted to build a high tower might as well take it all the way to the Skies; otherwise, despite his efforts, the top of his tower would have only shown his helplessness even better. O small and meaningless man, show me your power, I will show you your misery! On the contrary, an environment where nothing is left to the opinion, where everything has a true utility and addresses the real needs of nature does not only offer a scenery approved by reason, but it also satisfies the Eye and Heart.

48. R. J. Howells, *Rousseau – Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse: Critical Guides to French Texts* (London, Grant & Cutler, 1986), p. 74.

started to turn their back on that practice and opted for more personal journeys, where the discovery of exotic natural landscapes and their emotional dimension mattered even more than the sense of education that derived from the practice of travelling. Some were travelling for scientific reasons – to take measurements and observe local natural specificities – while others were still travelling for leisure, with occasional scientific curiosity. One might even say, in both cases, that nature was seen as a more genuine form of education as opposed to more sedentary and solitary forms of learning. As the following excerpt shows, curious travellers would learn how to enjoy nature, and to find happiness in that environment:

La campagne, la retraite, le repos, la saison, la vaste plaine d'eau qui s'offre à mes yeux, le sauvage aspect des montagnes, tout me rappelle ici ma délicieuse Isle de Tinian. J'y mène une vie de mon goût, j'y trouve une société selon mon cœur. (...) En attendant que vous & Mde d'Orbe veniez mettre le comble aux plaisirs si doux & si purs que j'apprends à goûter[...]⁴⁹

Although it cannot be said that *Julie* provoked a change of travel practices all by itself, it is often cited in travelogues as a reference for those who embarked on their journeys. This will be shown later on in this work when *Julie* is confronted to travellers' representations of the Alps.

The transition from the Grand Tour to more individual journeys lasted several decades and was completed by the dawn of the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, the purpose was still exactly the same: to gain an education through travelling, by encountering environments and meeting people that could not be found among the English, Scottish, Parisian, or German elites.

This changing definition of the concept of travelling was therefore obvious in the travel accounts that were published during that period. Authors and publishers were, willingly or not, promoting the benefits of travelling by offering very personal views on their travels. The emphasis on nature and emotions multiplied, while the importance of formal education somewhat diminished. A guide for visitors of Switzerland in 1806 explains that the ruins of Italy, which were the main destination

49. *Ibid*, p. 224.

Translation: The countryside, the peacefulness, the rests, the season, the vast area of water before my eyes, the wild aspect of the mountains, everything here reminds me of my Isle of Tinian. Here I live a life that is perfect to my tastes, here I find a society that satisfies me (...) As I wait for you and Mrs d'Orbe to come and complete the soft and pure pleasure that I learn to enjoy...

of the Grand Tour, had become less important compared to the ruins of nature, for instance in the Alps.⁵⁰

There was an actual continuity in some of the travel literature published during that period. Some of the itineraries, the comments, the descriptions were directly facilitated or influenced by the accounts that the travellers had read before embarking on their journey. Lord Byron and his friend Hobhouse, for instance, followed Richard Sharp's recommendations to visit the Bernese Alps in 1816⁵¹. Others directly referred to the high number of accounts previously published or discussed among travellers: the road to Chamonix, for instance, which had become the most popular Alpine itinerary by the 1830s, was usually depicted as a widely-known and often-described destination: "The wonderful accounts of the Glaciers had excited my curiosity a good deal, while the air of superiority assumed by some who had made this boasted tour, piqued my pride still more", John Moore wrote in 1780.⁵²

Although travel accounts were a perfect example to underline this new interest for nature and personal endeavours, other genres showed it in a much more explicit manner. By the 1820s, the Romantic and Gothic movements thoroughly emphasised these themes. From the least known to the best-sold works, the themes of nature and emotions were prevailing. Whether it offered peaceful and picturesque views or sublime and dramatic spectacles, nature was a central element in Romantic works, as Wordsworth wrote in 'Tintern Abbey':

The sounding cataract
Haunted me like a passion
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
Their colours and their forms, were then to me
An appetite: a feeling and a love,

50. Anonymous, "Für Freunde der Schweiz und für Reisende durch die Schweiz", in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (no. 21, May 1806), p. 275.

Original: Wichtiger als die Ruinen, die uns in Italien an die großen Bewohner dieser Halbinsel erinnern, sind die Ruinen der Natur, und das ganze Alpengebirge scheint nur eine ungeheure Ruine der Vorwelt.

51. David Knapman, *Conversation Sharp: the biography of a London Gentleman Richard Sharp (1759 – 1835) in letters, prose and verse* (Dorchester, Dorset Press, 2003), p. 313.

52. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (London, Strahan & Cadell, 1780), p. 201.

That had no need of a remoter charm,
By thought supplied, or any interest
Unborrowed from the eye.⁵³

Novels equally conveyed this new interest for nature. *Julie*'s publication was too early to be regarded as a Romantic piece, although academics later on defined it as a proto-Romantic work.⁵⁴ Mary Shelley's 1818 *Frankenstein* successfully incorporated most of the aforementioned cultural and scientific trends that were in place at that time: Dr Frankenstein's passion for natural sciences,⁵⁵ the education of the monster through his lonesome journeys and reading,⁵⁶ the powerful descriptions of natural landscapes and dramatic weather,⁵⁷ the importance of death and sorrow as part of the Gothic dimension of the novel. All the elements in this best seller were an efficient reminder of the correlations between nature, knowledge, mankind, discovery, and travel.⁵⁸

Thus, these increasingly popular themes were continuously present in the cultural products of Western Europe. Members of the elites were surrounded by these key values in the works they were reading. It is therefore little surprising to see how travelling evolved alongside these new trends. Logically, one region in Western Europe emerged as a space where these new values could be expressed, tried out, lived, and experienced: the Alps.

53. William Wordsworth, "Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey", in *Lyrical Ballads* (London, J. & A. Arch, 1798).

54. R. J. Howells, *Rousseau – Julie*, p. 75.

55. At the very beginning of Chapter III, Frankenstein wrote: "From this day natural philosophy, and particularly chemistry, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, became nearly my sole occupation".

Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein; Or, The Modern Prometheus* (London, Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, & Jones, 1818), p. 41.

56. The monster tells his creator: "While I improved in speech, I also learned the science of letters, as it was taught to the stranger; and this opened before me a wide field for wonder and delight".

Ibid., p. 128.

57. Minutes before meeting his monster, Frankenstein described the scene in awe: "From the side where I now stood Montanvert was exactly opposite, at the distance of a league; and above it rose Mont Blanc, in awful majesty. I remained in a recess of the rock, gazing on this wonderful and stupendous scene"

Ibid., p. 101.

58. See chapter 7 for a more development analysis of *Frankenstein*'s relationship to Alpine travel.

The Alps amid travel mutations in mid-eighteenth-century Europe: from natural obstacle to space of exploration

The cultural changes surrounding the practice of travelling from the 1750s onwards turned the Alps into a space where nature could be explored, and where travel could offer multiple visual and social experiences. In 1871, Leslie Stephen coined a term on which Alpine historians would agree: the Alps had become “the Playground of Europe”.⁵⁹ Although it would take decades before the rise of winter sports, large spa towns, and convenient railway links from the 1830s onwards, the Alps became a popular region within Western Europe and a place that travellers were keen to encounter and write about between the second half of the eighteenth century and the 1830s. This period of rising popularity is widely accepted, but has not often been shown in numbers.⁶⁰

Based on the list of travellers elaborated by Gavin de Beer,⁶¹ as well as additional research on published travelogues at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, the below chart shows the evolution of the number of journeys between 1732 and 1832. These journeys – just under a thousand in total – were mentioned in publications mostly in English, French, and German, and beyond, either during that period or in later works. This chart therefore does not represent the total number of published travelogues at that period.⁶²

59. Leslie Stephen, *The Playground of Europe* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1871).

60. Michael Heafford, *British Travellers in Switzerland 1814 – 1860* (unpublished PhD thesis, London Metropolitan University, 2003) mentions numbers of British travellers during that period, but it is entirely based on De Beer’s research.

61. Gavin de Beer, *Travellers in Switzerland* (London, Oxford University Press, 1949).

62. New itineraries keep being added to the database: this is the latest result as of May 2016.

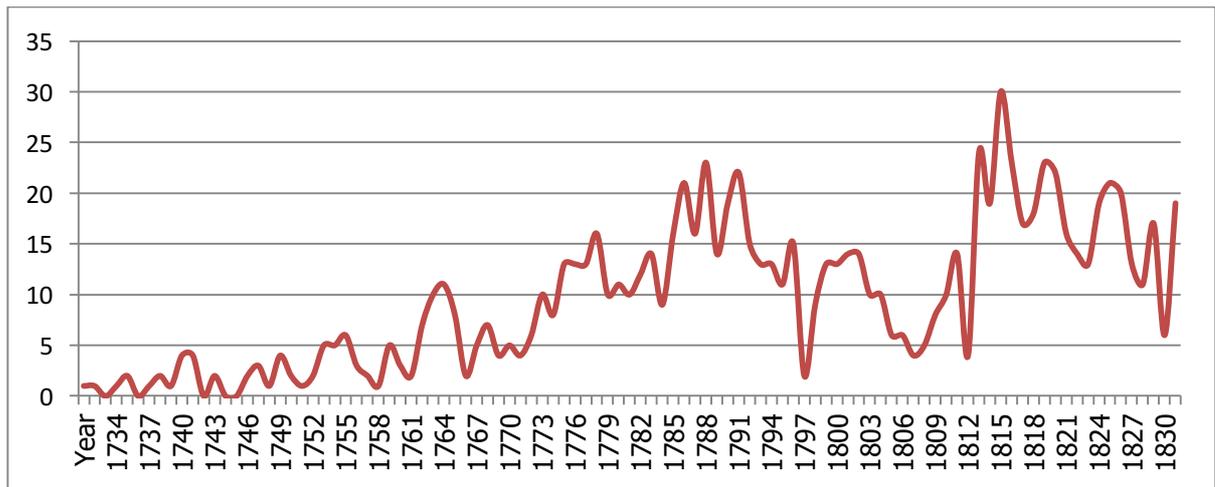


Figure 1: Number of travel accounts about journeys in and through the Western Alps identified in the project's database between 1732 and 1832

The chart, however, highlights several trends and evolutions. Firstly, there was indeed a rise in the number of travellers and travel accounts from the 1760s onwards. This number was constantly growing throughout the later part of the eighteenth century, with an average of ten to twelve travellers per year until the 1780s, where the average moved up to fifteen.

Major political, diplomatic, and military events do have an impact on the amount of travellers registered in the database. The end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 coincides with a twofold rise of travellers around Switzerland and Savoy in the following few years. The beginning of the French Revolution is more difficult to address, as British travellers continued to travel to continental Europe, often stimulated by the events they had heard of. The *émigrés*, who often fled from France to Switzerland or Germany, are part of the database but their attitude whilst travelling was very different from those undertaking leisurely tours around the Alps: they were fleeing the Revolution and the Terror and found in some parts of Switzerland a place to hide, or opportunities to proceed further east in Europe.

The Napoleonic era caused the most significant change and turning point throughout the period covered by this thesis. The campaigns that took place around the Alps in 1797 and 1798 resulted in a drop of the number of Alpine travellers to less than a handful, which is visible on the above chart. France, Austria, and Russia were all engaged in these conflicts:⁶³ as they were holding different parts of the Alps,

63. Edward Pyatt, *The Passage of the Alps: from Hannibal to the Motorway* (London, Robert Hale, 1984), p. 69.

reaching Italy or undertaking long tours through a high number of valleys had become impossible for any European traveller. Later on, the Continental Blockade, decreed in 1806, had a dramatic medium-term impact on the flows of British travellers coming to the Alpine region. Travel was just impossible for Britons, who were as a result the most enthusiastic travellers in Europe, since their knowledge of the Alps was very limited.

The fall of Napoleon's regime in 1814/1815 led to an immediate wave of travellers returning to the Alps. There are numerous reasons that explain this, which will be analysed throughout this work. British travellers in particular kept reading the most popular travel accounts during those years, and expressed their relief when travelling to the continent was finally made possible again. In 1814, for instance, Richard Boyle Bernard started his travel diary with the following phrases: "I had long been desirous of visiting the Continent, but the long continuance of the war, and the little prospect which lately appeared of its termination, seemed to afford no chance for the accomplishment of my wish".⁶⁴ This was a frustration to many British travellers, who often viewed Napoleon as the one who had reduced their projects to travel across Europe to a very unlikely pipe dream. After these few years of unusual excitement, the number of travellers continued to rise steadily, as travel was made more and more accessible, both in terms of budget and infrastructures.

Despite these precise quantitative elements, it is difficult to pinpoint when the phenomenon of Alpine touring started. As the success of *Julie* cannot solely explain the popularity of the Alps, neither can any traveller's journey through the Alps be considered a pioneer work in this era of popular Alpine touring. However, several wanderers and scientists have left a heritage that has been seen as such legacy. In 1741, William Windham, a young Englishman who was undertaking a long educational Grand Tour of Europe with his tutor Benjamin Stillingfleet, and Dr Robert Pococke, a traveller who had stopped in Geneva on his journey back from the Orient, decided to explore the Glaciers of Savoy after having read Scheuchzer's notes on the Bernese Glaciers in his *Itinera Alpina*,⁶⁵ an early comprehensive report on

64. Richard Boyle Bernard, *A Tour through some Parts of France, Switzerland, Savoy, Germany and Belgium, during the Summer and Autumn of 1814* (London, Longman, 1815), p. 1.

65. Johann Jakob Scheuchzer, *Ouresiphonitēs Helveticus, sive Itinera Alpina tria* (London, Henry Clements, 1708).

Alpine vicinities and their interest for scientific research.⁶⁶ The group, composed of eight people and five servants, left Geneva on 19th June. They stayed at a “tolerable [inn] for Savoy”⁶⁷ in Bonneville and continued their journey up the valley the following day. Once arrived in Chamonix, although the view was becoming increasingly impressive, Windham wrote in his account that it “did not satisfy [their] curiosity”,⁶⁸ and then asked the local peasants if they could take the group up to see the glaciers. The way this story has been remembered since then presents Windham and Pococke as pioneers who were the first human beings to ever approach the glaciers. There is, however, an obvious paradox, as their guides seemed to know their environment very well and therefore had probably been up before. Some historians have underlined the obvious fact that other travellers had previously been up the Valley of Chamonix and to the Glaciers, but their evidence remains unclear.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, Windham and Pococke’s account of the glaciers of Savoy was published and translated across Western Europe, and as it will be shown later on their story was part of what constituted an Alpine myth for foreign visitors. The travelogue, which was first published in the May – June 1743 edition of the *Mercurie Suisse*, is well balanced: it does address the visually pleasant aspect of the Alps without exaggerating it, as the Romantics would do decades later. After briefly mentioning the group’s overall “satisfaction” upon leaving Chamonix, the account described the view from the Môle, a mountain further down the valley, halfway between Chamonix and Geneva:

From this Point there is a most delightful View, on one Side, upon the Lake, *Geneva*, and the adjacent Parts; on the other, upon high Mountains cover’d with Snow, which rise around, in form of an Amphitheatre, and make a most Picturesque prospect.⁷⁰

66. Simona Boscani-Leoni, “Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672-1733) et la découverte des Alpes: les *Itinera Alpina*”, in Christiane Demeulenaere (ed), *Explorations et voyages scientifiques de l’antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2008), pp. 81 – 100.

67. Peter Martel & William Windham, *An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy, in two letters; one from an English gentleman to his friend at Geneva; the other from Peter Martel, engineer, to the said English gentleman. As laid before the Royal Society* (Ipswich, W. Craighton, 1747), p. 2.

68. *Ibid*, p. 4.

69. For instance, Max Bruchet wrote in 1908: “La vallée de Chamonix passe pour avoir été découverte en 1741, par l’anglais Windham et ses compagnons de route. On a pu prouver que, bien avant eux, des visiteurs étrangers l’avaient parcourue”. Max Bruchet, *La Savoie d’après les Anciens Voyageurs* (Annecy, Hérisson, 1908), p. 268.

70. Martel and Windham, “An account of the glaciers”, p. 14.

The rest of the account, in many regards, featured most elements that later on composed published travelogues on the Alps, which explains why it was regarded by many as a pioneer expedition. Two entire pages featured a list of opportunities for scientists to take physical measurements, collect local plants or minerals.⁷¹

At the same time, other parts of the Western Alps were crossed and mostly seen as a discovery, or at least an unexpected accomplishment. In 1742, Antoine-Noé Polier de Bottens, a Swiss theologian, visited Lauterbrunnen, which would later become a prime travel destination of the Bernese Oberland; however, instead of reaching the village by the valley of Interlaken, he did so from Kandersteg, over the Hohtürli Pass. The locals set up an inquiry, as they could not believe that anyone would decide to undertake such a journey.⁷² A two-page insert in the middle of the travelogue describes the *bouquetins* and the *chamois*, two local animals that the party was eager to observe.

Up until that moment, the general perception of the Alps was rather unenthusiastic. Travel accounts up to the mid-eighteenth century show a high proportion of negative descriptions and exasperation, despite a noteworthy wave of interest from the Renaissance onwards.⁷³ The general aspect of the mountains was, indeed, not very popular among travellers, but the prospect of crossing them was even more dreaded. In 1741, as she was feeling unwell during her stay in Geneva, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu considered returning to Italy but remembered the difficult crossing of the Alps during the winter:

I think this air does not agree with my health. I have had a return of many complaints from which I had an entire cessation during my stay in Italy, which makes me inclined to return thither, though a winter journey over the Alps is very disagreeable.⁷⁴

Upon crossing the Grand-Saint-Bernard in 1750, Giacomo Casanova wrote:

Un homme accablé par une grande douleur a l'avantage que rien ne lui paraît pénible. C'est une espèce de désespoir qui a aussi ses douceurs. Je ne sentais ni la faim, ni la soif, ni le froid

71. *Ibid*, pp. 14 – 15.

72. Cited in Gavin de Beer, *Travellers in Switzerland*, “1742” entry.

73. For a close look at itineraries, perceptions and behaviours around Alpine travel during the early modern era, see Étienne Bourdon, *Le voyage et la découverte des Alpes : Histoire de la construction d'un savoir (1492 – 1713)* (Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011).

74. Robert Halsband (ed), *The Selected Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (London, Longman, 1970), p. 188.

qui gelait la nature sur cette affreuse partie des Alpes, ni la fatigue inséparable de ce pénible et dangereux passage.⁷⁵

There was a general consciousness regarding the difficulty of the crossing, paired with a relative fear of mountainous landscapes which offered very little brightness when travelling at the very bottom of a steep valley.

Not all travellers despised lofty mountains, however; some would even describe a nice experience overall, and tend to describe the view with enthusiasm. Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon, a Swiss journalist who was exploring the highlands of the Pays de Vaud wrote: “Perché sur la Cime la plus élevée, je me mis à observer le Monde & sa gloire”.⁷⁶ Some of these positive accounts adopt a near-religious attitude when describing the mountains. When presenting what makes Switzerland unique, in the introduction to his scientific book, Swiss historian and theologian Johannes Altmann stated:

In jedes Land in der Welt hat seine Merkwürdigkeiten, mit denen es von dem weisen Schöpfer ausgezieret ist. (...) Unsere Schweiz, die ohne eines von den höchsten Ländern von Europa ist, zeigt unter ihren Merkwürdigkeiten zuerst die Eisberge, deren Natur und Beschaffenheit bissher so wohl den Einwohnern als auch den Fremden sehr unbekannt gewesen.⁷⁷

What is striking in a majority of ‘Alpine-friendly’ accounts before the 1750s is the lack of interest for long descriptions and comments vis-à-vis the prospects of the Alps, which later on characterised the type of travelogue published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For example, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, spent some time crossing the Alps in 1686, which he did not seem to dislike. His 1708 account, however, mentioned very little about the region, arguing

75. Giacomo Casanova, *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, écrits par lui-même, Tome III* (Brussels, Meline, 1833), p. 202.

Translation: A man overwhelmed by pain is lucky as nothing here would seem difficult to him. It is a sort of despair which also has sweetness. I was feeling neither hunger nor thirst, nor the cold that froze nature in this horrid part of the Alps, nor the fatigue that cannot be taken away from this tiresome and dangerous route.

76. Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon, “Voilage fait à la fin de juillet 1736 dans les Montagnes occidentales du Païs de Vaud”, in *Mercure Suisse* (Neuchâtel, July 1737), p. 55.

Translation: Sitting on the highest peak, I started to observe the World and its Glory.

77. Johannes Georgius Altmann, *Versuch einer historischen und physischen Beschreibung der helvetischen Eisbergen* (Zürich, Heidegger und Compagnie, 1751), pp. 1 – 2.

Translation: Each country of the world has its original curiosities, adorned by the wise Creator. Our Switzerland, which is amongst the highest lands in Europe, has its Ice Mountains as its first peculiarity, whose nature has remained very unknown to its inhabitants and to foreigners.

that it was not the purpose of his journey. The only positive description of the landscape in the whole account, albeit very passionate, came just after that statement.

I will not describe the Valley of Dauphine, all to Chambery, nor entertain you with a Landskip of the Country, which deserves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the Height and Rudeness of the Mountains, that almost shut upon it, together with the Beauty, the Evenness, and Fruitfulness of the Valley, that is all along well water'd with the River of Liserre, make such an agreeable Mixture, that this vast Diversity of Objects, that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining Prospect.⁷⁸

The remainder of the account barely mentioned the landscape, and even the description of Lake Geneva consisted in locating the cities of Lausanne and Geneva alongside its northern bank, with no trace of the mountains on the southern side.

From the 1750s, as previously mentioned, the Alps became a space of Romantic exploration, and therefore the visual aspect of the mountains was an essential reason for their popularity. Letters, private diaries, notes ready for publication all shared long wordy descriptions of the mountains. Poets and writers naturally excelled at describing the mountains in their correspondences, like Wordsworth who spent days at the Grande Chartreuse “contemplating, with increased pleasure, its wonderful scenery”⁷⁹ or the Shelleys’ astonishment when facing Mont Blanc from the valley of Chamonix:

Mont Blanc was before us, but it was covered with cloud; its base, furrowed with dreadful gaps, was seen above. Pinnacles of snow intolerably bright, part of the chain connected with Mont Blanc, shone through the clouds at intervals on high. I never knew – I never imagined what mountains were before. The immensity of these aerial summits excited, when they suddenly burst upon the sight, a sentiment of extatic wonder, not unallied to madness. And remember this was all one scene, it all pressed home to our regard and our imagination.⁸⁰

The difficulty for any contemporary reader⁸¹ to visualise what a mountainous landscape could look like is stressed by the authors. Although images and illustrations

78. Gilbert Burnet, *Some letters, containing an account of what seem'd most remarkable in travelling through Switzerland, Italy, some parts of Germany, etc.* (London, Ward & Chandler, 1738), pp. 6 – 7.

79. Letter from William to Dorothy Wordsworth, Kesswil (Lake Constance), 6 September 1790. In William Angus Knight (ed), *Letters of the Wordsworth Family from 1787 to 1855* (London, Ginn, 1907), p. 12.

80. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland* (London, Hookham, 1817), pp. 151 – 152.

81. Although these are letters, whether they were directly written for the sake of publication or were part of a private correspondence in the first place has remained rather unclear, and research around it has been inconclusive.

Jeanne Moskal (ed), “Introductory note” in *The Novels and Selected Works of Mary Shelley, Volume 8* (London, William Pickering, 1996), p. 3.

were becoming very popular in addition to paintings,⁸² people in Britain, or in the flatter vicinities of the continent could hardly visualise how such scenery could stretch before their friends' eyes.

Scientists visiting Alpine regions to make discoveries and take measurements were surprisingly very eager to blend their subjective admiration with their scientific observations. For example, Thomas Blaikie, whose 1775 botanical journey around the mountains of Jura and the Alps did not follow the established classic itineraries, would usually digress from his scientific comments and would remind the readers about the beautiful surroundings he was in:

The lake of Geneva is here about seven miles over exceeding clear water; ther is several small vessels which trades upon this little sea from Geneva to differant places; this enlivens the scene with the high mountains of Savoy on the other side the tops of Many of them covered with snow and here the borders of the Lake is allmost vineyards which is a most remarkable constraste to see the grapes swelling and fine and at the same time those eternal snows upon the mountains.⁸³

Travellers who visited the Alps without any scientific or artistic agenda equally showed their awe and their inspiration when facing the snowy peaks. Marianne Baillie is a good example. Her tour of the Alps was most extensive, going from Savoy to Switzerland via Lombardy and the Valais. Her diary is punctuated with short remarks and admiring adjectives: she therefore mentioned, as she was entering her first valley, that “the mountains [...] became yet more lofty and stupendous than any we had before seen”.⁸⁴ Later on that route she called “the road over Mont Cenis [...] most superb”.⁸⁵ When she started comparing the landscape near Moncalieri to her native Richmond Hill, she added that there was admittedly a “superiority in the sublime background of the distant Alps and glaciers”.⁸⁶ In many accounts there is a consistent appreciation of the landscape, giving a positive energy to their narrative as a result.

82. This thesis will be focusing on written travel accounts. However, there is a lot to be told about the importance of illustrations during the rise of Alpine travel. Claude Reichler and his team have done some considerable work in this regard. Please refer to his monograph *Les Alpes et leurs imagiers: Voyage et histoire du regard* (Lausanne, Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes, 2013) and to the website Viatimages (<<http://www.unil.ch/viatimages>>, accessed 24 August 2015).

83. Francis Birrell (ed), *Thomas Blaikie: Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1931), p. 49 – 50.

84. 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, John Murray, 1819), p. 118.

85. *Ibid*, p. 133.

86. *Ibid*, p. 151.

There was therefore a wide variety of travellers, and consequently a significant amount of travel literature available, generally sharing an increasingly positive image of the Alps, after centuries of more mixed messages. Although most journeys were made for individual reasons – be they leisurely, social, or scientific – and therefore featured multiple singularities, consistent itineraries, networks, and points of contact emerged in the second part of the eighteenth century. These would considerably facilitate the travel and cultural phenomenon that had only begun.

Chapter 2

Exploring v. crossing: changing itineraries within the Alpine space

The changes that occurred in the way the Alps were regarded and explored had a deep impact on the itineraries chosen by travellers in order to cross them. As previously explained, as the main objective was no longer to rush to the other side of the mountain range, the amount of time spent in the Alps and the paths taken developed substantially, from the usual five or six days required to cross the mountains in one go. This allowed many valleys to gain precious popularity in the eyes of those who were not coming from the region. The itineraries which offered the shortest crossing time over the Alps and those simply avoiding the mountains became less popular among travellers. Routes from one valley to another, with the greatest variety and visual dimension, became increasingly popular among those who aimed to explore the Alps, not directly crossing them. Switzerland in particular contained many of those new routes, which at times became objects of political pressure during the Napoleonic era.

The Alps during the Grand Tour and the Early Modern Era: a political borderline, a natural hassle

Although it is impossible to state that the Alps were purely abhorred before the 1750s,⁸⁷ it is nevertheless key to address how underdeveloped Alpine itineraries were in that period, in comparison with the eighty years under consideration here. Major flows of merchants, clergymen, and wanderers in the early modern era remind us once again that circulation in the Alps was not a new concept in the eighteenth century. Sources from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries show that communication routes over the French Alps were perfectly listed and monitored by

87. The shift from 'mountain gloom' to 'mountain glory' in the 1750s, addressed by Marjorie Hope Nicolson in *Mountain gloom and mountain glory: the Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1959) is a stand that is acknowledgeable as much as it can be contested by handfuls of counterexamples. In the case of the Alps, many works show that transalpine activities and aesthetic appreciation already existed far before the 1750s, but indeed accelerated by the middle of the eighteenth century.

the central royal administration in Paris. A list of passes from the Kingdom of France into Italy drafted in the early eighteenth century contains 104 entries:⁸⁸ each of them is well documented, with a description of its aspect, difficulty, and whether horses and carriages could use it or not. This list only includes the passes located at the border of the Kingdom of France, which gives a sense of the wide range of possibilities for people and goods to be transferred from and to Italy. In Savoy, which was not part of France at that time, the Petit-Saint-Bernard was already a highly-frequented pass during the Roman era, as part of a communication axis linking the Val d'Aosta to the Rhône Valley south of Lyon,⁸⁹ and there were other local routes along the border.

Despite this plethora of circulation routes, only a handful were used by those undertaking long-scale journeys. The travellers of the Grand Tour, as explained in the first chapter, sought to reach Italy with limited effort and struggle through the Alps. In the western Alps, this left very little possibilities. Four main routes which allowed to travel conveniently and rather comfortably from northern Europe to Italy can be identified. One of them, through Switzerland, continued to grow when the Alps became more popular; the three others illustrate the climate of avoidance vis-à-vis the Alpine space.

The first transalpine itinerary was over the popular Mont Cenis, located between the valleys of the Maurienne in Savoy and Susa in Piedmont. The Mont Cenis was popular centuries before the rise of Tours. A first hospice was built at the top of the pass in the thirteenth century, and the road was modernised in 1713, although not everyone was allowed to take the new, less steep path.⁹⁰ Travelling via Mont Cenis offered the most straightforward and rapid way to cross the Alps into Italy – only six days in average for non-military travellers.⁹¹ In the wider framework of the Grand Tour, in addition to allowing the shortest transalpine journey, Mont Cenis was perfectly located on the Lyon to Turin itinerary: Lyon was a usual stop for travellers who wished a comfortable urban stay and who were curious to discover the city's wealth, acquired as a result of the silk industry. When coming from London or

88. "Frontière des Alpes, 1695 – XVIIIe siècle", report, Arch. Nat., M//1032.

89. Max Bruchet, *La Savoie d'après les Anciens Voyageurs* (Annecy, Hérisson, 1908), pp. 1 – 2.

90. Étienne Bourdon, *Le voyage et la découverte des Alpes : Histoire de la construction d'un savoir (1492-1713)* (Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011), p. 81.

91. *Ibid*, p. 67.

Paris, travellers were able to embark on a *coche d'eau* at Chalon-sur-Saône,⁹² then sail down the river Saône to Lyon, making that stretch of the journey particularly pleasant. John Moore, like many other travellers in that period, was struck by the exceptional geographic and economic situation of the city:

After Paris, Lyons is the most magnificent town in France, enlivened by industry, enriched by commerce, beautified by wealth, and by its situation, in the middle of a fertile country, and at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone.⁹³

After Lyon, the way to Turin was most simple: only the border into Savoy had to be crossed, and Mont Cenis was the only mountain pass that had to be traversed, the rest of the journey being done through valleys. Étienne Bourdon's quantitative analysis shows that 65% of the travellers he studied crossed the Alps via the Mont Cenis: out of those who were travelling from France to Turin, the figure goes up to 98% – all bar one.⁹⁴ Mont Cenis remained a popular choice, even for those who could have used more convenient passages. Edward Gibbon, who stayed in Lausanne for many years as part of his religious education in the 1750s, crossed into Italy via Mont Cenis, while the Grand Saint Bernard or the Simplon passes would have been more convenient. Gibbon carefully planned his 1763 voyage to Italy from Lausanne, where he read Nicolas Bergier's famous *Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain* published in 1622. As a passionate student of the Antiquity, Gibbon's choice to take the Mont Cenis route may have been influenced by the fact that many believed that Hannibal and his army crossed the Alps over it. Indeed, the description of his journey across goes as follows: "I climbed Mount Cenis, and descended into the plain of Piedmont, not on the back of an elephant, but on a light osier seat, in the hands of the dextrous and intrepid chairmen of the Alps".⁹⁵ Mont Cenis was a pass from the past, consolidated over the early modern period, yet it was about to be challenged in the second part of the eighteenth century.

The second itinerary, although it was arguably not crossing the Alps *per se*, was down the Rhône valley and along the Mediterranean coast, and illustrates the

92. Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London, Croom Helm, 1985), p. 17.

93. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (London, Strahan & Cadell, 1780), p. 152.

94. Étienne Bourdon, *Le voyage et la découverte des Alpes*, p. 76.

95. John, Lord Sheffield, *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq with Memoirs of his life and writings, composed by himself* (London, John Murray, 1814), p. 179.

general lack of interest for the region up until the 1750s. Many travellers, mostly from Britain, chose to travel down to Provence after passing Lyon. This allowed even more sailing time down the river Rhône, offering permanent views of hills and pre-Alpine mountains at a leisurely pace. There was a rich amount of towns to choose from, namely Vienne, Valence, Montélimar, Orange, Avignon, Aix-en-Provence, and finally Marseille. None of these – not even Marseille, although it featured longer descriptions – was chosen by those travellers for extended stays. Travellers would rather continue their journey eastbound along the coast in order to reach Italy. In fact, this entire itinerary avoided the crossing of the Alps altogether. Most of the journeys between Marseille and Italy were made by boat – part of the itinerary at least, as the road around Nice was not properly built. Albeit not ideal, even uncomfortable sometimes,⁹⁶ it did not extend the length of journeys to Florence, Rome, and the South of Italy, and therefore it was seen as a sensible option for many decades.

Some of the travelogues following that route lack comparisons when it comes to describing the landscape along the way. By any standards, the hills along the Rhône valley are pretty lofty at times, and no stretch of that journey takes place on a purely flat landscape. However, the height cannot be compared to the region of the Glaciers near Chamonix nor to the Grande Chartreuse. Those who never saw those places did not know that, and as a result the vocabulary used to describe what they saw is very similar to someone's prose to describe the higher parts of the Alpine space. For instance, when Sacheverell Stevens visited Lyon on his way from England, he was able to peek at the mountains of Savoy from the cathedral: "I could plainly discern the Alps tho' more than sixty miles distance".⁹⁷ Stevens did not travel towards them and sailed down the Rhône instead. He described Vienne, located twenty miles downstream, as a town "situated on the Rhone, at the bottom of very high mountains".⁹⁸ However, no hill around the town of Vienne exceeds an altitude of 450

96. An anonymous publication gathering travel correspondences features the following message: "Thanks to heaven! I have set foot in Italy: you must not wonder to find me so devout, I have reasons; fear makes everybody religious, and I assure you my voyage from Toulon has not been without danger".

Anonymous, *Letters from Several Parts of Europe, and the East, written in the Years 1750, etc.* (London, Davis, 1753), p. 201.

97. Sacheverell Stevens, *Miscellaneous remarks made on the spot, in a late seven years tour through France, Italy, Germany and Holland* (London, S. Hooper, 1756), p. 71.

98. *Ibid*, p. 74.

metres (1,500 feet) while some of the mountains he could see from Lyon were up to ten times higher.

Although the third itinerary was located much further to the east, it equally reveals the very weak interest vis-à-vis the Alps towards the golden age of the Grand Tour. Starting in Bavaria, the journey would reach Italy by way of Tyrol and the Brenner pass. The advantage of such choice was the presence of Innsbruck – often spelled *Inspruch* in British travel accounts – halfway through the itinerary. As a major settlement in the eastern Alps,⁹⁹ Innsbruck offered multiple opportunities for accommodation and socialising. It was a major centre for theatre and music before the age of the Enlightenment.¹⁰⁰ The journey to Italy would then resume towards Verona or Venice.

Despite the evident presence of mountains and the difficult conditions during the winter, that voyage was often discarded in published travelogues. Those describing the journey gave very few indications about the sequence of the road, which do not convey a sense of progression for the reader. Montesquieu briefly noted that nothing could be seen: “On est bien étonné quand on quitte la belle Italie pour entrer dans le Tyrol. Vous ne voyez rien jusques à Inspruck, rien jusques à Munich”.¹⁰¹ Sacheverell Stevens, for instance, travelling from Italy northbound, does not indicate at what point he started to be surrounded by the mountains of South Tyrol. His only indication was about the change of language in Trento: “Leaving Mantua early in the morning (...) about noon we arrived at the city of Trent, where the German language takes place, and the Italian left us”.¹⁰² While Mantua is still located in the plains of Veneto, Trento is clearly situated around the Dolomites, but Stevens, like many others, did not seem to find this noteworthy. Once arrived in Innsbruck, Stevens finally started to describe the mountains: “Inspruch, the capital of Tirol, beautifully situated and surrounded by

99. There were about 10,000 inhabitants in 1780 – that figure had doubled in two centuries.

Michael Forcher, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, Haymon, 2008), p. 216.

100. *Ibid*, pp. 167 – 169.

101. Cited in Rémy Knafou, *Les Alpes* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), p. 48. Translation: “One is very surprised when one leaves beautiful Italy to enter Tyrol. You don’t see anything until Innsbruck, you don’t see anything until Munich”.

102. Sacheverell Stevens, *Miscellaneous Remarks*, p. 366.

lofty mountains, the river passing through it”.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, although it was not as clearly portrayed as other stretches of the Alps, this journey was prevailing before the rise of Alpine tours, and had the precious advantage of preventing Grand Tour travellers from making large detours if they intended to visit Vienna, Munich, Venice or Salzburg.

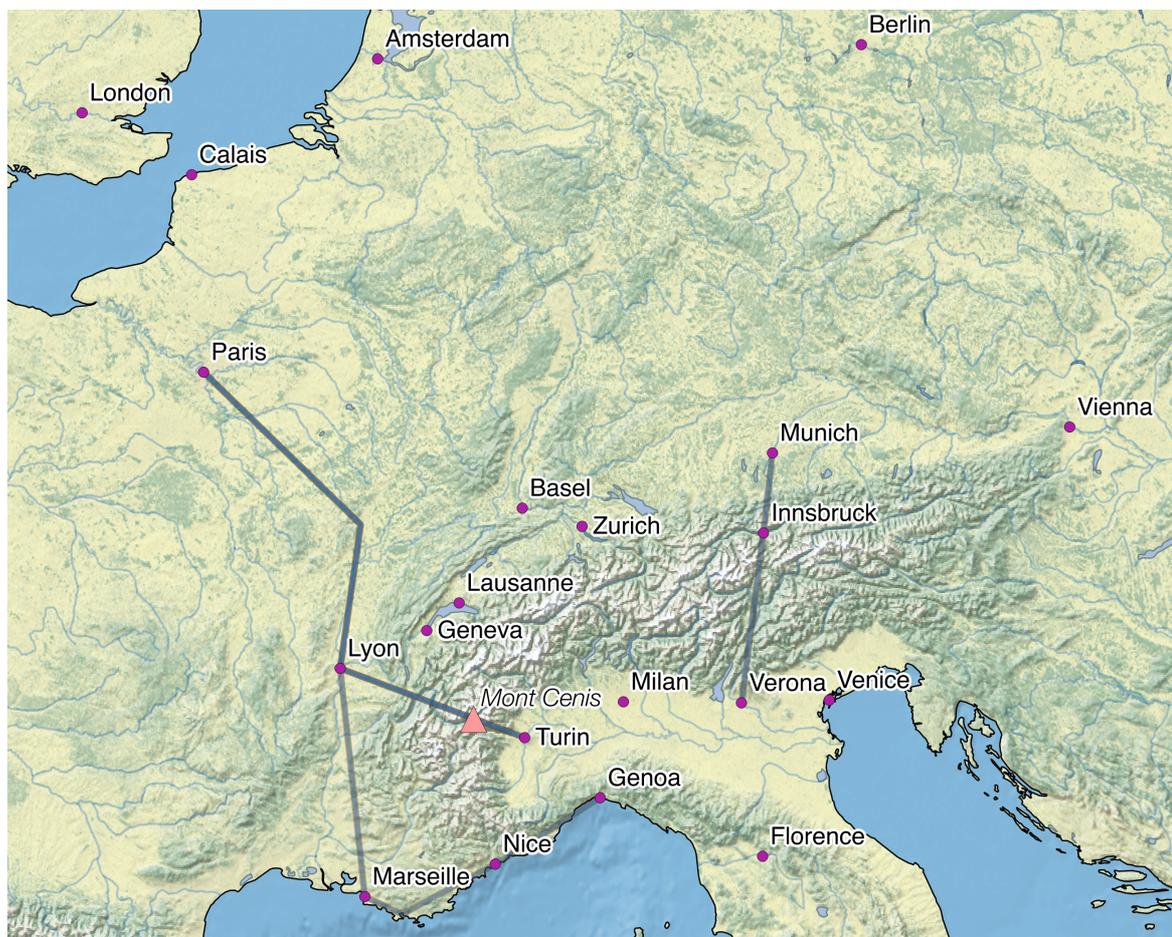


Figure 2: Summary of all three itineraries crossing the Alps as fast as possible

The rise of new routes through Switzerland

The three aforementioned itineraries evolved differently when the Alps gained their popularity. The itinerary through Tyrol remained, of course, one of the natural and evident links between the northeast of Italy and German-speaking lands. However, the interest for the mountains and vicinities of Tyrol never took off the way the north-western crescent of the Alps did. Moreover, the Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters did not reach the city of Innsbruck to the same extent as it did in

103. *Ibid.*, p. 367.

other places, the university refocused its activity on practical knowledge which would have a positive impact on local manual jobs, and plans to expand the library's collections were withdrawn.¹⁰⁴ The city, however, grew its own relationship with the Alps, becoming an access point to the mountains for urban elites living near the Eastern Alps.¹⁰⁵

Although some travellers obviously kept exploring the Mediterranean coast, those journeys were no longer made in order to avoid the Alps: attention to detail in those regions became much more considerable, proving therefore that travellers through the South of France were coming there for a reason as much as Alpine travellers did in the mountains. The French Riviera became particularly popular for winter holidays or for extended residences – especially English families looking for a climate that would be better for their health – and therefore its history broke away from that of Alpine travellers.¹⁰⁶

The route over Mont Cenis continued to attract travellers as it was the undeniably predominant itinerary through the western Alps before the 1750s. Napoleon, who is known for ordering the modernisation and building of routes in the Alps during his reign, considered Mont Cenis as one of the priority routes to modernise, and ordered so with a view to adding his name to the long history of that pass.¹⁰⁷ The construction started in 1803, but several yearly reports stated that more effort had to be made to make sure the road would be durable and able to welcome travellers at any time of the year. In 1807, in addition to levelling several steep sections of the road, the report indicates that many sections simply need to be built, the hospice needs to be refurbished, and that regular shelters need to be built, as Napoleon ordered it.¹⁰⁸ The vision Napoleon had was to consider Mont Cenis as a safe thoroughfare for travellers, not a mere crossable pass. Shelters were built

104. Michael Forcher, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Innsbruck*, pp. 208 – 209.

105. Anneliese Gidl, *Alpenverein: die Städter entdecken die Alpen* (Vienna, Böhlau, 2007).

106. Mary Blume, *Côte d'Azur: Inventing the French Riviera* (London, Thames & Hudson, 1992), p. 36.

107. William Brockedon, *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps by which Italy communicates with France, Switzerland, and Germany* (London, Brockedon, 1828), p. 15.

108. "Ponts et Chaussées: Rapport à Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale", 24 December 1807, Arch. Nat., AF/IV/1055.

regularly along the way to protect the travellers; they would consist of two-storey houses for which the length would be just under twenty metres.¹⁰⁹

In 1810, it is highlighted in the report that although the pass itself was about to be completed, the project had to be understood as a wider route, and more sections of the itinerary should have been taken care of, which is something engineers had evidently failed to realise. The report says:

Il reste d'immenses travaux à faire dans la Maurienne pour donner à la route le perfectionnement dont elle est susceptible et pour empêcher que dans la mauvaise saison elle puisse être parfois interrompue. Les travaux de la Maurienne et du Mont Cenis ont peut-être été conduits jusqu'ici avec plus d'intelligence que d'économie ; on ne s'est pas assez pressé de connaître leur ensemble et de réunir tous les projets.¹¹⁰

In all of these documents, Mont Cenis is understood as a large-scale route between Paris and Italy rather than a local road. Indeed, it is reminded in the previous report that the Mont Cenis axis is a great communication route between France and Italy, and therefore it is of the utmost importance to complete it.¹¹¹ Furthermore, based on a suggestion from the local *conseils généraux*, the 1807 report recommends that a new plain route between Tournus (in the Saône valley) and Bourg-en-Bresse would cut the journey time by foot by at least two days between Paris and Turin.¹¹² This comment shows the extent to which Mont Cenis was included in a vaster itinerary that started hundreds of miles away from the foot of the mountain. Mont Cenis therefore remained at the forefront of the growing list of Alpine routes in the early nineteenth century; however, a handful of new itineraries emerged in the second part of the eighteenth century and beyond.

109. "Plan, Coupe et Élévation d'un des Refuges projeté sur les parties élevées et les plus sujetes à la Tourmente, pour la conservation des Voyageurs dans le passage du Mont Cenis", Arch. Nat., AF/IV/1055.

110. "Rapport à Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale", 10 April 1810, Arch. Nat., AF/IV/1056.
Translation: There are vast works to be completed in the Maurienne in order to give the road the perfection it deserves and to prevent it from being disrupted during the bad season. The works in the Maurienne and in the Mont Cenis may have been conducted hitherto with more logistic than economic means.

111. Original: "Votre Majesté attache au maintien et au perfectionnement de cette grande communication de l'Italie avec la France toute l'importance qu'elle mérite ; elle sait que l'on y passe toute l'année."

112. Original: "Une route, qui, allant directement de Tournus à Chambéry par Bourg, abrègerait de près de deux journées de marche la route de Paris au Mont Cenis, en évitant tous les passages difficiles qui séparent le Pont de Beauvoisin de Chambéry."

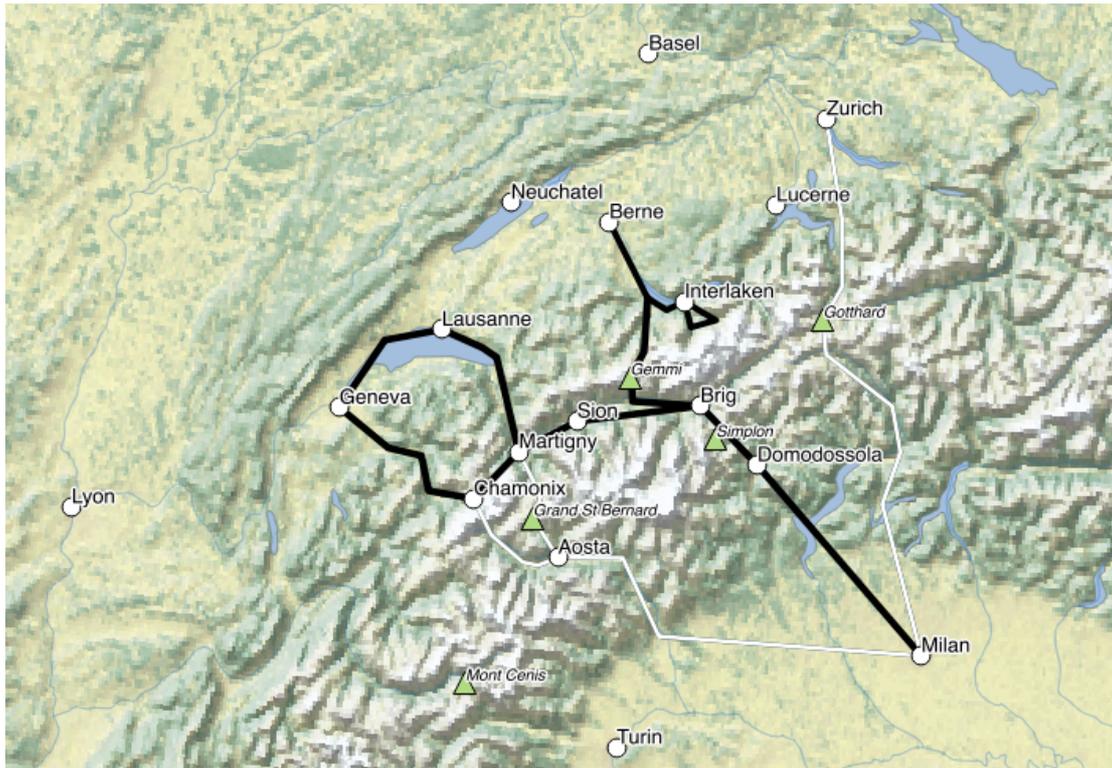


Figure 3: Itineraries under scrutiny in this section. The black routes are the most popular one, whilst the white routes' popularity will be questioned

The general trend described here most certainly shows the importance of Switzerland as a centre for travel and Alpine activities in the later part of the Enlightenment. Those territories were, of course, far from being unknown before the second half of the eighteenth century, and most of the routes popularised during that period were already recognised by merchants and wanderers. However, as the Alps became acknowledged for their visual beauty and their scientific opportunities, some transalpine routes became places where travellers could spend time visiting the vicinity, learning about local curiosities and populations. The routes of Switzerland offered all of this.

The first itinerary that gained significant popularity was the Simplon route. It is named after the Simplon pass, situated at the south-eastern tip of the canton of Valais/Wallis, along the valley of the river Rhône, near its source. The pass links the town of Brig in Valais to Domodossola in Piedmont. From a pragmatic point of view, despite the entire journey between Lake Geneva and the outskirts of Milan being made within the Alpine space¹¹³ (i.e. surrounded by Alpine mountains), the only

113. The question of where the 'Alpine space' started and ended and what it consisted of will be addressed in a later chapter.

obstacle was the Simplon pass itself. Taking place after a few days' journey across the canton of Valais, upstream towards the source of the river Rhône, the duration and difficulty of the ascent varied considerably between the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Although it was already used during the early modern period, the Simplon pass did not threaten the supremacy of Mont Cenis as the most popular transalpine itinerary.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Simplon route was a convenient one: along the way from Lake Geneva, many towns such as Bex, Saint-Maurice, Martigny, Sion, offered comfortable accommodation and meals. In 1815, on his way to Italy via the Simplon pass, Metternich was recognised by an innkeeper at Martigny, who served him a twenty-nine-course meal straight away.¹¹⁵ In addition to being safe, the Simplon route was promoted as a reliable way for Milanese merchants to reach Savoy. The Dukes kept reassuring traders who did not trust Mont Cenis in order to join Savoy, and therefore preferred to come via Simplon and Geneva.¹¹⁶

There was also plenty to see along the way: the mouth of the Rhône into Lake Geneva was often described, as well as the waterfall of Pissevache and the salt works of Bex, located nearby.¹¹⁷ Further up the valley, the town of Sion, the bilingual capital of Valais, had a strong mediaeval heritage and comfortable inns for travellers to stay at. The Rhône valley, which consists of a long straight line with high peaks on both sides, also offered a chance for travellers to gaze upon the natural landscape. The pass itself was often enthusiastically described, as Wordsworth did for instance in 1790 in a letter to his sister Dorothy: "At Brig we quitted the Valais and passed the Alps at the Simplon, in order to visit part of Italy. The impressions of three hours of our walk among these Alps will never be effaced".¹¹⁸

114. Étienne Bourdon, *Le voyage et la découverte des Alpes*, p. 84.

115. The anecdote, cited in Gavin de Beer's *Travellers in Switzerland* from an edition of *Aus Metternichs nachgelassenen Papieren* (Vienna, 1880), says that four hours after that copious meal in Martigny, Metternich attended a formal reception in Sion during which a seventy-nine-course meal was served.

116. Max Bruchet, *La Savoie d'après les Anciens Voyageurs*, p. 20.

117. John Moore described Bex as "a village remarkable for its delightful situation, and for the salt-works which are near it", although he felt very nauseous when approaching the salt works. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, p. 250.

118. William Angus Knight (ed), *Letters of the Wordsworth family from 1787 to 1855, Volume 1* (London, Ginn, 1907), p. 13.

Similarly to Mont Cenis, the Simplon pass was one of Napoleon’s priority roads to build within the Alpine space. In 1801, as he realised that the Paris to Milan route would eventually become an essential axis in his planned Empire, Napoleon ordered that the road from France towards Lausanne should be improved. Nicolas Céard, a Parisian-born who was the engineer for the *Département du Léman* at that time, created the new section which would avoid Swiss customs in St Cergue and proceed straight onto Lake Geneva.¹¹⁹ Céard planned the road over the Simplon shortly afterwards; as Lombardy was annexed to the Empire in 1805, the need to bind these territories together was necessary, and the Simplon was to become a key point of circulation for military moves. However, its true success unfolded slightly later on. The completion of the Simplon route, along with the reopening of the Continent to British travellers after Napoleon’s defeat, resulted in a rapid increase in traffic through the pass, which is visible in the database.

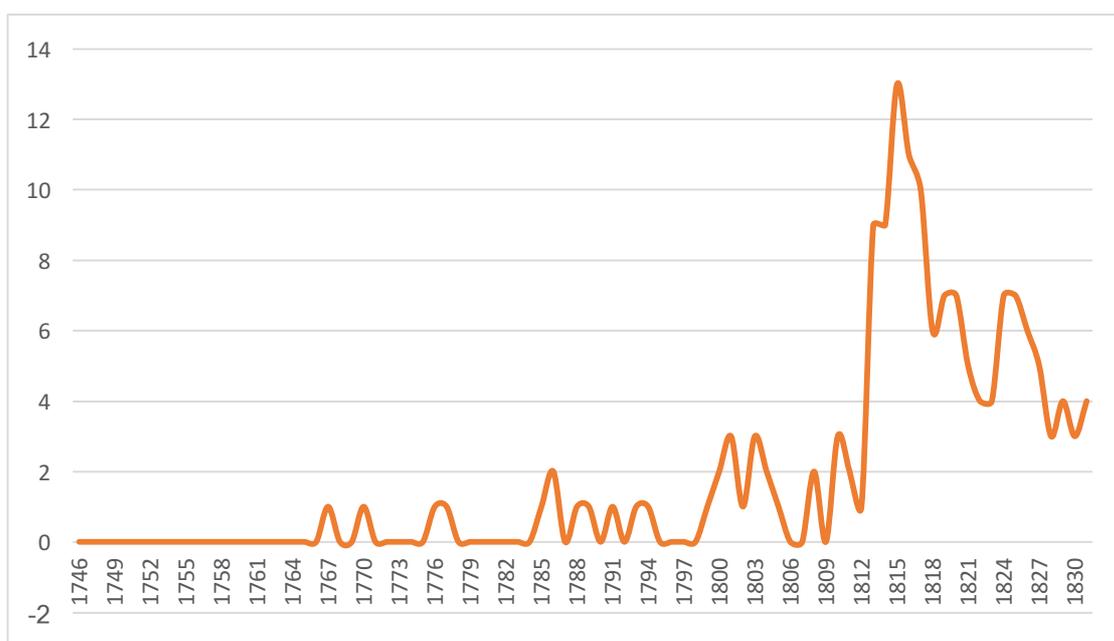


Figure 4: Number of travel accounts in the database crossing the Simplon pass (by year)

The Simplon route even became a tool for political blackmail, when Napoleon decided to absorb the Valais as one of the departments of the French Empire. The importance of the Simplon route as the link between the French Empire and the

119. Michel Lechevalier, *L'ingénieur Nicolas Céard (1745 – 1821) et la Route du Simplon* (Geneva, La Baconnière, 2007), p. 28.

Kingdom of Italy – which was equally part of Napoleon’s possessions – was seen as the first reason that justified such an annexation. The *décret* stipulates:

Considérant que la route du Simplon qui réunit l’Empire à notre royaume d’Italie, est utile à plus de soixante millions d’hommes ; qu’elle a coûté à nos trésors de France et d’Italie plus de dix-huit millions, dépense qui deviendrait inutile, si le commerce n’y trouvait commodité et parfaite sûreté.¹²⁰

Further, the text explains that the construction of the road was not at all facilitated by the Valais during the early phase of the project: “le Valais n’a tenu aucun des engagements qu’il avait contractés, lorsque nous avons fait commencer les travaux pour ouvrir cette grande communication”,¹²¹ leading to the following, straightforward statement: “Le Valais est réuni à l’Empire”. Thus, the Simplon route was far more than just a pass into Italy: it was a popular itinerary that was closely affiliated to the regions it crossed. It had a significant impact on those who used it, whether they were locals, travellers, or soldiers. This is what Figure 4 shows: from the moment the modern infrastructure was built and borders reopened, travellers widely chose Simplon as a communication axis across the Alps.

As previously explained, Windham and Pococke’s journey through the valley of Chamonix in 1741 significantly popularised the region amongst non-local travellers. The dramatic aspect of the valley, the number of glaciers, and the sight of Mont Blanc all made Chamonix an exceptional place for travellers to reach. The valley of Chamonix is not at all a transalpine itinerary: there was no reason for someone who wished to travel swiftly to Italy to call at Chamonix first. This route embodied the new attitude towards the Alps in the later part of the eighteenth century – exploring a borderland rather than crossing a borderline. The classic itinerary to Chamonix started in Geneva. Although both places never belonged to the same political entity – the border into Savoy had therefore to be crossed – the itinerary was the most convenient. Geneva was a cosmopolitan hub that had already been firmly

120. “Décret portant Réunion du Valais”, 10 November 1810, in “Réunion du Valais à la France : Extrait de pièces officielles” (A.M.L., 1 C 4029), p. 55.

Translation: Considering that the Simplon route which links the Empire to our kingdom of Italy is useful to over sixty million men; that it has cost to our treasuries of France and Italy over eighty million, an expense which would become pointless if commerce had no convenience nor safety there...

121. *Ibid.*

Translation: The Valais has respected none of the promises it had announce, when we started the construction to open this great means of communication.

established since the Reformation, with many types of accommodation and socialisation available. Chamonix could be reached within two days by travelling up the valley of the river Arve, and inns are mentioned by travel accounts in most intermediate towns: Bonneville, Cluses, Sallanches. Visually speaking, the mountains grow higher and higher as the travellers move up into the valley, making their expectation ever bigger. The dramatisation of such a journey made the route extremely popular, as the following chart shows.

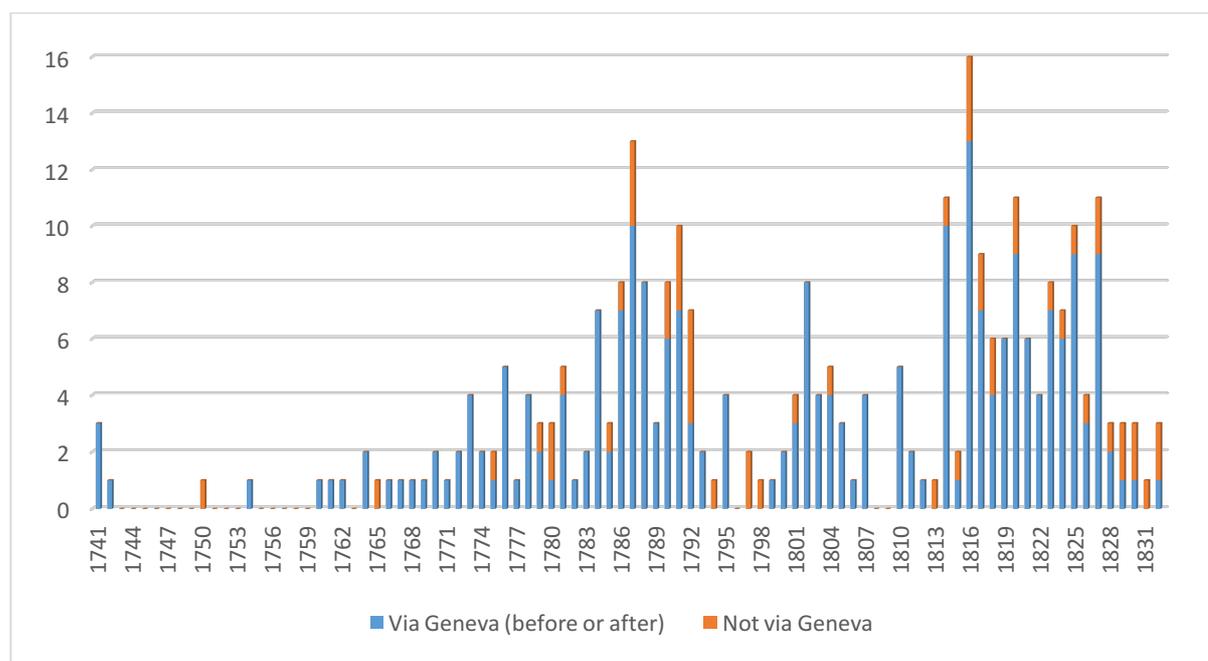


Figure 5: Number of travellers visiting Chamonix, sorted by whether they reached Chamonix via Geneva or not

This chart shows that most of the journeys to Chamonix were undertaken directly before or after a stopover in Geneva. Some of the journeys avoiding Geneva were made from or to Annecy.¹²² However, a majority of those non-Genevese tours were coming from and heading towards the other end of the valley of Chamonix. Towards the east of Chamonix, two main passes conveniently allowed travellers to join Martigny: the Tête Noire and the Col de Balme.¹²³ Once arrived in the Valais, they could choose between two major directions: heading back to the region of Lake Geneva, by going down the Rhône valley, or taking the Simplon route, by going

122. This route was mostly taken by non-Parisian French travellers (e.g. someone from Lyon, Provence, or southern France in general).

123. The itinerary via the Col de Balme also required to cross a second pass, closer to Martigny: the Forclaz pass.

upstream. From Chamonix, the Col du Bonhomme was another option and connected the valley to the Val d'Aosta and Courmayeur. Thus, in addition to being on a classic three-day itinerary from Geneva and back, Chamonix could also be used as a transit point, onwards to other alpine regions. Although it was not a transalpine place, it became a classic place where a detour was almost compulsory.

Since the above chart only portrays travellers who were mentioned in the travelogues stored by the database, it cannot do justice to the high number of visitors coming to Chamonix. By the 1830s, the number of annual visitors reached four thousand.¹²⁴ Travel writers often noted the flows of couples, families, known or unknown individuals with whom they were sharing a coach, or simply meeting at times. For example, in September 1816, Richard Sharp journeyed to Chamonix, then walked up to the glaciers near Montenvers with his guide. When he came back down to the village, he discovered that fifty-two of his fellow Britons had arrived into town.¹²⁵

As a result, Chamonix itself evolved as a place. The accounts on Windham and Pococke's expedition clearly described a small isolated village, only granted with an incredible location. The subsequent decades saw the development of inns and hotels, with the first inn opening in 1770. By the 1830s, Chamonix was already well equipped to turn this flow of travellers into modern-day tourists,¹²⁶ and the town became the hub of a much wider network.¹²⁷ The reaction from the local population to such changes was a blend of positive and negative views. Already in Peter Martel's travelogue, when he returned to Chamonix in 1742 after Windham and Pococke, many inhabitants of Chamonix gave precious information, advice, and guidance to those coming to take measurements and to map the surroundings. When Martel drew a map of the glaciers, assisted by a knowledgeable local, he wrote: "I have more reason to believe this Map to be exact, because I have more compared it with a Map

124. Peter H. Hansen, *The Summits of Modern Man: Mountaineering after the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 177.

125. David Knapman, *Conversation Sharp: the biography of a London Gentleman Richard Sharp (1759 – 1835) in letters, prose and verse* (Dorchester, Dorset Press, 2003), p. 322.

126. Jim Ring, *How the English made the Alps*, p. 26.

127. See chapter 3.

that I saw at the *Greffier's* of *Chamouny*, which was a great Service to me".¹²⁸ Many locals also became guides to help the travellers on their way to the glaciers: there was so much choice that guidebooks started to indicate which guides were to be trusted. Marc-Théodore Bourrit, whose many guidebooks on the region of the glaciers had become famous beyond the borders of Savoy, listed seventeen guides worth trusting in 1791. He introduced the list by saying: "Dès votre arrivée vous serez assaillies par une foule de guides; mais comme il en est qui n'ont pris cet état que depuis peu, je vais vous nommer ceux en qui vous devez avoir toute confiance".¹²⁹ Therefore, from a small *prieuré*, Chamonix and its population naturally embraced the itinerary of which they were the core.

However, there was a clear separation between the local settlement's daily life and the transnational flows they were witnessing ever more constantly every year, and some of the local population wanted to ensure that separation was crystal clear. In 1815, the inhabitants of the hamlet of Gaudenay signed a petition refusing to pay for the refurbishment of a wooden bridge situated on their territory. Their argument was that the bridge was located on the itinerary leading to the Valais, for which no one in the village had any use.¹³⁰ Since Chamonix had become a quintessentially Alpine place, the tensions and dynamics that lay there very much represented what the Alpine space as a whole was: an interwoven blend of cosmopolitan wanderers and more or less reluctant locals.

If Chamonix was rapidly seen as a must-go place within the Alps, so did the *Berner Oberland*. Many similarities allowed the region to become an open and popular place during the Enlightenment, and to remain so until today. The Bernese

128. Peter Martel, "An Account of a *Journey* to the Glacieres in Savoy, in a Letter addressed to the English Gentleman, Author of the foregoing letter" in *An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy* (Ipswich, Craighton, 1747), p. 21.

129. Marc-Théodore Bourrit, *Itinéraire de Genève, Lausanne et Chamouni* (Geneva, Didier, 1791), pp. 227 – 229.

Translation: "Upon your arrival, you will be surrounded by a crowd of guides; however, since some of them have only taken up this position recently, I will list those whom you must fully trust".

130. "Extrait du Registre des ordonnances – de l'Intendance de la Province du Fauvigny", 11 September 1815, A.M.C.

Original: "Ils demandent de ne pas être chargé de la reconstruction et entretien du pont en bois dit des Iles, parce qu'ils prétendent que ce pont qui n'a été établi que depuis que la route a été pratiquée par Argentières, et le Vallais ne leur est d'aucune utilité".

Oberland was already the laboratory of Swiss scientists before the Enlightenment: Johann Jakob Scheuchzer and Albrecht von Haller famously explored the region, and Haller's famous poem *Die Alpen*, in which he was the first to describe the allegory of the *homo alpinus* as a free man living in his mountain, was inspired by his visit to the Oberland in 1728.¹³¹

The Bernese Oberland is located in the Canton of Berne, at the centre of Switzerland. Leaving the city of Berne and travelling upstream along the river Aare, a long plain gradually reveals the Bernese Alps. On a clear day, many travellers noticed the mountains from Berne itself.¹³² As the valley gets narrower, the river becomes wider and forms, along the eponymous town, the Lake of Thun (*Thunersee*). Shortly after the eastern tip of the lake, the Aare joins another lake, Lake Brienz (*Brienzersee*); the stream east of Lake Brienz comes straight from the source of the Aare from the Grimsel. Between both lakes lies the town of Interlaken, which evolved, as Alpine travel became more and more important, into a hub for tourism and a cosmopolitan resort.

Unlike Chamonix from Geneva, Interlaken is located at a similar altitude as Berne, and therefore the journey was entirely made on flat ground. From Interlaken, travellers were able to continue eastbound along Lake Brienz to Meiringen, from where they could either cross the Grimsel pass into the cantons of Valais (towards Brig) or Uri (towards the Furka pass and the St Gotthard route), or head north towards Lucerne via the Brünig pass. Both routes became extremely popular among travellers who were continuing to or coming from the more easterly parts of Switzerland – Zurich, Graubünden, or Ticino. However, most travellers were attracted to the Bernese Oberland for the group of valleys and mountains that were located at the south of Interlaken. Dominated by the three Sister Mountains – the Jungfrau, the Eiger, and the Mönch – this itinerary was first undertaken from Interlaken to Lauterbrunnen, a small village surrounded by impressive waterfalls. The highest of

131. Caroline Schaumann, "From Meadows to Mountaintops: Albrecht von Haller's "Die Alpen"", in *Heights of Reflection: Mountains in the German imagination from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* (Rochester, New York, Camden House, 2012), p. 60.

132. William Coxe's well-read *Travels in Switzerland* described Berne as a city with "singular neatness and beauty (...) an abrupt chain of rugged and snow-capt alps bounds the distant horizon". William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland, in a series of letters to William Melmoth, Volume II* (London, Cadell, 1789), p. 210.

the falls, the Staubbachfall, attracted many travellers, among which Lord Byron, whom the fall inspired for several of his poems during his 1816 tour. In 1819, French archaeologist Désiré Raoul-Rochette dined at the inn in Lauterbrunnen and he noted: “Vingt-quatre voyageurs, venus de divers endroits de la Suisse, étaient rassemblés autour de la même table ; et parmi tous ces étrangers, dont dix-huit étaient Anglais, j’étais le seul de ma nation”.¹³³ From Lauterbrunnen, travellers could visit the glaciers in Grindelwald or climb the Grosse Scheidegg in order to cross back down towards Meiringen.

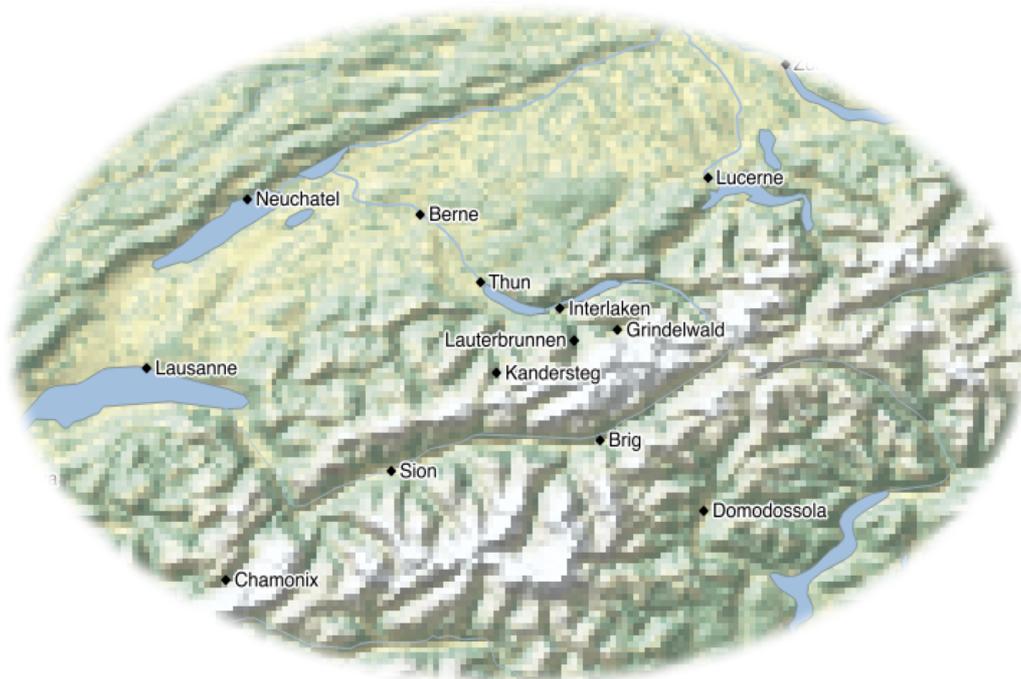


Figure 6: Brief overview of the vicinities of the Berner Oberland, centred around Interlaken. From the region, travellers could also join Valais via the valley of Kandertal and the Gemmi pass. The journey could start from Interlaken or Thun, heading towards the town of Kandersteg. After Kandersteg, most of them would cross the Gemmi pass in order to enter Valais. Albeit very popular in the second part of the eighteenth century, this itinerary did not receive the treatment and maintenance that the Simplon or Mont Cenis did. English historian William Coxe wrote that “from the village of Kandersteg,

133. Désiré Raoul-Rochette, *Lettres sur la Suisse, écrites en 1819, 1820 et 1821* (Paris, Nepveu, 1828), p. 188 – 189.

Translation: Twenty four travellers, coming from all corners of Switzerland, were gathered around the same table; among all these foreigners, of whom eighteen were English, I was the only one from my home country”.

delicate travellers, who do not choose to mount a rugged ascent, either on foot or on horseback, are carried in an arm-chair supported by means of poles upon men's shoulders".¹³⁴ Despite its very small size, the village of Kandersteg was an important landmark as it was located near the linguistic border between the francophone and German-speaking parts of Switzerland. Travellers often noticed the difference and sometimes needed to visit the local inn in order to find a new guide who would speak the relevant language. Once travellers entered the Valais, the village of Leukerbad was a popular destination – one of the first baths established in Roman times, many centuries before the rise of spa towns in the nineteenth century. After Leukerbad, travellers were only miles away from the flat part of the Rhône valley, between Sion and Brig, and could proceed in either direction on the Simplon route.

The numerous itineraries and possibilities in the Bernese Oberland, all in a relatively closed circuit, explain the popularity this region gained, similarly to the Chamonix valley which was connected to Geneva as well as to the Tête Noire, the Col de Balme, the Col du Bonhomme, in addition to the routes available to the glaciers. There were options for all sorts of travellers, from cautious tourists to proto-alpinists, all leading to the same four directions: Berne, the St Gotthard, the Valais, or Lucerne.

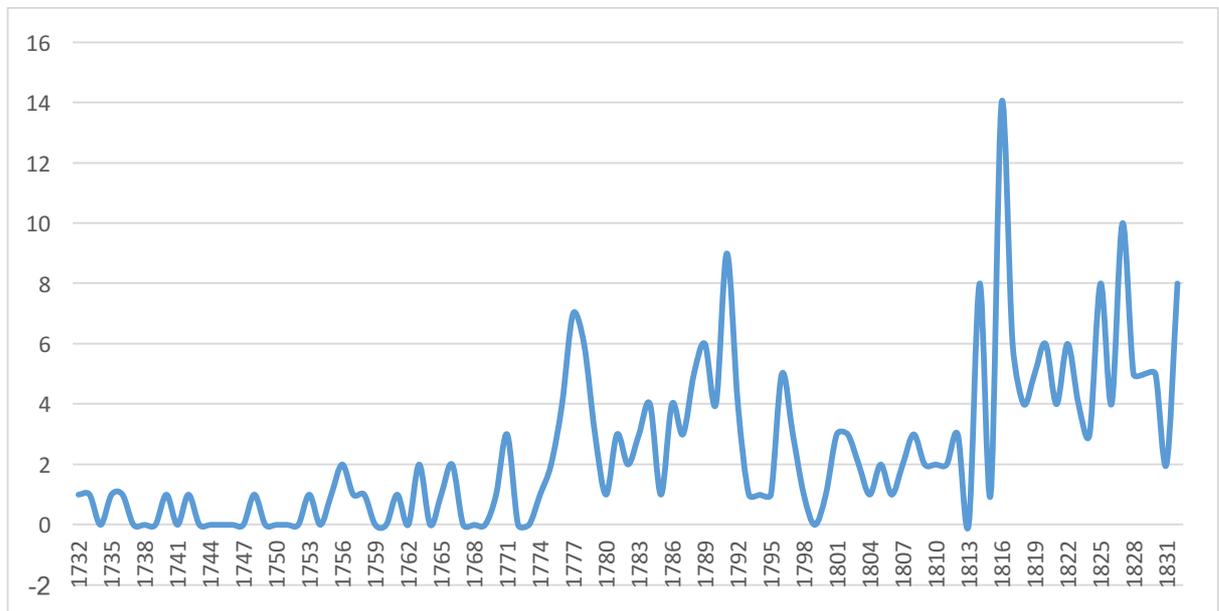


Figure 7: Number of published travelogues passing through Kandersteg and/or Interlaken

134. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland, and in the Country of the Grisons* (London, Strahan, 1801), p. 394.

The north-western Alps, with Switzerland at its forefront, had many other itineraries travellers could choose from – either for long transalpine journeys or small excursions. St Gotthard and the Grand St Bernard passes, reaching Italy respectively from central Switzerland and south-western Switzerland, were already popular and heavily used during the Middle Ages. The St Gotthard was part of the itinerary from Zurich to Milan via Lake Como, whereas the Grand St Bernard was one of the easiest options from Geneva, via Val d’Aosta. Despite being convenient and classic ways for merchants and travellers, these two passes appeared far less in travel accounts, as the results extracted from the database show below.

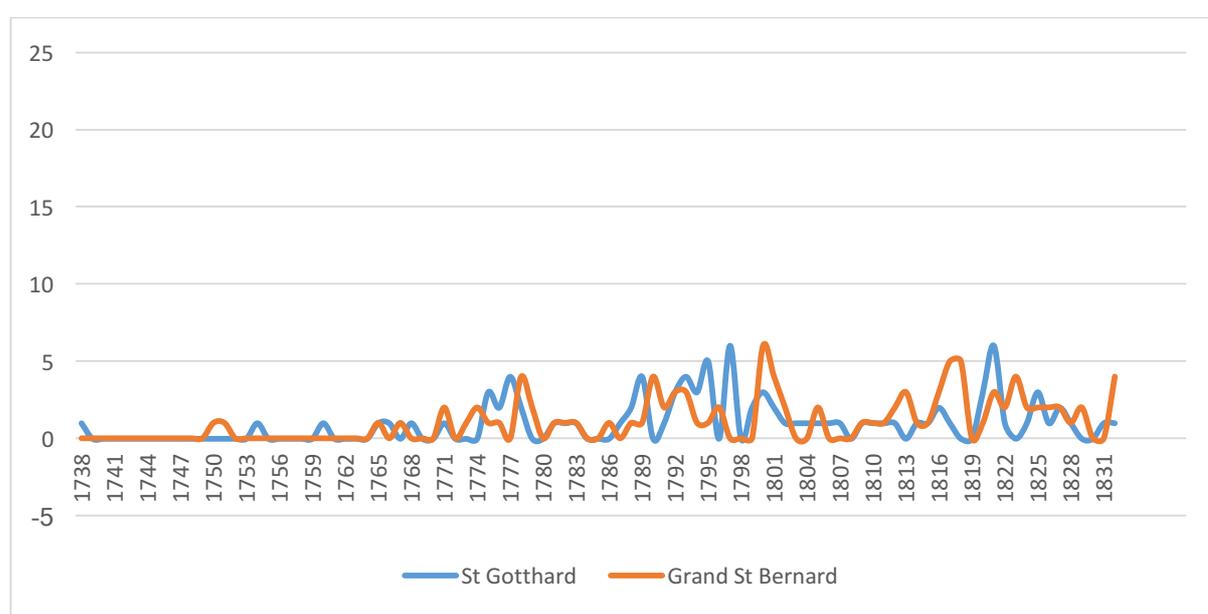


Figure 8: Number of travellers registered in the database passing through the St Gotthard and Grand St Bernard passes, sorted per year.

St Gotthard certainly has been central Switzerland’s most essential pass and route to access Ticino and Italy; yet its presence in travelogues and its reputation are scarce. The enthusiasm found in descriptions of Chamonix, the Bernese Oberland, or Simplon are simply not as present in the case of the St Gotthard. This does not mean that St Gotthard fell into oblivion; on the contrary, many travellers coming from Germany, Austria, Italy, and the East naturally took it. However, the routes going through St Gotthard were not the ones that were influenced by the rise of Alpine tours in western areas from the 1750s onwards. This is something that comes very clear when studying travellers’ mental mapping in the Alps.¹³⁵

135. See following chapters.

Although the Grand St Bernard was famously crossed by Napoleon during his Italian campaign, the pass was not part of the main set of institutional itineraries which had gained a solid reputation during in the wake of the Enlightenment either. It was used mostly by travellers who were planning on visiting Chamonix and Courmayeur before descending back towards Martigny (or vice-versa). The Grand St Bernard lost its transalpine character, because it was situated away from two of the most important axes at that time: Geneva to Chamonix, and Geneva to Milan via the Simplon. As a result, the Val d'Aosta remained a little known vicinity of the Alps; away from the itineraries travellers took and told other travellers to take.

By the dawn of the nineteenth century, the tone and geographical look of most travel accounts had significantly changed: the former transalpine routes were decreasingly promoted, while the latter ones became classic itineraries, places that the elites had to visit in order to experience 'the Alps' they had read about in other travelogues. These key itineraries paved the way for a more structured network in which local towns would develop and where travellers would be able to connect and socialise more efficiently. This network was the key tool to turn this group of people on the move into a structured Alpine space.

Chapter 3

From individual experiences to interconnected networks: the rise of *an* Alpine space

The rise of the number of travellers as well as the development of specific itineraries across and around the Alps heralded the emergence of further infrastructures and interconnections as a result. As travellers toured the Alps for various reasons, multiple types of socialisation, correspondence, and knowledge transfer developed. The Alps increasingly became a network built for people on the move. This chapter analyses the ways in which the Alps evolved as a network and a space as a consequence of the travel phenomena that took place there.

First of all, the Alps became a network *of* travellers *for* travellers. As infrastructures were improved, it became more and more simple for scientists and tourists to plan their journeys and to meet those who would facilitate their travelling experience. Itineraries became thoroughfares filled with points of contact; cities and towns grew as network hubs and nodes where travellers would be able to establish and interact with other Alpine contacts. These were the early steps of what would become an economic market and a touristic network later in the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, the Alpine space became more than an ensemble of organised travel flows. Beyond travellers, a significant part of the population became part of this dynamic, making the Alps a vast network of people and a new type of local-visitor relationship. This chapter will investigate the role of local inhabitants who acted as media between their local environment and those who came to visit it. Finally, the awareness of this very travel phenomenon became part of its own nature: the development of routes, the discovery of peaks, and the release of new travel literature mattered to those who were using the network. The final stage of this chapter will address the crucial link between the production of knowledge, its acquisition by other travellers, and the continuation of this cycle.

A network of travellers, for travellers: structural evolutions of the Alpine space

As the previous chapter showed, routes across the Alps were consolidated and gained a strong reputation which allowed them to prosper and to be made durable. These

itineraries enhanced the early stages of a more structured way to travel in the Alps. Paradoxically, the Grand Tour was an institutionalised and organised way for the elites to tour Europe; however, their connections to local environments remained very scarce, and travel accounts normally did not emphasise at all on the importance of the journey's progression itself. These itineraries then became proper thoroughfares: along the way, a succession of inns, shelters or contact points was almost guaranteed on all main Alpine routes.

Inns are an obsession in travel literature, and this is clearly visible in the work of Alpine travellers – increasingly so throughout the period studied. There were early comments about Alpine inns during the early modern period. They were not always negative: Gabriel Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was surprised by the inns in Graubünden in the late seventeenth century. Although he wrote very little about the mountains, he described the local inns as follows: “The Inns upon the mountains are very good; and there is always to be had, besides good Bread and Wine, great Quantity of Game and Venison”.¹³⁶ As travel in the Alps developed, and inns became more and more pillars of Alpine wandering, comparisons started to take place, and certain travellers spent many words and pages giving extended reviews of their accommodation experiences. Some were thorough and precise, but other comments, on the other hand, were rather vague. In 1818, Marianne Baillie, a leisure traveller and poet, commented on a breakfast she had at an inn in St Jean de Maurienne. She found the inn dirty, before adding “as all the inns of Savoy are”.¹³⁷ The next day, she stayed at the Grand Hôtel des Voyageurs in Lans-le-Bourg, at the foot of Mont Cenis, where she found the place clean and comfortable; “a delightful change to us”, she added.¹³⁸ Despite vague descriptions, these remarks did construct the territory of the Alps for subsequent travellers. Indeed, this was not the first time that Savoy was depicted as a disappointing region for accommodation: Baillie's comments, therefore, contributed to feeding that imprecise rumour.

136. Gabriel Burnet, *Some letters, containing an account of what seem'd most remarkable in travelling through Switzerland, Italy, some parts of Germany, etc.* (1708), p. 309.

137. 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, John Muray, 1819), p. 124.

138. *Ibid*, p. 130.

Inns were not the only format of course. Hotels became a preferred type of accommodation in the early nineteenth century, and private accommodation remained a very natural choice when other options were restricted. The increased density of travel flows meant that inns could be full at times, which travellers often commented on. For instance, Mary Berry, an English travel writer, arrived in Lausanne from Geneva at six in the evening in 1803, and found the inns full. She explained the reason for that: “As no less than three English families had left Geneva and Secheron on the same day, and upon the same account as ourselves, we found all the inns full”.¹³⁹ Thus she showed that itineraries and patterns were important in the structure of the networks: multiple travellers following the same route at the same rhythm would lead them to the same hubs with risks of congested nodal points. Marianne Baillie had the same experience in Geneva, where she “had the mortification of being turned away from every inn except one, owing to the swarms of our countrymen who had previously monopolized all accommodation”.¹⁴⁰

It is more difficult to map the impact of private accommodation on Alpine hubs. Their quality, availability and the friendliness of their owners differed hugely. Marianne Baillie and her husband could not find a hotel in Lausanne, as they were all booked out, but eventually found a nice house at the top of Lausanne’s hill featuring “the view of the Chateau de Chillon and mountains, in the distance”.¹⁴¹ However, private houses were also emergency solutions for all types of travellers; whilst travelling through more remote corners of the Alps, they could often only count on a farmer’s barn or a priest’s house. Whilst touring the Jura mountains in search for plants, Thomas Blaikie often had to negotiate with locals in order to stay in their house, sometimes having to promise money. One day, as he was in such situation, he was only offered goat’s cheese, as the residents had no food available. Blaikie wrote on that experience: “this was the first time I began to find real misery for how those people lived I did not know”.¹⁴²

139. Theresa Lewis (ed), *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783 to 1852* (London, Longmans, 1865), p. 259.

140. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 245.

141. *Ibid*, p. 280.

142. Francis Birrell (ed), *Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the end of the Eighteenth Century, by Thomas Blaikie* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1931), p. 71.

Despite these occurrences, the Alpine space for travellers developed substantially towards the beginning of the nineteenth century: if accommodation was essential, routes and roads were even more crucial in order to structure movement across and around the Alps. As already mentioned, many routes and roads were modernised as part as plans to turn Alpine passes into safe and secure channels for goods, people, and military movements. Furthermore, the modernisation of those routes gave a valuable reputation to those who ordered it, as these routes became golden itineraries. The most impressive example is that of Napoleon. He is perhaps not the most shining figure in the history of the Alps: as previously mentioned, his Continental Blockade was a brake to Alpine travel for more than a decade. For locals, his annexation and administration of some parts of the Alps were far from being seen positively. His obsession with turning the Valais into a *département* did not give him a popular image there either. Having said that, the development of Alpine routes and shelters crowned him with far more positive posterity. Marianne Baillie met a local at Les Écheltes, in Dauphiné. Despite her personal dislike for Napoleon, she reported the following the story :

The master of the post-house in the midst of these mountains seemed a great admirer of the magnificent genius of Napoleon, and said (speaking of the tunnel we had lately passed), que cet homme la avoit bravé la nature : he added, "that if he had reigned only two years longer, he would have completed this grand undertaking; but now all was at an end; for the king of Sardinia was not the sort of person to carry on the daring plans of his great predecessor". The manner in which this man described Bonaparte to have first conceived and determined upon the work in question was strongly characteristic of the decision peculiar to the latter. He was passing through the ancien horrible road, with his engineer, stopped, and pointing to the mountains, said, "Is it not possible to cut a tunnel through the entrails of yonder rock, and to form a more safe and commodious route beneath it?"-"It is possible, certainly, sire.", replied the scientific companion. "Then let it be done, and immediately", rejoined the emperor.¹⁴³

This was a popular habit in British travel accounts after 1815; travellers often commented on the quality of Napoleon's grand-scale Alpine infrastructures. Those were not only the Mont Cenis and the Simplon routes; Napoleon often insisted on improving safety in most Alpine regions. As he journeyed back to Paris from his exile on Elba, he ordered that the places he crossed would be equipped with better roads and shelters for travellers.

As these evolutions turned itineraries into structured routes, they equally transformed Alpine cities and towns into proper hubs and nodes of the networks. Each developed differently and their role within the Alpine space was as diverse, depending

143. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 113.

on their size and on whether they were located in the mountains or in peripheral plains. The numbers of foreign visitors in major cities around the Alps were very unbalanced before the 1750s, depending on whether they had a strategic location and importance in terms of trade, intellectual networks, and in the frame of the Grand Tour. Geneva, for instance, was a major religious hub for Protestantism since the sixteenth century, and already benefited from large flows of travellers and visitors, while Zurich, albeit an important economic centre,¹⁴⁴ did not even attract a cosmopolitan population and remained governed by a few local families. The number of inhabitants in Zurich even decreased, as the conditions to become a citizen of the city toughened.¹⁴⁵ As the below chart shows, all three cities followed similar trends, as travellers often decided to cross several valleys and visit multiple cities. However, each city had its set of particular milestones and local circumstances: Geneva and Berne were widely influenced by whether Britons could visit Continental Europe or not, while Zurich depended more substantially on travel movements coming from and to Lake Constance and the Gotthard. Politics also played a role in shaping each city's relationship with the Alps: Geneva's 1782 revolution¹⁴⁶ as well as annexation by France between 1798 and 1815 had an effect on its visitors' origins, while Berne and Zurich remained part of Switzerland and as a result depended on the Confederation's political evolutions and revolutions. Moreover, the outbreak of the French Revolution attracted many *émigrés* to Geneva and Berne, while Zurich was less exposed to that flow.

144. Nicholas Bouvier et al. (eds), *Geneva, Zurich, Basel: History, Culture, and National Identity* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994).

145 . William Coxe published the following numbers in his *Travels in Switzerland*: 1357: 12,375. 1756: 11,012. 1762: 10,616. 1769: 10,574. 1780: 10,559. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland, and in the Country of the Grisons* (London, Strahan, 1801), p. 77.

146. For a history of the city of Geneva, see Paul Guichonnet (ed), *Histoire de Genève* (Toulouse, Privat, 1974).

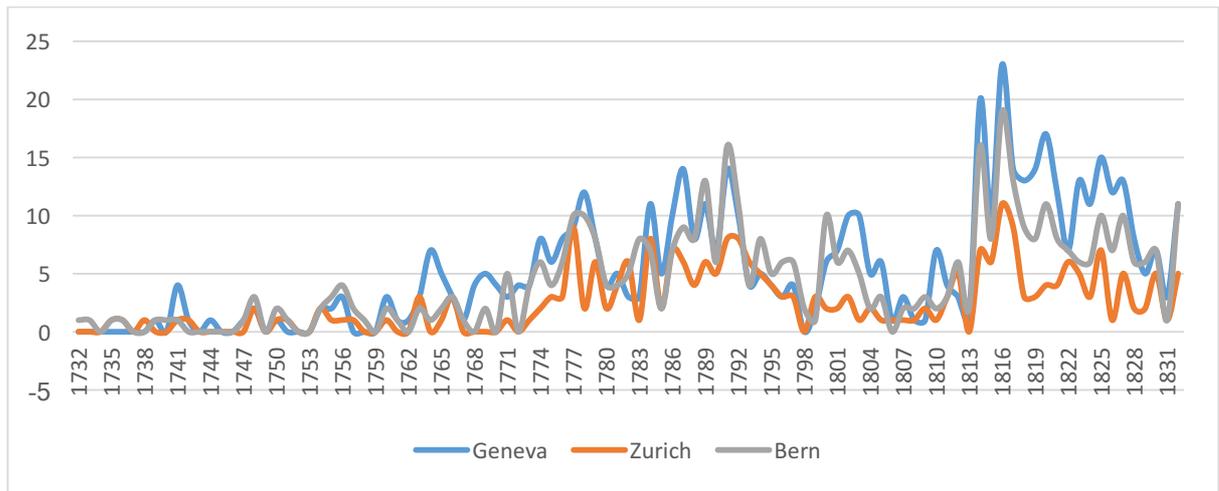


Figure 9: Evolution of the number of visitors to Geneva, Zurich and Berne in the database, sorted by year

Each city incorporated the Alpine space as one of its spheres of influence, all following the same trend and featuring their own specificities at the same time. Hotels gained key significance in cities, yet they did not suffice and were often full, forcing travellers to opt for inns or private homes.

Cities were not only places to stay at between two Alpine tours, they were also places of socialisation and leisurely meetings. Through this socialisation, travellers often acquired financial or logistical means to continue their journey. Thomas Blaikie's botanical wanderings among the Alps and the Jura were made far easier by his acquaintance with Paul Gausson, a Geneva resident married to a Scot who put him in touch with Swiss botanists and offered him money and letters of recommendation for each of his excursions.¹⁴⁷

Finally, cities were often a convenient way to find transport means and guides that would take travellers to their next destination. The first well-known event was the meeting between Windham and Pococke in Geneva, who organised their trip to Chamonix from the city itself, hiring servants and people to carry stocks. Moreover, finding transport means in cities often guaranteed travel to another major urban centre. Indeed, since guides and coach drivers were often reluctant to reach random areas, their organisation was from big town to big town. On their way to Neuchâtel from France in 1814, as the Shelleys wished to explore remote parts of the Jura, their *voiturier* showed much hostility every time the Shelleys wanted to move off the beaten track, and he would be waiting in the next town instead. He finally ended that

147. Francis Birrell (ed), *Diary of a Scotch Gardener*, p. 1.

intricate relationship by leaving the coach at the border town of Pontarlier, where they could find another *voiturier*, and returned on his mule to Troyes.¹⁴⁸

Smaller towns equally evolved and increasingly grew to accommodate the needs of travellers. Interlaken and Chamonix both represent this trend. Chamonix remained an isolated *parish*, even several decades after Windham and Poccocke's expedition. The first inns and hotels were built in the 1770s. By the 1820s, not only had those inns become conventional hotels, but they had acquired a cosmopolitan and commercial approach, mostly turned towards British travellers. The best-known hotels in town were the *Hôtel d'Angleterre* and the *Hôtel de Londres*. The former was the upgraded version of the first inn opened by Madame Coutterand in 1770, where Byron stayed in the Summer of 1816.¹⁴⁹ The latter is mentioned in the Shelleys' letters sent from Chamonix,¹⁵⁰ and where Percy wrote his poem "Mont Blanc: Lines Written in the Vale of Chamouni". Chamonix was no longer a mere meeting point for travellers wishing to climb up to Montenvers, but a fashionable hub where visitors usually spent most of their Alpine experience at the foot of the mountains meeting locals, collecting plants, writing texts, instead of focusing on visiting the glaciers. A French visitor described Chamonix in an 1826 letter as the following resort:

Aujourd'hui c'est bien différent : il y a dans cette Tombouctou de Pokoke trois beaux hôtels où règne une telle affluence d'étrangers, que souvent ils suffisent à peine. Jamais la nature n'a été plus à la mode, ni la mode plus près de la nature. Des dames parées à robes garnies, des Anglaises en robes de voyage richement brodées, des hommes en habit noir et en grande tenue. Qui croirait qu'il s'agit de gravir le Montanvert et de s'en aller au sommet des Alpes ?¹⁵¹

Interlaken attracted similar waves of travellers into the Bernese Oberland, as it was clearly located away from the high valleys of Lauterbrunnen. This started slightly later than Chamonix; in 1805, the first Unspunnen festival, celebrating the Swiss union that had been just secured by Napoleon, and advertised by Madame de Staël,

148. Percy Bysshe Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks' Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, with letters* (London, Hookham, 1817), p. 39.

149. Cited in Cian Duffy, *Shelley and the Revolutionary Sublime* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 87.

150. *Ibid*, p. 140.

151. Philippe de Golbéry, *Lettres sur la Suisse. Quatrième partie : Lac de Genève, Chamouny, Valais* (Paris, Engelmann, 1827), p. 15.

opened Interlaken to the flow of cosmopolitan travellers.¹⁵² Ten years later, Britons were fully acquainted with it.

The Grand Tour was the period whereby people on the move looked for ways to complete their education. Whether they were ruins of Ancient Rome or cities where to settle for a few years of intense education, those places of knowledge acquisition were very much static.¹⁵³ With the advent of Alpine tours and the spread of scientific research, knowledge in the Alps became a moving commodity. There are three key aspects which facilitated this circulation: means, correspondences, and goods. First, the means were the essential fuel to the spread of Alpine knowledge; as already shown, money and infrastructures were essential to empower those who travelled across the Alps to discover and share the mountains' knowledge. Financial support was essential in each city or town, and so was ensuring people could move freely and easily across the region. Secondly, correspondences obviously played a huge role in the spread of Alpine knowledge across Europe. Most published accounts are original letters – be they personal or more official – often sent from Alpine towns and replied to within weeks. The construction of Alpine geography and scientific knowledge for Britons, Parisians, and others started in those very letters. Wordsworth wrote a long one to his sister Dorothy. It was written on 6th September 1790 on the shore of Lake Constance, but Wordsworth added later messages to it before sending the whole lot, such as this paragraph written in the Bernese Oberland:

I am at this present moment (14th September) writing at a small village on the road from Grindelwald to Lauterbrunnen. By consulting your maps, you will find these villages in the south-east part of the canton of Berne, not far from the lakes of Thun and Brientz. After viewing the valley of Lauterbrunnen, we shall have concluded our tour of the more Alpine part of Switzerland”

The circulation and delivery of letters across Europe was very efficient, and this brought knowledge much closer to those who were unfamiliar with the Alps. Therefore in addition to the accounts that were published months or years after the actual journeys, those letters were giving a vibrant and alive circulation to the discovery of the Alps.

152. Regina Bendix, “Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?”, in *The Journal of American Folklore* (Vol. 102, No. 404, April – June 1989), p. 135.

153. Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy (c. 1690-1820)* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 25.

Finally, goods were equally circulating in, out, and across the Alps. Scientists on long, multi-month exploration journeys used postal services to ship their found objects and to keep researching at the same time; this therefore put Alpine material culture equally on the move. Thomas Blaikie, who is a great example of tedious Alpine scientific itineraries, used the outskirts of Geneva as a base to replant his discovered species. His entire scientific stay in the Alps stretched across 1775 and 1776. He regularly shipped his samples back to his Geneva base before the end of his excursions, asking his contacts and guides to ensure this was done. Although this was concentrated on a small circle around Lake Geneva, there was an intense network of plant circulation involving many actors.

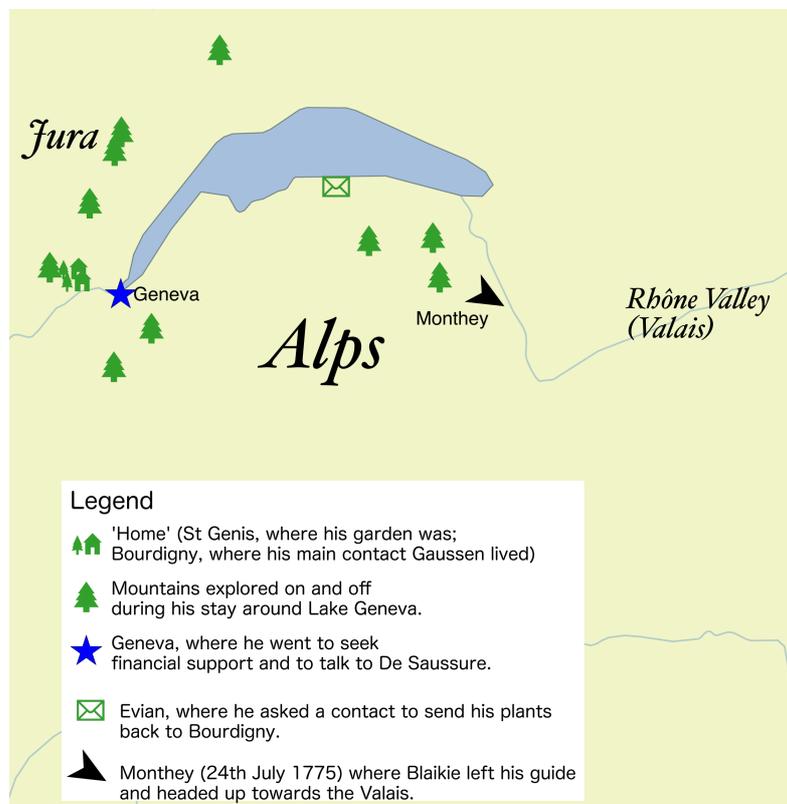


Figure 10: simplified map of Blaikie's main places of contact and exploration between 6th May and 24th July 1775.

Taking Alpine networks to life: the importance of locals, facilitators, and contributors beyond users

By exclusively focusing on the development of Alpine networks on travellers themselves, many dynamics and interwoven points are omitted. Beyond those who discovered and gazed upon the mountains, many local actors brought their necessary contribution in order to connect visitors to the region. Natives of the Alps began to be guides through peaks and valleys; they gave recommendations, they started displaying

their local cabinets of curiosities. Beyond local inhabitants, expatriates and travellers who were staying for several months also contributed to structuring the travel networks of the Alps: they facilitated the dialogue between a region and its curious visitors.

The analysis of travellers is very often confronted to the issue of perception and authenticity vis-à-vis the local population. This work is indeed the story of external visitors developing the reputation and the representations of the Alps to a wider European public. However, many members of local communities and settlements in the Alps played a vital role in order to connect travellers to the Alps in the most authentic way possible.

The one group which requires close scrutiny is guides. They were an extremely interconnected group and they illustrate the role as mediators between the Alps and their visitors. What made them unique is their multi-layered role in their relationship with travellers. As guides, their role was to provide the safest conditions for travellers' tours. Their knowledge of the region and their linguistic skills made their input very precious in the eyes of the people who hired them. However, beyond that, guides were actually very much responsible for the travellers' overall perception and appreciation of the region. This section will consider the variety of guides encountered by botanist Thomas Blaikie during his 1775 tour of Switzerland. As a botanist, he needed to explore more remote areas of the Alps in order to collect more precious plants, and therefore the presence of a guide was often preferable.

In optimal situations, guides were able to provide the knowledge of the region to their traveller, facilitate linguistic and social relationships with local populations, and more essentially to offer some geographical and spatial understanding of the surroundings. When these conditions were combined, the tone of the travel account was immediately more friendly, and the depiction of the guide more humane. Blaikie's guide at the entrance of Valais was described positively, and was even identified in the travel account: Abraham Thomas, a young farmer who was said to know plants and botany well. His father had already travelled to Chamonix, Graubünden, and the Italian Alps searching for plants on behalf of Albrecht von Haller.¹⁵⁴ Thomas Blaikie and Abraham Thomas toured the region for several days,

154. Thomas Blaikie, *Journal de Thomas Blaikie. Excursions d'un botaniste écossais dans les Alpes et le Jura en 1775* (Neuchâtel, La Baconnière, 1935), p. 80.

coming back to the latter's house every night. This comfortable arrangement amplified Blaikie's genuine appreciation for his guide, and therefore for his trip. When entering the German-speaking part of the Valais, Abraham Thomas was no longer able to help Blaikie and had to return to his home, which Blaikie sadly conceded: "as the language changed I was obliged to procure another guide although I regretted Abraham Thomas".¹⁵⁵

However, guides were not only travel facilitators; they equally influenced and sometimes disrupted the itineraries and Alpine experiences that travellers originally had in mind. At times, guides refused to undertake certain journeys, for various reasons. The route seemed unconventional and unknown to some of them: indeed, when travellers wanted to get off the beaten track, they were usually unaware of what locals considered dangerous, usual, or recommended. Thomas Blaikie, who as a botanist was keen to discover rare plants in small unpopular valleys, was travelling with a new guide in the highlands behind Evian. After several days of relative hostility, his guide withdrew from Blaikie's tour, stating that "he would have continued with [Blaikie] long enough if [they] had only gone from house to house or town to town".¹⁵⁶ The travel account does not relate any animosity in the encounter, although Blaikie later commented: "those people having no curiosity they tire out at once; however the consequence I found I could do better by myself than with such a conductor who would always go where he chussed".¹⁵⁷ Blaikie's guide then returned to Evian with the plants collected that he sent to Geneva.

While tensions and challenges between two strangers may seem understandable, they would sometimes lead to more severe changes and critiques in travel accounts. Guides were not only in charge of connecting travellers to the region and its knowledge, they were connecting them to local inhabitants. Near Geneva, in the Jura, Blaikie was able to find a private house where he and his guide were welcomed. Both were served food, and the locals gave a bottle of wine to Blaikie's guide.¹⁵⁸ Locals were also helpful in finding a suited guide for travellers. While

155. Francis Birrell (ed), *Diary of a Scotch Gardener*, p. 60.

156. *Ibid*, p. 56.

157. *Ibid*.

158. *Ibid*, p. 40.

crossing Kandertal from the Valais, Blaikie strongly argued with his guide, who did not want to follow Blaikie one morning. During that argument, the inhabitants of the small village firmly supported Blaikie. When the innkeeper found out that Blaikie's guide had tried to steal his bag, he started hitting him and threw him out of his inn. In the next village, other locals found a new guide for Blaikie.¹⁵⁹

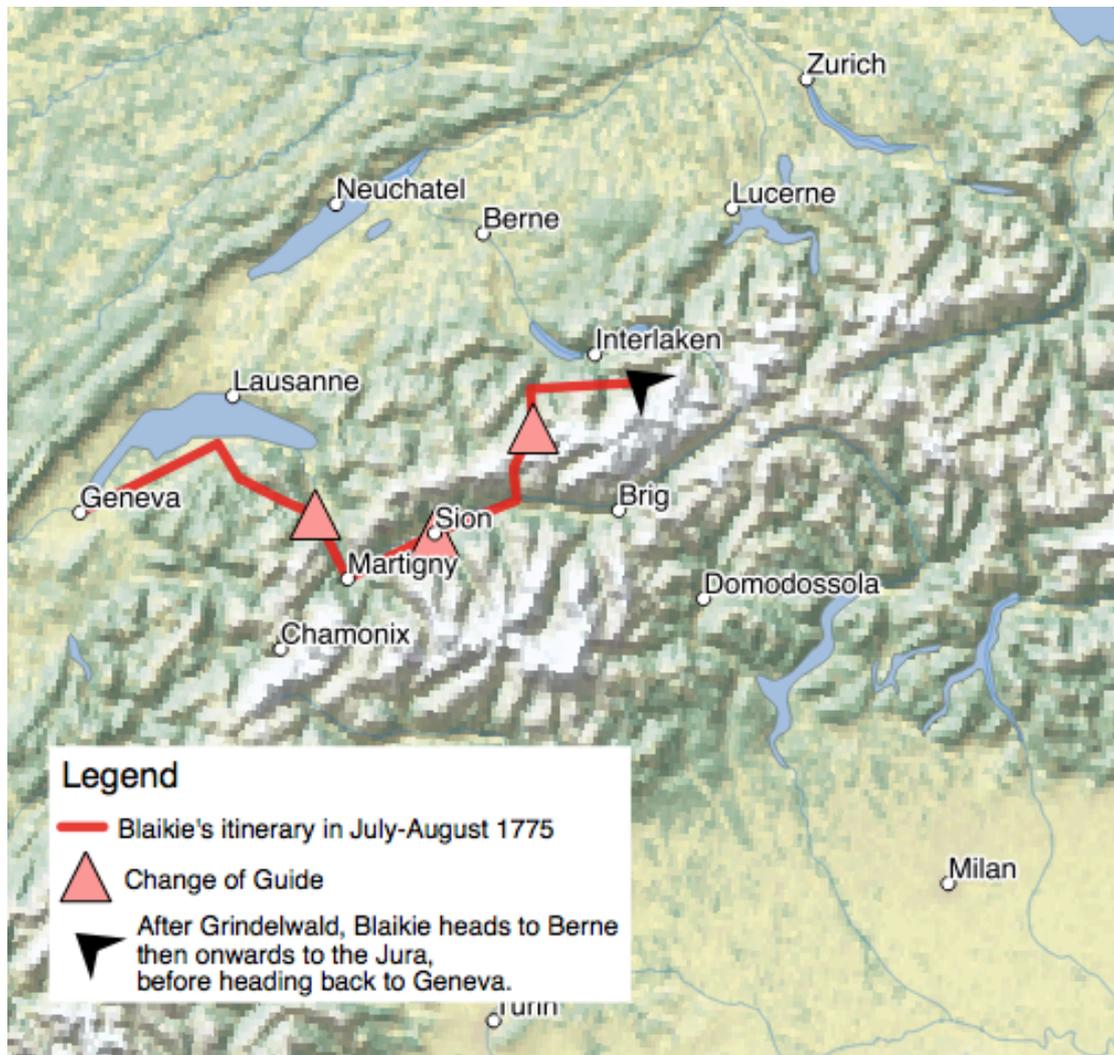


Figure 11: Thomas Blaikie's voyage across the Alps from Geneva, and his three changes of guides

Mapping Blaikie's voyage highlights the importance of the Alps in the process: all three issues are related to dynamics that were inherent with the rise of Alpine travel. The first change of guide in Monthey was due to diverging interests. While Blaikie wanted to visit as many hidden paths as possible, his guide only trusted the small towns he knew by heart. The second guide, who left a strong and positive impression on Blaikie, had to leave because he could not offer much linguistic help to

159. Thomas Blaikie, *Journal de Thomas Blaikie*, p. 90.

Blaikie past the *Röstigraben* – the linguistic boundary within Switzerland. In that case, the Alps' transnational nature directly came as a brake rather than an asset to interaction. Finally, the third event in Kandersteg showed the very lively and delicate tension between locals and travellers at a social, economic, and cultural level, which was exacerbated by the remoteness of those vicinities and the relative novelty of Alpine exploration in these high valleys.

Other members of the local population were therefore important mediators between travellers and the Alps. Beyond housing and accommodation, collecting knowledge on the region was often made widely easy by local experts and curious individuals. In Chamonix, for instance, some knowledgeable inhabitants started displaying their cabinet of curiosities and making them public. By the end of the 1830s, this had become a more commercial activity; indeed, locals living on famous Alpine itineraries started opening shops where travellers could buy plants, crystals or other souvenirs. One of these *cabinets d'histoire naturelle* opened in Servoz, between Chamonix and Geneva, and became noticeable in guide books and travelogues.¹⁶⁰

Not only born-and-bred locals had a valuable impact on Alpine networks. Foreigners who decided not to remain mere visitors actively contributed to linking travellers to local Alpine environments. In certain areas, these expatriates were even more crucial as they were able to communicate comfortably with both travellers and local inhabitants. There were two main types of expatriates: those who were living in these regions permanently and those travellers who decided to cease their travel and settle for a few months or years. The main difference between both groups lay in the legitimacy their actions conveyed; however, their attitude was usually similar.

Short-term expatriates – or long-term travellers – were rather usual throughout the period studied, however, the nature and reasons for it differed. In the early decades, this practice was usually that of Grand Tour learners, settling in intellectual locations in order to pursue or complete their education. Edward Gibbon was indeed known for the time he spent in Lausanne in the 1750s and 1760s. Although he would wake up to the Alps every morning, his interaction with them was rather limited. Gibbon had no interest for mountain climbing or for mountain beauty. In the autumn of 1755, he wrote: “I never liked young travellers; they go too raw to make any great remarks, and they lose a time which is (in my opinion) the most precious part of a

160. Philippe de Golbéry, *Lettres sur la Suisse*, p. 13.

man's life".¹⁶¹ The first tour of Switzerland he undertook did not focus on the mountains at all, but rather on discovering the variety of Republics that composed the Swiss Confederation. Gibbon's life at the foot of the Alps was not made of the excursion one could expect. However, he established ties that remained authentic with the local population of Lausanne. Gibbon wrote:

Our importance in society is less a positive than a relative weight: in London I was lost in the crowd; I ranked with the first families of Lausanne, and my style of prudent expense enabled me to maintain a fair balance of reciprocal civilities.¹⁶²

This was Gibbon's bet: being a big fish in a smaller pond, where he would have time to learn more and to socialise better. Although his friends warned him that he "should not be able to exist in a Swiss town at the foot of the Alps, after having so long conversed with the first men of the first cities of the world",¹⁶³ Gibbon spent an extended period of time in Lausanne. He opened a large library there, as somewhat of a gift for the experience he embraced there. He expressed that feeling as follows:

Instead of a small house between a street and a stable-yard, I began to occupy a spacious and convenient mansion, connected on the north side with the city, and open on the south to a beautiful and boundless horizon. A garden of four acres had been laid out by the taste of Mr Deyverdun: from the garden a rich scenery of meadows and vineyards descends to the Lemane Lake, and the prospect far beyond the Lake is crowned by the stupendous mountains of Savoy. My books and my acquaintance had been first united in London; but this happy position of my library in town and country was finally reserved for Lausanne.¹⁶⁴

Beyond this relationship with the city, Gibbon took on the role of connector between travellers and the Alps. His library was a place that British travellers sought during their tour of Lake Geneva; it became a sight to visit, alongside the Glaciers, lakes, and peaks. It was later bought for £950 by another Englishman who had settled in the region, William Beckford of Fonthill.¹⁶⁵ Travellers kept visiting Gibbon's library after that, as Mary Berry did on 6th July 1803 and said of it "it still remains here, though bought seven years ago by Mr Beckford of Fonthill".¹⁶⁶

161. Lord Sheffield (ed), *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq with Memoirs of his life and writings, composed by himself* (London, John Murray, 1814), p. 98.

162. *Ibid*, p. 250.

163. *Ibid*, p. 251.

164. *Ibid*, pp. 250 – 251.

165. Lewis Saul Benjamin & James Sargant Storer, *The Life and Letters of William Beckford, of Fonthill* (London, Heinemann, 1910), p. 180.

166. Theresa Lewis (ed), *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry*, p. 260.

Geneva had a long-established relationship with British expatriation, as it had been a popular place among Britons living abroad since the Reformation. Many families had settled in this Protestant city and cohabited with the local population. During the French Revolution, when Geneva was nearly totally affiliated to the French Regime, making Britain its *de facto* enemy, restrictions for foreigners to visit or to live in Geneva were in place. The *Département des Étrangers* oversaw these movements, and stated in 1795 that no foreigner could stay more than eight days in the Republic of Geneva without a permit.¹⁶⁷ However, the status of *étranger* was imprecise, just as that of citizen was at the time.¹⁶⁸ The register, for instance, deals very few British cases – most of the time it discussed the cases of French, German, Italian, and Swiss people. One English student named Oliver is listed on the register; his permit extension was declined. A week later the register states that a local pastor vouched for Oliver’s good character and argued that he was working for a *Genevoise* family. The pastor added that Oliver was actually Irish and not English, and that the Irish offered help to the *Genevois* who fled the 1782 invasion of Geneva by French troops.¹⁶⁹ This resulted in Oliver being able to stay in Geneva.

After the Revolutionary and Napoleonic page was turned, Geneva retrieved its full position as a little Britain. In 1818 Marianne Baillie noticed that eight out of twelve doctors in Geneva had undertaken their medical degree at the University of Edinburgh.¹⁷⁰ After Napoleon’s defeat, the wave of enthusiasm coming from British travellers resulted in some of them staying in the Alps for extended stays. The year 1816, in particular, has remained a famous year for Britons settling in the region of

167. “Registre des Étrangers 1793-1796”, law, 9 May 1795, A.E.G., Étrangers A2.

168. In Revolutionary France, the question of citizenship and civil identity was discussed by the legislative assembly of France through the year 1792. However the law passed on 20th September took decades to be practically applied, as rural areas failed to hold consistent and exhaustive records. For more on citizenship and passports during the French Revolution, see Gérard Noiriel, “The Identification of the Citizen: The Birth of Republican Civil Status in France”, in Jane Caplan and John Torpey (eds), *Documenting Individual Identity: the Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 28 – 48. See also Alan Forrest and Peter Jones (eds), *Reshaping France: Town, country and region during the French Revolution* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1991).

169. “Registre des Étrangers 1793-1796”, register, 2 March 1794, A.E.G., Étrangers, A2.

170. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 254.

Lake Geneva, offering a significant level of cooperation and socialisation between short-term travellers, long-term travellers, and permanent expatriates. Many visitors hired houses in and around Geneva where they spent seasons there, sometimes leaving for a few days' tours to the mountains or to other regions of Switzerland. Byron stayed at the Villa Diodati, the Shelleys at the Maison Chapuis nearby, Madame de Staël was at her family home in Coppet. Travel accounts show daily forms of socialisation, either in the form of evening parties, or morning strolls in the city. Lord Teignmouth made the following remark in the summer of 1816: "Geneva had now become the resort of distinguished foreigners, who mingled freely with the natives. At Lady Breadalbane's ball and private theatricals they mustered in equal numbers".¹⁷¹ Later on, Lord Teignmouth showed his amazement before the people of Geneva's kindness, who gave him letters of recommendation to show to Protestant ministers in Italy and the South of France.

This unique balance was the result of the multi-layered type of people living in Geneva: Protestant locals, British expatriates, seasonal residents, and short-term visitors. The first two organised regular parties and receptions to ensure social harmony.¹⁷² Seasonal residents (like Byron or the Shelleys) were very well acquainted with those people, but also left Geneva on a regular basis to explore other vicinities of the region. When Richard Sharp visited Geneva in August 1816, he suggested to Lord Byron that he should visit the Bernese Oberland, which he did in September.¹⁷³ When he was there, he unexpectedly met his physician, John Polidori, who had travelled from England to Geneva with him but had left the Villa Diodati a few weeks earlier to travel on his own.¹⁷⁴ The socialisation and the exchanges made in Geneva resulted in

171. Charles Shore, Lord Teignmouth, *Reminiscences of Many Years* (Edinburgh, Constable, 1878), p. 124.

172. Marianne Baillie was invited to such event in 1818. She wrote: "Some of the company were in full dress, having called to take tea, in their way to a grand ball, which was given that night by our countrymen to the inhabitants of Geneva, and the latter were to return the compliment in a similar manner in the space of a few days. I was invited by several of the Genevese families, to attend this ball."

Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 262.

173. David Knapman, *Conversation Sharp: the Biography of a London Gentleman Richard Sharp (1759 – 1835) in letters, prose, and verse* (Dorchester, Dorset Press, 2003), p. 313.

174. William Michael Rossetti, *The Diary of Dr John William Polidori, 1816. Relating to Byron, Shelley, etc.* (London, Matthews, 1911), p. 158.

that unexpected meeting in the remote Bernese Oberland. Hubs were therefore places of support and knowledge transfer regarding the itineraries and activities that could be made in the Alps, and all layers of the popular, from the most sedentary to the least local, exchanged and were interconnected.

The spread of knowledge around the Alpine space itself: knowledge transfer around the first ascent of Mont Blanc (1786)

At this stage, the existence of knowledge transfer and social relations within a network of travellers does not suffice in order to establish the acknowledgement of an actual Alpine space by its users. However, throughout the nodes, lines, and honeycombs of this giant hive as described by Patricia Clavin,¹⁷⁵ proofs of the recognition of such existence by travellers are increasingly present.

The consciousness of the unfinished nature of the history of Alpine travel was obvious. As Windham and Pococke's expedition was seen by many as the dawn of that era, further challenges were regarded and celebrated by many actors of the network. For example, the ascent of Mont Blanc, dreamt and attempted by many, remained a piece of news that travellers were trying to remain updated on, and around which knowledge, rumours, and objectification emerged. Already in 1760, as Horace-Bénédict de Saussure journeyed to Chamonix for the first time to make his first experiments, he offered a prize to whoever would find a way to climb up to the top of Mont Blanc.¹⁷⁶ The subsequent failed attempts of Marc-Théodore Bourrit and de Saussure were related in the different volumes of the latter's *Voyages dans les Alpes*.¹⁷⁷

The first ascent was successfully completed by two locals, Dr Michel Gabriel Paccard and Jacques Balmat, on 8th August 1786. Many travellers who were in Chamonix at that time wrote enthusiastically about the event, regardless of whether they were remotely involved in it or not. Thomas Brand reached Chamonix a few

175. Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism", in *Contemporary European History* (Vol. 14, No. 4, November 2005), pp. 421 – 439.

176. Heinrich Dübi, *Paccard wider Balmat oder Die Entwicklung einer Legende: Ein Beitrag zur Besteigungsgeschichte des Mont Blanc* (Berne, A. Francke, 1913), p. 19.

177. Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes, précédés d'un essai sur l'histoire naturelle des environs de Genève* (Neuchâtel, Fauche, 1779 – 1796).

days after that achievement, but nevertheless mentioned the event in his journal.¹⁷⁸ Baron von Gersdorff, who was in Chamonix, claims he witnessed the whole ascent through a telescope, therefore presenting the whole event as a spectacle to observe, as another natural wonder. Finally, Bourrit was of course very envious of Paccard and Balmat's successful ascent to the top of Mont Blanc; in his account of that ascent, he tried to minimise Paccard's role. He wrote that the Doctor's knees were getting cold, and that his more experienced guide was walking ahead of him, utterly decided to reach the summit.¹⁷⁹ At the end of the letter, Bourrit continued to glorify Balmat's performance and to argue that Paccard does not deserve further recognition or fame:

Balmat doit en espérer une honnête récompense. J'ai souvent entendu dire aux étrangers qu'ils contribueroient à un prix pour celui qui, le premier, parviendroit sur le Mont Blanc ; & , par ce que je fais, je crains qu'on ne s'en souviennne pas. Jusqu'à ce moment Balmat m'a paru faire peu d'impression, & je puis affirmer que sa découverte est encore sans récompense. Cependant il a exposé sa vie, sa santé du moins pour cette découverte, & peut-être que ce jeune homme l'a déjà beaucoup altérée. Son compagnon n'a pas besoin de récompense, son père est un des plus riches habitans de la Vallée : d'ailleurs il n'en est pas de même d'un Amateur comme d'un Guide.

Through Bourrit's quill, the Guide became the hero, the medium became the actor, and Balmat gained the nickname 'Mont Blanc' from that moment onwards.¹⁸⁰ In all his published works, Bourrit constantly reminds the reader of that nickname and the reasons for it: in his list of trustworthy guides in Chamonix, alongside Balmat's name, Bourrit wrote: "Jaques Balmat, du Mont Blanc, parce qu'il est le premier qui est parvenu sur ce mont".¹⁸¹ The name of Paccard appears with no further information, leaving uncertainty around whether this was the Doctor or one of his relatives.

As soon as Paccard and Balmat returned to Chamonix after their successful journey, Paccard launched a subscription campaign where travellers and readers could

178. A. W. Malkin, "Diary of Thomas Brand" in *Alpine Journal* (No. 32, 1918), p. 75.

179. Marc-Théodore Bourrit, "Lettre de M. Bourrit sur le premier voyage fait au Sommet du Mont-Blanc, le 8 Août dernier", Geneva, 20 September 1786 (N.L.S., GB 1929 (30)) Original: "Le Docteur commençoit à perdre haleine ; ses genoux se refroidissoient, & le froid l'empêchoit d'avancer : son compagnon, plus exercé, plus hardi, l'encourageoit (...) Balmat, résolu de s'en assurer, s'élançe seul".

180. The story of the representations of Balmat and Paccard in public memory did not stop with Bourrit. A comprehensive analysis of these oppositions and their evolution can be found in Heinrich Dübi's *Paccard wider Balmat*.

181. Marc-Théodore Bourrit, *Itinéraire de Genève, Lausanne et Chamouni* (Geneva, Didier, 1791), p. 228.

Translation: "Jacques Balmat, also known as Mont Blanc, because he was the first one to reach this peak".

pre-order his travel account.¹⁸² The prospectus advertising promises the account to be a true guide for those who wish to achieve the ascent themselves. It also features a list of travellers who were in Chamonix at that moment and who subscribed straight away to receive their copy: Gersdorff, John Moore, two English captains and three Milanese travellers.¹⁸³ The subscription was available until December in Chamonix, but the end of the form also lists over twenty European cities where readers could subscribe. The event and its forthcoming materialised account were instantly born and spread across Europe – mostly in cities relatively closed to the Alps, but also in key transnational hubs such as Paris, London, Berlin, Amsterdam, or St Petersburg.



182. This was also criticised by Bourrit in his letter published in September 1786. “J’apprends déjà que M. le Médecin Paccard espère tirer des fruits de sa course ; qu’il s’est fait annoncer à Lausanne, & s’y est fait voir comme le conquérant du Mont-Blanc, dont il promet une description pour laquelle il fait déjà souscrire : tandis que le pauvre Balmat, à qui l’on doit cette découverte, reste presque ignoré, & ignore qu’il y ait des journalistes, des journaux, & que l’on puisse, par le moyen de ces trompettes littéraires, obtenir du Public une forte admiration.”

183. “Souscription – Premier Voyage à la Cime de la Plus Haute Montagne de l’Ancien Continent, le Mont Blanc, par le Docteur Michel-Gabriel Paccard, Médecin dans les Alpes de Chamonix”, subscription form, 7 August 1786 (A.D.74, 1 J 2949).

Figure 12: Places where subscriptions for Paccard's travelogue on his ascent of Mont Blanc were available a few days after his climb

Since Bourrit and De Saussure's first eager attempt to reach the summit of Mont Blanc, their own successful ascent had been also hoped and followed by many travellers. A letter written by Marie Cramer in 1787 and sent to Bourrit indicates the spread of these rumours and information around the networks of the Alps. Having randomly met Paccard in Vevey on her way from the Alps to Montbéliard, she was told that De Saussure had started another ascent and asked Bourrit if she could be sent a written account of it to her next destination.¹⁸⁴

Therefore, although the ascent of Mont Blanc is remembered as a solitary process which was related later on, the myth, the news, and the knowledge around it was widely embedded within the wider network of correspondences and publications running along the routes of the Alps.¹⁸⁵ The existence of the Alpine space itself crucially developed because travellers and thinkers cared about its expansion and the discoveries made by key actors. Meanwhile, the Alpine space grew even more dramatically in the mental representations of those who visited it. The Alps as a concept was formed and defined – more or less accurately – throughout its development in the wake of the Enlightenment. There is now a need to analyse how this physical space of new routes, infrastructures, and actors became a consistently defined and mentally represented spatial entity.

184. Letter by Maria Cramer to Marc-Théodore Bourrit, Vevey, 4 August 1787 (B.G.E., Ms fr 9142 Archives Bourrit).

Original: "J'ai une curiosité sans borne, pour savoir la réussite du voyage de Mr de Saussure sur le Mont-Blanc. J'ai vue Michel Paccard par le pur hasard aujourd'hui à Vevay, il m'a bien dit que Mr de Saussure avoit commencé sa marche. Peut-être suis-je bien présomptif de vouloir vous donner tant de peine, mais la facilité qui semble dans tout vos écrits, m'inspire la liberté que je prends ; si vous voulez me faire la grace de m'envoyer un petit récit de ce voyage dont je parle, je le recevrais (avec un plaisir extrême) à Montbelliard, où nous allons".

185. Mont Blanc was climbed forty-five times after that first ascent and before Albert Smith's in 1852. His personal account significantly made Mont Blanc popular as a climbing destination, as mountaineering had become much more usual than in the eighteenth century. As a result, Mont Blanc was climbed eighty-eight times between 1852 and 1857. Cited in Peter H. Hansen, "Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain", in *Journal of British Studies* (Vol. 34, No. 3, July 1995), pp. 300 – 324.

Part II

Where and what are the Alps?

Mental mapping and spatial representations of the Alpine space

As demonstrated in the first chapter, the Alps grew as an open physical space supported by multi-layered transnational networks, knowledge transfers, and social interactions. The most striking consequence of this development was how travellers started to imagine the Alps from what they had previously read. As the number of travel accounts grew overtime, mental mapping and spatial representations of the Alps did too, often based on specific descriptions of Alpine vicinities but also on stereotypes, tropes, and very subjective representations of space. Regardless of how accurate these were, they framed the way non-Alpine elites saw the Alps and gradually started to act in the region, before eventually contributing to turning it into a fashionable sphere of tourism.

Mental mapping in the Alps was actually best described by Marc-Théodore Bourrit himself in one of his earliest guidebooks to travellers in the Alps:

Un Anglais, un Hollandais, un Français éprouvent des sensations plus ou moins différentes selon les lieux qui les ont vu naître. Un habitant de la capitale de la France qui n'a vu encore que des collines qu'il a nommé montagnes, et des étangs qu'il a pris pour des lacs, est fortement frappé aux approches du bassin où Genève est située. Ses yeux froissés d'abord par les montagnes de la Bourgogne et de la Franche-Comté, ne s'attendent pas à des objets plus grands, plus variés ; mais lorsqu'il monte le Jura, que voit-il (...) un vaste bassin limpide et une lisière de pays de cent cinquante lieues de front, embellie par une foule d'habitations, de villages et de villes tous situés de la manière la plus agréable. Tel est le premier aspect de Genève, de son beau lac, et des hautes Alpes qui la dominant.¹⁸⁶

Despite the unclassifiable variety of emotions that moved each traveller when venturing throughout the Alps, the way they progressed through space, the comments they made on particular aspects of the region, the boundaries that existed in their minds were widely framed by the travel accounts they had read, the stories they wrote, and the Alpine experience they had.

186. Marc-Théodore Bourrit, *Itinéraire de Genève, Lausanne et Chamouni* (Geneva, Didier, 1791), pp. 5 – 6.

Translation: An Englishman, a Dutchman, a Frenchman all express rather different feelings depending on the places where they were born. A native of the French capital who has only seen hills that he called mountains, and ponds that he mistook for lakes, is struck when approaching the basin where Geneva is located. His eyes, dishevelled by the mountains of Burgundy and Franche-Comté, do not expect bigger and more varied objects; but when he climbs up the Jura, what does he see (...) a vast clear basin and a hundred and fifty league-wide stretch of land, embellished by settlements, villages and towns all located in the most pleasant way. This is the first aspect of Geneva, its beautiful lake, and the high Alps that dominate it.

First, the vicinities that travellers considered as the starting and ending points of the Alps varied widely and were often not defined by the presence or absence of mountains. Since the Alps covered multiple political entities, no borderline could be used as the limits of this borderland. Therefore, hints on the local architecture, inns, local populations, local languages all triggered an assessment of whether an area was seen as Alpine or not in the eyes and quill of European travellers. The first chapter of this second part will analyse and classify how, why, and when mental mapping did or did not correspond to the physical boundaries of the Alps. As a borderland, the Alps were also criss-crossed by a multitude of political, religious, linguistic, and cultural borders. Although some of those were situated at the very heart of the Alpine space, each had an effect of travellers' comments and attitude. The first section of this part – the fourth chapter of this thesis – will equally value the presence of boundaries within this transnational space.

Second, the very nature of what the Alps were was the product of a combination of factors in the mind of Western European travellers. Once again, the Alps were not only a group of mountains, and an Alpine tour was not a mere wandering through that environment. The tone and the spatial attitude conveyed in travelogues suggested that cosmopolitanism and urban experience played an equally important part in constructing travellers' Alpine experience. The second section of this part will address the question of the definition of the Alps in travellers' mentalities, defining how 'Alpine cosmopolitanism' – urban rites in foothill cities and towns – defined the Alps as much as the mountains did.

Chapter 4

Where are the Alps?

Defining and experiencing borders in a transnational space

Throughout its history, the Alpine region has been criss-crossed by many different types of borders, whether those were cultural, social, economic, linguistic, confessional, or, of course, political. Between the 1750s and the 1830s, the political map of Europe changed drastically. Over this eighty-year long period, revolutions, wars, regime changes all modified and shook the political equilibrium on the continent. Many political and territorial borders within the Alps were drawn, erased, or moved. The Alps stood as a cross-border region where linguistic, cultural, religious and other boundaries persisted amidst great political changes.

Progressing throughout such a divided territory was one of the difficulties for travellers, both physically and politically. Despite the continuous aspect of the mountains and valleys, social and cultural experiences were affected by those frontiers. Political borders, physical boundaries, linguistic frontiers and social barriers all had an impact on the way travellers regarded the Alps as a whole. As a result, travel writers discussed the very framework of their spatial exploration and developed their subjective knowledge of the region. Where did the Alps start? Could travellers clearly identify border crossing from one political entity to another? Which sub-regions of the Alps made more cognitive sense than political affiliations? Were local inhabitants 'Alpine' or nationally and regionally defined?

This chapter addresses the question of mental mapping and spatial representations of the Alps in relation with borders and boundaries. Two aspects of border crossing will be discussed: in the first place, the entrance into the Alps will be questioned by mapping and describing what and where the entrance points of the Alpine space were. The meaning of entering the Alps in terms of mental mapping will be addressed. Second, the presence of political borders, passport checks, city gates, and sociolinguistic barriers all impacted the way the Alpine space was seen and experienced by travellers.

The Boundaries of the Borderland: identifying and defining entrance points into the Alpine Space

The very first mental or visual encounter with the Alps was crucial in order to define travellers' perception and spatial definition of this mountainous region. Very few travel accounts omitted the first encounter with the Alps. As visual approaches and natural environments became an inherent part of travel writing as a genre in the early nineteenth century, that 'first' moment structured the narrative of the following chapters: it has both an effect on personal emotions and their transcription on paper.¹⁸⁷ The themes discussed by the author changed towards a greater appreciation of local aspects: comments on the population and society, the cleanliness of the roads, the region's particular architecture. The traveller was therefore entering a new space, exotic and foreign at the same time, where attention to detail allowed to embrace and experience it at its best. For a reader, this transition is not always announced, but it is nevertheless a structuring element of the narrative: without a clear visual aspect, textual descriptions were the only thorough way to guide a reader through a land they did not know. Those who embarked on their own journeys later on followed the same pattern as they were inspired by what they had previously read. For travellers, entering what they believed was the Alps corresponded to a change of travel behaviour. Whether they explored the mountains or crossed them to enter Italy, they were a place where additional needs aroused: it was sometimes necessary to seek out a guide, funds, coaches, or travel companions, in preparation for the mountainous time ahead. Thus, the world of the Alps started well ahead of their peaks, and entrance points were therefore absolutely key.

As a result this process of entering the Alps was rarely defined when entering a valley or starting to be surrounded by mountains. That moment was often underwhelming, as if the transition had already occurred. That mental shift lay elsewhere. There were several ways with which the impression of entering the Alpine region manifested itself. While the first visual encounter was an obvious opportunity to be introduced to the Alps, towns and cities could also trigger the same effect: if a particular town was well connected to mountain routes, this allowed it to be structured

187. Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 55.

within the mental map of a traveller's mountain experience. Finally, some travellers had their very own interpretation of where the Alps started and ended: some comments drew a distorted map of the Alpine space – in comparison with more standard travelogues – that had impacted the way other readers imagined the mountains.

First and foremost, the entrance into the Alps was a visual one. As the dramatic yet sublime character of the mountains was more and more discussed and addressed in travel and fictional literature, the search for mountainous nature was equally thrilling. Without a doubt, seeing the mountains became more urgent than being surrounded by them. As a result, some places and viewpoints became reference points, and were consequently viewed as the beginning of an Alpine experience, despite not being on an Alpine slope.

Pre-Alpine hill ranges became a privileged location where travellers could easily expect to have their first encounter with the more elevated and dramatic Alpine range. Previous chapters have explained how Lyon often offered an excellent first peek at the peaks from its cathedral or from its two hills. Some regions, however, turned out to display dozens of miles of Alpine panoramas: with Alpine views guaranteed, travellers saw those itineraries as thoroughfares to the Alpine space. The Jura is here the most obvious example of all hill ranges in the Western sphere of the Alps. Very rapidly after the rise of Alpine travel, the name 'Jura' was associated with black pine forests, gloomy roads which eventually gave way to sumptuous views over Switzerland. Because of its long shape along the border between Switzerland and current-day France, most travellers coming from Paris or Britain via northern France were expected to take to the hills of Jura before reaching Switzerland¹⁸⁸. The Jura case is not only that of a hundred-mile long balcony over the Alps, but also a proper space of Alpine preparation through which multiple itineraries witnessed heavy circulations of goods, people, and knowledge. It can be defined through three main parts.

The first element in the Jura's spatial dimension is of course visual. The rather high elevation of the Jura mountains before the final descent into Switzerland allowed

188. The Jura was indeed a usual step of the itinerary for any traveller not travelling through Lyon. The Lyon to Geneva route ran along the river Rhône. When arriving around Geneva the traveller could see the Jura on the left and the Alps on the right.

for the panorama to fully present the Alps in an optimal way. The altitude was high enough for lakes and towns to look distant, abundant and tiny, while the height difference with the Alps was significant enough for those to appear overwhelming in comparison. This unique viewpoint could be enjoyed through the Jura range, from the edge of the Black Forest to the outskirts of Geneva. The latter became very recurrent in travel literature. Various adjectives, comparisons, and exclamations were used to testify the magnificence of that first gaze at the mountains. In 1814, Richard Boyle Bernard captured how important that first sight was:

After having travelled for many hours amongst a succession of gloomy mountains, which afford nothing that can either interest or enliven, I never recollect feeling a greater sensation of delight and astonishment, than when, from the summit of one of the mountains of Jura, I first beheld the lake and city of Geneva, backed by the mountains of Savoy, and by the Alps, which, even at this vast distance, made all the other mountains we had passed appear but trivial. It is by contrast that all pleasures are heightened, and even the tour which I afterwards made amongst the Alps, did not lessen the force of that impression which the sudden appearance of this magnificent spectacle had left upon my mind.¹⁸⁹

As Boyle Bernard explained, this first vision of the Alps was even more important for the sake of his experience than the rest of his tour in the region.¹⁹⁰ The Alpine chapter of his journey started at that very moment.

The Jura was an equally good viewpoint for travellers leaving the Alps and catching a last glimpse at the mountains before heading north. This was shared both by local inhabitants of the region and foreign travellers who were still enchanted by their tour of the region. William Coxe, who first entered the Alps from eastern Switzerland, spent some time in Regensberg where the chain of Jura meets its eastern end. His comments focused on Jura's perceived connection with the Alps:

The branch on which Regensberg is built, terminates in an abrupt precipice, and forms the eastern extremity of that vast chain of mountains known by the general name of Jura, the branches of which are distinguished by different appellations [...] From this point, I enjoyed one of the most extensive and uninterrupted prospects, particularly the finest distant view of the Alps, which I had yet seen in Switzerland.¹⁹¹

Whereas today the Jura and the Alps are seen as two separate entities, with their own urban centres, economies, cultures, and networks, the Jura was at that time closely

189. Richard Boyle Bernard, *A Tour through some Parts of France, Switzerland, Savoy, Germany and Belgium, during the Summer and Autumn of 1814* (London, Longman, 1815), p. 76.

190. Dozens of travel accounts offer similar descriptions and exclamations whilst approaching the mountains.

191. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland, and in the Country of the Grisons* (London, Strahan, 1801), p. 119.

linked to the Alps in the eyes of external travellers. Any traveller coming from Paris or London and heading directly to Switzerland inevitably needed to cross Jura first. These itineraries took shape depending on the Swiss cities and towns they led to.

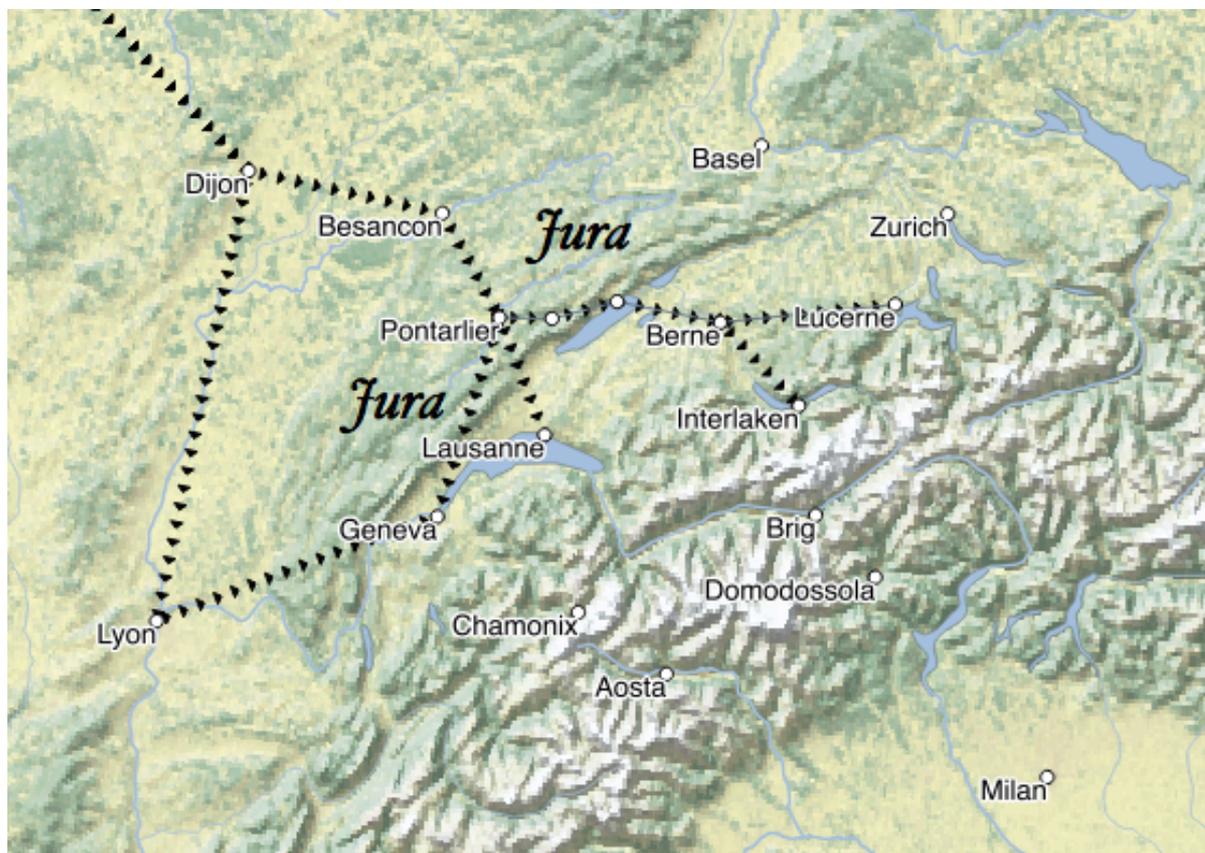


Figure 13: Jura's unavoidable crossing and itineraries leading to the Alps

The aforementioned route that Richard Boyle Bernard took in 1814 became a standard itinerary for entering Geneva. The correlation between the beauty of the prospect and that particular itinerary was stressed by several authors. Some of them, such as Joshua Lucock Wilkinson in his *Wanderer*, directly quoted Rousseau's hint at this particular view in *Julie*:

The nearer, when from the heights of Jura I discovered the lake of Geneva, was an instant of ecstasy and transport. The sight of my country, of that country so dear, where torrents of pleasure have inundated my heart, the air of the Alps, so salutary and so pure, the sweet air of our country sweeter than the perfumes of the east, this land, rich and fertile, this landscape *unique*, the most beautiful, with which the human eye was every struck.¹⁹²

The Shelleys, through their two well-known tours of 1814 and 1816, experienced the Jura twice in two different ways. In both cases, they crossed the Jura via Besançon

192. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer; or Anecdotes and Incidents, the result and occurrences of a Ramble on Foot, through France, Germany and Italy in 1791 and 1793* (London, Higham, 1798), pp. 156 – 157.

and Pontarlier. The latter was the last French town, from where both itineraries diverged. The route taken in 1816 towards Geneva is similar to the one Richard Boyle Bernard took two years earlier, offering a balcony-like view over Lake Geneva. On their first tour in 1814, the Shelleys went eastbound towards Neuchâtel instead, offering a perfect view over the Bernese Alps – and beyond to the eastern Alps – shortly before reaching the town:

Two leagues from Neufchâtel we saw the Alps: range after range of black mountains are seen extending one before the other, and far behind all, towering above every feature of the scene, the snowy Alps. They were an hundred miles distant, but reach so high in the heavens, that they look like those accumulated clouds of dazzling white that arrange themselves on the horizon during summer. Their immensity staggers the imagination, and so far surpasses all conception, that it requires an effort of the understanding to believe that they indeed from a part of the earth.¹⁹³

Although the account explicitly mentions that the Alps are still far ahead of the Shelley party, the travel narrative was very much impacted by this discovery. The group arrived in Neuchâtel soon after this moment. The section between then and their arrival in Lucerne (where the landscape becomes properly mountainous) completely disregards their current location and instead focuses on their forthcoming time in the Alps. The Shelleys spent their sojourn in Neuchâtel planning their tour of the lakes of Lucerne and Uri, where money was expected to be tight. Despite not being an Alpine resort or gateway, Neuchâtel's role was exclusively that of a connecting hub to the “romantic and interesting country”¹⁹⁴ found near Lucerne. Their journey from Neuchâtel to that destination was openly described as “flat and dull”, before saying “excepting that we now and then caught a glimpse of the divine Alps, there was nothing in it to interest us. Lucerne promised better things”.¹⁹⁵

The Jura was also a popular place for botanists such as Thomas Blaikie. Although being deliberately in the Jura, he would often make comments when peeking at the Alps or when comparing the plants he found in both ranges. When he climbed to the summit of La Dôle, a quintessentially Jurassian mount, Blaikie focused on the view of Lake Geneva and Savoy¹⁹⁶. Even when he was off the beaten track,

193. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland* (London, Hookham, 1817), pp. 43 – 44.

194. *Ibid*, p. 45.

195. *Ibid*, p. 46.

196. Francis Birrell (ed), *Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Blaikie* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 39.

away from direct itineraries, Blaikie reminded the reader of the tempting attraction to the Alps when travelling through Jura.

Since most itineraries inevitably had the Jura as a first natural obstacle before Switzerland, it acquired the reputation of a necessary evil in order to eventually access the Alps. Extensive descriptions of the gloominess of the Jura exist in many accounts. Lady Wynne's diary clearly breaks down these steps. When entering the Jura mountains from the town of Dole, she commented: "Rather a miserable place near the Jura mountain, the Sun very different".¹⁹⁷ The next day, as she woke up in Les Rousses, in the heart of the Jura, she openly wrote about her destination and the hope to rid the Jura soon: "We rose at day light as usual, and set out early in the hope of reaching Geneva".¹⁹⁸ This did not happen, and the next morning, Wynne missed the opportunity to climb up to a Jura mount to gaze upon the Alps. Despite not enjoying this time across the hills of Jura and their dark forests, she nevertheless wished to make a detour in order to see what was coming next:

Before daylight we were all glad to get up, and were lucky in having a fine day, but not clear enough to walk to the highest part of Jura, call'd the Doss, from where there is a magnificent view over the Pays de Vaud, Monts St Bernard, Mt Gothard and Mont Cenis.¹⁹⁹

The third part of the Jura's important role is its position as a borderland itself. This will be explained in the second half of this chapter. The administrative, logistical, and cultural separation between Switzerland and France affected the travel options that travellers could choose from, and consequently facilitated or restricted visual access to the Alps.

With the transformation of the Alps into a lived and active space, cities and towns became a capital part of that entity as they gradually transformed into Alpine gateways. Urban space conveyed a sense of proximity and straightforward interaction with the heart of the mountains, despite being often located at their foothills. When the visual encounter with the Alps did not trigger any narrative change, entering these cities and towns and experiencing their social circles and habits – mingling with the local elites, meeting a distantly related contact, witnessing local markets, socialising

197. Anne Fremantle (ed), *The Wynne Diaries (1789 – 1820)* (London, Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 541.

198. *Ibid*, p. 542.

199. *Ibid*, p. 542.

in taverns, attending local religious offices – certainly had their own impact on the authenticity and interpretation of that place as a corner of the Alps.

There are many reasons why a traveller might not have experienced an extraordinary first view of the Alps, some of which have already been described. As interest for natural landscapes rose throughout the period, the earliest travel narratives were not always well structured. Although James Boswell's journal was written with a high level of detail, the borderlines between Alpine and non-Alpine sceneries remained blurry. As he was in the Jura hills of Môtiers, waiting to see Rousseau at his home, he wrote:

To prepare myself for the great Interview I walked out alone. I strolled pensive by the side of the River Ruse [Areuse] in a beautiful Wild Valley surrounded by immense mountains, some covered with frowning rocks, others with clustering Pines, and others with glittering snow. The fresh, healthfull air and the romantic Prospect around me gave me a vigorous and solemn tone. I recalled all my former ideas of J. J. Rousseau, the admiration with which he is regarded over all Europe, his Heloise, his Emile, in short a crowd of great thoughts. This half hour was one of the most remarkable that I ever past.²⁰⁰

While other travelogues, written in the 1760s and later, carefully linked *Julie* to the Lake and mountains of Geneva,²⁰¹ Boswell did so in the dark forests of Jura, far away from the Alps and lakes, which he could not even see from the deep valley of Travers. The link between Rousseau, his work, and the steep and romantic nature of Môtiers, still made perfect sense. However, there was no subsequent comment on the Alps when Boswell travelled to Geneva to see Voltaire. On 26th December, he wrote a number of letters, some of which were about the Alps. From a reader's perspective, the sequence of Boswell's letters does not convey any spatial or mental consistency. Although Boswell did write about the Alps whilst in Geneva, there are no elements showing an acknowledged entry point or entry moment into the vicinity of the Alps. Even amongst more enthusiastic travel writers after the 1760s, not every work, as in Boswell's case, featured a detailed description of their first peek at Alpine landscapes. Depending on their itinerary to reach the region, many travellers would enter the area at night, therefore not seeing any of the mountains facing them. The weather was of course an important factor, and could deprive travellers from any view of the Alps when approaching the region. As a result, comments on entering the Alps were

200. James Boswell (edited by Marlies K. Danziger), *James Boswell: the journal of his German and Swiss travels, 1764* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 256 – 257.

201. The study of *Julie*'s references by Alpine travellers will be thoroughly analysed in a later chapter.

scarcer and often related to the towns travellers had reached, instead of the peaks they could have seen.

This varied according to the type of source and the public targeted. Authors who wrote their account with a view to publishing it upon their return often took a more universal and encyclopaedic tone when they described a particular place. Some of them would add their subjective, passionate comments, whereas some would not. In the case of John Moore, the descriptions of Geneva where he and his companions had been staying for a few weeks and the Alps took place simultaneously. Although John Moore was usually a very accurate and descriptive writer, and could have identified earlier moments to describe the Alps, Geneva stood out as an urban place closely connected to its neighbouring mountains.

The situation of Geneva is in many respects as happy as the heart of man could desire, or his imagination conceive. The Rhone, rushing out of the noblest lake in Europe, flows through the middle of the city, which is encircled by fertile fields, cultivated by the industry, and adorned by the riches and taste of the inhabitants. (...) The long ridge of mountains called Mount Jura on the one side, with the Alps, the Glaciers of Savoy, and the snowy head of Mont Blanc on the other, serve as boundaries to the most charmingly variegated landscape that ever delighted the eye.²⁰²

In the case of private diaries or letters which were published later, the simultaneous connection between reaching a town and entering the Alpine space was far less constructed but crucial nonetheless. The example of William Beckford's correspondence highlights the lack of a clear borderline between Alpine and non-Alpine territory. In 1777, at the age of seventeen, Beckford moved to Geneva in order to complete his education. He travelled back and forth between England and Switzerland afterwards; in the latter he based himself at La-Tour-de-Peilz, between Lausanne and Montreux. His first journey to Geneva, as he was relatively young and heading there for a long-term stay, was not described at all. Instead, each of his letters, written from Geneva, told the story of Beckford's excursions in the mountains. Therefore, not only was Geneva the centre of Beckford's education, but also the point of access to each and every one of his Alpine experiences. This is observed through his positive feedback and comments. On his trip to Thun in the Bernese Oberland, Beckford felt the need to reach the top of Mount Salève, in the southern outskirts of Geneva, near the border with Savoy. This enabled him to compare his Bernese Alpine

202. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (London, Strahan & Cadell, 1780), p. 157.

experience to the one he could have in Geneva.²⁰³ This was also visible through negative comments. In a letter from January 1778, he complained about the cold weather and said that Geneva was “nothing but Mountains beyond Mountains, and Peaks beyond Peaks, all covered with universal uninteresting Garment of Snow”.²⁰⁴

In the case of smaller towns, the architecture played an important role to remind travellers’ of what their expectation of the Alps were. Marianne Baillie, who travelled from Lyon towards the Alps in 1818, first noticed at St Laurent de Mure that the architecture reminded her at last of what Alpine settlements seemed to look like. The mountains themselves could not satisfy her understanding of the Alpine space.

The roofs of the buildings in this neighbourhood now first began to assume an Italian character, and to harmonize with the ideas I had formed of the vicinity of the Alps, which were visible in the distance; but the latter did not much improve the landscape so much as my hitherto untravelled eyes had expected, for they were so far off, that they resembled clouds.²⁰⁵

In some cases, the lack of a first striking encounter with the Alps very much limited the continuation of an Alpine narrative. As previously mentioned, Lady Wynne arrived in Geneva in October 1815 after a long journey through Jura. She was unable to see the Alps from the hills as the overall panorama was very cloudy. “We found all was envelop’d in a cloud and therefor we missed our route which is through most picturesque Scenery”.²⁰⁶ Later she reached Geneva where she attended an English party. The next comment about the Alps is over Simplon, where “the Scenery is very fine”. Spatial and mental geographies are totally absent in this case, rendering an imprecise yet direct narrative link between Geneva, Simplon, and the Alps.

Furthermore, beyond offering a first Alpine-related experience, urban life at the foot of the mountains became an equally important part of “being in the Alps”. Cosmopolitan interactions, social gatherings, expertise sharing and knowledge transfer adopted the same narrative as those who reached the valleys and peaks of the mountain range.²⁰⁷ The boundaries of the Alpine space could at times be interpreted

203. Lewis Melville (ed), *The Life and Letters of William Beckford of Fonthill* (London, William Heinemann, 1910).

204. *Ibid.*

205. 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, John Murray, 1819), p. 100.

206. Anne Fremantle (ed), *The Wynne Diaries*, p. 543.

207. For more, see Chapter 5 on Alpine Cosmopolitanism.

through the lens of other factors, either inspired from other personal travels or from indications read in other travelogues. This sometimes resulted in comments and comparisons about where the Alps could possibly start.

In 1790, Mary Berry travelled east towards the Alps from central France. Near the town of Roanne, on the river Loire, fifty miles west of Lyon, the architecture reminded Berry of Alpine and Italian sceneries.

The country hereabouts, and indeed from Roanne, like the lowest region of the Alps; flat-topped houses and villages perched upon hills, more like the paysage of Italy than any other part of France that I have seen.²⁰⁸

This comment may seem anecdotal, but it conveyed a strong message to any reader who would not be familiar with that vicinity. Furthermore, it triggered a turning point in Berry's narrative that later resulted in more confusing comments that will be explained further on in this chapter. The same travelogue also extensively featured the account of her 1783 trip to Switzerland from Holland. The itinerary of that tour suggests that Berry did have a first visual encounter with the Alps near Lausanne, which she did not write about. Further on she wrote: "in the month of October we took the Geneva road to Italy".²⁰⁹ This is all very vague and does not mention the Alps at all. The detailed account of this trip is exposed later on in the publication but does not add many comments about the Alps, in comparison to the previous region. Upon her arrival in Lausanne, all Berry found noteworthy was: "Arrived between nine and ten at night at Lausanne. The country the whole way most romantically beautiful".²¹⁰ Berry's late arrival into Lausanne evidently deprived her from seeing the Alps as she approached the region of Lake Geneva, however, she did not add any comment the following days, nor during her travels from Lausanne to Geneva.

Some distant hills in France or Italy unveiled the Alps from afar. Those led to multiple sorts of distorted mental mapping on where the Alps started. George

208. Theresa Lewis, *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783 to 1852* (London, 1865), p. 222.

209. *Ibid*, p. 12.

210. *Ibid*, p. 22.

Cadogan Morgan, travelling down the Saône valley in 1789, was able to see the distant Alps. He wrote:

Our inn fronted the river and the Alps bounded our prospect which was altogether picturesque and noble [...] A weighty bulk of clouds hung over the Alps, and the dusky extent which was spread at their feet was perpetually illuminated by flashes of lightning.

On that night, Cadogan Morgan could not sleep as he kept staring at the Alps from his inn's window. It is indeed possible to see the Alps from Macon on a clear day, but the mountains are situated a hundred miles to the east. Meanwhile, the style of the narrative suggests that Cadogan Morgan's window view was at a prime location. As a result, anyone reading his account or letters would expect to meet the Alps at Macon, which may be contested.

The route from Paris to Geneva, as aforementioned, generally stretched across Dijon and Besançon before entering the high hills of Jura. From the top of Besançon's Citadel, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn wrote: "The Alps were now clearly in sight and this was probably the first time that most of them had seen mountains".²¹¹ This is, however, impossible as Besançon is surrounded by the hills of Jura, with no open view towards the Alpine peaks. At this point, the categorisations of mountain massifs belonging to the Alps or not was not yet properly defined. In the case of Jura, which has already been explained, the distinction was very clear. The Jura was separated from the Alps by Lake Geneva, and served as a perfect balcony for travellers coming from the North. The description of other mountain ranges was not always this clear. Travellers to Italy via Provence, in particular, tended to pursue their experience through Genoa and the Apennines. Whether this itinerary was chosen to avoid the Alps – mostly in the early parts of that period – or for more personal reasons, it did not feature any of the elements present in usual travel accounts on the north-western Alps: local mountainous communities, glaciers, avalanches, Alpine wildlife, cosmopolitan groups of travellers. However, as the north-western Alps could be seen between Lyon and Marseille, before reaching the peaks of Provence, the continuity of the narrative was rather confusing, different from our modern understanding of the limits of the Alps. On the one hand, some authors kept the term 'Alps' to describe the north-western corner of the mountain range. On the other hand, the term appeared in accounts of the south of France. During his 1789 tour of France, George Cadogan

211. Paul Herson (ed), *Sir Watkin's Tours: Excursions to France, Italy and North Wales (1768 – 1771)* (Bridge Books, 2013), p. 70.

Morgan travelled to Provence and Toulon, where the author materialised the entrance into the Alps.

The following morning we set off for Toulon and as we penetrated the Alps we discovered that the grandeur we had beheld was trifling compared with what we had to see. The mountains raised higher. The vegetation became more luxuriant.²¹²

After this section, Cadogan Morgan travelled to Antibes where he left the coast to return to Geneva: “tomorrow morning we are to turn our faces directly homeward over the high Alps”.²¹³ He continued his letter saying: “I shall count the hours which separate me from Geneva, where I shall hope to hear something from Yourself”.²¹⁴ The position of Antibes is therefore presented as a transition point between the South and the Alps. Although this is geographically and geologically true, the scale of the journey back to Geneva is unclear, while the distance is in fact significant – more or less ten days. The account of that journey is missing, but the period between the previous letter and the next one is fifteen days.

212. Mary-Ann Constantine & Paul Frame (eds), *George Cadogan Morgan: Travels in Revolutionary France & A Journey across America* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2012), p. 66.

213. *Ibid*, p. 67.

214. *Ibid*, p. 68.



Figure 14: Unconventional moments of Alpine narrative mentioned in this chapter

Most travelogues that describe Provence continued to Italy. As a result the Apennines were sometimes seen and presented as a sub-category of the Alps. A conversation between three French friends travelling to Italy via different itineraries, published in 1828, results in interesting descriptions and comparisons. The only traveller who mostly avoided the Alps and travelled through the south of France instead said of the Apennines: “L’Apennin est une chaîne de montagne qu’on peut regarder comme une branche des Alpes”.²¹⁵ The final part of the previous chapter, which was a letter sent

215. Constant Taillard (ed), *Les Voyageurs en Italie, ou Relation du Voyage de Trois Amis dans les diverses parties de l’Italie, en passant par le Tyrol, la Suisse et les Alpes* (Paris, Dondey-Dupré, 1828), p. 225.

Translation: “The Apennines are a mountain range which we can see as part of the Alps.”

by another of the three from the Simplon Pass, described Simplon as the end of Valais and the beginning of Italy. The question of the sequence of letters in this is crucial. As these three friends all took different paths to reconvene in Italy, the continuity of the story could only be preserved through a geographically consistent sequence from one letter to another, in addition to the map attached to the end of the volume. Therefore, the description of the Apennines directly after an explicitly Alpine chapter indicates a sense of continuity from one chapter to another, even though they were written by two different travellers.

The focus of this work on north-western European travellers automatically prioritises one side of the mountains over the other: the enthusiasm, the feeling of discovery and exoticism are all much more exacerbated in the early parts of the tours – therefore on the north-western side of the mountains. However, Italy remains a capital and constructive part in Alpine travel literature. It is important to scrutinise where and when the Alps fade out of the travel narratives. This, of course, varied from author to author.

As described in the previous section, those who travelled from Provence and Genoa into the heart of Italy had a very unique experience. Although the part of the journey in Provence was technically Alpine, the encounters, discoveries and descriptions were significantly different from what could be seen in Savoy, Switzerland, or Tyrol. Travellers would then move on to the Apennines where they were still surrounded by high mountains. This led to diverse and often subjective confusing geographical descriptions.

Most travellers, however, arrived in Italy via Mont Cenis, Simplon or Tyrol, into the flat plains of the river Po. Many travel writers described leaving the Alps as they arrived there. In 1782, while he was approaching Verona from Tyrol, William Beckford wrote: “I am just escaped from the Mountains and begin to dissolve in the warm sun of Verona”.²¹⁶ In 1816, when John William Polidori, Byron’s personal doctor, left Domodossola heading south, he referred to as “starting out of the low Alps”.²¹⁷ Although Domodossola and dozens of miles south from it are clearly still

216. Lewis Saul Benjamin & James Sargant Storer, *The Life and Letters of William Beckford, of Fonthill* (London, Heinemann, 1910), p. 150.

217. John William Polidori, *The Diary of Dr. John William Polidori, 1816. Relating to Byron, Shelley, etc.* (London, William Michael Rossetti, 1911), p. 165.

surrounded by high mountains, Polidori pre-announced the transition from mountain to plain. In the next page, he found a waterway to navigate all the way to Milan, and at this stage the Alps are no longer mentioned at all.

Travellers often reported their return to the Alps, but their narrative did not follow the same pattern. Comments on Alpine ways of life and architecture were generally missing, and the first peek at the mountains rarely seems to matter in that direction. The first vision of the Alps usually triggered a feeling of entrance into the Alpine space, yet this was not seen in comments from the Italian side.

Travellers who journeyed exclusively within the northern regions of Italy were more inclined to stay aware of the Alps' location and therefore to remain more specific in their travelogues. During her stay in Turin in 1818, Marianne Baillie visited a Lady in Moncalieri, and noted that her villa reminded her of her home in Richmond Hill, although she conceded the "superiority in the sublime background of the distant Alps and glaciers".²¹⁸ Baillie kept mentioning the Alps but always as a distant wallpaper in the background. However, at no point did she link the city to Alpine itineraries or experts heading for the mountains. When a storm suddenly hit the region, she was "told that the storms are almost always violent in the near neighbourhood of the Alps".²¹⁹ Turin is therefore part of an Alpine narrative, but is seen as far more peripheral than other cities located at the edge of the mountains, like Geneva, Lausanne or Berne. As soon as Baillie left Turin, she wrote: "the country, since we turned our backs upon Turin, as monotonous, and only relieved by the chain of Alps in the distance".²²⁰ When she reached Milan, she briefly commented on the landscape being very flat. Finally, as she travelled towards the Simplon, her narrative clearly reconvened with the Alps at Gallarate, a few miles prior to Lake Maggiore:

Passing through the town of Gallarate, near the foot of the Alps. [...] The country beyond this place began to improve in picturesque beauty; the Alps (to which we had approached very close), and woody hills in the distance, forming very imposing features in the landscape.²²¹

Equally, cities were less seen as Alpine portals. While Geneva offered all the support and connections to reach the Alps, so did Turin. However, the connection between the

218. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 151.

219. *Ibid*, p. 164.

220. *Ibid*, p. 173.

221. *Ibid*, p. 201.

city and the mountains – transport, support, easy access to guides – was far less stressed by authors.²²²

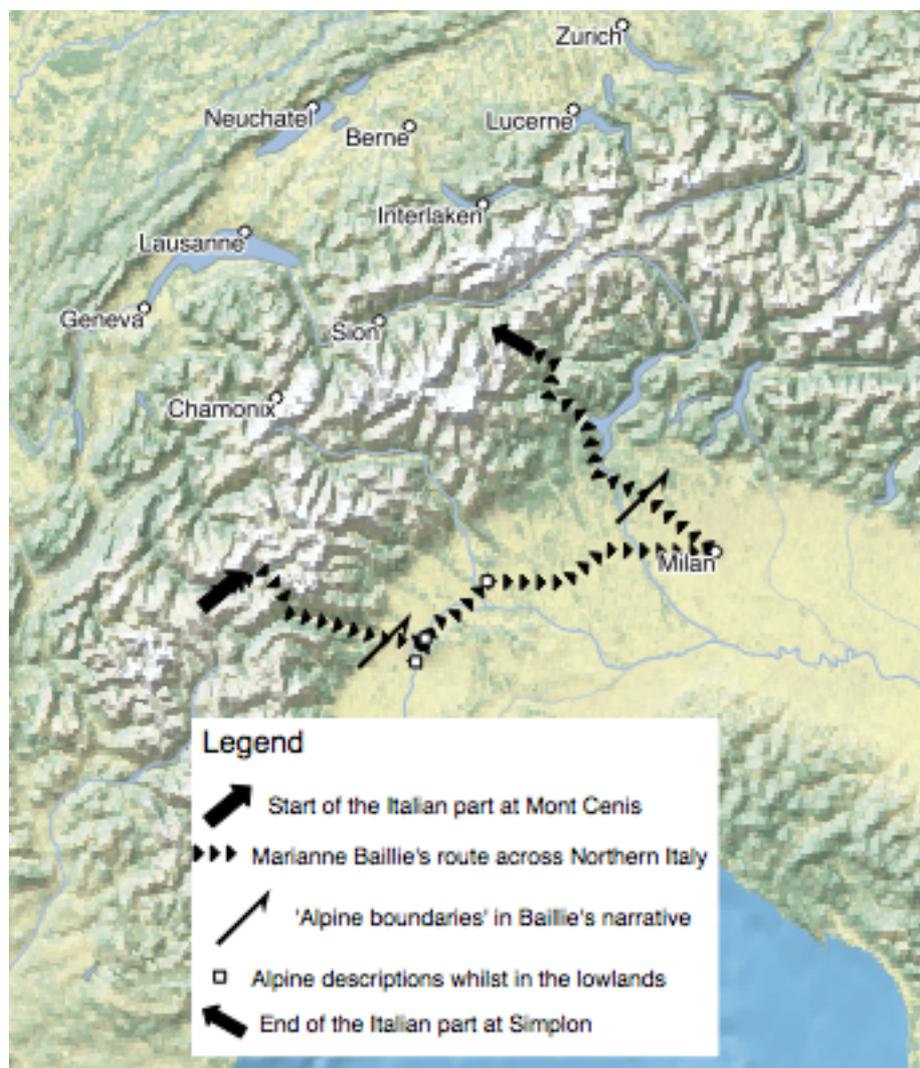


Figure 15: Marianne Baillie's journey through Northern Italy, and its relation to the Alps

A story of borderlines and border checks: the impact of political, linguistic and social boundaries on mental mapping in the Alps

As a transnational space, the Alps have been evidently crossed by multiple forms of boundaries, frontiers, and limits for travellers and people on the move. The concept of borders is a delicate one in historiography. Already in 1947, Lucien Febvre attempted to differentiate *frontières* – geographic, political, legal borders – and *limites*

222. The Alpine element to the different cities of the region will be addressed in the next chapter of this thesis.

– i.e. symbolic, mental, linguistic boundaries.²²³ In this section, ‘borders’ will be understood as a political divide, either between two national entities or two subterritories within a sovereign state. Borders are “the result of state building” which is a valid definition from the eighteenth century onwards,²²⁴ while boundaries will be understood as any other type of human separation, be it linguistic, religious, or socio-economic. Boundaries separate, but borders do not necessarily. A border is both a *coupure* (a cut, a separation) and a *couture* (a sowing line), tying territories together.²²⁵ As these lines were crossed – easily or not – they had an impact on the travellers’ perceptions of their Alpine experience. Political borders led to comparisons between states and regions and consequently affected the way travellers valued their progression through the Alpine space. These borders and boundaries formed comprehensive frontiers²²⁶ that modified travellers’ beliefs that the Alps were a unified region.

The Alps were a space of exploration and border crossing. Nevertheless, the latter remained a full process which had an impact on mental representations. The period between the 1750s and the 1830s witnessed numerous political conflicts on the continent, and as a result, many individuals explored the enemy’s territory; whether they were part of the military or tourists trying to explore the region despite conflicts, it was not an easy endeavour to do so. When they did have mobility, the border still acted as a catalyst to re-evaluate their experience and assess the benefits and drawbacks of the regions they explored. There were various levels of correlation between crossing a border and altering one’s interpretation of space. This element of mental mapping was widely defined and practised by Larry Wolff or Bernhard Struck

223. Lucien Febvre, “Limites et frontières”, in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (No. 2, Apr-Jun 1947), pp. 201-207.

224. Michiel Baud & Willem van Schendel, “Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands”, in *Journal of World History* (Vol. 8, No. 2, Autumn 1997), p. 214.

225. Albert Demangeon & Lucien Febvre, *Le Rhin: Problèmes d’histoire et d’économie* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1935), p. 129.

226. ‘Frontiers’ are understood as the land running along a borderline, as defined by Wilson and Donnan. Therefore, frontiers were a set of consequences and experiences that were results of these borders and boundaries.

Thomas M. Wilson & Hastings Donnan, *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 15-16.

on entering Eastern Europe, a subnational entity that is harder to materialise than the Alps due to the absence of structuring geography and relief. Wolff took the insightful example of Count Louis-Philippe de Ségur in 1784, who crossed into eastern Prussia to enter Poland. Although Ségur kept travelling on flat land and never crossed a territorial border – in its modern political definition – Wolff explains that Ségur passionately described a change of civilisation, comfort, and architecture, which ultimately made him feel like he was going back in time. Such was Ségur’s personal and cognitive definition of ‘Eastern Europe’ which he had just entered.²²⁷

In the case of Alpine travelogues in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, frontiers were mostly linguistic, political, or natural. The link between these and the imagined space called ‘the Alps’ can be sorted into three different categories: correlations, causations, and implied relations. First, crossing national or linguistic borders often triggered new types of comparison within the Alpine space. Despite ‘the Alps’ gaining a proper meaning throughout the period, the region could be broken down, back to its original entities.²²⁸ Therefore, when crossing these borders, travellers often made remarks about the changes they could see. The most common type of comparisons was linked to the state of roads and inns. Entrances into Switzerland and Italy illustrated that very well. When crossing the border into Switzerland by public stagecoach in 1816, Richard Sharp noted that the roads went “from dirt to decency”.²²⁹ His notes about Italy focused on similar topics: when entering the country, he described the change of architecture; on the way back, all he focused on was how dirty the inns were and how *voituriers* tried to defraud the

227. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 19.

Bernhard Struck, *Nicht West – Nicht Ost: Frankreich und Polen in der Wahrnehmung deutscher Reisender zwischen 1750 und 1850* (Göttingen, Wallstein, 2006), pp. 142 – 148.

For more on mental mapping, see Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, “Mental Maps: The Cognitive Mapping of the Continent as an Object of Research of European History”, in *EGO – European History Online* (2013) <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/mental-maps/frithjof-benjamin-schenk-mental-maps-the-cognitive-mapping-of-the-continent-as-an-object-of-research-of-european-history>> [accessed 4 August 2016].

228. The use and understanding of the term “Alps” will be discussed in the next chapter.

229. David Knapman, *Conversation Sharp: The Biography of a London Gentleman Richard Sharp (1759 – 1835)* (Dorchester, The Dorset Press, 2003), p. 317.

tourists.²³⁰ Upon entering Switzerland in 1814, the Shelleys noted the obvious change which occurred from the very moment they crossed the border gate:

On passing the French barrier, a surprising difference may be observed between the opposite nations that inhabit either side. The Swiss cottages are much cleaner and neater, and the inhabitants exhibit the same contrast.²³¹

As the Shelleys seemed to imply, some comparisons were directly aimed at the local population. When Marianne Baillie reached Simplon from Italy, she officially wrote “we were now in Switzerland”. Shortly afterwards, she described Swiss peasants as much cleaner but with less grace, expression, and beauty. “We left all these perceptions on the other side of the Alps!” she added,²³² therefore conceding the mountains’ role as a cultural frontier.

In more extreme cases, crossing a border could sometimes be directly associated with entering the Alpine space. When Mary Berry crossed the border between France and Savoy, she signalled that the Alps started at that very point:

At the Pont de Beauvoisin, one passes the Guiers, which separates France from Savoy. From thence one gets into Alpine scenery, mounting up the side of the hill with the streaming running in some places at an immense depth below.²³³

This artificial separation, which naturally does not do justice to the mountainous landscape on both parts of the border, identified Savoy as a proper Alpine territory, while France remained a non-Alpine one. Consequently, comparisons between countries started to emerge, despite the Alps being a uniform mountain range. At an inn in St Jean de Maurienne, near the Italian border, Marianne Baillie met an Italian lady coming from Turin who said she “should think the scenery of Italy far more beautiful”, which Baillie wrote she highly doubted.²³⁴

Finally, unintentional connections and minor comments about borders often punctuated travel narratives, regularly reminding readers about the Alps’ position as a

230. *Ibid*, p. 318.

231. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour*, p. 40.

232. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 225.

233. Theresa Lewis, *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry*, p. 224.

234. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 124.

borderland rather than a borderless space.²³⁵ Some occurrences of border crossing were not attached to any further comment, while others indicated how easy crossing borders could be, such as John Moore in 1780 at the Tête Noire Pass:

We came at length to the pass which separates the King of Sardinia's country from the little republic, called the Pays de Vallais. Across this there is an old thick wall, and a gate, without any guard.²³⁶

John Moore carried on with an equally precise level of detail. Rivers flowing along political borders were often described to add accuracy and a sense of progression to the travel narrative. When reaching St Maurice, he wrote:

[St Maurice] guards this entrance into the lower Vallais. Having passed a bridge at this town, which divides the country of the Vallaisans from the canton of Bern, we proceeded to Bex.²³⁷

Thus, the period between the 1750s and 1830s did not quite see the withdrawal from any border awareness, but rather a far smaller scale, where instead of mountain ranges, natural frontiers consisted of passes, streams, forests and lakes. This essential aspect of natural borderlands was not exclusive to the Alps: other natural border regions featured the same characteristics.²³⁸ However, the Alps stood out as those changing relationships were spurred by the evolution of external travel and the Alps' positions as a thoroughfare. Very few borderlands featured Mathieu's three elements exposed in the introduction – *Grenzraum, Durchgangsraum, Lebensraum*.

The period covered by this thesis saw the transition of European borders from an early modern political system to that implemented in the Congress of Vienna. The map of feudal Europe in the early modern period was loose and fragmented: travellers therefore wandered through numerous political entities, monetary systems, linguistic

235. A borderland must be understood as an anthropological construction defined by a borderline between two entities which ends up being a point of convergence and exchanges.

Shao Dan, "Borders and Borderlands", in Akira Iriye & Pierre-Yves Saunier (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 99.

236. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, p. 243.

237. *Ibid*, p. 250.

238. See for instance Peter Sahlins' works on cross-border interactions and state building in the Pyrenees. Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: the making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989).

spheres, and diverse policies on the freedom of movement and on access through city gates.²³⁹ By the 1830s and the rise of modern tourism, nation-states became the new atoms of the European balance of power, and their borders glorified. This paradoxically coincided with a generalisation of the freedom of movement, inherent with the progress and liberalisation of society during the industrial revolution.²⁴⁰

The outbreak of the French Revolution shook this paradigm in Western Europe. The flight of Louis XVI led to the reestablishment of strict passport checks at the border, before even briefly closing borders in early 1791 with a broader view to preventing the uninterrupted outward flow of *émigrés*.²⁴¹ The laws and debates on borders were subsequently constantly under debate in the Assembly, fluctuating between very strict and very liberal policies. Despite these changes, it is safe to say that circulation between France and other Alpine vicinities was never interrupted during the 1790s – Napoleon’s Continental Blockade was far more absolute and inconvenient for British travellers. Beyond the act of crossing a political borderline, certain travel narratives were framed by border controls and by the use of their passports. As that period slowly saw the rise of the nation-state, travelling through the Alps allowed travellers to reflect upon nationalities and ethno-linguistic groups in a relatively uniform natural environment. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson’s *The Wanderer* offers a detailed account of many cross-border peregrinations, and an interesting set of views on national and regional differences. Upon crossing into Italy from Mont Cenis, he was asked why he was travelling by foot: “But why? *Vos excellences!* Why on foot?” Wilkinson emphasised the Englishman’s wealth and freedom to choose his own mode of transport: “There could be no poverty in England: every man is free, and rich; and we were rambling by a singular caprice on foot”.²⁴² National stereotypes, frustration and rivalry was sometimes taken to extreme dimensions. After complaining about the dirty state of some Savoy and Piedmont inns, Marianne Baillie eventually calling both the French and Italian “the dirtiest race of beings I ever

239. Antoni Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, Polity Press, 1995).

240. Klaus J. Bade, *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, C. H. Beck, 2000).

241. John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 26.

242. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer*, p. 171.

encountered”, before criticising the fact that Italian shops are all shut around midday.²⁴³

Whether border crossing was inexistent or strictly monitored, bearing a passport was very often mandatory. Passports were more than a way to prove someone’s identity, they allowed to *passer la porte* – pass the gate. They were a necessary means of access to pursue one’s journey. They revealed travellers’ intentions and destinations. Although they were often specific – indicating people’s occupations, date of birth, address – the rise of a more leisurely form of travel implied that descriptions became more and more vague, making exploration without any planned itinerary easier. For instance, Joshua Wilkinson’s passport in the early 1790s was described as “*Anglois faisant un tour à pied pour leur amusement en France, la Suisse, et l’Italie*”.²⁴⁴ The authenticity of his passport was questioned at times, but never caused any problem. His nationality was a far greater issue: due to the constant degree of hostility between Britain and France during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, the attitude towards British travellers ranged from relative suspicion to high hostility. When Wilkinson encountered a group of Sardinian guards at the border of Dauphiné, they fraternised within minutes as they realised he was “a brother” from England. He refused to show his passport, asking them to trust his good character. They let him go, claiming “cet air! N’est-il pas celui d’un apôtre de la liberté?”²⁴⁵

City gates were also an important type of border, as they were the only entry point around the city walls. The seventeenth and eighteenth century saw the destruction of many city walls, because of the decline of small city-states as well as city sieges; besides, fortifications were not always designed against invasions, and they were often a way of only filtering who could come in and prevent roamers from

243. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 143.

According to her, the Italians responded that only dogs and Englishmen are out at that time of the day.

244. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer*, p. 103.

Translation: Englishman touring France, Switzerland and Italy by foot for leisure.

245. *Ibid*, p. 110.

Translation: This look! Does he not look like Freedom?

moving freely in and out of a place.²⁴⁶ The term ‘passport’ itself refers back to the process of *‘passer la porte’*, to pass a gate. These moments of interaction with a city authority could equally lead to inconvenient exchanges between travellers and guards at times. Wilkinson experienced such issue when his passport marked as ‘traveller’ did not suffice to enter Geneva. Because of his very limited knowledge of the French language, he did not use the right terms to convince the gatekeepers that he should be allowed into the city. From *‘voyageur’*²⁴⁷ Wilkinson wound up introducing himself as an *‘horloger’* and *‘négociant’* – a clockmaker and a merchant.²⁴⁸ When he used the latter again at the border between Geneva and Switzerland, he was unable to preserve his – false – occupation as a merchant. Instead, he said he collected “des choses curieuses, des antiques” which did not help either.²⁴⁹ While this type of scenario was far from exclusive to the Alpine region, this was often an opportunity for travellers to compare the possible harshness of urban interactions as opposed to the authentic, peaceful nature of the mountain. After unexpectedly getting past that burden, Wilkinson reflected upon his privilege as a free traveller. His border experience reminded him of his lucky exploration throughout the continent, and how he could learn from his discoveries.

But the pedestrian traveller, after such extraordinary elevation, must not become presumptuous; he must bear the common occurrences, and dangers of his life, with common fortitude, nor scorn the aspiring desires of the nymphs of Mont Blanc, should any one of them think, she could be happy in his society, or express the desire “de passer les Montagnes avec ce brave étranger”. If the poor Savoyarde knows little of the luxuries of Turin, if her bosom beats not with the ardour of a Piedmontoise, she knows, how to enjoy the pleasure of the simple pastoral life, and her icy nature inclines her to the virtue of constancy.²⁵⁰

Such episodes, whether they took place in the calm and remote valleys of the Alps or in their most urban centres, allowed for moments of reflection about the writers’ role

246. James D. Tracy (ed), *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 14.

247. As explained in this thesis’ introduction, the terms ‘voyage’ and ‘voyageur’ had several meanings in the late eighteenth century, one of them being that of a vagabond. Wilkinson’s travel mode – by foot – and proud self-proclamation as a ‘wanderer’ could have made his entry into Geneva hardly negotiable.

248. *Ibid*, p. 30.

249. *Ibid*, p. 42.

250. *Ibid*, pp. 42 – 43.

as wanderers, and their political relationship to the countries they crossed. Wilkinson wrote a long paragraph of travel recommendations a few pages after that incident:

In these unhappy times, the most trifling accident creates suspicion: in the republics of France, of Switzerland, and Venice, or in the kingdoms of Europe, the traveller is charged with the intention of subverting the thrones, of seducing the people from their allegiance to their lawful sovereigns, or with the royal wish of re-establishing tyranny. If any of my readers are inclined for an excursion upon the continent, among the allied forces, let me advise, that he provides himself with the passport of the Imperial envoy. The soldiers of Germany respect the *black eagle*, imprinted upon his passports, more than they respect reason, or England.²⁵¹

Passports could sometimes bring more restrictions to itineraries and travel experiences. In 1816, as the Shelleys experienced crossing the Jura towards Geneva. The end of their journey was meant to be defined by which routes their passports allowed them to take, but the reality was announced as far more flexible.

For from that place there are two roads to Geneva; one by Nion, in the Swiss territory, where the mountain route is shorter, and comparatively easy at that time of the year, when the road is for several leagues covered with snow of an enormous depth; the other road lay through Gex, and was too circuitous and dangerous to be attempted at so late an hour in the day. Our passport, however, was for Gex, and we were told that we could not change its destination; but all these police laws, so severe in themselves, are to be softened by bribery, and this difficulty was at length overcome.²⁵²

There is a clear duality in this narrative: on the one hand, the tone of this explanation is rather heavy, and passport restrictions seem to be a burden going against travellers' choices and freedom of movement. On the other, the relatively easy arrangement the Shelleys were able to obtain led them to reach their hoped destination easier, and to express their relief in their travel narrative once they entered the region of Geneva. As this happened by night, their first visual admiration of the region happened the next morning:

To what a different scene are we now arrived ! To the warm sunshine and to the humming of sun-loving insects. From the windows of our hotel we see the lovely lake, blue as the heavens which it reflects, and sparkling with golden beams. The opposite shore is sloping, and covered with vines, which however do not so early in the season add to the beauty of the prospect. Gentlemens' seats are scattered over these banks, behind which rise the various ridges of black mountains, and towering far above, in the midst of its snowy Alps, the majestic Mont Blanc, highest and queen of all. Such is the view reflected by the lake; it is a bright slimmer scene without any of that sacred solitude and deep seclusion that delighted us at Lucerne.²⁵³

251. *Ibid*, p. 113.

252. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour*, pp. 91 – 92.

253. *Ibid*, pp. 94 – 95.

The change of border crossing combined with evening travel created a double border in that travel narrative: a political border that was easily crossed, blended within a natural and aesthetic border that the authors described in detail.

Finally, language came as a clear separation between all different Alpine vicinities explored by travellers – even more so than political borderlines at times. This was lived and expressed at different levels, whether those were only comments when travelling, when crossing a linguistic border, or when needing the services of a guide.

Despite travellers' wishes to explore the Alps as one unified space, regardless of linguistic or political differences, their knowledge of French, German, and Italian altered their views, impressions, and criticism about each region. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson's difficulties with the French language have already been stressed. John Moore, who defended Britain's manners and language as universal and far better than those of Europe, commented on an English Lord's decision to educate his children in Geneva and in French so they could later on learn Latin. The comment he wrote in his personal diary certainly is opinionated:

I remain of opinion, that no country but Great Britain is proper for the education of a British subject, who proposes to pass his life in his own country [...] It is true, that the French manners are adopted in almost every country of Europe [...] This is not the case in England. The English manners are universal in the provinces, prevail in the capital, and are to be found uncontaminated even at court.²⁵⁴

The vision of Switzerland as either a French or German-speaking country by British travellers depended on their experience. Wordsworth, for instance, wrote that it would have been easier for him to speak the language of the Swiss "which is German" to optimise his travel experience, while he kept presenting the Swiss as quite the opposite of the French in manners and style.²⁵⁵

Linguistic borders triggered frustration and comparison at an even more explicit scale. This was especially the case around the so-called *Röstigraben* – the linguistic frontier between French-speaking and German-speaking Switzerland. This line could be a convenient separation between two clearly distinct regions, but it could also bring more confusion to spatial perceptions. In some cases, it allowed travellers to decide whether the landscape should be compared to the Bernese Oberland – a

254. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, pp. 287 – 289.

255. William Angus Knight (ed), *Letters of the Wordsworth family [i.e. of William and Dorothy Wordsworth] from 1787 to 1855* (London, 1907), p. 17.

German-speaking Alpine place *par excellence* – or to Savoy – its francophone counterpart. When Marianne Baillie travelled through the most dramatic parts of Jura, she considered comparing it to the fictional descriptions featured in Ann Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest*.²⁵⁶ However, the change of language made the comparison irrelevant according to her, since Radcliffe’s story took place in Savoy: “It reminded us strongly of some of Mrs Radcliffe’s descriptions and the romance she wrote. [...] As we were now in *German* Switzerland, such visions were not inappropriate”.²⁵⁷ Soon after, she noted how “disagreeably the German language grated upon our ears in passing through these cantons; after the mellifluous harmony of the Italian, and even when compared with the French, it was doubly intolerable”.²⁵⁸ Some of the linguistic borders were seen as proper ethnic boundaries between two different races. Sometimes, the line could be seen as extreme, separating the sick and healthy, rich and poor, civilised and savage, Louis Simond observed, for instance:

The people of the high, and those of the low Valais, form two distinct races; the first enjoying, with a healthy climate, a much better state of health, and superior comeliness of person. Goitres and Cretins disappear altogether, the language even is different, passing from the Romand dialect to the German.²⁵⁹

The *Röstigraben* usually ran through one similar region or valley. It did not fall on a peak, but rather cut a valley vertically or followed no straight lines at all. William Coxe took this in a very scientific way, often listing where people spoke French or German. In Neuchatel, he also emphasised the provincial tone of the language spoken there: “The language of the country is a provincial German; but, as the territory borders upon the principality of Neuchatel, the inhabitants speak also a corrupted French”.²⁶⁰ The region of Sion, in the centre of Valais / Wallis, was also seen as a place of both transition and separation. Coxe continued to present the case in an encyclopaedic – perhaps not quite realistic – way, writing that Sion is “being nearly the point where the German language terminates, and the French begins, the natives in

256. Ann Radcliffe’s legacy in terms of spatial representations of the Alps will be discussed in the third part of this thesis.

257. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 315

258. *Ibid*, p. 317.

259. Louis Simond, *Switzerland; or, a Journal of a Tour and Residence in that Country, in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819: Followed by an Historical Sketch on the Manners and Customs of Ancient and Modern Helvetia* (Boston, Wells and Lilly, 1822), p. 357.

260. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland*, p. 214.

this part of the Vallais consequently speak both tongues".²⁶¹ In a more approximate way, Marianne Baillie wrote that the area around Simplon spoke "a mixture of German and bad French".²⁶²

The impact of linguistic barriers was even more obvious when travellers needed to hire a guide and/or interpreter to continue their journey. As seen in a previous chapter, guides acted as mediators between the traveller and the local territory. In optimal situations, guides could recreate an authentic and positive travel experience, where the lack of direct communication did not jeopardise Alpine tours. In worse cases, guides could send a very negative message to the traveller, and therefore to the reader. Both situations were previously mentioned through the scientific wanderings of Thomas Blaikie. The impact of linguistic barriers could be seen in many more travelogues. For instance, Thomas Pennington's account of the Duke of Medici's journey from Glarus westbound, was very much limited due to the inadequate guide he hired in Linthal; the guide was a farmer who could only speak his own Patois and was told where to take the party. The Duke was far from impressed, and focused on enjoying the landscape:

With a stupid peasant for his guide, speaking nothing but Patois, set off across the tremendous mountain of Clausel; through the two travellers could not understand each other, yet the guide knew from his employer, that he was the conductor from Linththal to Altorff, and with this limited knowledge the virtue of content was to be exercised, and the beauties of the country silently to be admired; all other intercourse between us, from the reasons just given, was interdicted: indeed, the worthy guide was pretty much like an animated moving pole, just exerting himself to make a hideous noise, in order to make the horse go on [...] and to hold a conversation with his fellow-traveller at times, in a language which he knew could not be understood.²⁶³

Thus, the Alps were far from being a uniform space that embraced the shape of the mountains. It was a place of reflection and mental mapping, whose entrance points were subjective, and where physical and human borderlines could largely affect the perception and appreciation of the Alps as a whole. Although not every author focused on the geographical dimension of the Alps, their physical limits, their internal

261. *Ibid*, p. 400.

262. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 224.

263. Thomas Pennington, *A Journey into Various Parts of Europe: and a residence in them, during the Years 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821; with Notes, Historical and Classical; and Memoirs of The Grand Dukes of the House of Medici; of the Dynasties of the Kings of Naples; and of the Dukes of Milan* (London, Whittaker, 1825), p. 420 – 421.

human boundaries, most travellers interpreted them through an expression, a comment, or an entire paragraph. It was often necessary to localise a narrative for the sake of the reader's general understanding. Moments where those descriptions remained scarce are equally interesting, as this chapter has shown. There were many reasons for an author not to describe a place in detail: they might expect the reader to be already acquainted with it – through previous descriptions or simply common sense – or be confused themselves with the overall location of a particular place. In a relatively non-visual period²⁶⁴, descriptions and lack of description both influenced readers, their understanding of a vast, complex natural borderland, before they embarked on an Alpine tour themselves.

The question of what the Alps ultimately meant as a concept is yet to be scrutinised. For readers, where the Alps lay was not enough. The definition of the Alps themselves, their nature, their interest, their uniqueness all mattered and are the reason why the Alps became so popular in the early nineteenth century, a few decades before tourism developed rapidly. The question of what the Alps were is what the following section of this work intends to analyse.

264. However a lot can be said about drawings, engravings, and visual depictions of the Alps, which this work is not focusing on. For a thorough look at this theme, see Claude Reichler, *Les Alpes et leurs Imagiers. Voyage et Histoire du Regard* (Lausanne, Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes, 2013) and his related online project 'Viatimages' <www.unil.ch/viatimages> [accessed 24 February 2016].

Chapter 5

What is ‘the Alps’?

Spatial understanding and social representations of the Alpine space

Since the first third of the nineteenth century, the term ‘Alps’ has been understood rather instinctively by most individuals in Europe and beyond. If mountains make up most of its meaning, the Alps are also understood as a transnational space²⁶⁵ composed of different cities, regions, cultures, and countries. A ‘trip to the Alps’ or an ‘Alpine lifestyle’ include many pre-constructed representations and require very few clarifications. This definition and natural understanding were built between the 1750s and 1830s. Before the 1750s, although it was used in most works, the term referred to the geological entity rather than the space hosting the mountains. Travelogues evolved dramatically and their contribution towards the understanding of the Alps as a transnational space was essential.

The modern definition that gradually took shape during the decades around 1800 had a special meaning for travellers. It was a way to show a sense of belonging to a particular entity. ‘The Alps’ as a space and a term slightly moved away from the snow-capped peaks and started representing life at the foothills, in urban centres and social groups. This is addressed in this chapter through the concept of ‘Alpine cosmopolitanism’.

This chapter first addresses the use of the word itself. It initially identifies the quantitative rise of the term ‘Alps’ in European literature, before investigating sources that explicitly illustrated the dimension of a term: dictionaries and maps. Later the chapter analyses how Alpine cosmopolitanism turned the Alps into a social experience rather than a mountainous one, therefore shifting the interpretation of the term as less geographic and more human. Finally, the creation of a literary dimension of the Alps will be examined through the legacy of Rousseau, the Shelleys, Byron and Madame de Staël. Together, these different aspects of a broader Alpine definition

265. For a definition of transnational spaces, see Peter Jackson et al. (ed), *Transnational Spaces* (London, Routledge, 2004).

were crucial in order to understand why the Alps eventually received so much attention and popularity. Moreover, along with the identification of the Alps' limits and entry points addressed in the previous chapter, the explanation of what the Alps were made sure that the term itself could be passed on to following generations of readers and travellers. The instinctive understanding of what something 'Alpine' is traces back to this period of growing popularity and emerging tourism.

The use of the term 'Alps': geological, geographic, spatial

There are different ways – qualitative and quantitative ones – to investigate the changes around the definition of 'the Alps'. First and foremost, the term slowly became more and more frequently used in literature. Online tool Google N-Gram²⁶⁶ allows to visualise that evolution through most Western European languages.



Figure 16: Evolution of the use of 'Alps' and 'alpine' in books in English



Figure 17: Evolution of the use of 'Alpes' in books in French

266. Google N-Gram Viewer <<https://books.google.com/ngrams>> [accessed 22 January 2016].



Figure 18: Evolution of the use of 'Alpen' in books in German

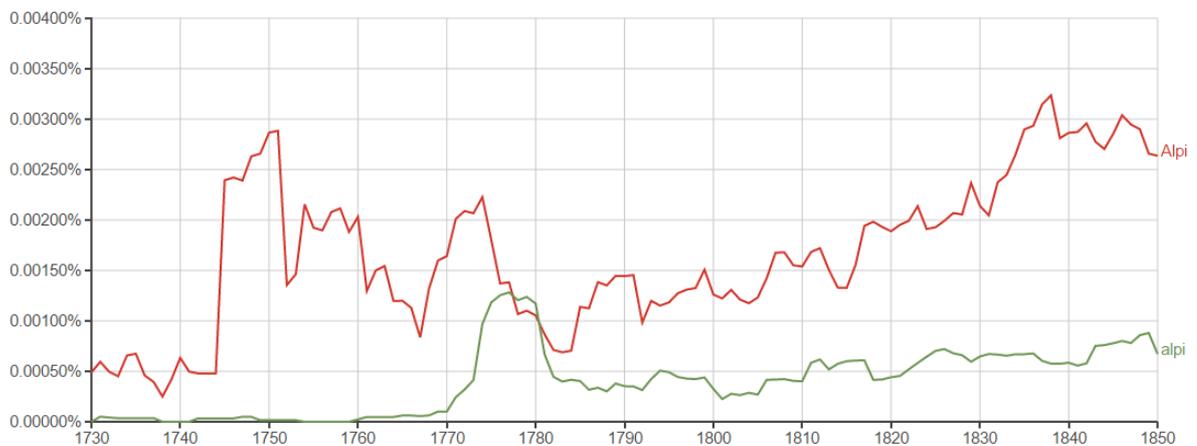


Figure 19: Evolution of the use of 'Alpi' in books in Italian

In all four cases, despite several national and linguistic variations, the similar general patterns can be identified. The quantitative patterns reveal a first awakening of the term from the 1750s to the 1770s, which corresponds to the early stages of rising popularity as a consequence of the release of *Julie* in 1761. The second phase is a relative loss of interest throughout the early 1780s, which can be also seen through the number of travellers: diplomatic and local instability in some key parts of the Alps – for instance in Geneva – certainly explains it. After regained popularity in the late 1780s, the French Revolutionary period led to a new drop in the use of the term, correlating with the passport regulations in place – as explained in the previous chapter – as well as a tendency to comment more on current political events rather than nature. Finally, a new wave of popularisation in the wake of 1815, as outlined in the introduction of this thesis, can also be seen in these statistics regarding the use of the term, which has kept rising without any interruption since then.

Using Google N-Gram viewer allows to search rapidly into a collection composed of millions of printed sources. N-Gram searches these through Google Books, the largest digital collection of books to this day. The result is, as previously seen, convincing: trends confirm theories imagined before opening this digital tool. However, this practice of ‘distant reading’ also exacerbates common issues found in quantitative analysis: as Franco Moretti wrote, “the average becomes an inevitable presence – and the average means loss of distinction, slowness, boredom”.²⁶⁷ The rise of the term ‘Alps’ goes along the rise of publications in general. This therefore prevents from firmly asserting that the rise in the use of the term was steady, but it is convincing enough to denote that ‘the Alps’ became more popular as a term. This cannot be argued through quantitative figures only, but a close reading hundreds of accounts does complement this statement outlined in Google N-Gram.

Beyond the quantitative use of the term, it is important to see how the meaning implied behind it changed as well towards a more unified, consensual, and intuitive meaning. With regard to *Begriffsgeschichte* and the evolution of concepts through time,²⁶⁸ an initial investigation into contemporary dictionaries and encyclopaedias allows a first analysis of how nouns and names were officially perceived, and what elements were seen as important in order to explain a term.

The term started appearing regularly in the early years of the Enlightenment, although its description was rather factual. Diderot’s 1751 *Encyclopédie* describes the Alps through this very short entry:

Hautes montagnes d’Europe, qui séparent l’Italie de la France & de l’Allemagne. Elles commencent du côté de France vers la côte de la Méditerranée près de Monaco, entre l’état de Gênes & le comté de Nice, & finissent au golfe de Carnero, partie du golfe de Venise.²⁶⁹

267. Franco Moretti, “Style, Inc.: Reflections on 7,000 Titles” in *Distant Reading* (London, Verso, 2013), pp. 180 – 181.

268. Reinhart Koselleck, Werner Conze & Otto Brunner (eds), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, Band 3* (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1982), p. 885. Alternatively, see Introduction for more on the history of concepts.

269. Denis Diderot & Jean le Rond d’Alembert (eds), *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (vol. 1, Paris, Briasson, 1751), p. 295.

Translation: High mountains of Europe, which separate Italie from France and Germany. They start on the French side around the Mediterranean coast near Monaco, between the state of Genoa and the County of Nice, and end at the gulf of Carnero, part of the gulf of Venice.

Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, published in 1763, does not feature the term 'Alps' but does describe 'Alpine' as "Of or belonging to the *Alps*, Mountains in Italy",²⁷⁰ highlighting the interesting understanding of the Alps as an Italian range.

There is a clear correlation between the time of publication and the accuracy of the descriptions: more recent works present the Alps more explicitly, taking into account its international character, its physical specificities, and geographic location – from the Mediterranean Sea to Central Europe. However, the place and scale of publication equally matter: more local dictionaries take the Alps for granted as a mountainous region and instead focus on their situation within the local region. A geographic dictionary of the Canton of Vaud published in 1824 says about the Alps:

La partie des *Alpes* située dans le Canton de *Vaud*, renferme le district du *Pays-d'Enhaut*, partie de celui d'*Aigle* et une petite portion de celui de *Vevey*. On y trouve les paroisses de *Rougemont*, *Château-d'Oex*, *Rossinière*, *Letivaz*, *Grion*, *Ormond-dessus* et *dessous*, *Leysin* ; sur leur dernière pente, sont une partie des Communes de *Bex*, d'*Ollon*, d'*Aigle*, d'*Yvorne*, *Corbeyrier*, *Roche*, *Villeneuve*, *Veytaux*, les *Planches* et le *Chatelard*.

On appelle aussi *Alpes*, *Alpages*, *Estivages*, qui sont synonymes, les pâturages d'été, c'est-à-dire ceux qui sont les plus élevés et que les bestiaux ne peuvent fréquenter que pendant les plus grandes chaleurs, comme dans les mois de Juillet, d'Août et Septembre.²⁷¹

In this definition, the focus is entirely set on where the Alps cross the Canton of Vaud. This means that the definition itself should be very clear for the readers who opened that book – there should be no need to wonder what the Alps consist of. The second part of the definition reminds the reader about the original meaning of an 'alp' – a steep meadow.

This last definition, published in 1824 at a local scale in Switzerland, shows the maturity and the advanced understanding that the term 'Alps' had gained between the 1750s and the 1830s. What can be read in travel accounts written by non-Alpine individuals is very different. There is a much wider variety of understandings, uses, and interpretations of the expression 'the Alps'.

270. 'Alpine' entry in Nathan Bailey (ed), *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary – Twentieth Edition, with considerable Improvements* (London, Osborne et al., 1763).

271. Louis Levade, *Dictionnaire Géographique, Statistique et Historique du Canton de Vaud, avec carte et planches* (Lausanne, Blanchard, 1824), pp. 10 – 11.

Translation of the second paragraph: One also calls "*Alpes*, *Alpages*, *Estivages*" [sic], which are synonyms, the summer meadows, which are the highest ones that the animals can only visit during the warmest months of the year such as July, August and September.

In his analysis of Alpine travel in the early modern period (1492 – 1713), Étienne Bourdon identified three different meanings for the term: a borderline (“*une ligne de démarcation*”), a range of high mountains (“*une ligne de hautes montagnes*”), and the more modern understanding of a space stretching through the West of Piedmont and the South of Switzerland.²⁷² These definitions are still valid for the period starting in the 1750s, however, some of them swiftly declined while new definitions emerged over that period.

Before and around the 1750s, readers’ encounters with the term ‘Alps’ was often closely related to the slopes themselves. The title of Windham and Pococke’s account is a good example, as it mentions “the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy”. The text itself offers more subtle understandings of the term: Mont Blanc is described as “the Highest [point] in all the *Glacieres*, and perhaps all of the *Alps*”,²⁷³ avalanches as “these terrible accidents in the *Alps*”,²⁷⁴ and the chamois as animals who “keep on the high Mountains of the *Alps*”.²⁷⁵ Although the Alps were not yet regarded as a space made of regions and towns, they were already seen as a range of mountains in which comparisons, phenomena, and particular populations did take place.

This geological and physical description was carried on in many subsequent publications. William Coxe, whose volumes of *Travels in Switzerland* were widely read, used the expression mostly to refer to the mountains: “Passengers indeed may in summer traverse the Alps to the Grisons on one side, and to Uri on the other”,²⁷⁶ “[the bridge upon the Linth] serves as a communication with the upper alps”.²⁷⁷ Here the term is not even capitalised, however, it is not being used when the author describes other non-Alpine mountains such as the Jura or the pre-Alps; in other terms, there is a degree of geographic awareness, albeit not stabilised.

272. Étienne Bourdon, *Le Voyage et la Découverte des Alpes : Histoire de la construction d’un savoir (1492 – 1713)* (Paris, Presses Universitaires Paris-Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 330 – 331.

273. Peter Martel & William Windham, *An account of the glacieres or ice alps in Savoy, in two letters; one from an English gentleman to his friend at Geneva; the other from Peter Martel, engineer, to the said English gentleman. As laid before the Royal Society* (Ipswich, W. Craighton, 1747), p. 27.

274. *Ibid*, p. 7.

275. *Ibid*, p. 5.

276. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland, and in the Country of the Grisons* (London, Strahan, 1801), p. 46.

277. *Ibid*, p. 50.

The Alps as a capitalised and geo-located term gradually became the only way to use it. This confirms Bourdon's analysis, as the term was used to either describe the physical boundary between North and South or the geographic region. The former was often seen when describing the action of crossing into Italy. When Edward Gibbon criticised the unauthentic experience of the Grand Tour, he pointed out travellers "who after a short residence on the banks of the Lemman Lake, are now flown far away over the Alps and the Apennines, and have abandoned their votaries to the insipidity of common life".²⁷⁸ Wilkinson's 1797 *Wanderer* has a similar approach about the people of Valais, writing that "secluded from the commerce of the great world, by their enormous Alps, the Valaisan roams".²⁷⁹ Here, 'the Alps' signify an implied barrier, an easy way to describe transport difficulties and seclusion. However, it does not reflect the actual complexity of the Alps as a region composed of routes and hubs. One could imagine the Valais as totally stuck around rows of mountains, while actually a flat road easily led to Lake Geneva, and many key passes such as the Simplon, Gemmi, or Tête Noire were being planned, built, and improved.

The Alps also rose as a region whose geographical awareness was framed more by its reputation than by scientific knowledge. In the eyes of non-Alpine Western Europeans, 'the Alps' was often seen as the region of Savoy and Switzerland. The definition of the Alps rarely applied to the long range of mountains stretching from Monaco to Slovenia. The Alps were a complicated, implicit, socially-accepted term encompassing the places that were usually described in travelogues. Cartography shows the extent to which this definition prevailed. The number of maps exclusively dedicated to the "Alps" – as in the title of the map – is not significant; their focus lay oftentimes elsewhere, either at a smaller scale (e.g. a map of Switzerland, Savoy, etc.) or at a larger one (e.g. Western Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, etc.). In 1708, a French map was entitled *Les Montagnes des Alpes*.²⁸⁰ Its focus is

278. John, Lord Sheffield, *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq with Memoirs of his life and writings, composed by himself* (London, John Murray, 1814), p. 472

279. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer; or Anecdotes and Incidents, the result and occurrences of a Ramble on Foot, through France, Germany, and Italy in 1791 and 1793* (London, Higham, 1798), p. 17.

280. Alexis Hubert Jaillot, Pierre Mortier & Nicolas Sanson, *Les Montagnes des Alpes ou sont remarqués Les Passages de France en Italie, Le Duché de Milan et les Estats du Duc de Savoye* (map, Paris, Pierre Mortier, 1708).

rather good, as the map stretched from Provence to Veneto. However, the actual ambition of that map was to materialise the border between France and Italy, and the scale therefore left out the north of the Bernese Oberland and Tyrol. Moreover, as an early modern map,²⁸¹ all mountains were represented equally regardless of their height, therefore not rendering altitude at all. The map is criss-crossed by rows of random mountains, from Burgundy to the Po Plain without any scale.

Therefore, several aspects of cartography – that are seen as obvious today – were not represented until the nineteenth century. Altitude was rarely realistically depicted throughout a whole map. It was instead used to emphasise familiar places or elements of national pride. Maps had a clear political instead of scientific agenda; it reflected a scientifically-imagined community, as Gugerli and Speich explain in the case of nineteenth-century Switzerland.²⁸²

Equally, the geographically correct focus on the Alps from the Mediterranean to Central Europe, was evidently not yet common. Very few maps depicted the Alps as a whole during the period covered by this thesis. As a result, their location had to be included as only a part of the map. As a result, attraction is directly drawn to the region where the label ‘Alps’ is located. In certain maps, the choice of location for the label could be either random or restricted to the most famous areas of the Alpine space. François Grasset’s 1769 map of Switzerland²⁸³ uses large labels to cover the main regions of Switzerland: “Le Valais”, “Les Grisons”, and so on. “Les Alpes” is a much smaller label, and is located around Simplon. There is no other mention of the Alps on that map – although the depiction of mountains throughout the map renders altitude relatively accurately for the period. In a similar manner to what has been seen so far in travelogues, maps gave a very clear geographic indication to anyone not familiar with the Alps: “les Alpes” was around the Simplon pass.

The process of focusing the term ‘the Alps’ on the north-western corner naturally gave a sense of hierarchy between these regions and others. The regions of

281. The allegorical dimension of cartography up until the eighteenth century is addressed in detail in Martin Brückner (ed), *Early American Cartographies* (Williamsburg, University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

282. David Gugerli & Daniel Speich, *Topografien der Nation: Politik, kartografische Ordnung und Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zurich, Chronos, 2002), p. 90.

283. François Grasset, *Carte de la Suisse où sont les Treize Cantons, leurs alliés et leurs sujets* (map, Lausanne, François Grasset, 1769).

Savoy and Switzerland were seen as the epicentre of the Alps, giving a rather peripheral nature to the massifs located south of the Chartreuse and East of Graubünden. In his *Description des Alpes Pennines et Rhétiennes*, Bourrit attached a south-facing map he entitled *La Descente du Côté du Midi des Alpes est marquée par le renversement des montagnes* (“Going down on the Southern side of the Alps – reversed map”). As the map only stretches from Lucerne to Savoy and Ticino, its title completely disregards the hundreds of miles of Alpine mountains spreading towards Monaco and the Mediterranean.²⁸⁴

This hierarchical process is emphasised by the unclear labels found in certain maps. In William Faden’s 1799 map of Switzerland, the label “les Alpes” stretches over the border between the Bernese Oberland and the Valais. It is actually featured along with the adjective “helvétiques” in order to form the label ‘Swiss Alps’. However, the gap between both words is far too wide, and “les Alpes” ends up standing out on its own. To the West, a label with a similar size says “Savoie” while to the East, “Alpes Juliennes ou Rhétiques” is displayed. This gave the region of Interlaken and Leuk central importance while other places looked like they had to be further specified as they were not ‘the Alps’ *per se*.²⁸⁵

This long process of slowly defining what the Alps were and where they were located on a map continued until the 1830s. From that period onwards, the term was more consensual, and the implicit understanding of it had reached the modern definition that one knows today. In cartography, ‘the Alps’ reached their true geographic boundaries, as in John Arrowsmith’s *North Italy &c and the Passes of the Alps and Apennines*, published in 1834 and showing the Alps from Nice to Vienna with a scientifically accurate depiction of altitude.²⁸⁶ The term was also finally widely

284. Marc-Théodore Bourrit, *Descriptions des Alpes Pennines et Rhétiennes ; dédiée à S. M. Très-Chrétienne Louis XVI, Roi de France et de Navarre* (Geneva, Bonnant, 1781).

285. William Faden, *Suisse* (map, London, William Faden, 1799).

286. John Arrowsmith, *North Italy &c and the Passes of the Alps and Apennines* (map, London, John Arrowsmith, 1834).

Stieler’s *Hand-Atlas* edition of 1832 features an addendum which addresses the growing accuracy in trying to depict and calculate altitude. It says that the altitude of the Alps had been addressed for over forty years, but consisted of estimations rather than observations. Since its first edition in 1818, Stieler’s *Hand-Atlas* has featured an altitude map of the world’s highest mountains, with the Alps at the centre of it. The figures barely changed throughout the period studied (1818 to 1845).

used in book titles and as a geographically recognised term. While titles prior to the 1820s were rather called *Travel through parts of France, Germany, Switzerland*, listing the countries and territories described in the narrative, some travel accounts' titles began to feature the term 'Alps' instead, such as Abraham Hayward's *Journey across the Alps*,²⁸⁷ William Brockedon's *Journal of Excursions in the Alps*²⁸⁸ or Murray Forbes' *The Diary of a Travellers over Alps and Apennines*.²⁸⁹ In French, the term 'Alps' as a region only took off in the 1820s as well; it was used earlier on by local scientists, such as De Saussure who used the term to identify both the mountains and their natural space.²⁹⁰ After Napoleon's defeat, the term defined the region more generally and was easily used by most francophone writers.²⁹¹ In German, the term can be found earlier on but its use really took off in the same time period as works in English and French.²⁹²

Bourdon's three definitions of the Alps truly evolved throughout the period. However, a fourth definition subtly emerged in travel narratives and became increasingly harmonised; a definition that would bring together the different geographical, geological, spatial, and social types of Alpine awareness.

It is also interesting to note that the term 'Alps' does not appear anywhere in Stieler's works, apart from these altitude diagrams. Instead, Stieler's maps of France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Italy feature the regions of Savoy, Lombardy, Tyrol, etc.

Adolf Stieler (ed), *Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde nach dem neuesten Zustande und über das Weltgebäude* (Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1832).

287. Abraham Hayward, *Some Account of a Journey Across the Alps: In a Letter to a Friend* (London, Roworth and Sons, 1834).

288. William Brockedon, *Journal of Excursions in the Alps* (London, James Duncan, 1833).

289. Murray Forbes, *The Diary of a Traveller over Alps and Apennines; or, Daily Minutes of a Circuitous Excursion* (London, W. Smith, 1824).

290. Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes : précédés d'un essai sur l'Histoire naturelle des environs de Genève* (Neuchâtel, Samuel Fauche, 1779 – 1796).

291. Albert Montémont, *Voyage aux Alpes et en Italie, ou Lettres en Prose et en Vers* (Paris, Lelong, 1821); Charles d'Haussez, *Alpes et Danube, ou Voyage en Suisse, Styrie, Hongrie et Transylvanie* (Paris, Ambroise Dupont, 1837); *Voyage épisodique et anecdotique dans les Alpes, par un Parisien* (Paris, Gagniard, 1830).

292. See for instance: Franz Niklaus König, *Reise in die Alpen* (Berne, 1814); Carl Kellermann, *Die Alpen-Reise: ein humoristisches Gemälde einer Reise durch die Schweiz* (Augsburg, Wirth, 1828); Karl Kasthofer, *Bemerkungen auf einer Alpen-Reise über den Brünig, Bragel, Kirenzenberg, und über die Flüela, den Malona, und Splügen* (Berne, Jenni, 1825).

Defining Alpine cosmopolitanism: when the Alps meet urban rites

Although it is now known where the Alps were thought to be located, and how the expression was used, the task of understanding what the Alps were made of in travellers' minds and experience remains. It is widely acknowledged, both in academia and beyond, that the period covered by this thesis was not yet the golden age of mountaineering or winter sports. Although the Alps gained in popularity between the 1750s and 1830s and major peaks were reached for the first time,²⁹³ it would take a few more decades after the 1830s for the Alps to become a place for skiing, tobogganing or climbing, which became popular after the 1860s.²⁹⁴ The Alps emerged in people's minds through different factors. Their visual power has already been addressed in this work, and was fuelled by the Romantic Movement in the early nineteenth century. Being in the Alps was more than seeing mountains: it consisted of a set of practices; not necessarily on the slopes and peaks, but in the towns and cities near them. Social interaction, consisting of a blend between locals, expatriates, and visitors from different national and linguistic background, created a cosmopolitan experience at the foot of the Alps, which had a very significant impact on the outcome of the travellers' journeys.

The first important element of this process is urban places located at the foot of the Alps. As the third chapter of this thesis explained, intellectual networks developed across the Alpine space, therefore creating important socialisation points in cities and towns situated near the mountains. Geneva, Berne, Zürich, Turin, Lausanne, Innsbruck, Grenoble, and other places became important stopping points before and/or after a journey across valleys and peaks. As aforementioned, some even settled for longer periods – from several months (like the Shelleys and Byron near Geneva) to several years (like Gibbon or Beckford near Lausanne or Madame de Staël in Coppet).

The high significance of Alpine urban places, which makes up Alpine cosmopolitanism, comes from these multi-layered cosmopolitan flows. At least five

293. Namely Mont Blanc in 1786, the Klein Matterhorn in 1792, the Jungfrau in 1811.

294. Jim Ring, *How the English Made the Alps* (London, John Murray, 2000), pp 123 – 129.

levels can be identified in this ladder: short-terms travellers, ‘on-and-off travellers’, medium-term visitors, full expatriates, and local residents.

Short-term visitors were of course essential, as they made up a majority of the foreigners coming to the Alps. Their experience was often a one-off opportunity for them to be impressed and to progress through the Alpine space. As most of them did enjoy what they saw in the mountains, cities were a place of knowledge acquisition. Although many did not have time to properly reflect upon the importance of the Alpine space, their amazement and descriptions were often the most explicit. Visitors easily connected their urban stops to their previous or next expeditions in the mountains; both elements were interconnected. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, who crossed the Alps multiple times on foot but never settled in any town, often saw towns as places of preparation and expectation, as he wrote the following:

After I returned to Geneva, I prepared for another mountain excursion, and during my walk to Evian, anticipated the various pleasures of re-ascending the Valais to Brigg of crossing the Sempione Pass, perhaps with the officer of Spain, who, about that time, would return from Sierre, by Genoa, to Barcelona²⁹⁵

For Wilkinson, towns also allowed him to meet – or meet up – with potential travel companions or other who would help him financially or logistically to continue his journey, as explained in the third chapter.

Second, “on-and-off travellers”, often scientists, needed towns and urban centres to base their laboratory, to seek financial support, and to meet fellow scientists. The places they explored to collect their data or objects were very rarely places of social contact – with the exception of local inhabitants housing them. If the mountains remained the very essence of their Alpine journey, even this category was very receptive to the importance Alpine cities had to frame their travel experience. Thomas Blaikie, in the detailed account he wrote, was struck upon his arrival in Geneva by the excellent English spoken by a thirteen-year old waiter in his inn, in addition to French and German. The following days he made several more comments about the very cosmopolitan aspect of Geneva, before he settled in a town just outside of the city, from where he could easily head to the mountains as well as visit the centre of Geneva.²⁹⁶

295. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer*, pp. 162 – 163.

296. Thomas Blaikie, *Journal de Thomas Blaikie : Excursions d'un botaniste écossais dans les Alpes et le Jura en 1775* (Neuchâtel, la Baconnière, 1935), p. 32.

Medium-term visitors are extremely interesting to analyse. They were authors, bourgeois, noblemen, couples who within their Alpine journey decided to settle in a house for a few months. The Shelleys' and Lord Byron's stay near Geneva in 1816 is the most famous of these. Medium-term travellers' sojourns often led to the publication of a travel account or set of letters; those offered the enthusiasm of a short-term tourist combined with the accuracy of a more permanent resident when it came to social comments and descriptions of life in the local society. Blayne Townley Balfour's example is an interesting one, as he resided in the town of Orbe for slightly less than a year between 1788 and 1789. The setting, much smaller than the city of Geneva for instance, allowed him to restrict his social life to a few English acquaintances and some relationships with the local families, leading to very accurate descriptions of his life and feelings at the foot of Jura, facing the mountains of the Alps and travelling from time to time.²⁹⁷

Full expatriates did not often publish travel journals, but their role and behaviour in the Alps were well known through letters. They significantly orchestrated the relationship between local people and foreigners, by being able to communicate with both. Their impact was often considerable and recognised, such as Gibbon and the library he founded, or Beckford who after years of travel across the Alps settled in La-Tour-de-Peilz with his wife Lady Margaret Cordon, where his two daughters were born and where he bought Gibbon's library.²⁹⁸

Finally, local wealthy families and individuals certainly glued this cosmopolitan ecosystem of sociability together, although they were the only non-*étrangers* – neither foreigners nor strangers. As the custodians of local knowledge and legitimacy, the local elites ensured the expatriates' experience was the most genuine and authentic, therefore allowing other categories to experience urban life at best at

For more on travel and science, see Marie-Noëlle Bourguet et al. (eds), *Instruments, Travel, and Science: Itineraries of Precision from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (London, Routledge, 2002).

297. Joachim Fischer, "An Irish traveller in eighteenth-century Switzerland: Blayne Townley Balfour's letters from Orbe and Berne, 1788/89" in *From the Margins to the Centre: Irish Perspectives on Swiss Culture and Literature* (Berne, Peter Lang, 2007), p. 137.

298. Lewis Melville (ed), *The Life and Letters of William Beckford of Fonthill* (London, William Heinemann, 1910), p. 166.

the foot of the Alps. The equilibrium explained in the third chapter resulted in often positive comments that will be shown in the next paragraph.

With the development of these different levels of Alpine cosmopolitanism, it is interesting to address the question of the importance of the mountains themselves. Although it was not clearly stated in travel accounts that urban socialisation was what made up travellers' Alpine experience, the rhythm of the narrative and the different types of focus in descriptions shows the importance of non-mountainous Alpine moments. This question of mountainous explorations was briefly discussed by certain contemporary authors.²⁹⁹ In 1815, Jean-Frédéric d'Ostervald published a detailed guidebook about the valley of Chamonix. One of his final thoughts is rather paradoxical and surprising; after describing very specifically the many travel opportunities offered by the region, he stated that this type of mountainous tours should only be undertaken by scientists.

Les voyageurs qui ne sont pas naturalistes ou physiciens feront bien de renoncer à des courses de ce genre ; ils doivent les laisser aux de Saussure, aux de Luc, aux Dolomieu, etc., qui y vont interroger la nature sur la formation de notre globe, et qui y font des expériences propres à étendre le domaine de nos connoissances.³⁰⁰

In other terms, d'Ostervald, who offers here well-informed itineraries through the most popular valleys of the Alps, suggests that the Alps should not be experienced from there, as scientists should be the only ones exploring it. This evidently pushes travellers back to viewpoints located outside of the high valleys, and to urban centres. It is important to understand that mountains were still very much the essence of the Alps: having them constantly in sight was a prerogative, and having easy access to them was equally important. Marianne Baillie's example illustrates this particularly well. She entered the Alps via Savoy, and thoroughly explored the vicinities of Savoy,

299. For secondary literature on science during the Enlightenment, see Thomas Hankins, *Science and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), William Clark et al. (eds), *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1999), Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: the Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002)

300. Jean-Frédéric d'Ostervald, *Voyage pittoresque aux Glaciers de Chamouni* (Paris, Imprimerie de Didot l'aîné, 1815).

Translation: Travellers who are not naturalists or physicists should not take part in such journeys; they must leave them to the De Saussure, the De Luc, the Dolomieu, etc., who will go and question nature about the formation of our planet, and who make experiments there that will expand the extent of our knowledge.

Piedmont before reaching the Simplon and Valais. When she arrived in Geneva, she could feel a great deal of exhaustion; having seen multiple parts of the north-western Alps, her sense of comparison had been well sharpened and little could impress her any more. Nevertheless, upon entering the region of Geneva from the southern bank of the Lake, she appreciated the unique location of the city and the great view over Mont Blanc:

At length Geneva, rising grandly from the blue waters of her noble lake, and fenced on every side by her superb mountains (Mont Blanc dimly gleaming through a veil of clouds upon the left), burst upon us;- the *coup d'oeil* was most electrifying.³⁰¹

After a day discovering the city and starting to socialise with English individuals, Baillie's travel companions decided to use Geneva's useful status of Alpine hub to organise a three-day expedition to Chamonix. She did not agree to such project and decided to stay in Geneva, although she certainly did not expect much to happen:

I found it neither prudent nor reasonable to attempt joining them in this expedition, as the cold and fatigue inseparable from it would have been too much for my strength. I expected to have been quite solitary until their return, but was agreeably disappointed.³⁰²

As she expected a rather dull stay in Geneva, while her fellow travellers were properly exploring the Alps, little did Baillie know that she was about to assemble in Geneva all the elements that made it an Alpine hub. First, after several walks with people she had met, she started opening herself to comments, observations, and notes about life as a *Genevois*: "it was a novelty to a curious contemplative English traveller, like myself, to observe the manners here of near relations towards each other", she self-assessed.³⁰³ Comparing some neighbourhoods to her native Southern England, Baillie slowly engaged a process of cosmopolitan assimilation: Geneva was starting to be a global place for her where she could recreate her London lifestyle.

At a dinner party, Marianne Baillie met relatives of De Saussure, and was able to discuss his Alpine discoveries:

I found a very agreeable and intellectual society assembled at Madame C's. Among them were Monsieur and Madame de Saussure. He is a relation of the celebrated philosopher, who was

301. 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, John Murray, 1819), p. 244.

302. *Ibid*, p. 252.

303. *Ibid*, p. 257.

one of the first persons who ascended to the top of Mont Blanc, many years since, and who observations taken there have been published.³⁰⁴

At the foot of the Alps, Baillie was therefore gathering knowledge about the mountains, experience from local inhabitants, facilitated communications with her fellow countrymen established in England, and a pleasant time as a result. The next evening, she was able to witness the harmony between English expatriates and Genevese families:

Some of the company were in full dress, having called to take tea, in their way to a grand ball, which was given that night by our countrymen to the inhabitants of Geneva, and the latter were to return the compliment in a similar manner in the space of a few days. I was invited to attend this ball; but declined doing so, for various reasons.³⁰⁵

She continued to make comments about life between both entities, such as *alfresco* breakfasts organised by the local gentlemen for the ladies. Her depiction of a proper cosmopolitan ecosystem looks very accurate, especially for unfamiliar readers.

The next day, her travel companions came back from Chamonix, for which she gives a detailed account; however, the level of detail of her social life in Geneva during that time perfectly underlines where the highlights of that gateway region to the Alps actually were. As the party was leaving Geneva for Lausanne, Marianne Baillie reflected upon her time there. The contrast with her rather strong exhaustion after her journey through the mountains is striking:

Were it possible for me to forget the charms of my dear native land, it is here that I could happily live, and tranquilly die. Not that it possesses the Armida-like fascination of the shores of the Lago Maggiore in Italy, or the high romance of parts of Savoy: the imagination here is less excited, but the heart is more interested.³⁰⁶

This quote contains all elements that summarise Baillie's experience gained after her Alpine journey: the impact of visual comparison after seeing different massifs, the satisfaction of finding a most consensual place, the ability to picture herself spending the rest of her days there.

Ultimately, whether an Alpine experience existed best through mountainous adventures or social interactions could be well measured through degrees of intensity and pleasure found in travel narrative, as Marianne Baillie's example just showed. The development of romanticism, a movement focusing on emotions and on the

304. *Ibid*, pp. 260 – 261.

305. *Ibid*, p. 262.

306. *Ibid*, p. 278.

importance of the individual in that process, presented the Alps as a place of catharsis and where an old world, untouched by modernity but blessed by the ruins of the past, remained.³⁰⁷ This, along with the promise of a sublime landscape and an emotional experience, shows how the Alpine region could appeal to travellers because of the way the entire journey was described. In this paragraph, it is important to address the emotional intensity of travel narratives, and where highlights were generally found. The previous chapter helped in locating where the Alpine space started and ended in travellers' opinions: between those two points, the section that conveyed the best picture and the most pleasant feeling was not often whilst surrounded by high peaks.

Wordsworth, for instance, conveyed the feeling of peacefulness after crossing a pass: "It was impossible not to contrast that repose, that complacency of spirit, produced by these lovely scenes, with the sensations I had experienced two or three days before, in passing the Alps."³⁰⁸ The northwestern corner of the Alps, with its multitude of urbanised lakes, greatly facilitated these moments of intense yet peaceful pleasure. Arrivals in towns after long sections in wilder nature are often expressed with additional intensity and adjectives, like Mary Berry's arrival into Lausanne in 1783 "which we approached with joy"³⁰⁹ after days in Chamonix and Valais. When she came back in 1803, she expected her time there to be as enjoyable, but her disappointment at Napoleon's administration of the region overcame that feeling:

All these inconveniences, which time seems more likely to increase than to diminish, convince me that Buonaparte's moderation with respect to this country (I meant the Pays de Vaud in particular) has been merely giving them *rope enough to hang themselves*. [...] Left Lausanne without the regret that I could wish to have experienced at leaving so beautiful a country, in which I had formerly spent many cheerful days.³¹⁰

Mary Berry is a good example as she made no less than seven journeys to the Alpine space; at each occurrence, less and less comments were made about the landscape,

307. Guglielmo Scaramellini, "The Picturesque and the Sublime in Nature and the Landscape: Writing and iconography in the romantic voyaging in the Alps", in *GeoJournal* (Vol. 38, No. 1, January 1996), p. 49.

308. William Angus Knight (ed), *Letters of the Wordsworth Family [i.e. of William and Dorothy Wordsworth] from 1787 to 1855* (London, 1907), p. 14.

309. Theresa Lewis (ed), *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783 to 1852* (London, 1865), p. 133.

310. *Ibid*, pp. 263 – 264.

whilst comparisons, descriptions, and appreciations about the evolution of towns and cities were more and more central to the travel story.

Emotions, however, were not the only important aspect. Moments of reflection could also convey a sensation of completeness and satisfaction, where the Alps were presented as a welcoming and homely space. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson's *The Wanderer* is a detailed account of his journey on foot in the 1790s, and a very precise rendition of his feelings throughout his journey. Already on the boat from England to France, Wilkinson reflected upon the high quality of intellectual content produced in these vicinities of the Alps:

Voltaire at Ferney, and Rousseau in his retirement of the Lake of Bienne, solicited, and obtained, the one a temporary, the other an inviolable asylum; and upon "the banks of the Lake of Lausanne, under a mild government, amidst a beauteous landskip, in a life of leisure and independence, and among a people of easy and elegant manners, [Edward Gibbon] enjoyed the varied pleasures of retirement and society."³¹¹

His third chapter, entitled "Happiness at the foot of the Alps" confirmed the appreciation and deep reflection about the complex combination leading to such enjoyable region.

At the foot of the Alps, I read Rousseau's account of his passage over these mighty barriers; and I will sketch my happiness in his words. [...] Nothing struck my eyes, that conveyed not to my heart some charms of enjoyment. The sublime grandeur, the variety, the real beauty of the spectacle, made this charm worthy of reason: vanity, too, administered its pleasures. To go into Italy, to have seen so much country, to follow Hannibal across the mountains, appeared to me a glory above my years"³¹².

He went on, saying that meeting the right people on this journey made his experience far more stimulating, before thinking, still from the same place, that the mountains themselves might be slightly more hostile: "I contemplated, at a far, the lofty regions of the Alps, enumerated the dreadful vicissitudes of their inhabitants, and paused with increasing wonder over the eternity of their snows."³¹³

John Moore had a similar diagnostic in 1780, when he visited Geneva. Although his appreciation of nature was very intense, his reflection about the region of Geneva in particular presents it as a fabulous and stimulating environment:

311. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer*, p. 14.

312. *Ibid*, pp. 44 – 45.

313. *Ibid*, pp. 48 – 49.

The great number of men of letters, who either are natives of the place, or have chosen it for their residence, the decent manners, the easy circumstances, and humane dispositions of the Genevois in general, render this city and its environs a very desirable retreat for people of a philosophic turn of mind, who are contented with moderate and calm enjoyments, have no local attachments or domestic reasons for preferring another country, and who wish in a certain degree to retire from the bustle of the world to a narrower and calmer scene, and there for the rest of their days.³¹⁴

Ten pages later, after more encounters with local and expatriate families, his opinion was even more turned towards the importance of social encounters as the highlight of the region:

The mildness of the climate, the sublime beauties of the country, and the agreeable manners of the inhabitants, are not, in my opinion, the greatest attractions of this place. [...] Upon the same hill, in the neighbourhood of Geneva, three English families at present reside, whose society would render any country agreeable.³¹⁵

Therefore, what ‘Alpine cosmopolitanism’ brought was the belief that the Alps could be best enjoyed as a space when there were places of interaction, socialisation, and reflection. Those were able to take place in urban centres rather than a top of a peak. They also grew in smaller towns, like Zermatt or Chamonix, where comfortable hotels openly aimed at the European bourgeoisie started to be built in latter in the 1820s and 1830s.³¹⁶ These concepts were pillars that were not explicitly listed but nevertheless clearly experienced. They all remained across the nineteenth century, and resonated very well with an economic market that needed them all in order to thrive: indeed, the road to luxury tourism and to the palaces of St Moritz was many steps closer by the end of the 1830s.

As an urban experience, the Alps undeniably became a literary and symbolic entity too. It is important at this stage to remember that the popularity of the region was facilitated and developed by works such as Rousseau’s *Julie*. The novel became an inherent part of some travellers’ Alpine experience. As the Shelleys sailed on Lake Geneva, Mary felt the need to read *Julie* as she was seeing for the first time these places that the book had introduced to her.

314. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany* (London, Strahan & Cadell), p. 158.

315. *Ibid*, p. 168.

316. Jim Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, p. 26.

We passed from the blue waters of the lake over the stream of the Rhone, which is rapid even at a great distance from its confluence with the lake ; the turbid waters mixed with those of the lake, but mixed with them unwillingly. (See Nouvelle Heloise, Lettre 17, Part 4.) I read Julie all day; an overflowing, as it now seems, surrounded by the scenes which it has so wonderfully peopled, of sublimest genius, and more than human sensibility. Mellerie, the Castle of Chillon, Clarens, the mountains of La Valais and Savoy, present themselves to the imagination as monuments of things that were once familiar, and of beings that were once dear to it. They were created indeed by one mind, but a mind so powerfully bright as to cast a shade of falsehood on the records that are called reality.³¹⁷

Rousseau can here be identified as more than just a reference; *Julie* does not only illustrate the beauty of the landscape, but also the calmness, the quietness, and all the reasons that pushed people to visit and settle in this region. Although Edward Gibbon was not particularly interested in mountains, he told his friend Deyverdun when he decided to return to Lausanne from England:

Après avoir pris ma resolution, l'honneur, et ce qui vaut encore mieux l'amitié, me défendent de vous laisser un moment dans l'incertitude. JE PARS. Je vous en donne ma parole, et comme je suis bien aise de me fortifier d'un nouveau lien, je vous prie très sérieusement de ne pas m'en dispenser. Ma possession, sans doute, ne vaut pas celle de Julie; mas vous serez plus inexorable que St Preux.³¹⁸

Although Gibbon admits his comparison with the relationship between Julie and St Preux was rather random, he announces it like an object of recognition: Gibbon's return to Lausanne meant that he was re-entering a world defined and promoted by these characters.

Various characters and social groups used the reference of Julie and St Preux as communicators of Alpine peacefulness at the foot of the mountains. In 1782, Pavel Petrovich, who twenty years later would become Tsar Paul I of Russia, toured Europe with his wife Maria Feodorovna, a Württemberg princess who grew up across the Jura in the Principality of Montbéliard. On their way from Russia to Paris they were unable to visit Geneva because of the local revolution which took place at the time,³¹⁹

317. Percy and Mary Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks' Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland* (London, T. Hookham, 1817), pp. 127 – 128.

318. John, Lord Sheffield, *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon*, p. 303.

Translation: After making up my mind, my honour, and friendship which is even more valuable, prevent me from leaving you in doubt. I AM LEAVING. I am giving you my word, and as I look forward to building a new relationship, I beg you not to spare me that. My presence is probably not as valuable as Julie's, but you shall be more than St Preux.

319. Richard Whatmore, *Against War & Empire: Geneva, Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 9 – 12.

which Paul's mother, Catherine the Great, blamed on the spread of Rousseau's publications and liberal ideas. These uprisings led to the military invasion of the city by the French. However, on their way back to Russia, after a break in Maria's home county of Montbéliard, the couple visited parts of Switzerland that directly connected them to Rousseau's characters and works:

La Suisse, toute proche, invitait nos augustes touristes à de pittoresques excursions. Ce que Jean-Jacques leur avait fait connaître et ce qu'ils étaient le plus capables de sentir, ce n'était pas la poésie violente des régions supérieures et sublimes où la nature enchevêtre avec une fière sauvagerie ses cimes blanches de neige ; c'était la poésie familière des régions les plus basses où la nature déploie avec une gracieuse fantaisie ses vallées verdoyantes et ses lacs bleu d'azur. Les hautes Alpes, avec leurs aspects âpres et hostiles, effrayaient un peu les voyageurs de ce temps-là: ils préféraient les contempler en face, quand l'air vaporeux et la distance les revêtent d'une couleur chaude et veloutée. [...] Le comte et la comtesse du Nord regardèrent avec les yeux de Saint-Preux et de Julie ces riants campagnes de la Suisse où le chant des oiseaux a une tendresse infinie, où le murmure des eaux inspire une langueur amoureuse.³²⁰

The sacralisation of Rousseau as a pillar of Alpine symbols was actually a multi-layered process: not only did Lake Geneva become a place recognised for its importance in *Julie's* narrative; the legend itself was acknowledged as such. As a result, gazing upon that region was not just a reminder of the story Rousseau wrote, both were actually bound together, as the Baltic German writer Barbara von Krüdener wrote:

How often in looking across at the Chablais coast or wandering amid the cliffs of Meilleraye, returning to all these places, once witnesses of Julie's devotion and now the substance of popular legend, was I overwhelmed with love and melancholia.³²¹

320. Pierre Morane, *Paul Ier de Russie avant l'Avènement (1754 – 1796)* (Paris, Plon, 1907), p. 261. Translation: Nearby Switzerland invited our tourists [Paul and Maria] to picturesque excursions. What Jean-Jacques had taught them and what they were most able to feel was not the violent poetry of the most elevated and sublime regions where nature displays with proud wilderness its snow-capped tops. It was the familiar poetry of the lowest regions where nature shows with charm its green valleys and blue lakes. The high Alps, with their hostile and rough look, scared the travellers of that period; they would rather contemplate them whilst facing them from the plain, when the air and distance gave them a warm and smooth colour. [...] The Count and Countess of the North watched with the eyes of Saint-Preux and Julie these joyful meadows of Switzerland where the birds' songs have an infinite tenderness, where the waters' whispering inspired a romantic quietness.

321. Cited in E. J. Knapton, *The Lady of the Holy Alliance: the Life of Julie de Krudener* (New York, 1939), p. 50.

Further than the sacralisation of that land only, travellers were in search of Rousseau's literary legacy, whether this was to meet him³²² while he was alive or to pay a visit and tribute to the places where he himself sought inspiration. After Rousseau left Saint-Pierre island, the database has forty-three records of travellers visiting it, which is about ten percent of travellers who stopped in Berne, a third of those who visited Neuchâtel and more than half of those who visited Bienne. The figures are very similar for his home of Môtiers.



Figure 20: Rousseau's Switzerland (in red) and its proximity to the Alps and Alpine hubs: his homes of Môtiers and Saint-Pierre Island; *Julie*'s main places at Clarens and the rock of Meillière

Rousseau was not the only 'Alpine' literary reference. Towards the end of the period covered here, around 1830, many writers were recognised for their works and descriptions about the region, and joined Rousseau as historic custodians of the

322. Rousseau was born in 1712. In his later life he returned to Geneva from 1754 to 1762, then settled in Môtiers (in the Jura mountains near Neuchâtel) from 1762 to 1764. He then stayed on the Île Saint-Pierre ('St. Petersinsel' in German, 'St Peter's Island' in English) in the Canton of Berne for two months in 1765 before spending the last years of his life in France. He died in 1778.

Alpine space. Indeed, enough travelogues had been published and widely read by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Rousseau remained a reference, but other authors had successfully, realistically, or lyrically depicted the landscape, the population, and the flows of travellers that Rousseau had not seen in such dimension. In 1818, Henry Matthews reached the eastern tip of Lake Geneva on his way from Simplon. His delight was expressed alongside the following literary comments:

At Villeneuve I came in full view of the lake of Geneva. From Villeneuve to Vevay the road is beautiful, and every step of it passes through the fairy land of poetry and romance. The "snow-white battlement" of Chillon — the "sejour charmant" of Clarens — and "Lake Lemane with its crystal face," beautiful as they are in reality, speak to us with more than the dumb voice of nature, through the glowing periods of Rousseau, and the immortal verse of Byron.³²³

Some references are purely taken as means of approval and legitimation: for instance, William Liddiard called the Alps "the finest country in the world" in the preface of his *Three Months' Tour in Switzerland and France*; however, in order to justify this judgment, he referred to the words of Byron himself: "I have Lord Byron's authority for calling the 'finest country in the world'".³²⁴ Liddiard added a footnote to cite Byron's exact quotation from his *Memoirs*, and kept using more of his references throughout his travel account.

Other references were more glorified tales than means of justification. As many imagined Rousseau and his characters on the banks of Lake Geneva, the same dramatic setting featuring the Shelleys, Byron, Madame de Staël's salon in Coppet started to emerge, and many travellers embarked on literary pilgrimages at the foot of the mountains. Richard Sharp recalls an amusing conversation with Madame de Staël in 1816, whereby she complained about the uninterrupted flows of travellers wishing to visit her without any agenda or topic to discuss:

Madame de Staël complained to me, at Coppet, that she was often annoyed by travellers, who, as they had nothing to say to her, must have come merely to record the visit in their diaries, or add a paragraph to their letters.³²⁵

323. Henry Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health in Portugal Italy Switzerland and France in the Years 1817 1818 and 1819, Volume II* (London, John Murray, 1824), p. 72.

324. William Liddiard, *A Three Months' Tour in Switzerland and France* (London, Smith, Elder, and Co., 1832), p. ix.

325. Richard Sharp, *Letters and Essays in Prose and Verse* (London, Edward Moxon, 1834), p. 72.

These pilgrimages multiplied once these legendary residents of the region had died or left. In 1823, the historian Edgar Quinet expressed his joy in a letter to his mother after visiting the former residences of the Shelleys and Madame de Staël:

Je suis le plus heureux des hommes! J'ai vu Coppet, Montfleury, Cognoy, j'ai fait mon pèlerinage dans le parc de madame de Staël. [...] J'ai continué mon chemin par le plus charmant pays du monde, au bruit des eaux, en face des Alpes et du lac.³²⁶

Some travellers even felt powerless when they tried to dismiss this legacy and focus on the present scene before their eyes. Chateaubriand, in his true Romantic manner, could only witness how he could not detach his view of the region of Geneva from all the writers who had lived here fifteen years earlier.

Du lieu où je vous écris, monsieur, j'aperçois la maison de campagne qu'habita Lord Byron, et les toits du château de Mme de Staël. Où est le barde de *Childe Harold*? Où est l'auteur de *Corinne*? Ma trop longue vie ressemble à ces voies romaines bordées de monuments funèbres.³²⁷

Through more than seven decades, from the 1750s to the 1830s, the Alps became a borderland, a place of interaction across linguistic, national, and natural borders. It became a concept, a geographic term that was recognised by the elites of Europe. Images were conveyed, descriptions made durable across generations, and a proper legacy was born. Eighty years earlier, despite a considerable amount of traffic already in place, the Alps were still very conditioned by their height, their position as a north-south obstacle to be crossed, and a debate about the beauty or horror that its valleys represented. The term itself was made more instinctive, conveying a sense of sublime and natural beauty whilst offering urban experiences at the same time. It indicated a sense of Otherness in social interactions but equally promoted cosmopolitanism. In the 1830s, this new image of the Alps shared by the peoples of Western Europe was about to facilitate the creation of a durable economic and

326. Edgar Quinet, *Correspondances – Lettres à sa Mère* (Paris, Germer-Baillièrre, 1877), pp. 232 – 234.

Translation: I am the happiest of men! I saw Coppet, Montfleury, Cognoy, I did my pilgrimage in Madame de Staël's park. [...] I continued my journey through the most delightful country in the world, listening to the water, facing the Alps and the lake.

327. François-René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (Paris, Penaud, 1849-1850)

Translation: From where I am writing to you, Sir, I can see the country house where Lord Byron resided, and the roof of Madame de Staël's chateau. Where is *Childe Harold*'s bard? Where is the author of *Corinne*? My too long life looks like these Roman roads full of funeral monuments.

touristic market in the Alps. The degree to which the Alps were popular as a term and as a place, contributed to swiftly building a friendly and familiar place where the new products of the industrial revolution – railways, resorts, hotels – could easily fit in. However, before that eventual step, the Alps were equally turned into a myth, a set of promises, a glorified narrative, a group of pre-constructed ideas, which the following and final part of this thesis will attempt to scrutinise.

Part III

The birth of the Alpine myth:

from mental representation to spatial mystification

As the Alps became popular and familiar in the minds of the European elites, certain narratives and discourses turned the Alps into a mythical experience, made of ‘must-sees’ and ‘must-dos’. The Alps were meant to deliver something for an individual, and therefore criteria existed in travel literature as to what made up a perfect Alpine time. As the second part of this thesis showed, the nature and location of the Alps were often subject to subjectivity and even exaggeration at times. Meanwhile, the transmission and circulation of pre-constructed images about the Alps did not always lie in descriptions and scientific observations: more personal comparisons, exaggerations, social depictions, fictional works, and political discourse all contributed to the creation of an Alpine myth. The final part of this thesis aims to address the nature of this myth, the actors who allowed it to prosper, the channels used to propagate it and the geographical frame of it.

First of all, the myth of the Alps was made possible through comparison and hierarchy within the Alps: as certain vicinities of the Alps were seen as more ‘quintessentially Alpine’ than others, the Alpine myth became very rapidly defined through key factors such as the presence of particular natural elements or certain aspects of the local population. The question of location and definition, addressed in the previous part through the lens of descriptive travelogues and unintentional interpretations, will be readdressed here in order to define what the idealised Alps looked like in the eyes and quills of travellers.

Beyond mere comparisons and visual exclamation, the tone of the narrative when approaching the local population in the most remote corners of the Alps often conveyed a sense of exoticism and a search for Alpine authenticity. The second chapter of this final part will investigate what elements were seen as indispensable in an idealised, mythical Alpine space. The question of local habits, Alpine diseases, and natural elements will be discussed. Fiction also emphasised very effectively the sensation of the Alps in order to serve particular characters or stories. The analysis of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* and Ann Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest* will question these mythical elements in order to answer the question of this part.

Finally, out of all the vicinities of the Alpine space, one of them particularly succeeded in conveying the Alpine myth and its promise of a marvellous travel experience: the region of Lake Geneva. On its own the region managed to represent best what travelling and living in the Alps could mean to a foreigner. Its constantly positive image in travel literature, its regular use in fiction, and its omnipresence in

travellers' best memories made it a prime location where tourism and transnational activities could prosper later on. Through the very last chapter of this thesis, a thorough investigation will explain why Lake Geneva luckily gathered all the factors needed to become the most Alpine place of all prior to the development of mass tourism.

Chapter 6

Different levels of Alps?

Visual comparison, Alpine legitimacy, and travel satisfaction across the Alpine space

The introduction and early chapters of this thesis have explained the shift of representation vis-à-vis the Alps, from crossed obstacle to explored space. Exploration then led to spatial construction; spatial construction led to mental representation; mental representation led to appreciation, and the latter, albeit inspired by the previous steps of the process, followed its own rules. The question of a true Alpine experience was addressed as early as in the first forms of modern Alpine travel. Windham and Pococke wrote in Chamonix that they were not satisfied with the first views of Chamonix, and therefore proceeded further up the valley to Montenvers. This led to the story that was spread throughout Europe later on. At times, Western European narratives showed quite explicitly their subjective interpretations where their true Alpine experience lay. Each region of the Alps had a different equation, a different extent to which a true Alpine sentiment was conveyed – a certain degree of ‘Alpinity’.³²⁸ This chapter addresses the question of what travellers described as a quintessentially Alpine place throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As seen in the previous chapter, satisfaction and emotions had a crucial role to play in the construction of an ideal Alpine myth: authors conveyed to their readers which place, moment, or experience, was the most perfect in order to truly embrace Alpine travel. At times, satisfaction was only reachable when compared with other regions: as a result, some places were described as ‘more Alpine’ than others.

Full satisfaction: the Alps and the expectation of extreme experiences

The previous chapter defined how satisfaction in an area bordering the Alps inevitably drew a connection with the mountains and the genuineness of a traveller’s experience. This section attempts to take the opposite logic in order to complete the

328. I owe the expression *degré d’alpinité* to Professor Claude Reichler, who used it when I had the privilege of meeting him in November 2014 in Lausanne.

correlation between the Alps and the myth of a natural and travel space *par excellence*. Indeed, the myth of the Alps was only complete once the best landscape met the best travel conditions. The highlight of Alpine narrative was usually when a traveller was in a situation – often unexpected – whereby all the elements he or she considered necessary were gathered together. This moment had a clear effect on the narrative and therefore, an equally strong message was sent to the reader at that peak moment of the travelogue. As the fourth chapter of this thesis explained, the first peek at the mountains was often a moment of literary climax; however, many travel writers waited until the sensation was complete and they felt like nothing else could add up to this feeling of perfection. An anonymous travel account from 1764 addresses that moment in a calm manner, yet right at the peak of his tour:

Quand on a le soleil dans le dos, la vue de ce lac gelé, et de ce théâtre de pyramides bizarrement colorées, est des plus grands et des plus magnifiques spectacles que l'on puisse imaginer... On croit voir les débris d'un magnifique palais ou les ruines d'une ville superbe. Un poète dirait qu'on voit des tours de diamant, des colonnes d'émeraude.³²⁹

Sometimes, as opposed to brief highlights, the sensation of long-term completeness mattered very much; instead of focusing on surprisingly climactic moments, travel writers enjoyed writing about moments where all factors were reunited and allowed total appreciation. The Shelleys, for instance, believed that one of those moments happened when they stayed in Meillerie, during their boat tour around Lake Geneva:

We dined there [at an inn in Meillerie], and had some honey, the best I have ever tasted, the very essence of the mountain flowers, and as fragrant. Probably the village derives its name from this production, Mellerie is the well known scene of St. Preux's visionary exile; but Mellerie is indeed enchanted ground, were Rousseau no magician. Groves of pine, chesnut, and walnut overshadow it; magnificent and unbounded forests to which England affords no parallel. In the midst of these woods are dells of lawny expanse, inconceivably verdant, adorned with a thousand of the rarest flowers and odorous with thyme.³³⁰

Here, the Shelleys gather together the short-term, surprising delight whilst tasting local food, mixed with the medium-term description of the landscape and the longer-term appreciation of Rousseau's legacy. This sense of complete, enchanting

329. Cited in H. Ferrand, "Premiers voyages à Chamouni", in *Revue Alpine* (no. 18, 1912), p. 103.

Translation: When the sun shines in one's back, that the sight of this frozen lake and of this theatre of oddly-coloured pyramids, is one of the greatest and most magnificent spectacles that one can imagine... One believes to see the debris of a magnificent palace or the ruins of a superb city. A poet would say that one sees towers of diamonds and columns of emerald...

330. Percy and Mary Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks' Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland* (London, T. Hookham, 1817), pp. 119 – 120.

environment going beyond the mere visual might of the mountains, went on to grant the Alps with many of its modern-day stereotypes and expectations.

Some other accounts, instead, took Alpine travel as a whole and presented it as the perfect cure in order to elevate your spirit and body. If the place was not a criteria – coming to ‘the Alps’ was the only condition – the moment and temporality were key. The weather and season were a major factor in Alpine storytelling,³³¹ and therefore authors often recommended travelling in the late spring or early summer, like this article giving advice to travellers aiming to discover Switzerland and other Alpine regions:

Ihr reist der ewige Frühling des südlichen Frankreichs, oder der classische Boden Italiens, oder die romantische Schweiz zu einem Besuche, von dem er in der Regel an Geist und Körper trefflich gestärkt, zurückkehrt. Hier wandelte sich schon mancher Lebensüberdruß um in Fähigkeit zum seinen Genusse des Lebens, manche sich und andere quälende Hypochondrie in heitere Thätigkeit, und mancher umwölkte Blick in frohe Ansicht der Welt. Selten wird wohl ein Reisender – und ihre Classen und Zwecke sind zahllos – vorzüglich aus dem erhabenen Alpenlande.³³²

Many writers quietly assessed which moment was the most valuable, amongst their entire Alpine experience. In Rousseau’s *Confessions*, the philosopher reflected on the highlight of his visit of Lake Geneva, and how later on it resulted in the creation of a perfect setting for *Julie*, which went on to inspire numerous other readers and travellers:

De tous ces amusements, celui qui me plut davantage fut une promenade autour du lac, que je fis en bateau avec Deluc père, sa bru, ses deux fils et ma Thérèse. Nous mîmes sept jours à cette tournée, par le plus beau temps du monde. J’en gardai le vif souvenir des sites qui m’avoient frappé à l’autre extrémité du lac, et dont je fis la descriptions quelques années après dans la *Nouvelle Héloïse*.³³³

331. Across the research carried out for this thesis, it has appeared that the focus did move from winter to summer: the relatively negative views about the Alps, imagining how painful an Alpine journey must be, focused on winter conditions, whilst works from the 1760s onwards very much saw the Alps as a space of opportunities during spring and summer time.

332. “Für Freunde der Schweiz und für Reisende durch die Schweiz”, in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (no. 21, May 1806), p. 274.

Translation: You are travelling across the eternal spring of Southern France, or the classical soil of Italy, or romantic Switzerland through a visit which normally formidably strengthens your body and soul again. Here, many depressions have changed into the faulty of enjoying one’s life, as well as many agonising hypochondrias into flamboyant activities, and many overclouded glimpses into cheerful views of the world. A traveller will be seldom delighted - although his purposes and prospects are countless - outside of the lofty Alpine countries.

333. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes de J.J. Rousseau, nouvelle édition* (vol. 2, Paris, Dalibon, 1826), p. 205.

Whether it was an impromptu visual wonder, or a long reflection on someone's experience across the mountains, Alpine tours always featured highlights and more intense elements. This hierarchisation contributed towards the creation of a consistent Alpine *cliché* and myth. However, in order for this myth to make sense, it had to be compared with other regions, stand out, and show how unique it was.

Comparison: degrees of Alpinity and comparisons with other corners of the world

Comparison between mountain massifs and regions of the Alps were very common. Albeit sometimes brief, they framed the narrative and the geographic environment of the travel description, and strongly influenced those who were not particularly at ease with Alpine geography. There were various levels and scales of comparison. Sometimes, the same landscape – and chapter of a travelogue – naturally varied in intensity, and the author always attempted to address which corner was more impressive, and therefore more satisfying. Whilst sailing on Lake Geneva in 1816, the Shelleys addressed the different parts of the southern shore of Lake Geneva, and one area particularly stood out. Just after having described the enchanting surroundings of Meillerie, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Shelleys discovered St Gingolph, where their satisfaction was even more fulfilled than previously.

St Gingoux is even more beautiful than Mellerie; the mountains are higher, and their loftiest points of elevation descend more abruptly to the lake. On high, the aerial summits still cherish great depths of snow in their ravines, and in the paths of their unseen torrents. One of the highest of these is called Roche de St. Julien, beneath whose pinnacles the forests become deeper and more extensive; the chesnut gives a peculiarity to the scene, which is most beautiful, and will make a picture in my memory, distinct from all other mountain scenes which I have ever before visited.³³⁴

Therefore, the 'most memorable' and 'most Alpine' often lay in extreme points or comparisons: deeper and higher, or even deepest and highest. These comparisons not only gave indications of what was to be expected, where, and when; they also gave

Translation: Out of all these pleasures, the one that I enjoyed the most was a wander around the lake that I did by boat with Deluc father, his daughter-in-law, his two sons and my Thérèse. It took us seven days, with the loveliest weather in the world. I kept a very lively memory of all the sites that hit me at the other end of the lake, whose descriptions I made a few years later in *The New Heloise* [Julie].

334. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour*, pp. 122 – 123.

away what criteria allowed experienced travellers and their faithful readers to experience nature at its best.

Further, these details eventually drew a proper map of the more or less ‘Alpine’ corners of the Alpine space. Some regions stood out in travel narratives and in the travellers’ opinions. There were very different levels of inter-Alpine comparison: formal ones, prompt ones, and, finally, those overly influenced by the traveller’s recent experience or emotion. Formal comparisons were moments of thorough assessment for travellers, whereby they examined what made a region stand out or not in their travel narrative. Although not always influenced by border crossing, these were often compared according to different countries. In 1817, Scottish traveller Patrick Brydone compared Switzerland to the rest of this corner of the continent, and showed that nothing else could be compared:

We shall then leave the parched fields of Italy, for the delightful cool mountains of Switzerland; - where liberty and simplicity, long since banished from polished nations, still flourish in their original purity; where the temperature and moderation of the climate, and that of the inhabitants, are mutually emblematical of each other. For whilst other nations are scorched by the heat of the sun, and the still more scorching heats of tyranny and superstition; here the genial breezes for ever fan the air, and heighten that alacrity and joy which liberty and innocence alone can inspire.³³⁵

Other comparisons were far prompter and therefore less thought-through. Their impact on mental mapping is allegedly milder, as the intensity of the narrative does not vary and does not create a pause in the paragraph. For instance, William Coxe’s detailed and trusted descriptions of the Alps included comparisons such as this one about Tyrol: “the mountains of Tyrol, which yielded neither in height or in craginess to those of Appenzel, rising before me”.³³⁶ His narrative moved on straight after that comment.

Finally, many comparisons seemed very strong and assertive through the language used by their author; however, many of them utterly depended on circumstances such as emotion, fatigue, or other external factors. Marianne Baillie’s

335. Patrick Brydone, *Tour through Sicily and Malta, in a Series of Letters to William Beckford, Esq. of Somerly in Suffolk* (Glasgow, Chapman, 1817), p. 278.

336. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland, and in the County of the Grisons* (London, Strahan, 1801), p. 35.

journey is a good example of such perspectives. Her comparison of the Italian Alps after entering them from Savoy is detailed and trustworthy:

The Alps, on the Piedmontese side of Mont Cenis [...] were infinitely more stupendous, more overwhelming in their proportions, and displayed stronger features of actual sublimity, perhaps, than those we had seen in Savoy.³³⁷

Her next comparison, however, is explicitly disclaimed due to the long exploration across the Alps that she had just undertaken:

We were not greatly impressed by the entrance to the Pays du Valais, having already passed through scenery of the same nature in Savoy and Italy; but it is certainly romantic and pretty in some parts. How naturally one falls into judging by comparison! Had it been possible to have immediately entered the Valais upon leaving the monotonous plains of France, we should have thought the former highly sublime and beautiful.³³⁸

As a result, this section of Baillie's travelogue somewhat dismissed the entire process of comparison and therefore does not address which part of the Alps Marianne Baillie believed to be the most memorable.³³⁹

In general, as it will be explained in the last chapter, a majority of works by British, French, and Swiss travellers put a strong emphasis on the mountains of Savoy and Switzerland as the most impressive, genuine, and satisfying part of the Alpine massif. That was at times seen as a standard view which required very little justification. This example shows how the 'north-western crescent', which this thesis has been focusing on, stood out naturally:

The southern parts of Austria are covered with hills, which rise gradually from the banks of the Danube to the borders of Stiria, and are covered with woods. They lose themselves in the mass of mountains which run to the south of Germany, and stretch through all Stiria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Tyrol, to the Swiss Alps; and are probably after Savoy and Switzerland the highest part of the earth.³⁴⁰

337. 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, John Murray, 1819), p. 135.

338. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

339. As the fifth chapter showed, Marianne Baillie learnt a far greater deal from her stay at Geneva, where she embraced Alpine Cosmopolitanism at its best. The lack of convincing comparison whilst in the mountain coincides well with the outstanding time she had later on in Geneva.

340. John Wharleton Bunney, *Freemason's Magazine, Or, General and Complete Library* (vols. 8-10, London, Bunney, 1796), p. 249.

However, views among travellers of course differed. Although some travellers acknowledged Switzerland's primacy when it comes to Alpine experience, they chose to emphasise how satisfying other parts of the Alps were, like this section about Tyrol in *Les Voyageurs en Italie* written by Frédéric to his friend Alphonse:

Eh bien, mon ami; il faut que je le déclare au risque d'être sifflé, je n'ai rien vu en Suisse de plus beau que le Tyrol. A la vérité, les chutes d'eau sont ici plus rares et moins remarquables qu'en Suisse, mais à cela près, j'ose assurer que l'on sera plus satisfait en quittant le Tyrol qu'en sortant de cette Helvétie si prodigieusement vantée.³⁴¹

In order for this mystification of certain vicinities of the Alps to truly develop, many foreign travellers started to compare them back to smaller mountain massifs that they were more acquainted with. The Alps still stood out as the mountainous space *par excellence*, but they also contributed to building a narrative for these other regions too: England's Lake District, for instance, constructed its own story through the contribution of English travellers who had returned from the Alps,³⁴² to a point where some Britons started to see the literary power of their hills as superior to Switzerland's mountains, like this quote from James Johnson shows:

The Highland glens and valleys are not quite on a par with Grindelwald, Lauterbrunnen, and Meyringen; but they are not blotted and deformed by goitre and cretinism. Moreover, they have that which the Helvetian vales and cliffs are remarkably destitute of – a romantic tale – and historic event – or a legendary tradition connected with every step.³⁴³

In any case, these multiple occurrences of comparison inevitably built the Alps as a strong symbol for mountains worldwide. As the next chapter will show, visual beauty and emotions were only one part of the far greater myth that developed around the space of the Alps.

341. Constant Taillard (ed), *Les Voyageurs en Italie, ou Relation du Voyage de Trois Amis dans les diverses parties de l'Italie, en passant par le Tyrol, la Suisse et les Alpes* (Paris, Dondey-Dupré, 1828), p. 66.

Translation: My friend, I must say it, even if I have to be criticised for it: I have seen nothing prettier in Switzerland than in Tyrol. In fact, the waterfalls are here rarer and less remarkable than in Switzerland, but apart from that, I must assure that one will be more satisfied upon leaving Tyrol than while leaving Helvetia, which is so celebrated.

342. John K. Walton & Jason Wood (ed), *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750 – 2010* (London, Routledge, 2013), p. 167. See also Jonathan Bate, *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* (Oxford, Routledge, 1991).

343. James Johnson, *Change of Air or the Pursuit of Health and Recreation through France, Switzerland, Italy, &c* (London, Highley, 1835), p. 282.

Eastern views: different viewpoints from the Eastern Alps perspective

As this thesis has explained, the north-western crescent of the Alps, from the Grande Chartreuse to Graubünden – and even more intensely from Chamonix to the Simplon and Bernese Oberland – played a considerable role in the evolution of the Alps' popularity and definition in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As a result, 'the Alps' often stood for that part in particular, in opposition with the other, more remote, and less well-known areas of the Alpine mountain range. However, this can only be valid when taking into account north-western Europeans: Britons, French, Dutch, certain Swiss and Germans.

A similar amount of work, if not more, would be necessary to investigate the popularity of the Eastern Alps – any massif after Graubünden, Vorarlberg, and Bavaria – among Austrians, Bavarians, Slovenians, and countries beyond these East Alpine vicinities. Meanwhile, a quick investigation through descriptions in several Germanic travel accounts shows comparable levels of enthusiasm and analysis for regions of Bavaria, Tyrol, or further east and south.

Travellers often described the Alps of Bavaria as a nice break from the flat land of the rest of Germany. For Elisa von der Recke, a German-Baltic poet who had spent a lot of time in Bayreuth prior to her journey across the Alps, this spectacle was refreshingly new:

Bald hinter München erhebn sich die hohen Salzburger und Tyroler Gebirge. Zuerst erscheinen sie, als dunkles Gewölk; allmählich werden die unbestimmten Umriss deutlicher, das flache Land wird abwechselnder, und ein schöner Eichenwald erheitert den Reisenden, dessen Auge durch einförmige Fläche ermüdet worden.

Von Steinring an, der zweiten Station hinter München, wird die Landschaft reicher an Gegenständen und schöner. Ein Kranz von hohen Gebirgen tritt hervor, welche wie mächtige Säulen der Natur die blaue Decke zu tragen scheinen.³⁴⁴

344. Elisa von der Recke, *Tagebuch einer Reise durch einen Theil Deutschlands und durch Italien, in den Jahren 1804 bis 1806* (vol. 1, Berlin, Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1815), p. 19.

Translation: Soon after Munich rise the high mountains of Salzburg and Tyrol. First they shine around the dark clouds. Gradually the uncertain outlines replace the flat land, and a pretty oak forest awaits the travellers whose eyes had been tired through the monotonous plains. From Steinring onwards, the second station after Munich, the landscape becomes prettier and richer. A stretch of high mountains stands ahead, which like a powerful pillar of nature rises in the blue sky.

Von der Recke used many of the elements of the Alpine myth seen hitherto and later on in the next chapter. At times she wrote about her expectations to see more natural beauty and beautiful panoramas, like this example whilst leaving Innsbruck.

Wir hatten freundliche Postillone, vorzüglich die von Inspruck aus. Mit vaterländischem Stolze fragten sie uns, als wir auf der Höhe eines ansehnlichen Berges waren, ob wir noch einen Blick in das schöne Innthal thun, und Inspruck in voller Pracht sehen wollten? Wir folgten dieser Aufforderung; und welches reizende Gemälde breitete sich vor unsern Blicken aus!³⁴⁵

The poet also observed, addressed, and somewhat criticised the local population. Soon after her departure from Innsbruck, she called the language of the local Tyrol community “sehr unverständlich”.³⁴⁶ A few pages later, she said of Tyrol: “Tyrol ist das Land, welches an ehrwürdige Zeiten erinnert. Hier fand ich selige Sitteneinsalt, treuherzige anspruchlose Menschenliebe”.³⁴⁷

Therefore, the impact of the eastern Alps on travellers coming from such a ‘catchment area’ was just as impressive as what has been seen until now in western accounts: the attention to detail, to observation, and to emotions was sublime and intense, as Switzerland did on Britons and Frenchmen. When Elisa von der Recke visited the western Alps, Chamonix, and Geneva, she did not mention the ‘discoveries’ of Windham and Pococke, nor the importance of *Julie*. She did visit Voltaire and Rousseau’s former homes, but discussed their philosophical positions instead of their links to the region. The only reference she made was about Hannibal, who she believed crossed Mont Cenis. Her descriptions of Geneva and the valley of Chamonix were very positive, but not particularly embellished.³⁴⁸

345. *Ibid*, p. 107.

Translation: We had friendly coach drivers leaving from Innsbruck. With their patriotism, they asked us, as we were on top of a handsome mountain, if we wanted to have another look at the valley of the Inn and a full view of Innsbruck. We followed this invitation, and this giant panorama rose before us.

346. *Ibid*, p. 109.

Translation: Very ununderstandable.

347. *Ibid*, p. 122.

Translation: Tyrol is the country which reminds us about venerable times. There I found naive, claimless human kindness.

348. Elisa von der Recke, *Tagebuch einer Reise durch einen Theil Deutschlands und durch Italien, in den Jahren 1804 bis 1806* (vol. 4, Berlin, Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1817), pp. 302 – 360.

The importance of borders and boundaries, analysed in the case of the western Alps earlier in this thesis, can be seen in many eastern examples, like in Hoppe's and Hornschuch's 1818 botanical travelogue. After travelling through Bavaria and focusing on the coffee shops and society rather than the landscape, the border with the land of Salzburg triggered similar reactions to those seen in places like Chamonix, the Valais, or across Mont Cenis:

Zwey Stunden hinter Burghausen betritt man die Salzburgerische Gränze, und mit ihr stellen sich einige auffallende Veränderungen dar. Man hört einen andern Dialekt, sieht anders gekleidete Bewohner beyderley Geschlechts, und das Land wird gebürgichter. Das Hochgebürge von Salzburg liegt im Hintergrunde des Gesichtskreises, und stellt dem Fremdling, welcher zum ersten Mahle dieses Land betritt, eine überraschenden Scene dar. [...] Wir haben nicht wenig Vergnügen genossen, diese Gebürge zu sehen und wieder zu sehen. Wo ist auch das Land, welches dem Botaniker wichtiger seyn könnte? Hier wachsen viele Alpenpflanzen in der Ebene und auf niedrigen Gebürgen, das Hochgebürge hat die grössten vegetabilischen Seltenheiten, das ganze Land ist von braven Menschen bewohnt, Gastfreundschaft ist überall zu Hause, überall lebt man wohlfeil und sicher.³⁴⁹

This occurrence of border crossing triggered a completely different narrative in the story, and the feeling of a perfect Alpine situation for both botanists and individuals in general instantly developed.

However, no travelogue analysed for this paragraph showed a prioritisation of the Eastern Alps over those in the West. As previously said, von der Recke did not overdescribe the region of Chamonix, but at the same time she never compared or preferred the Eastern Alps; she was simply more enthusiastic the first time she saw them. The aforementioned work by Hoppe and Hornschuch very rarely uses the term 'Alps', mostly for the plants and only twice to talk about three geographical regions: "den Schweizerischen und Salzburgerischen Alpen"³⁵⁰ and the "Julischen Alpen".³⁵¹

349. David Heinrich Hoppe & Friedrich Hornschuch, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach den Küsten des adriatischen Meers und den Gebürgen von Krain, Kärnthen, Tyrol, Salzburg, Baiern und Brnthen, Tyrol, Salzburg, Baiern und Böhmen; vorzüglich in botanischer und entomologischer Hinsicht* (Regensburg, Rotermund, 1818), p. 30.

Translation: Two hours after Burghausen, we find the border with Salzburg, and with it stand several striking changes. One hears a different dialect, sees inhabitants dressed differently, and the landscape becomes more mountainous. The high mountains of Salzburg lie in the background, and presents a most surprising scene to strangers, whose first time it is in such landscape. [...] We have taken great pleasure to see these mountains over and over again. Where is the place that could be more interesting to a botanist? Here, so many Alpine plants grow in the surrounding areas, the great mountain has the greatest variety of rae plants, the whole land is full of brave men, hospitality is at home everywhere, and everyone lives safely and cheaply.

350. *Ibid*, p. 3.

Does this mean eastern travellers had a more comprehensive way to see the Alps as a vast space of exploration, as opposed to those who had created a real myth around a very small portion of the mountain range?

351. *Ibid*, p. 128.

Chapter 7

The Alpine myth under scrutiny

This thesis has hitherto shown the extent to which individuals and their personal readings and travels constructed the Alps as a mentally-recognised space. That being said, beyond the numerous forms of personal interpretation, appropriation, exaggeration, and comparison, the Alps gradually became more than a set of subjective understandings. They became a myth composed of idealised pictures, practices, actors, expectations, along with an official history to be told. This chapter investigates the construction of the Alpine myth through two different channels: travel literature and literary fiction. While the former was a perfect platform to turn personal interpretations into idealised and transmittable pictures, the latter was a more effective way to reach out to a wider public who did not necessarily seek to learn more about the Alps. Therefore this allowed the Alps to emerge not only in prospective travellers' minds, but throughout Western Europe's readership.

A world apart? Travel writing and the description of natural characteristics

As a mountain region, the Alps evidently witnessed natural phenomena that could not be seen in the lowlands of Europe. Many travellers saw those as must-see curiosities, and a seal of approval in order to state that 'one has seen the Alps'. This is very common nowadays: one would not travel to Paris and avoid at least peeking at the Eiffel Tower. The style of many travel accounts insisted on particular natural elements present in the Alps, regardless of mere visual beauty.

Avalanches were a fascinating phenomenon for travellers. The most scientific and descriptive accounts gave relatively precise information and ensured that travellers knew about the risk of travelling across the mountains under these conditions:

These masses break and fall by their own weight, or by the agitation of the air created by the horses' bells, by the voices of men, or by storms. These avalanches then rush with incredible violence into the lower regions, drawing with them in their descent masses of stone, trees, and tracts of land; they rend the rocks, bury beneath their ruins houses and villages, and overthrow

whole forests with an irresistible impetuosity. [...] Those who are under the necessity of passing the Alps in the spring ought to contrive to travel in company.³⁵²

Beside their dangerous aspects, individual travel writers whose accounts were more personal often celebrated the way the avalanches looked and sounded; they did so with a blend of precaution and admiration that was typical of the later Romantic movement. In the 1780s, traveller John Moore compared them to storms people can see from a boat, and how everyone always escapes miraculously:

The greater part of those who have made a journey to the Glaciers have seen one or more of these avalanches in the very act of falling, and have themselves always escaped by miracle. Just as most people who have made a single voyage by sea, if it were only between Dover and Calais, have met with a storm, and very narrowly escaped shipwreck.³⁵³

Avalanches were also an untamed phenomenon, and overall a topic that was easily understandable with no proper scientific background. In 1815, when Lady Wynne imagined how difficult Simplon must be during the winter, she wrote: “The road down the Simplon is equally good, but the Scenery much more awful, and it must be extremely dangerous in winter and spring on account of the Avalanches”.³⁵⁴ There would be many other weather factors to mention, but Wynne picked the one that was exclusive to the Alps; something that the Jura, the plains of France, or the small hills of Britain could not witness. Some travel accounts undertook a more scientific approach – works from Bourrit or De Saussure naturally had many pages explaining in details the reasons that caused avalanches, but some private travel accounts attempted to do so too. Avalanches were therefore a product which, because it was visual, auditive, and scientific, had to be seen by travellers themselves.

Wildlife equally mattered, as many species could only be seen in that vicinity of Europe. The *bouquetin* and the *chamois* were the two main Alpine animals whose portraits were often presented in travelogues. Windham and Pococke’s first travel

352. Samuel Miller Waring, *The Traveller’s Fire-Side: a Series of Papers on Switzerland, the Alps, &c.* (London, Baldwin, 1819), pp. 51 – 52.

353. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (London, Strahan & Cadell, 1780), p. 224

354. Anne Fremantle (ed), *The Wynne Diaries (1789 – 1820)* (London, Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 544.

account already featured lengthy descriptions of these Alpine animals,³⁵⁵ and this became more and more frequent throughout the period that followed. Many travelogues were more evasive though, mentioning the existence of the chamois through a brief comment which still emphasised the author's admiration for that animal. Thomas Blaikie, for instance, wrote about the ones he peeked at whilst in the Rhône valley near Bex: "I could not help admiring some Chamois upon the points of those precepices and jumping from one to another here I should (think?) them in great safety for certainly no other quadruped can follow them there".³⁵⁶

Some travelogues focused on the practice of chamois hunting as a way to present both the animal and this cultural practice by the local population. The French Revolution saw the end of hunting regulations and therefore a decrease in the chamois and bouquetin population. The English travellers Louis Simond commented on this: "Who would suppose that the French Revolution and invasion of Switzerland could have affected chamois among the glaciers of the Alps?"³⁵⁷ The practice of hunting itself was also seen as a romantic and typical activity. The same account by Louis Simond, whose analysis of chamois hunting extensively stretches over ten pages, comments on the image and dimension of the hunters: "This continual exposure to danger and hardships, and the solitary life they lead, may easily account for the taciturnity and somewhat romantic turn of mind for which they are said to be distinguished".³⁵⁸

Wildlife and natural phenomena were symbols of the Alpine space, as the Edelweiss flower became later on. An account on goats published in a London children book uses the chamois as a way to introduce children to what the 'Alps' are:

355. These also include a large illustration of most Alpine species entitled "Divers animaux qui habitent ces montagnes".

Peter Martel & William Windham, *An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy, in two letters; one from an English gentleman to his friend at Geneva; the other from Peter Martel, engineer, to the said English gentleman. As laid before the Royal Society* (Ipswich, W. Craighton, 1747).

356. Francis Birrell (ed), *Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Blaikie* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 59.

357. Louis Simond, *Switzerland; Or, a Journal of a Tour and Residence in that Country, in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819* (London, John Murray, 1822), p. 248.

358. *Ibid*, p. 249.

The chamois goat inhabits the Alps, which are very high mountains, always covered with snow, and is so accustomed to cold, that when warm weather comes, he retires to that side of the mountains which is towards the North, and seldom goes out to feed but of a morning and evening. They generally go in flocks, and if one perceives an enemy, he begins to make a hissing noise, which he increases as he finds that he is really in danger, to such a degree, that it may be heard at a great distance. – It is now time to break up our party for to-night, and I hope, my dears, you have been amused with these few particulars of an animal which is of great use to us.³⁵⁹

As the population of Western Europe only started to discover the Alps during the period studied, the list of what made them so extraordinary remained at first relatively scarce, which is why fauna and meteorology were simple symbols which appealed to those who had embraced the works of the Enlightenment and Romanticism. However, as travellers also learnt to turn the Alps into a humanised space, so did the references used in order to glorify the Alps.

Pre-colonial narrative and language in travel accounts

As this thesis has been showing, travel literature remained both a tool of expression and a way to transfer mental representations of space. Thus the image of an Alpine myth progressively developed in travel accounts. The diverse dimensions of visual and natural magnificence, as explained in the previous chapter, were not the only component. The narrative explaining how the Alps were discovered and how their population lived often reminds of how colonial history was told in the nineteenth century. This is a point addressed by historians of colonialism: Ali Behdad cites the French philosopher and orientalist Volney who claimed that his nineteenth century fellow travellers had forgotten to take time and language into consideration when travelling abroad. Although technological progress through time had made it easier for Europeans to approach other continents and culture, their lack of appropriate language remained a firm barrier that kept them away from a better understanding of those new worlds.³⁶⁰ This is what happened in the case of the Alps and their exotic relationship with the rest of Europe: travel literature thoroughly developed the image

359. *Lucy, or the Little Enquirer: being the Conversation of a Mother with her Infant Daughter* (London, Harvey & Darton, 1824), p. 63 – 64.

360. Ali Behdad, “The Politics of Adventure: Theories of Travel, Discourses of Power”, in Julia Kuehn & Paul Smethurst (eds), *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility* (London, Routledge, 2009), pp. 87 – 88.

of the Alps externally, but did not manage to establish an authentic contact with the local population. Two elements in particular made up the perfect image of the Alps as a space: a clear narrative about the discovery of the Alps and a fascination for detailed descriptions of the local population. The combination of these two aspects made the Alps more exotic and foreign on the one hand, and more familiar and interesting on the other.

The first aspect of the Alpine myth is the construction of its narrative and the periodisation used. Soon after the Alps developed as a place of travel, the narrative around its discovery developed instantly. Its tone often resembles what was seen later on in colonial writing: the idea of a deserted place, discovered by a civilised Westerner, opening a new historical period. This discovery moment is very often Windham and Pococke's expedition. Despite the constant flows of travellers and wanderers that had explored the Alps for centuries, if not thousands of years, the discovery of the valley of Chamonix vouched for the entire mountains of Savoy, if not the Alps. The publication of Windham and Pococke's in *Mercurie Suisse*, as already seen, did emphasise the discovery of these surroundings. However, what is even more striking is the way other travellers depicted this story as an official one. As Cian Duffy wrote, this does not only depict them as "geographical explorers", but also as "the inaugurators of the European cultural investment in the Alps".³⁶¹ Even the account of Empress Marie-Louise's travel to Montanvers in 1814 in her diary starts with a brief history of that 'discovery', once again emphasising the two Englishmen's contribution and the significance of their discovery seventy years later. The tone of this introduction is very official, and the use of exotic descriptions shows the extent to which this had a meaning for Western civilisation and travel practices:

Les Alpes de la Savoie ont été longtemps ignorées. Il n'y a guères plus d'un demi-siècle que deux Anglais (Pococke & Windham) projetèrent d'en faire la reconnaissance. Je n'entrerai pas dans le détail de leur expédition qui fut entreprise presque avec autant de précautions que s'il se fut agi de la découverte d'une contrée du Nouveau Monde. Le vaste champ qu'ils ont ouvert a été habilement exploité par l'illustre De Saussure et par les naturalistes venus après lui : ce qu'ils ont fait connaître des beautés naturelles cachées dans ces montagnes y a attiré en foule les curieux. Aujourd'hui le Voyage du Montanvert est devenu pour eux, ce que le pèlerinage de la Mecque est pour un pieux Musulman.³⁶²

361. Cian Duffy, "'We had hopes that pointed to the clouds': The Alps and the Poetics of Ascent", in *The Landscapes of the Sublime 1700-1830: Classic Ground* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 28 – 68.

362. "Journal d'un voyage fait au Montanvert au mois de Juillet 1814", diary (A.D.74, 1 J 2907).

According to different sources from different backgrounds, the years following Windham and Pococke's discovery continued to be regarded as rather dangerous and unpopular. Mary Berry's travel account features a lengthy footnote in French explaining this story. After telling the entire tale of the two Englishmen's trip, it explained: "It was not till 1760 that M. Saussure first visited the Valley of Chamouni, when it was still regarded as a dangerous journey".³⁶³ The same rhetoric of discovery applies to Mont Blanc: many accounts presented Mont Blanc as a totally unknown mysterious identity, which a group of determined men decided to unveil and reveal to the world, like this later account explains:

Until the close of the last century Mont Blanc was universally regarded as inaccessible. Then, in 1760, a young scientific investigator by the name of De Saussure conceived the idea of ascending it. He was but twenty years old when he first visited the vale of Chamouni; but no sooner had he seen the "monarch of the mountains" than he was seized with an irresistible ambition to conquer it.³⁶⁴

In addition to the glorification of the region as undiscovered then directly 'Westernised', the local population – who had certainly lived for thousands of years in the region – also stood out in the Alpine narrative as the guardians of the Alps' authenticity. The description of local Alpine populations is a key element of the quasi-colonial style which can be seen alongside the creation of an Alpine myth. For better or worse, encounters with the inhabitants of small Alpine villages triggered long descriptions that at times can be seen as scientific objects being described and presented to an unfamiliar readership.

Translation: The Alps of Savoy had been ignored for a long time. It was not much more than half a century ago when two Englishmen (Pococke & Windham) planned to explore them. I will not get into detail about their expedition which was undertaken with as much precaution as if they had discovered a region of the New World. The vast possibilities that they opened were exploited by the remarkable De Saussure and the naturalists who came after him: what they taught us about the hidden natural beauty of these mountains brought crowds of curious. Today the journey to Montanvers has become for them what a pilgrimage to Mecca is for a pious Muslim.

363. Theresa Lewis (ed), *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783 to 1852* (London, Longmans, 1865), p. 32.

364. "The Monarch of Mountains", in *New Monthly Magazine*, 1871 (F.B.G.S.P., 2020).

Descriptions of the local population attached to the story of Windham and Pococke were often dramatic and adhered to the aforementioned ‘proto-colonial’ tone which tended to look down on local populations. Mary Berry’s view on the story, displayed through a short account in French in her travelogue’s footnote, goes as follows:

Comme tout le monde croyoit que cette vallée étoit un repaire de brigands et de peuples barbares et sauvages, on blâmait généralement leur résolution, on leur conseilla si sérieusement de bien se tenir sur leur garde, qu'ils partirent de Genève armés jusqu'aux dents avec un nombre de domestiques également armés; ils n'osèrent entrer dans aucune maison, ils campèrent sous des tentes, et tinrent des feux et des sentinelles en garde pendant toute la nuit. Les montagnes des environs étoient alors connues sous le nom de "*Montagnes inédites*".³⁶⁵

With these occurrences put apart, most accounts of local populations were extremely positive and focused on the authenticity of the local population. Indeed, the genuineness of the population’s lifestyle, their knowledge of the region and the relationship that they preserved with nature fascinated travel writers, who therefore presented them as the total contrary of the civilised urban world. Some writers, like Marianne Baillie, attempted to draw similarities between the population of the Alps and that of other mountainous areas:

We regretted that time did not allow of our making a few more experimental researches into these matters [local appreciations of mountains]: it might have been very interesting to have collected a set of legends from the mouths of the simple inhabitants; and I should have had considerable amusement in tracing their similarity to those of the Scotch Highlanders, the German, Swedish, and other fond believers in romance.³⁶⁶

Furthermore, some accounts even considered that the development of travel brought huge benefits to the local population, who as a result excelled both at their local knowledge and at cosmopolitan practices that they could learn from visitors. Once

365. Theresa Lewis (ed), *Extracts from the journals and correspondence*, pp. 31 – 32.

Translation: Since everyone thought that this valley was full of bandits and wild and barbaric peoples, we advised them so much to be constantly careful, that they left Geneva heavily armed with an important number of servant with weapons too. They dared enter no house, they camped under tents, and held torches all night. The mountains nearby were hitherto known as “unknown mountains”.

While this appellation (meaning ‘hitherto unknown mountains’) is plausible, its tone sounds rather irregular and artificial. Many other accounts use the term *montagnes maudites* (doomed), which can be explained by the relative fear surrounding the massif of Mont-Blanc.

366. 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, John Murray, 1819), p. 118.

again, the narrative of discovery, cultural blend and *mission civilisatrice* is strangely enough very much present in the language used by travel writers. Mary Berry's account on the population of Chamonix in 1783 perfectly illustrates this:

Far from supposing that there anywhere exists a society of men free from the mean passions and frailties incident to human nature; but the inhabitants of Chamouni appear to me more in good fellowship with one another, more charitable and benevolent, and less envious, trick, and avaricious, than any other society of people that has fallen under my observation. [...] [The people of Chamonix] have acquired ideas and language entirely above their station, and which upon the subject of the natural history of their mountains would indeed do credit to anyone.³⁶⁷

However, certain travellers already foresaw or started to notice the change of attitude or the decrease in the population's authentic lifestyle due to the flows of travellers visiting them.

Les habitants de Chamouni étoient remarquables par la simplicité et la pureté de leurs mœurs ; mais ces qualités se sont altérées chez eux, et ils ont perdu, à cet égard, par la fréquentation des étrangers. A mesure que leurs ressources se sont accrues, ils ont appris à connoître la valeur des richesses, et en sont devenus plus avides ; cependant ils ont conservé leur honnêteté leur loyauté, et leurs attentions pour les voyageurs, ils ont acquis avec eux de l'instruction et une finesse d'esprit qui rendent leur conversation agréable.³⁶⁸

While comments on Alpine populations often did so at a local scale, the 1750s to 1830s started to witness the emergence of regional or even national stereotypes. The 1819 edition of the *Almanach de Gotha* presents the people of Tyrol's musical folklore with a view to showing how they break the monotony of their mountain life.

Pour rompre la monotonie et l'uniformité de son genre de vie, le Tyrolien recherche les divertissements publics, les réjouissances bruyantes : il lui faut des fêtes, où il puisse jouer, danser et boire. [...] Le Tyrolien a une manière de vocaliser qui lui est propre, des gloussements et des tons gutturaux qui passent par toutes les notes de l'octave avec une étonnante rapidité. C'est ce qu'on nomme dans le pays Jodeln ou Loudeln. Comme les anciens bergers de l'Arcadie, ils se défont au chant ; ces rustiques accents se font entendre à de très

367. Theresa Lewis (ed), *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783 to 1852* (London, Longmans, 1865), pp. 131 – 132.

368. Jean-Frédéric d'Ostervald, *Voyage pittoresque aux Glaciers de Chamouni* (Paris, Didot l'Aîné, 1815), pp. 10 – 11.

Translation: The inhabitants of Chamonix were remarkable by the simplicity and purity of their morals; however these qualities have been altered by the visit of foreigners, and they have lost a great deal in this regard. As their resources grew, they learnt how to know wealth and its worth, and became more fond of it. However they have retained their honesty, their loyalty, and their care for travellers; they have acquired with them education and a fine spirit which makes their conversation pleasant.

grandes distances, souvent même de l'autre côté d'une vallée alpestre, où d'autres Pâtres y répondent.³⁶⁹

This same almanac, printed in the Protestant lowlands of Germany for a cosmopolitan French-reading public, presents an entirely embellished image of the Swiss, seen as the perfect patriots and defenders of Liberty. In the same year's edition, the almanac discusses the story of William Tell, for which the almanac proclaims:

La reconnaissance des Suisses pour leurs ancêtres est un des plus beaux traits de leur caractère national. Dans les monuments qu'ils ont consacrés à de sublimes ressouvenirs, on voit leur veneration pour les Fondateurs de leur liberté ainsi que leur pieuse gratitude envers la divine Providence.³⁷⁰

The depiction of a national stereotype – especially political – was fairly rare during that period. However, many accounts did present regional political identities in their relationship to power. There are numerous descriptions of the Valais, for instance, which often emphasise the Canton's extreme passion for freedom too. This image was later used for all Swiss citizens, and the correlation between Switzerland's landscape and love for liberty was very much underlined in political discourse. In the meantime, describers often drew attention to the difference between the Upper and Lower regions of Valais (the former being the German speaking one, and the latter the Francophone):

Quand je parle de l'amour de la liberté de la part des Valaisans, j'entends parler des Valaisans orientaux ou des haut Valaisans; car les bas Valaisans ne l'ayant goûtée que depuis la fin du dernier siècle, ne peuvent naturellement être portés pour elle autant que les orientaux, dont la liberté n'a point d'origine connue, tant elle était ancienne.³⁷¹

369. "Combat des Campagnards du Tyrol en 1809", in *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1819* (Gotha, Perthes, 1819).

Translation: To break the monotony and uniformity of his lifestyle, the Tyrolese looks for public entertainment and loud leisure: he needs parties, where he can play, dance and drink. [...] The Tyrolese has his own way of vocalising; clucking and guttural tones which use all notes of the octave with an incredible speed. This is what people in this country call Jodeln or Loudeln. Like ancient shepherds from Arcadia, they compete in singing; these rustic accents can be heard in very far distances, even often on the other side of an Alpine valley, where other shepherds answer them.

370. "Paysages – Chapelle de Guillaume Tell", in *Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1819*.

Translation: The gratitude of the Swiss for their ancestries is one of the most beautiful aspects of their national character. In the monuments they erected to commemorate sublime memories, we can see the veneration for the Founders of their freedom and their pious gratitude towards divine Providence.

371. Schiner, *Description du Département du Simplon ou de la ci-devant République du Valais* (Sion, Antoine Advocat, 1812), p. 25.

These general comments on local political identities had a direct impact on actual political decisions. The annexation of the Valais to the French Empire was prepared through many reports and official descriptions of the canton, which are very similar to the ones published by private individuals. The following comments can be read at times:

Dans les deux parties du pays, l'indolence est le fond du caractère national, l'âpreté des mœurs, née de l'aspérité du sol, et l'ignorance la plus grossière, entretiennent dans les hautes vallées surtout, un esprit de barbarie qui de tout temps, et plus fréquemment dans les deux dernières années, ont produit des crimes atroces et des horribles vengeances.³⁷²

When Napoleon asked whether the annexation of Valais to France would also serve the interests of the canton, the eventual answer was that there was a clear interest for the Valaisans to enjoy France's wealth, infrastructures, and freedom. However, the very first comment stressed the reluctance with which the population of Valais would first react to this decision.

Question proposée par l'Empereur. Est-il de l'intérêt du Valais, que ce pays soit réuni à la France? Réponse. Il n'existe pas, en Valais, vingt personnes qui, consultées sur les avantages ou les inconvénients de la réunion se prononceraient en faveur de cette mesure : l'amour de l'indépendance nationale, commune à tous les Valaisans, celui de l'indépendance individuelle portée à l'extrême chez les montagnards, l'esprit de la bourgeoisie, qui exclut des fonctions publiques et prive des droits de citoyen un certain nombre de nationaux et la totalité des étrangers ; la crainte enfin des impositions françaises, feront toujours envisager la réunion comme une mesure désastreuse.³⁷³

Translation: When I mention the Valaisans' love for liberty, I am talking about the eastern Valaisans, or Upper Valaisans. Since the Lower Valaisans have only tasted freedom since the end of the last century, they cannot naturally be attracted to it as much as the eastern ones, whose freedom has no known origin, as it is so old.

372. "Exposé de la situation du Valais au mois de mai 1810", in *Réunion du Valais à la France: extrait de pièces officielles*, official reports (A.M.L., 1 C 4029), p. 9.

Translation: In the two parts of this country [Valais], indolence is the very base of the national character, the harshness of their morals, which comes from the roughness of their soil, and their rough ignorance, preserve a spirit of barbarity at every time (especially in the upper valleys). This has led to atrocious crimes and horrible revenges, even more frequently in the past two years.

373. Letter from Napoleon to the Ministres des Affaires Extérieures, and response from the local representative in Valais, in *Réunion du Valais à la France: extrait de pièces officielles*, official reports (A.M.L., 1 C 4029), p. 40.

Translation: Question proposed by the Emperor. Is it in the interest of Valais to be united to France? Answer. There are not twenty people in Valais who, if asked about the benefits or drawbacks of this reunion, would be in favour of this project: their love for national independence, common to all Valaisans, that of individual independence, especially for those from the mountain, the spirit of the bourgeoisie which excludes from public positions and citizen rights a good number of nationals as well

Of all the fascinated or passionate comments on local Alpine populations, those on health and diseases were the most peculiar. The particular climate and natural environment in the Alps inevitably brought very specific diseases and health conditions, which many travellers saw as an object of fascination and exoticism. The two major diseases were cretinism and goitre, both resulting from the lack of iodine in the mountain water that the population drank. Whilst cretinism requires very little clarification, goitre was a swelling of the throat which at times could look very impressive. John Moore's account of goitre in his 1780 travelogue clearly associates the disease with the Alpine space, despite not seeing many of them through the valley of Chamonix. He wrote:

During this journey, I remarked, that in some particular villages, and for a considerable tract of country, scarcely was there any body to be seen who had that swelling of the throat and neck, which is thought so general among all the inhabitants of the Alps. [...] In the valley of Chamouni there is only one hamlet where it is common; but in the Pays de Vallais, I was told, it is more frequent than in any other place.³⁷⁴

By carrying such comparison, Moore openly accepted the geographical link between Chamonix and the Valais as two different parts of a single region, even if only one of them was severely struck by this disease. He then asked a Chamonix peasant whether he was happy to see very little goitre in his region; he replied that taxation in the valley was far too high, unlike in the Valais where there was no tax at all according to him.³⁷⁵

Cretinism was often associated with goitre, as both diseases resulted from a substantial lack of iodine. Travellers of the Enlightenment already made such connection. While goitre was seen as a purely physical disease, cretinism was not only seen as a mental one: it was regarded and described as an object of social and anthropological fascination, with an almost religious and superstitious meaning. John Moore also addressed this a few pages ahead of his account on goitre. He saw a girl left outside her house in the valley of Chamonix and asked his local guide about it,

as all foreigners; finally, the fear of French taxation will always make this union like as a disastrous project.

374. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, pp. 238 – 239.

375. “En revanche, said the peasant, nous sommes accablés des impôts; - et dans le pays de Vallais on ne paye rien.”
Ibid, pp. 240 – 241.

who answered that she was an idiot and there were many throughout the valley. He added that this was meant to bring good luck to the family.³⁷⁶

Although these diseases were often seen as a must-see attraction and a point of exotic fascination, it was also at times used with arrogance and despise. By the end of the construction of the road over the Simplon pass, it became difficult for Nicolas Céard to find available labour; Italian workers were mostly working on other passes or projects. With limited workforce – mostly locals from the Valais – Nicolas Céard complained that he was “à la tête de tous les crétins et goitreux du Valais”.³⁷⁷

Language had a significant part in the description of the local population too. This thesis has already addressed the importance of language as a boundary and a contributing factor to travellers’ experiences. Despite language being an obstacle to their mobility, and an element of frustration for many travellers, there was also a lot of criticism and arrogance regarding the language used by local Alpine inhabitants. The main point of observation was the difference between official languages and Alpine dialects. As centralised nation-states had not emerged yet, languages were far more diverse between regions and very rarely standardised, which came as a shock for those members of the elites who had learnt and spoken more codified versions of their languages.³⁷⁸ In 1816, John William Polidori made the distinction between both, writing “the French language leaves off at Gessenay (rather patois), and they begin their German”.³⁷⁹ Distinctions, observations, and attempts of systematisation sometimes led to more personal remarks on the local population itself. Dialects and accents were seen as low and irregular forms of the standard language the travellers had learnt or known. William Coxe used various adjectives to describe the informal

376. *Ibid*, p. 236.

377. Quoted in Michel Lechevalier, *L'ingénieur Nicolas Céard (1745 – 1821) et la Route du Simplon* (Geneva, La Baconnière, 2007), p. 63.

The aforementioned report about the annexation of Valais to France states on the pages 41 and 42 that there were 1,600 cretins in Valais, out of 60,000 inhabitants. The note continues by affirming that the number of “demi-cretins, des imbéciles, des invidius fortement atteints par le vice du climat” is higher: the exact figure is omitted in the printed version, with three dots instead (“Il s’élève par des nuances et des gradations jusques à ... de la population de la Grande Vallée du Rhône”).

378. Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 166.

379. William Michael Rossetti, *The Diary of Dr John William Polidori, 1816. Relating to Byron, Shelley, etc.* (London, Matthews, 1911), p. 154

form of German and French spoken in Switzerland, as the following quote shows: “The language of the country is a provincial German; but, as the territory borders upon the principality of Neuchatel, the inhabitants speak also a corrupted French”.³⁸⁰ Marianne Baillie even wrote that a “mixture of German and bad French” was spoken there.³⁸¹

Alpine Space and storytelling: the use of the Alpine myth through fictional literature

Although travel literature significantly affected mental mapping and spatial representations of the people of Western Europe, literary fiction reached to a much wider audience of people who did not necessarily intend to travel themselves. The use of the Alps in fiction was strongly linked to travel writing and actual travel flows. As a result, fictional literature was comprised in a vicious circle, whereby it was inspired by actual previous travel and continued to fuel this lust for travel across Europe. This section scrutinises two classics of that period: Mary Shelley’s 1818 *Frankenstein* and Ann Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest*, published in 1793. Both works were widely read, and their existence is a direct consequence of the travel phenomena analysed here. However, each work originated and came to being under different circumstances: while *Frankenstein* is a direct transposition of the Shelleys’ tours of Switzerland into a romanticised novel, *The Romance of the Forest* is, on the contrary, a product of Radcliffe’s travel imagination and frustrations.

This thesis has in several occurrences taken Mary and Percy Shelley’s travels through the Alpine space as an ideal example of how travellers and writers saw the Alps as a source of inspiration, catharsis and admiration. Although the accounts of her travels were published shortly after her return to England,³⁸² Mary Shelley’s vision of the Alps was also extensively described in her fictional work *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus*, published anonymously in 1818.³⁸³ The novel introduces a

380. William Coxe, *Travels in Switzerland, and in the County of the Grisons* (London, Strahan, 1801), p. 214.

381. Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions*, p. 223.

382. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland* (London, Hookham, 1817).

383. Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (London, Lackington, 1818).

Geneva-raised student, Victor Frankenstein, whose passion for science and medicine led him to create a living being out of human remains. Written at a transition period between the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the Gothic movement, *Frankenstein* has a strong emphasis on the search for knowledge – both for Victor as a scientist and for his newly-risen monster – and the importance of individual feelings in relationship to mankind and nature.

As Victor Frankenstein was born in Geneva, the presence of mountains in the narrative is constant: however, the Alps rapidly become an active part of the storyline as they both hosted some scenes of the plot and were mentioned as an object of fascination and catharsis. Victor Frankenstein's first words in the novel are: "I am by birth a Genevese", therefore affirming how familiar and connected to the city he is.³⁸⁴ However, when coming back to his hometown after his brother's death, Frankenstein points at "the lightnings playing on the summit of Mont Blanc in the most beautiful figures". A few pages prior to that moment, as he travelled along the lake from Lausanne, he complained at the peacefulness of his home region, whilst his mind was far less tranquil: "Dear mountains! My own beautiful lake! How do you welcome your wanderer? Your summits are clear; the sky and lake are blue and placid. Is this to prognosticate peace, or to mock at my unhappiness?"³⁸⁵ His later journey to Chamonix, just before he came face to face with his monster, showed similar romantic admiration for these surroundings and for the effect they had on his mind:

From the side where I now stood Montanvert was exactly opposite, at the distance of a league; and above it rose Mont Blanc, in awful majesty. I remained in a recess of the rock, gazing on this wonderful and stupendous scene.³⁸⁶

The mountains also had an important effect on the monster, and many elements were conveyed to the readers through the monster's narrative. The later part of his journey from Ingolstadt to Geneva shows that the drawbacks of mountain travel – the weather, the cold, and the barbarity of some villagers – prevented him from enjoying the refined attitude which he had learnt about in the first books that he had read: "I was oppressed by fatigue and hunger, and far too unhappy to enjoy the gentle breezes of

384. *Ibid*, p. 43.

385. *Ibid*, p. 124.

386. *Ibid*, p. 171.

the evening, or the prospect of the sun setting behind the stupendous mountains of Jura”³⁸⁷.

Finally, it is important to stress that the geographical dimension of the novel very much corresponded to Mary Shelley’s own travel experience. Unlike travel accounts, *Frankenstein* mentions place names without presenting their surrounding, with exception of natural descriptions: Ingolstadt, Geneva, Chamonix, the Pays de Vaud, all unfolded throughout the novel and the only way for unfamiliar readers to discover those places was to read more about them in travelogues. As Frankenstein and Clerval sailed back to London, the section of the valley between Mayence and Cologne, which offers picturesque sweeps, pleased Clerval even more than the landscapes of the Alps:

I have seen the most beautiful scenes of my own country; I have visited the lakes of Lucerne and Uri, where the snowy mountains descend almost perpendicularly to the water, casting black and impenetrable shades [...] I have seen the mountains of La Valais, and the Pays de Vaud: but this country, Victor, pleases more than all those wonders. The mountains of Switzerland are more majestic and strange; but there is a charm in the banks of this divine river, that I never before saw equalled.³⁸⁸

First, it is interesting to note that this very strong statement against the Alps is that of Clerval, whereas Frankenstein paid tribute to his friend’s passion but did not say he agreed with his statement. Frankenstein therefore remained a more Alpine figure, truthful to his native mountains. Second, all the references made in this quote are taken from one of the Shelleys’ trips: the reference to the lakes of Lucerne and Uri are from their first tour made in 1814, and the other references are related to their 1816 expedition. The section of the journey through the hills of the Rhine valley are taken from the end of the 1814 journey back to England, and they are similarly described, with the exact same details,³⁸⁹ yet with far less passion.³⁹⁰

387. *Ibid*, p. 260.

388. *Ibid*, pp. 289 – 290.

389. The fact they were travelling during the vintage period is both featured in *History of a Six Weeks’ Tour* and in *Frankenstein*.

390. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour*, p. 68.

“The part of the Rhine down which we now glided, is that so beautifully described by Lord Byron in his third canto of *Childe Harold*. We read these verses with delight, as they conjured before us these

Therefore, *Frankenstein* was a mirror of Mary Shelley's experience in the Alps, where she replaced her peaceful journeys with the tumultuous lives of her characters. Her spatial references are firmly known, but remained evasive for unfamiliar readers. As her work was anonymous, it was impossible to associate *Frankenstein* to *History of a Six Weeks Tour* and to therefore obtain a comprehensive description of these places. Therefore, *Frankenstein* should rather be seen as the experimental creation of a familiar setting in the midst of the general travel writing of the period.

A completely opposite example is Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*, which falls out of any classical category. While it is an obvious fictional work, Ann Radcliffe's descriptions of the Alps thoroughly imitate those found in travel accounts throughout the period, therefore suggesting that Radcliffe was highly familiar with the region. In reality, Radcliffe published *The Romance of the Forest* three years before her first tour of the Continent. On that occasion, she was refused access into Switzerland at the border point of Basel. She then returned to Britain without even peeking at the Alps. She expressed her disappointment in a relatively mild manner:

So we, in quitting the borders of Switzerland, thought only of that country; and, when we regained the eminence from whence the tops of its mountains had been so lately viewed with enthusiastic hope, all this delightful expectation occurred again on the mind, only to torture it with the certainty of our loss; but, as the distance from Switzerland increased, the attractions of home gathered strength.³⁹¹

Thus, Ann Radcliffe falls into the very small group of authors whose work focuses on a field they never afforded to embrace. The powerfulness of her prose is, however, undoubted, and the use of the sublime to elevate and optimise her novels' characters has been scrutinised before.³⁹²

lovely scenes with the truth and vividness of painting, and with the exquisite addition of glowing language and a warm imagination."

391. Ann Radcliffe, *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a Return Down the Rhine* (Dublin, William Porter, 1795), p. 278.

392. Malcolm Ware, "Sublimity in the Novels of Ann Radcliffe", in Sten Bodvar Liljegren (ed), *Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature* (Vol. 25, 1963), p. 14.

The Romance of the Forest presents the flight of the De La Motte, a noble couple leaving Paris where they are being chased by their creditors, and the people they meet on their journey, leading to romantic frictions and subsequent drama. They wind up in Leloncourt, a fictional village located in Savoy where the characters are hoping to be safe. Bearing Ann Radcliffe's relative ignorance of the Alps in mind, a close analysis of *The Romance of the Forest* suggests three key aspects. First, Radcliffe's descriptions of the mountains were closely affiliated to the expression of the sublime and the importance of emotions when seeing the mountains. Second, the depiction of Leloncourt carefully featured all the main idealised aspects which made up the Alpine myth, as seen hitherto. Finally, the geographic markers mentioned by Radcliffe in her work do not add up and therefore suggest that the actual geography of Savoy was widely disregarded in order to create a universal Alpine place conveniently featuring all the positive aspects of what was known about the Alps.

First and foremost, Ann Radcliffe regularly used the sublime as a way to convey feelings. She had read Burke's theorisation of the sublime, which she used across her different works, from *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* to *The Romance of the Forest*.³⁹³ The descriptions and narrative of *The Romance of the Forest* thoroughly embraced the Romantic notions seen in other works that were more genuinely familiar with the Alps. Adeline's first peek at the mountains from the region of Lyon is clearly marked and emphasised:

And from the rich plains of the Lyonnais, Adeline, for the first time, caught a view from the distant Alps, whose majestic heads, seeming to prop the vault of heaven, filled her mind with sublime emotions.³⁹⁴

The land of Savoy, which had been a key destination for the sake of the characters, became a standalone natural treasure, and the characters tried to reach it as far as possible by boat. From that moment, the scenery of the region became crucial and its influence on the character's emotions far more important than the plot itself. Adeline was sitting "in pensive reverie" as the party's boat "slowly passed up the Rhone,

393. *Ibid*, p. 19.

394. Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest* (Stroud, Nonsuch, 2005), p. 247

whose steep banks, crowned with mountains, exhibited the most various, wild, and romantic scenery”.³⁹⁵

Peter’s emotions when returning to his home region of Savoy triggered a discussion on its uniqueness, and on how France did not have any equivalent or similar landscape:

When he came within sight of his native mountains, his extravagant joy burst forth into frequent exclamation, and he would often ask Adeline, if she had ever seen such hills in France. “No, no,” said he, “the hills there are very well for French hills, but they are not to be named on the same day with ours”.³⁹⁶

Finally, the sublime aspect of the mountains was constantly reminded during the characters’ stay in Savoy; for instance at dawn or dusk, like the following quote presents it: “To view the sun rising above the Alps, tinging their snowy heads with light”.³⁹⁷ Adeline continued to be “charmed with features of the country”;³⁹⁸ the characters’ journey to Montenvers, which is not described as a popular place in the novel, had a strong influence on her general appreciation of the mountain, and she started to properly reflect on the status of the mountains. She commented: “it seems as if we were walking over the ruins of the world, and were the only persons who had survived the wreck”.³⁹⁹

Therefore, the description of the mountains in the narrative carefully contained all the main elements that made travel literature so convincing throughout the period studied by this thesis: the impact of nature on emotions, the sense of natural perfection conveyed by the sight of the mountains, and the way protagonists could not think of anywhere else as a more perfect natural space.

The village of Leloncourt itself stands out in the narrative, as it goes much further than the mere Alpine descriptions featured hitherto in Radcliffe’s novel. Although Leloncourt is a fictional place, its description is both convincing and extensive; it is what “according to contemporary *philosophes*, an Alpine village

395. *Ibid*, p. 248.

396. *Ibid*, p. 253.

397. *Ibid*, p. 261.

398. *Ibid*, p. 276.

399. *Ibid*, p. 278.

should be”.⁴⁰⁰ At the same time, it combines all the advantages of a small Alpine town, as many travelogues described Chamonix or Lauterbrunnen.

First, the structure of the village was depicted as perfectly organised. This natural utopia “was an exception to the general character of the country, and to the usual effects of an arbitrary government: it was flourishing, healthy, and happy: and these advantages it chiefly owed to the activity and attention of the benevolent clergyman whose cure it was”.⁴⁰¹ This clergyman, named La Luc, “was the minister of the village, and equally loved for the piety and benevolence of the Christian, as respected for the dignity and elevation of the philosopher”.⁴⁰² Therefore, Leloncourt was a utopian place when it came to morals and society: a place dictated by the progress of the Enlightenment but preserved by traditions at the heart of the Alps. Leloncourt was also rather cosmopolitan, as La Luc’s late wife was English by birth and had spent a long section of her life in Geneva.

The situation of Leloncourt was of course a crucial element in the depiction of the town as a perfect Alpine place. The town lay on the shores of a lake overlooking the mountains.⁴⁰³ However, it was not totally surrounded by them: instead, it lay at the foot of the mountains, near a lake that offered sublime panoramas. The next day the group visited a village nearby which was “almost embosomed” by “several stupendous mountains”.⁴⁰⁴ Although this village caught everyone’s attention, it “did not promise much accommodation”⁴⁰⁵ and did not manage to help Adeline when she fell ill, as there was “neither physician nor apothecary”.⁴⁰⁶

400. George G. Dekker, *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott, and Mary Shelley* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2005), p. 107.

401. *Ibid*, p. 253.

402. *Ibid*, p. 258.

403. “On the side of the lake, nearly opposite to the chateau, the mountains, receded, and a long chain of Alps were seen stretching in perspective.”

Ibid, p. 261.

404. *Ibid*, p. 254.

405. *Ibid*, p. 254.

406. *Ibid*, p. 256.

The position of Leloncourt also mattered at an Alpine level: indeed, it was also a convenient place from which travellers could set off on longer journeys across the mountains. As aforementioned, the party headed to the region of Chamonix and was able to return home on the same day. The convenient location of Leloncourt both in and out of the mountains is emphasised when the characters were relieved to be back as a “storm so long threatened was now approaching; the thunder murmured among the Alps”.⁴⁰⁷ Later on in the story they visited Nice, which they reached without leaving the Alps until they approached the Mediterranean coast:

It was towards the close of the day when the travellers, winding ground an abrupt projection of that range of Alps, which crowns the amphitheatre that environs Nice, looked down upon the green hills that stretch to the shores, on the city, and its ancient castle, and on the wide waters of the Mediterranean; with the mountains of Corsica in the farthest distance.⁴⁰⁸

Leloncourt was therefore a fully-integrated Alpine town, small enough to provide a pleasant, tranquil, and harmonious life, whilst also offering links to other thrilling Alpine places. However, it is impossible to pinpoint Leloncourt on a map. It does not stand for any other real Savoy town, nor corresponds to a particular geographical place. After a thorough analysis of all geographical elements featured in the novel, Leloncourt simply appears to be a convenient fictional place which allowed Radcliffe to fully propose her vision of the Alps to her readership. It is clearly and rightfully in Savoy: both the regions of Chamonix and Geneva are within a few leagues, and when Adeline and Theodore came back after their wedding, and “after a long and pleasant journey they came once more within view of the Swiss mountains, the sight of which revived a thousand interesting recollections in the mind of Adeline”.⁴⁰⁹ Therefore, Switzerland was also a nearby territory, which adds to the accuracy of the description. Leloncourt could have been located on the southern side of Lake Geneva, since it was near Geneva, Chamonix, and Piedmont at the same time. However, one of the final paragraphs shows that this is not an option.

After passing some weeks with La Luc, M. Verneuil bought a château in the village of Leloncourt, and, as it was the only one not already occupied, Theodore looked out for a

407. *Ibid*, p. 278.

408. *Ibid*, p. 293.

409. *Ibid*, p. 376.

residence in the neighbourhood. At the distance of a few leagues, on the beautiful banks of the lake of Geneva, where the waters retire in a small bay, he purchased a villa.⁴¹⁰

As Leloncourt was located on a lake a few leagues from that of Geneva, there is no place which would match these geographic conditions.⁴¹¹ It was therefore a generic place, created by Ann Radcliffe's unfamiliar imagination, whose representations of the Alps came from the discussions she had had and the travelogues she had read. This final example shows the extent to which the Alps had become an abstract myth, filled with experiences and expectations, regardless of geographic accuracy or knowledge.

410. *Ibid*, p. 379.

411. Lake Annecy is the closest option. However, the lake is small enough for the city to be noticed, and the distances with Geneva, Chamonix, and Piedmont do not quite correspond to the tone of the narrative, which makes it sound like the first two places were relatively close.

Chapter 8

Lake Geneva, the Alps *par excellence*? Mental mapping and Alpine construction in the epicentre of the Alpine myth

Out of all the places where the Alps were experienced, mentally shaped, and where the myth developed in the eyes of Western Europe's elites, one region keeps coming back through most references and itineraries: the region surrounding Lake Geneva. As previously said, the lake is not even fully located in the Alps in the geographical sense of the term – it separates the Alps from Jura, and opens up to the Swiss plateau. However, a fortunate combination of criteria turned the region around the lake into the perfect Alpine place for travellers coming from Britain, France, and all non-Alpine Western Europe in general. Indeed, the region offered urban comfort in large cities, a place to stay for an entire summer around these cities, fantastic scenery from the shores of the lake looking south towards the peaks, small towns where interactions with locals could take place, well-known scientific routes to collect natural and material knowledge about the region, a quasi-colonial tale about its discovery, national borders to trigger a feeling of entering and leaving that space, and overall a perfect image to depict in travel accounts.

This extraordinary combination of factors started with Geneva's international and cosmopolitan reputation prior to the period studied in this thesis. From a protestant hub, Geneva managed to retain the same attractiveness in the eyes of foreign visitors of the Alps – Britons in particular. It rapidly became an Alpine gateway, a place recognised for its connection to the nearby Alps. Paradoxically, the town was often described negatively in terms of aesthetics and architecture, but praised for its scenic location and unique social scene. Further, all remaining vicinities of the region also had their own roles in the construction of the Alpine dimension of this area. The northern side of the lake provided excellent accommodation, socialisation opportunities, and views towards the mountains. The wilder southern

side was an excellent way to not see the mountains but to live them. It provided numerous itineraries – some well known, some less so – and was also a place where small towns such as Thonon and Évian provided comfort and authenticity. That side of the lake, albeit a bit more abrupt, was very much celebrated for its connection to Rousseau’s *Julie*, at the rocks of Meillerie or on the banks of Clarens. Furthermore, both shores were an easy link towards the Simplon and Grand St Bernard routes for those who wished to pursue their route towards Italy. Finally, the region of Lake Geneva did not stop at the boundaries of the water: from Lake Geneva, many itineraries formed a closed circuit together, through Chamonix and the Valais. All in all, what made the region so popular was its sense of completeness: in less than ten days, one could experience every single aspect of the Alps that one had read about in published accounts: fantastic views, natural elements, peaks to climb, local populations to meet, fellow Europeans to socialise with. Only the region of Lake Geneva offered a consistent experience within such compact time frame and area.

Geneva, a paradoxical Alpine hub

As seen throughout this thesis, the city of Geneva played a crucial role in the circulation of both travellers and knowledge before, during, and after the period studied. Nicknamed ‘the Protestant Rome’, Geneva particularly attracted Anglophones and its reputation reflected that up until the period studied here. Boswell entered Geneva in 1764 with such hopes. He wrote: “Curious were my thoughts on entering this seat of Calvinism”.⁴¹² Once in Geneva, Boswell continued to frame his travel experience according to the religious elements he witnessed. He wrote about attending a Protestant office in what he called “a true Geneva kirk”,⁴¹³ after which he played cards with a society of young bourgeois. His reaction was once again very much linked to his religious expectations of the city: “It was rather foolish. But I was amused to see card-playing on a Sunday at Geneva, and a minister rampaging amongst them. O John Calvin, where art thou now?”⁴¹⁴

412. Frederick A. Pottle (ed), *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland, 1764* (London, William Heinemann, 1953), p. 265.

413. *Ibid*, p. 271.

414. *Ibid*, p. 272.

The city had changed indeed, leaving its sole position of a Protestant Rome and becoming a more cosmopolitan, scientific, Enlightened Alpine gateway. However, travellers rarely praised the city itself for its beauty. Numerous travel accounts depict Geneva as a grey, austere place. George Wilson Bridge stressed its lack of architectural consistency:

The town is built without regularity, the houses are high, and those in the lower quarter, where the shops are, have arcades supported by thick wooden pillars, which obstruct and obscure the streets.⁴¹⁵

The Shelleys were even more assertive in their distaste:

But while I still dwell on the country around Geneva, you will expect me to say something on the town itself: there is nothing, however, in it that can repay you for the trouble of walking over its rough stones. The houses are high, the streets narrow, many of them on the ascent, and no public building of any beauty to attract your eye, or any architecture to gratify your taste.⁴¹⁶

These comments were sometimes tempered by reminding the reader about the importance of the city for trade and travel, as this letter between two friends published shows: “Genève, cette rivale de Rome, n’est pas ce qu’on appelle une belle ville, mais le commerce et l’industrie en font une ville très importante”.⁴¹⁷

Nevertheless, the interest for the city never decreased: the transition from religious hub to natural one was smooth and difficult to identify or periodise. Indeed, from 1759 until his death in 1778, Voltaire settled in a large mansion in the nearby town of Ferney. His presence just outside of Geneva’s gate was the reason for many travellers to visit the region, regardless of other neighbouring opportunities. Samuel Sharp, for instance, wrote in 1765: “My principal motive for passing the Alps, by the way of Geneva, was a visit to that Gentleman [...] I could not think of going to Italy

415. George Wilson Bridges, *Alpine Sketches, comprised in a short tour through parts of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland and Germany, during the Summer of 1814* (London, Longmans & Co., 1814), p. 83.

416. Mary and Percy Shelley, *History of a Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland* (London, Hookham, 1817), p. 101.

417. Constant Taillard (ed), *Les Voyageurs en Italie, ou Relation du Voyage de Trois Amis dans les diverses parties de l’Italie, en passant par le Tyrol, la Suisse et les Alpes* (Paris, Dondey-Dupré, 1828), p. 59.

Translation : Geneva, this rival of Rome, is not what one calls a pretty city, but trade and industry make it a very important one.

without granting myself the indulgence of seeing him once more”.⁴¹⁸ Voltaire ensured that Geneva’s popularity remained strong, as the interest for religion was decreasing and the waves of Alpine travel just emerging.

Though Voltaire paid very little interest for the mountains, his domain of Ferney offered excellent views over the rest of the Alps. At a time of growing interest for nature, his visitors started gradually to notice, describe, and celebrate that close connection to this environment. In *An Epistle to Monsr. De Voltaire* published in 1768, George Keate reminds the philosopher about his comfortable and privileged situation:

While o’er the distant Scene stretch’d to the Skies
Earth’s savage Wonders to the Sight arise;
The tow’ring Alps uprear their stately Mound,
And shapreless Piles th’extended Prospect bound.

Here beauteous Nature fills th’admiring Eye
With all the Charms of wild Variety.
Here Harvests wave, or purple Vineyards glow,
Or Mountains whiten with eternal Snow.⁴¹⁹

Ferney and Geneva gradually acquired Voltaire’s legacy, during his life and even more so after his death. The growing importance of the region regarding literature, philosophy, and nature meant that visitors had the opportunity to visit Ferney for a longer period of time and reflect on its location. Marianne Baillie for instance, stressed that “the prospect of a rich vineyard in the foreground, a lovely smiling valley beyond, and the magnificent glaciers, with Mont Blanc, in the distance, formed a most sublime and yet an enchanting spectacle”.⁴²⁰ In 1819, Etienne Jouy compared two visits to Ferney, one in 1776 and the other one nearly fifty years later. Whilst only his first account quickly mentions the Alps,⁴²¹ what matters more is the comparison he sets when introducing both accounts:

418. Samuel Sharp, *Letters from Italy, describing the Customs and Manners of that Country, In the Years 1765, and 1766* (London, Henry & Cave, 1767), p. 2.

419. George Keate, *Ferney: an Epistle to Monsr de Voltaire* (London, Dodsley, 1768), p. 2.

420. Marianne Baillie, pp. 248 – 249.

421. In his 1776 account, Jouy wrote in his diary: “le temps était superbe : j’ai pu distinguer la cime du Mont-Blanc, qui s’élevait au-dessus des légers nuages dont l’horizon était parsemé”.

Les Suisses ne peuvent entendre le ranz des vaches sans brûler du désir de revoir leurs montagnes; le nom de Ferney a sur moi la même influence : je ne puis l'entendre prononcer sans qu'il reveille dans mon ame le souvenir de Voltaire, et toutes les pensées qui s'attachent à ce nom immortel.⁴²²

As aforementioned, Geneva was a perfect point from which travellers could explore Chamonix or other neighbouring mountainous vicinities, and be back in the comfort of the city within a couple of days. From Geneva itself, however, visitors also had the opportunity to peek at the Alps dramatically; the summit of the high hill of Salève, located in the southern outskirts of the city, was relatively easy to reach. From there, travellers could truly realise the connection that existed between Geneva and its lake on one side, and the Alps on the other, as this quote from George Wilson Bridges in 1814 convincingly shows:

We afterwards proceeded to *Mont Salive* [Salève], which is about four miles from Geneva. The ascent was long and arduous, but we were amply repaid by the wonderful scenes which the summit presented to our view. On one side the lake and its fertile plain laid beneath us like a vast map, on the other the glaciers and the Alps rose above us into the clouds, and through some of the breaks between them admitted a view into Piedmont. Towards the south of the lake of *Anneci* was clearly discernible winding amongst the black rocks at a distance. On the highest summit we found a solitary cabin, the residence of a berger who tends his cows on these verdant pasturages, and which afforded us some excellent milk; a refreshment we stood in need of.⁴²³

Geneva therefore was more than a cosmopolitan city: it offered a range of opportunities for those who visited it, from attractive views to nearby mountainous opportunities. However, even more importantly, it was a gateway to its own region, and beyond to the entire Alpine space. Due to its shape, the lake became an indispensable connector between the city and the rest of the Alps. Each side of the

Translation: The weather was wonderful: I could distinguish Mont Blanc, rising above the light clouds that composed the horizon.

422. Étienne Jouy, "Ferney-Voltaire, 30 décembre 1819", in *Oeuvres complètes d'Etienne Jouy* (vol. 10, Paris, Jules Didot, 1823), p. 435.

Translation: The Swiss cannot hear the cow's sound and not burn with the desire to see their mountains again; the name of Ferney has the same influence on me: I cannot hear it without remembering Voltaire, and all the thoughts attached to his immortal name.

423. George Wilson Bridges, *Alpine Sketches, comprised in a short tour through parts of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland and Germany, during the Summer of 1814* (London, Longmans & Co., 1814), pp. 90 – 91.

lake – the northern side via Lausanne or the southern one via Évian – delivered different experiences, vistas, and therefore mental representations.

The northern side of the lake: inspiration and aesthetics

The northern side of Lake Geneva was a very popular route, as it was used to reach Lausanne, the north of Switzerland (via Berne or Neuchâtel), the Bernese Oberland, or the Valais. It was a rather flat, wide thoroughfare which allowed coaches to swiftly proceed to their next destination.⁴²⁴ Comments in travelogues were usually very positive when depicting the state of the road; this itinerary was also convenient for travellers lodging in Sécheron, on the eastern outskirts of Geneva, who could therefore proceed straight out of the city towards Lausanne. More importantly, the northern side of Lake Geneva offered the best views over the Alps, situated across the lake. These views were also constant: whether travellers headed towards the Alps or away from them, this itinerary was a permanent reminder of the mountains' might beauty that could last for a few days.

Many travelogues usually commented on those views and on the perfection of this environment; some even considered that corner of the lake as a full part of the Alps, like Joseph Addison who wrote: "From Lausanne to Geneva we coasted along the country of the Vaud, which is the fruitfulest and best cultivated part of any among the Alps".⁴²⁵ Although there was a significant distance from the northern shore of the lake to the mountains across, many travellers considered themselves within reach. As Joshua Lucock Wilkinson passed Rolle in the early 1790s, he wrote: "I contemplated, at a far, the lofty regions of the Alps, enumerated the dreadful vicissitudes of their inhabitants, and paused with increasing wonder over the eternity of their snows."⁴²⁶

424. According to Henry Matthews' account in 1820, it took him eight hours to link both cities by coach.

Henry Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health in Portugal Italy Switzerland and France in the Years 1817 1818 and 1819, Volume II* (London, John Murray, 1824), p. 121.

425. Joseph Addison, *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison* (vol. 5, New York, William Durell, 1811), p. 33 – 34.

426. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer; or Anecdotes and Incidents, the result and occurrences of a Ramble on Foot, through France, Germany and Italy in 1791 and 1793* (London, Higham, 1798), pp. 48 – 49.

However, the title of this account written near Rolle was entitled “Happiness at the foot of the Alps”.

The northern shore of the lake was also better equipped and more populated than the southern one. As a result, circulation of knowledge and people was more abundant, and there were key places of socialisation. In Coppet, in the outer outskirts of Geneva, Madame de Staël’s salon was a regular stop for many between Geneva and Lausanne. Like Voltaire, she never expressed her interest for the surrounding,⁴²⁷ but her visitors frequently reminded their readers about the power of such surroundings. However, other accounts explained that the view from Madame de Staël itself was disappointing: “There is little variety in this slip of ground, consisting of a very few acres; and attempted to be laid out in walks and plantations after the English fashion. It seldom, if at all, commands a view of the mountains behind; and scarcely once of the lake in front”, Sir Egerton Brydges wrote.⁴²⁸ In both situations, the promise of a salon experience on the banks of the lake and at the foot of the Alps prevailed.

Further east, Lausanne was the central city on the northern shore. Many travellers heading anywhere decided to stop there. Although not as popular as Geneva, it featured a solid expatriate community, comfortable inns, and places to stay, and excellent points of contact for coaches, funding, and postal services. As shown beforehand in this thesis, comments on the city were usually rather positive.

Near the eastern end of that shore, the village of Vevey was a major stop for travellers on the Lausanne to Valais axis. In 1740, it already had eighteen inns, some of which later on became hotels with a more cosmopolitan name – *L’Ours* became *La Ville de Londres* and *La Fleur-de-Lys* became *Hôtel du Léman*.⁴²⁹ Throughout the end of the eighteenth century, the construction of a proper harbour to improve trade and

427. According to her friend and cousin Albertine Necker de Saussure, “she had taken a sort of aversion to the lakes, the mountains, the glaciers of Switzerland, the view of which had been held out to her as some indemnification for her exile.”

Albertine Necker de Saussure, *Sketch of the Life, Character, and Writings of Baroness de Staël-Holstein* (London, Treuttel & Würtz, 1820), pp. 117 – 118.

428. Sir Egerton Brydges, *Recollections of Foreign Travel, on Life, Literature, and Self-Knowledge* (vol. 2, London, Longman, 1825), pp. 214 – 215.

429. Alfred Ceserole, *Notes Historiques sur la Ville de Vevey dédiées à mes jeunes combourgeois* (A.C.Ve., A 107 bis), p. 80.

the circulation of goods was discussed.⁴³⁰ Eventually, tourism and leisure granted Vevey a much more important position regarding navigation on Lake Geneva: by 1825, two steam boats – the *Guillaume Tell* and *Winkelried*⁴³¹ – were sailing along the coast of Vevey and onto the rest of the Lake.⁴³²

The region around Vevey was also famously known for the role it played in *Julie*. Rousseau visited Vevey in 1732, and he explained why Vevey was the perfect situation for his own catharsis and for the setting of his novel:

L'aspect du lac et de ses admirables côtes eut toujours à mes yeux un attrait particulier que je ne saurais expliquer... Toutes les fois que j'approche du pays de Vaud, j'éprouve une impression composée de souvenirs, et, ce me semble, de quelqu'autre cause encore plus secrète et plus forte que tout cela. Quand l'ardent désir de cette vie heureuse et douce, qui me fuit, et pour laquelle j'étais né, vient enflammer mon imagination, c'est toujours au pays de Vaud, près du lac, dans des campagnes charmantes, qu'elle se fixe. Il me faut absolument un verger au bord de ce lac, et non pas d'un autre ; il me faut un ami sûr, une femme amiable, une vache et un petit bateau. [...] Je pris pour cette ville un amour qui m'a suivi dans tous mes voyages, et qui m'y a fait établir, enfin, les héros de mon roman. Je dirai volontiers aux gens qui ont du gout et qui sont sensibles : allez à Vevey, visitez le pays, examinez les sites, promenez-vous sur le lac, et dites si la nature n'a pas fait ce beau pays pour une Julie ou pour une Claire et pour un Saint-Preux...⁴³³

This combination of the lake, the view on the mountains, the steep vineyards and meadows on the northern side, its setting near the busier city of Lausanne, later turned Vevey into a key centre on the Swiss Riviera, celebrated for its landscape, luxury, and sense of tranquillity. The nearby town of Montreux, nowadays far more famous than Vevey, did not develop until the second half of the nineteenth century; from then its

430. M. de la Ramière, *Mémoire touchant la construction d'un Port devant la Ville de Vevey* (A.C.Ve., G6 bleu 11).

431. It is interesting to note that both name are key names in the history of Switzerland. 'Guillaume Tell' is the French name for William Tell, whereas Winkelried stands for Arnold von Winkelried, the Swiss legendary hero from the Battle of Sempach.

432. Alfred Ceserole, *Notes Historiques sur la Ville de Vevey*, p. 110.

433. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les Confessions, nouvelle édition* (Paris, Gennequin, 1869), p. 91.

Translation: The prospects of the lake and its admirable shores has always had a particular attraction to my eyes that I would not be able to explain... Every time I approach the Pays de Vaud, I feel a blend of memories, and, I believe, of something even more secret and strong than this. When the search for a happy and quiet life, for which I was born, comes and burns my imagination, it always settles in the Pays de Vaud, near the lake, in this charming countryside. I absolutely need a steep meadow near the lake, and not near another lake; I need a trustworthy friend, a lovely woman, a cow and a small boat. [...] I felt for this town a love that followed me in all my travels, and which eventually made me settle there, at last, the heroes of my novel. I will gladly tell sensitive people with taste: go to Vevey, visit the country, examine the sites, wander around the lake, and tell me if nature did not make this beautiful country for a Julie or a Claire, and for a Saint-Preux...

development never stopped.⁴³⁴ In the meantime, Vevey was a symbol of natural wonder and intellectual symbols. Such prospect and setting were simply impossible elsewhere, especially not on the southern side of the Lake. However, as the next section is about to show, the southern side remained the most celebrated for its literary dimension and Rousseau's legacy.

The southern side of the lake: physical experience, local interaction, and literary dimension

The southern side of Lake Geneva offered different perspectives and relationships with the Alps. Since the route stretched right at the foot of the mountains, there were far less attractive views on the mountains, while the view across the lake was that of Jura and the Swiss plateau, much duller and darker than the promised sublime views of Savoy. As a result, travellers often had to face the drawbacks of mountainous travel without enjoying its benefits. Until Napoleon's reign, the road was far narrower and not at all fit for coaches. In 1780, John Moore's party decided to split up at the eastern tip of Lake Geneva on their way back to the city, one half taking the northern route and the other – including John Moore – travelling through the southern itinerary. He described the road around St Gingolph as follows: "It must be passed with caution, being exceedingly narrow, and no fence to prevent the traveller from falling over a high precipice into the lake".⁴³⁵ Due to this route's slower pace and straightforward shape, comments on each step of the way were usually very thorough. Two main points stand out: easier contact with the population in small towns along the way, and the literary dimension of the journey because of Rousseau's legacy.

Many towns located on the southern route from Geneva to Valais were excuses for travellers to comment on local life at the foot of the mountains. The region was located at the crossroads of multiple borders – Savoy, the Chablais, Geneva, Vaud, the Valais, France – and those borders evolved dramatically

434. Patricia Dupont & Sabine Frey, *Un paradis encadré : la fonction du tourisme à Vevey et Montreux*, dissertation, Université de Lausanne (A.C.Ve., A 143), p. 31.

435. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (London, Strahan & Cadell, 1780), p. 255.

throughout the period studied.⁴³⁶ This had two different consequences: for visitors, it meant that there were more changes to comment on,⁴³⁷ while locals partook in more cross-border activities, such as trade and markets. On that stretch of his journey, John Moore noticed such convergence in St Gingolph, where he noted that “a concourse of people had resorted from the Pays de Vallais, the canton of Berne, and from Savoy, that we could not without difficulty find a room to dine in.”⁴³⁸

These small towns were opportunities for travellers to comment on the local population, and therefore continue to build the narrative of the Alpine myth as an exotic, different world, for better or for worse. Jean-Frédéric d’Ostervald’s guide explains that “on quitting Cologni the road turns off from the banks of the lake, and leads for seven leagues over an ill cultivated country, through the little town of Thonon and some mean villages whose appearance bespeaks the poverty of their inhabitants”.⁴³⁹ Amongst these towns, Evian was particularly popular and positively described; it embodied the blend between the local and the cosmopolitan, in more subtle ways that Chamonix or Interlaken failed to do. While those two very rapidly embraced tourism through its infrastructures – hotels, guides, cabinets of curiosities – Evian remained a rather isolated and disregarded small town. Its rivalry with the neighbouring town of Thonon – another place frequently described by travellers⁴⁴⁰ – pushed Evian to focus its trade and relationships with agricultural villages located into the land and up the valleys.⁴⁴¹ Evian was of course gradually known for its waters. The *Source d’Amphion* was discovered in the seventeenth century and rapidly brought the local elites together. The Dukes of Savoy regularly sojourned in Evian, and soon

436. For a thorough analysis of political evolutions in that region, see Gérard Delaloye (ed), *Un Léman Suisse: la Suisse, le Chablais et la neutralisation de la Savoie (1476 – 1932)* (Geneva, Cabédita, 2002).

437. The impact of borders on mental mapping and travel narrative was explained in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

438. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, p. 254.

439. Jean Frédéric d’Ostervald, *Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan, by way of the Simplon* (London, Ackermann, 1820), p. 15.

440. John Moore described Thonon as “a most religious city, if we may judge by the number of churches and monasteries which it contains. The number of inhabitants are calculated at six or seven thousand, and every seventh person I saw wore the uniform of some religious order”. John Moore, *A View of Society*, p. 258.

441. Françoise Breuillaud-Sottas, *La Prodigieuse Ascension des Eaux d’Evian* (Ph.D. thesis, Université de Savoie, 2003), p. 21.

enough the source became a well maintained, decorated place of socialisation.⁴⁴² The number of foreign travellers remained relatively low when looking at the number of mentions in travel accounts; however, the town council in Évian in 1816 decided to renovate the fountain, as it used to gather many foreigners in the region before the fountain lost its charm.⁴⁴³ One foreign character stood out in Evian, and his identity remains blurry throughout all sources. A ‘*Bois de Bedford*’ (Bedford Forest) in Evian is said to have witnessed fashionable cosmopolitan gatherings organised by the Duke of Bedford.⁴⁴⁴ Meanwhile there is no clear clue in any source about such person; however, William Beckford of Fonthill has been to Evian several times, and although there is uncertainty about where Beckford was for a few years in the 1780s, leaving this as an option. In 1783, his first visits to Évian left him with a very positive memory. In July, he wrote “Tomorrow we go to Evian, that romantic Village amongst forests of Chestnut on the banks of the Lake”, while a month later he already recalled that “The Woods, the Mountains, the wild flowery hills have not ceased to appear delightful in my eyes”.⁴⁴⁵

In any case, water inextricably became a part of Evian’s identity. In 1826, this water became a sellable product that gave Evian a much wider reputation. By the 1840s, Evian had become a fashionable resort, between the lake and the mountains. It remained a cosmopolitan place with an elegant touch throughout, and its position made it particularly attractive for travellers travelling through the southern bank of the lake. In 1849, the town council decided to set eight benches along the lake, as many foreigners complained about the lack thereof. Evian clearly did not develop at the speed of Chamonix’s, but many of the aforementioned factors gave the town a particular cachet that did not die afterwards.

Finally, the southern shore of Lake Geneva gained much of its popularity due to the rocks of Meillerie, between Évian and St Gingolph. These rocks were a key part of the narrative of Rousseau’s *Julie*, and many travellers would take that road instead

442. *Ibid*, p. 36.

443. Délibérations du Conseil municipal d’Évian, council decree, 1816 (A.M.E., 1D6).

444. Alfred de Bougy, *Évian et ses Environs, Province du Chablais en Savoie, Rive Gauche du Lac Léman* (Geneva, Gruaz, 1852), p. 101.

445. Lewis Saul Benjamin & James Sargant Storer, *The Life and Letters of William Beckford, of Fonthill* (London, Heinemann, 1910).

of the northern one in order to visit the place of such iconic literary work. John Moore instantly recalled Rousseau's work when seeing the rocks:

The sight of Meillerie brought to my remembrance the charming letters of Rousseau's two lovers. This recollection filled me with a pleasing enthusiasm. I fought with my eyes, and imagined I discovered the identical place where St Preux sat with his telescope to view the habitation of his beloved Julia. I traced in my imagination his route, when he sprang from rock to rock after one of her letters.⁴⁴⁶

The choice therefore was between a convenient road taking travellers swiftly to their next destination whilst gazing upon the sight of Savoy, or a slower path, with a closer contact with towns and nature, and charged with the literary heritage of Rousseau, and later Byron. Despite these two antithetic differences, the two sides of Lake Geneva shared one key label, as the following section is about to show.

Where is the Simplon route? Infrastructures and Lake Geneva's natural position as a pathway to the Alps

In order to get to the epicentre of the Alps from France, it was very difficult, physically or culturally, to avoid Lake Geneva. The Simplon route is an extremely good example to illustrate how non-physical the 'Alpinity' of Lake Geneva really was. As commonly known, the Simplon route was an itinerary linking Geneva to Milan via the Valais and the Simplon Pass. At a larger scale, the itinerary was mostly a Paris to Milan route, for military, trade, or travel purposes.⁴⁴⁷ When trying to map the aforementioned itinerary, one main point of hesitation appears: travelling past the lake. The way to Simplon could be made through both sides of the lake previously described in this chapter: the express northern side via Lausanne, or the more picturesque and narrow southern shore via Évian and Meillerie. Meanwhile, the name and description of 'Simplon route' was used in both situations. There is no clear way of distinguishing whether there was an official way along Lake Geneva.

Travel accounts and individual representations also shared this uncertainty. The aforementioned guide by d'Ostervald entitled *Picturesque Tour from Geneva to*

446. John Moore, *A View of Society*, p. 256.

447. For purely descriptive aspects of the Simplon route, see Chapter 2. For its political dimension, see Chapter 3.

Milan by way of the Simplon uses the southern itinerary, whilst Brockedon left a choice to travellers at the end of the 1820s, writing:

From Geneva, the route to the Simplon commences with the beautiful scenery of the lake; and the traveller has the choice of arriving by either shore at Saint Maurice, in the Valais. One road passes by the Pays de Vaud, on the Swiss side, through Coppet, Nyon, Rolle, Lausanne, Vevay, and Bex; the other, which is four leagues shorter, passes, on the Savoy side, through Thonon and the rocks of Meillerie, where the construction and improvements of the road, in correspondence with those of the Simplon, have been considered as part of that great undertaking.⁴⁴⁸

While a majority of travellers simply used the northern route more often and therefore often affiliated it with the Simplon, the creation of a stable road on the southern side after 1805 turned the Évian route into the newest, and therefore most legitimate one. A long discussion in Thonon in the 1820s regarding the destruction of many houses in order to widen the new Simplon road meant that some inhabitants complained about this, whilst others addressed that being part of this wider route could only benefit the town and ensure that the road is safe.⁴⁴⁹

Even at an administrative level, there was a large degree of confusion as to which road could officially be named ‘Simplon’ in public reports. The route imagined by Nicolas Céard, following Napoleon’s orders, clearly followed the northern path. However, multiple primary sources show the confusion – or liberal use – around the term Simplon in the region of Lake Geneva. Sources from the former *Département du Léman* show that the section between Geneva and St Gingolph was never called so, but rather “*Route de Paris à Rome et Naples via le Simplon et Milan*” and was classified as the Imperial Route 6 in 1811.⁴⁵⁰ A few years earlier, a letter to Napoleon reporting the necessary works on the main Alpine routes lists improvements that have to be made on the Simplon route and on the St Gingolph one, therefore prioritising the northern route as the true Simplon one.⁴⁵¹ Even at the time of Céard’s planning of the first route, there was a lot of confusion surrounding the portion of the Simplon

448. William Brockedon, *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps, by which Italy communicates with France, Switzerland, and Germany* (vol. 2, London, Bodwell, 1829), p. 1.

449. Letter from a bourgeois to the town council of Thonon, 14 February 1824 (A.M.T., 2B3).

450. “Tableau des Cantons des Routes impériales du Département, dans l’Etendue de la Sous-Préfecture de Thonon, Conformément aux Art 37, 38 et 39 du Décret de 1811”, report, 1812, A.G.E., ADL B 761.

451. Arch. Nat., AF III 51 A.

itinerary running alongside the lake. Indeed, the road “from Saint-Gingolph to the Simplon” is evoked at the same time as the one passing through Lausanne.⁴⁵² This lack of clarity perfectly illustrates what the Simplon label was about in the region of Lake Geneva: a symbol of access to an Alpine world, which regardless of which shore of a lake it took, inevitably wound up in the mountains of Valais and gave access to Italy.

Another major infrastructure reveals Lake Geneva’s image of a connector between regions. The Lyon to Geneva canal was a project that aimed to make that entire section of the river Rhône navigable. The project almost covers the entire timespan of this thesis, and by the time it was officialised, a totally new socio-economic and technological environment was in place. The first report, addressed in 1783 to Louis XVI, King of France, mentions how easier the transport of salt would become – probably referring to the salt works of Bex in the Valais. Two years later, an official report stipulates that “ce canal sera utile à la France, à la Savoie, à Genève, à la Suisse, à l’Allemagne, on peut même dire à toute l’Europe”.⁴⁵³ The report continues by saying that travellers would be able to use that section to travel between Lyon and Geneva – two major travel hubs, and that five other canals would be built or improved across Eastern France to strengthen the links between Northern and Southern Europe. Finally, the quality of the woods in the forests of the Alps and the Jura were praised in order to build naval and civil ships. The canal took decades to be built, and by the time it came to being, it faces other forms of competition, mostly railways. In 1840, a report to the council of Geneva established:

Située comme elle l’est, ayant un si grand intérêt à ce que la ligne sur laquelle elle est place ne soit pas abandonnée, et qu’elle reprenne même l’activité dont elle fut en possession naguère, Genève restera-t-elle plus longtemps spectatrice indifférente des efforts que font les autres états pour améliorer la voie navigable dont elle doit retirer de si grands avantages...⁴⁵⁴

452. Michel Lechevalier, *L’ingénieur Nicolas Céard (1745 – 1821) et la Route du Simplon* (Geneva, La Baconnière, 2007), p. 60.

453. “Projet de Canal entre Lyon et Genève”, reports, 1783 – 1840, A.M.L., 1 II 311.

Translation: this canal will be useful to France, Savoy, Geneva, Switzerland, Germany, one can even say all of Europe.

454. “Considérations relatives au commerce de transit de la Suisse”, in *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Lake Geneva was therefore a space, but more importantly a space to tame in order to connect it to wider networks and regions.

A closed circuit to see it all: an all-in-one experience

Finally, all the criteria scrutinised by this thesis regarding the transformation of the Alps into a recognised transnational space share one common element: they could be experienced from the region of Lake Geneva. What made the region truly unique, when looking at a map first, is how all itineraries converged towards the lake. The fourth chapter of this thesis stressed the importance of a first visual encounter with the mountains. Travelogues often highlighted the moment when travellers saw the mountains for the first time: Geneva was a natural magnet after that first moment. Travellers crossing Jura to access Switzerland could enjoy a sublime panorama dominated by the lake and the Alps, but many travellers could instantly see the city as well. For those coming from Lyon, a similar spectacle was offered to them, where they could gaze upon Jura on the left, the Alps on the right, and in the middle Geneva and its lake.

The long ridge of mountains called Mount Jura on the one side, with the Alps, the Glaciers of Savoy, and the snowy head of Mont Blanc on the other, serve as boundaries to the most charmingly variegated landscape that ever delighted the eye.⁴⁵⁵

Borders changed dramatically in the region of Geneva: the French revolution and the First Empire constantly redefined the affiliation to Geneva to France, the possibility of border control, and the friendliness – or lack thereof – towards foreign visitors, as seen in the third chapter. As a result, Geneva was not always an easy area to reach, however, this increased the amount of discussion around travellers and writers. The level of enthusiasm when the borders fully reopened in 1815, as seen in the first chapter of this thesis, mostly took Geneva as a target and as the next point to reach.

The lake itself was also a clear natural border. This thesis has shown that the Alps ceased to be seen as a mere natural obstacle between countries, and became a place of exploration. This meant that smaller natural borders – manageable and enjoyable ones – emerged in travel narratives: travellers often described the Simplon pass from the beginning of the ascent to the end, like travellers used to do for the

455. John Moore, *A View of Society*, p. 256.

entire massif. Lake Geneva faced the same logic: it was an obstacle, but one that people admired, and at times sailed upon. Its width, its aspect, its visual power meant that travellers constantly balanced between commenting on the Alps, the Jura, all the nearby towns, Rousseau, etc. The lake was a catalyst, a mental mapping incubator.

During his walking tour of the region in the 1790s, Joshua Lucock Wilkinson crossed the lake by boat from Meillerie to Vevey with an English gentleman whom he did not know. While the account expectedly states that they discussed the works of Rousseau whilst peering at the places of *Julie*, the Englishman started to talk about a lady of whom *Julie* reminded him, and felt extremely sad about it. Wilkinson attempted to cheer him up and changed the topic of the conversation, by mentioning Gibbon's works as he saw Lausanne across the lake.⁴⁵⁶ Both in the narrative and in the travellers' experiences, the lake triggered discussions, reflections, and overall representations.

The region went even beyond its own lake. Since Geneva rapidly became the perfect hub for travellers intending to visit Chamonix, the entire region became the epicentre of Chamonix expeditions, therefore creating a closed circuit around the region. Travellers could experience all the elements that travel writing had been promoting about the Alps, all within the same region and the same linguistic sphere. Since Valais could be reached from Chamonix via the Tête Noire, travellers had the option of continuing onwards to the Rhône valley, either to pursue their tour towards the Simplon pass, or to come back to Geneva to achieve their circle.

No other place did it as well as the region of Lake Geneva. The Bernese Oberland, probably its more comparable counterpart, lacked several aspects, including a dramatic first peek at the mountains – the entrance into the region was progressive all the way from Berne and behind; it formed a continuous itinerary. Unlike Lake Geneva, it was less of a closed circuit; it was paradoxically both a *cul-de-sac* – the ways to Grindelwald, Lauterbrunnen were not very accessible for comfortable means of transport – and an open space for walkers, continuing their way to Grosse Scheidegg, Lucerne, Graubünden, or Kandertal. Although Interlaken gradually became a fashionable international resort, it took much longer and its descriptions

456. Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer; or Anecdotes and Incidents, the result and occurrences of a Ramble on Foot, through France, Germany and Italy in 1791 and 1793* (London, Higham, 1798), p. 120.

were much milder than the ones of Chamonix for instance, as it was slightly far off the actual high valleys.

In many other situations, the lack of consistency was often an issue; unlike the region of Lake Geneva, many areas were thoroughfares that did not offer a medium or long-term way to enjoy it. The Valais was a highway to Italy and so were Gotthard and Mont Cenis. Records of travellers spending weeks visiting every corner of those vicinities are very rare. The case of Graubünden, which has been barely addressed so far, is rather different. Itineraries of the database show very extended and meticulous visits throughout the region. Albeit a young canton, which joined the Confederation in 1803, Graubünden had a clear identity as the historic *Raetia* and its language Romansh developed substantially throughout the period studied here.⁴⁵⁷ Its shape was even more important to attract travellers: with no clear through pass, Graubünden was a large ellipse often taking travellers back to the Gotthard or Furka routes. By the end of the period studied in this thesis, new routes through Graubünden emerged and the canton became somewhat more of a thoroughfare, therefore offering a less direct alternative to the Gotthard for those who travelled from Zurich to Ticino,⁴⁵⁸ and later on many towns in Graubünden flourished as isolated but very popular resorts where all parts of Alpine tourism – including developing spas and winter sports – could be experienced, as the conclusion will show.

This is the story of the region of Lake Geneva. It featured all elements of Alpine travel, within one consistent sphere and limited problems. As a result, the Alps were often best described in travel accounts through the example of Lake Geneva. This region truly showed the variety of interpretations of the Alpine myth, whether it was visual, literary, natural, in contact with the local population or in relation with the rest of Europe. Ultimately, Lake Geneva inaugurated what later on became a standard in modern tourism, as the conclusion of this thesis is about to explain: Lake Geneva offered a complete Alpine experience, from A to Z. It was, one could argue, the first Alpine resort, because there was no real need to leave it. It inaugurated a trend, which towns managed to continue on their own in the nineteenth century.

457. Jon Mathieu, *Die Alpen: Raum – Kultur – Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Reclam, 2015), p. 38.

458. A map entitled *Carte des Nouvelles routes dans les Grisons par les cols du Splügen et du St Bernardin jusqu'aux lacs Majeurs et de Come* (1827) shows the new facilitated routes from Chur to Bellinzona or Chiavenna (F.B.G.S.P., SPK-20-12 A-10).

Conclusion

The period starting in the 1750s and fading out in the 1830s witnessed all the major transitions that brought the world much closer to the one we know nowadays. Intellectual movements and political revolutions moved feudalism closer to the exit door, whilst republics and parliamentary monarchies made their timid yet indispensable start in Europe. This period was not just a moment of political novelty: our very own platforms, sets of beliefs, and ideals thoroughly shifted to make way for modern understandings of our world as we know it today. This is what, as the introduction exposed, Reinhart Koselleck described as the *Sattelzeit* – a period during which new concepts emerged and old ones shifted in their definition. Travel was at the centre of these changes. Travelling had been a means since the early years of mankind – from prehistoric hunters and nomads to mediaeval merchants. Even the Grand Tour, this educational journey through Renaissance Europe, used travel as a way to access these promised cities of Italy. Visiting them and gazing upon their relics of the Antiquity were the goals of the Grand Tour – not the journey itself. The Enlightenment and the *Sattelzeit* modified the understanding of travel. The very process of travelling became a comprehensive enterprise, an experience where one acquired knowledge through every single minute of it. This is how travel literature, from being a simple personal account written by authors for themselves, became a clear channel to convey representations and mental automatisms from one individual to another. Readers went on to embark on their own travels, influenced by the works that they had previously read.

The Alps sat at a unique intersection, both in space and in time. Spatially speaking, the Alps have separated Europe across both axes. Two thousand years ago they were a natural North-South divide, separating the Roman Empire from ‘Barbarians’ in the Antiquity. Nowadays they continue to draw a mental separation between the two socio-economic and cultural spheres of Northern and Southern Europe. The Alps are also an East-West separation: the classic tale of Hannibal crossing the Alps into Italy was a fully Mediterranean story: it aimed at accessing the eastern part of that world – Italy – from the Western one – France. At a larger scale, the Alps are, like the plains of Poland, a transition space between Western and Eastern

Europe: while France and Slovenia have had significantly different histories and points of reference, they share the mountain range of the Alps. However, time, as this thesis has shown, has been an even more significant intersection in the Alpine *Sonderfall*. Before the 1750s, the Alps were seen as a natural obstacle: they needed to be crossed to enter Italy, but were either rarely or poorly described. By the end of this aforementioned period, the Alps had become the Playground of Europe, a place both for summer discoveries and winter leisure; they had become a transnational space and an element of national appropriation at the same time. The Alps evolved from unknown to familiar, from feared to tamed, from borderline to border region, from mountain range to mountainous land, from set of peaks to cultural myth.

This thesis has attempted to understand how this period from the 1750s to the 1830s could deliver so much in bringing the Alps into modernity and yet still not be a standalone period. Indeed, the period studied by this thesis did not really have finality after all. It was a moment of vibrant socialisation, significant landscape discovery, intense literary production, and overall a blend of the Enlightenment and Romanticism; yet its heritage can be seen to a far greater extent in the period that followed. The way the representation of the Alps shifted from the 1750s to the 1830s allowed an even swifter transition into the age of the Industrial Revolution, of the nation-state, and of modern tourism. Even nowadays, modern challenges and representations of the Alpine region show crucial similarities with the period this thesis has studied. In the 1830s and the following decades, the Alps developed in ways that took them straight into the realm of modernity. By the time the 1830s came to a close, the term ‘Alps’ had become a common place name attached to symbols, pre-constructed ideas, and recognised places. Hotels and travel infrastructures developed, and transport became structured around travellers’ needs. As the popular itineraries studied in this thesis developed, public coaches became more frequent and offered regular services instead of individual hires. Through a quick comparison of the coach services advertised in the yearly *Annuaire officiels du Canton de Vaud* in 1821, 1827 and 1836, one can observe that the difference is impressive. In 1821, there were five regular eight-person coach services: to Geneva, Basel via Berne, Zurich via Berne, Vevey, and “le Valais jusqu’à Domo-d’Ossola”.⁴⁵⁹ There were

459. *Annuaire officiel du Canton de Vaud, pour l’année 1821. Contenant le Tableau Général du Gouvernement* (Lausanne, Blanchard, 1821), p. 92.

additional messenger coaches that travellers could board towards Geneva, Neuchâtel, Payerne and Pontarlier. Already at that point, the itineraries were aimed at international connections, and not only Swiss, since Basel, Zurich, Geneva, Domodossola, and Pontarlier all offered further international routes. However, the 1827 *Annuaire* shows the shift of mentality. Services scarcely changed, but their names acquired the international detail that was originally missing: the Valais route became “Pour le Valais et l’Italie par le Simplon”, Pontarlier became “Pour Pontarlier, Paris et Londres”, and a new “Paris, Londres et Lille, par Nyon” route came into place.⁴⁶⁰ What is most striking here is the difference of scale between the destinations – very far and international – and the ‘via’ itinerary – such as Pontarlier and Nyon, located less than fifty miles from Lausanne. About ten years later, the 1836 itineraries did not dramatically change at an international level, but they became more frequent. Local coaches became much more common, allowing short-distance travels and transforming the region into a commuting space rather than a mere travelling one.⁴⁶¹ Individuals progressively acknowledge the interconnecting power of the Alpine space, which is the process that started in the mid eighteenth century, as the elites started to acknowledge the mountains themselves.

Blurry boundaries: epochal and spatial transitions under scrutiny

The different sections of this thesis have independently shown how this process took place under multiple forms. In travel literature, in cartography, in public policies or in plain encyclopaedic definitions, the Alps became popular to the elites of Western Europe: they conveyed preconstructed ideas, known cities and regions, and built expectations for those who planned their journey. This transition was long, irregular, and altered by many events and changes of situations: wars and conflicts, such as Napoleon’s Continental Blockade in the early nineteenth century, restricted access to the continent for many British travellers. Albeit a brake to movement, it also meant that Britons read more travelogues during that period as they waited for the

460. *Annuaire officiel du Canton de Vaud, pour l’année 1827. Contenant le Tableau Général du Gouvernement et des Fonctionnaires Publics* (Lausanne, Blanchard, 1827), p. 102.

461. *Annuaire officiel du Canton de Vaud, pour l’année bissextile 1836. Avec le Tableau général des autorités, des fonctionnaires, des employés de l’État, du Clergé national, etc.* (Lausanne, Blanchard, 1836), pp. 134 – 135.

border to reopen, and wrote more passionate and curious accounts when it did so in 1814 and 1815. As this was not an openly expressed process, but rather a subtle change of mentality and language, it is difficult to pinpoint advantages, drawbacks, facilitators, and brakes to this great transformation. However, the ambition of this thesis has been to sketch out key mechanisms that led to such an obvious contrast when comparing the situation of the 1750s with that of the 1830s.

In the first part of this thesis (chapters one to three) I argued that the change of attitude towards European travel directly impacted the way the Alps were crossed and visited. This was indeed a major and indispensable contributing factor that was widely composed of multiple and wrongly-named ‘firsts’. Rousseau’s *Julie*, seen as the first best-seller to focus widely on the importance of nature, was a major part of many travellers’ narratives in the region of Lake Geneva, and for many of them the reason why they travelled there in the first place. Windham and Pococke’s expedition to Chamonix, seen as the ‘first’ one in the history of the valley, quickly amplified the passion for that vicinity of the Alps. Paccard and Balmat’s first ascent of Mont Blanc inaugurated a series of rushes to the Alps’ highest peaks to assert the domination of men and nations over nature, and soon after put the peaks back at the centre of the Alps’ identities, and turned travellers into mountaineers. All these ‘firsts’ are supported by little evidence: it is even very likely that local inhabitants already knew their region and had undertaken these adventures, but lacked the agenda to spread their knowledge to the world. Nevertheless, this attitude, this way of depicting travel to relatively ignorant publics created waves of curiosity, and subsequent flows of visitors. Out of these flows, networks emerged, cities became important centres, and the Alps became, little by little, a lived space of travellers.

Inevitably, this change of *espace vécu* in the Alps meant that mental representations changed as well, as the second part (chapters four and five) addressed. This was something that was easily recognisable when addressing the entrance points of the Alps. A region whose main characteristic is to be mountainous should be extremely easy to locate on a map. However, each traveller’s view differed. Entering the Alps – or at least changing one’s mind-set prior to it – was a very internal process, albeit influenced by previous experience. That section highlighted the variety of interpretations regarding the entry points of the Alps. In a scholarly way, none of those viewpoints was wrong, even if the divergence of reactions was impressive. The key element to extract from this process is the intensification of the term ‘Alps’: its

use, its understanding, the amount of discussions taking place in travel literature, are second to none when compared to any period prior to the 1750s. As the Alps became a pivotal part of European travel narratives, and as authors wrote more and more passionate accounts on their visual might, the Alps became also less centred on mountains. Indeed, many travellers' Alpine experience was better lived and more enthusiastically described at the foot rather than at the peak. For some Britons, meeting fellow Englishmen in Geneva, discussing and comparing their journey to Chamonix, mingling with the local elites and planning a gentle getaway to the lake the next day, were all part of a peaceful lifestyle that was only possible within this Alpine peripheral space. As a result, the Alpine space gained a stronger definition when its protagonists lay at its margins.

Finally, although this mental process was not often explicit – it was often seen through brief comments, slight errors, or unsupported statements by travellers – it led to more official depictions and definitions of the space of the Alps. This meant that the Alps eventually became a natural myth, an idealised narrative, and a promised tale. This is what the third and final part of this thesis (chapters six and seven) attempted to show. The ever-growing interest and passion for the Alps slowly moved from implicit comments to expressive expectations: travel writers saw some regions of the Alps as more 'Alpine' than others. A true Alpine experience had to meet certain criteria, certain visits, or certain experiences. This travel checklist itself slowly moved from travel literature to the rest of society's communication channels: the number of official travel guides rose, cartography started to focus on the Alps as a region, and the tourism industry slowly became an economic market, with its lot of advertising and products to sell. Fictional literature itself, as the analysis of *Frankenstein* and *The Romance of the Forest* showed, was directly inspired by the authors' travel references, whether those were real, personal, or imagined. The public of Western Europe, although relatively unfamiliar with the general aspect of the Alps, absorbed the overwhelming amount of literature about them. As it would do several decades later when faced with images of Africa or Asia, the elites of Europe associated the Alps with exotic, nearly colonial values. Local populations of the Alps were depicted as either extremely knowledgeable about the natural treasures surrounding them, or else utterly deprived from any intelligence, that travellers were soon about to bring into those regions.

As the eighth chapter of this thesis focused on, it is important to consider the geographic dimension of this entire process. The Alps are a wide mountain range: they stretch from the Mediterranean coast to current-day Slovenia, cross four major linguistic areas, host many more languages and dialects, and they are the reason for the durability of many of our political borders and systems. The birth process of the Alps into a recognised space for travel and discovery was a localised product, targeted at a particular public. The region of Lake Geneva, out of all the regional vicinities of the Alps, became the central scene of Alpine travel and mental mapping. It was the only place able to gather all the elements addressed here: the ability to see the Alps from a high panorama location, the quietness of the lake, the literature legacy of Rousseau and Voltaire, the cosmopolitan attractiveness of Geneva, easy access to Chamonix, and so on. Lake Geneva combined all elements that emerged in the 1750s onwards, and as a result travellers who naturally had to pass by the region of Geneva to approach the mountains – the French and Britons primarily – inevitably contributed significantly to develop the reputation of the region. In addition to them, many other visitors regularly made the detour as a way to complete their Alpine pilgrimage. This does not mean that other regions failed to participate in the creation of an Alpine reputation: it seems evident that the elites of Austria or Eastern Europe had other points of reference within the Alpine space. This is something more research shall be able to establish in a foreseeable future.

What next? The Alps ready for the age of modern tourism and the nation-state

As coach travel became much more densely organised in the 1830s, but another means of transportation directly created by the Industrial Revolution quickly came to replace it: railways. After decades of British exploration in the western Alps, the question of equipping them with railways was the product of two Englishmen – at least in Switzerland. The first report that gave specific outlines for the creation of a railway network in Switzerland was co-written in 1850 by two British engineers, Robert Stephenson and Henry Swinburne, as ordered by the Federal Assembly in 1849.⁴⁶² While the question of connecting the cities of the Swiss plateau to each other

462. “Bericht der vom Bundesrathe einberufenen Experten: Herren R. Stephenson, M. P., und H. Swinburne über den Bau von Eisenbahnen in der Schweiz”, *Schweizerisches Bundesblatt*, 23 December 1850, S.B.A., 10 000 480.

was a priority, the Alps were inevitably a very important theme of discussion. The most important line to build was the one between Basel and Zurich, as it was meant to link Basel, the “greatest trading place in Switzerland”, to Zurich, the leading manufacturing and industrial city in Switzerland, and to the “passages des Alpes”.⁴⁶³ The importance of the Alps is also stressed for the third and fourth planned railroads: an East-West axis with Lucerne was said to connect it to the Gotthard Pass, and a North-South one from Lake Constance to Graubünden, which would be extended across the Alps, if neighbouring countries were interested, therefore keeping Ticino out of the planned railway network. Thus, this imagined space of accelerated Swiss mobility did widely include the Alps as a region to reach and connect, but not as one to cross by train just yet. Reaching the Alps was therefore crucial to connect Alpine passes to faster means of communication in the plains and valleys, but it was also a fantastic opportunity to bring tourists to their place of visit faster. The section from Berne to Thun was seen as highly promising by Swinburne and Stephenson: not only would it connect large soon-to-be commuting populations to Berne, and tourists during the busiest seasons.⁴⁶⁴ These projects went on to be voted and planned, and the Swiss railway system grew faster than any other, remaining today the most dense railway network in the world.

The development of modern infrastructures as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution had a huge effect on the development of modern tourism in the Alps. One of the reports to the Swiss Parliament that emerged following the works by Robert Stephenson and Henry Swinburne insisted that the construction of a national rail network would make Switzerland extremely attractive to tourists by having the best infrastructures, surrounded by the best landscape.

[L]es chemins de fer exercent une grande influence sur la direction des personnes qui ne voyagent que par agrément, ou qui du moins ne sont pas forcées de se rendre sur des points que les chemins de fer ne desservent pas. Que l'on appelle cela une perversion de goût, ou qu'on lui donne un tout autre nom, il n'en est pas moins vrai que la foule préfère les voies rapides et commodes aux rou'es où l'on voyage lentement, quand bien meme celles-ci seraient plus intéressantes et plus belles; la beauté même de nos vallées et la magnificence des Alpes, si nous n'établissons pas des voies de fer, seraient impuissantes à faire pencher la balance en notre faveur et à établir une certaine proportion entre le nombre des étrangers qui visitant la

463. “*Rapport sur l'établissement de chemins de fer en Suisse*”, report, 12 October 1850, A.C.VD., K/IX/204/4, p. 29.

464. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Suisse et celui des voyageurs qui parcourent les Etats sillonnés par des voies de fer. Mais dans l'autre hypothèse, c. à. d, si nous construisons des chemins de fer, les beautés de la nature dont la Suisse est si riche, exerceront avec plus de force encore leur puissance attractive sur les voyageurs.⁴⁶⁵

It is difficult to argue that the period studied by this thesis saw the birth of tourism. As explained in the introduction, tourism is usually understood as a clear economic market. However, the changes of travel practice and attitude towards the Alps allowed for the swift development of the modern tourism industry in the Alps in the years following the 1830s.

The period following the one covered by this thesis saw the birth of all the practices today comprised within Alpine tourism. Winter sports developed in the later part of the nineteenth century, therefore turning Alpine resorts in both winter and summer places.⁴⁶⁶ Fifty years into that process, the Alps were already far more than a space of exploration: they were the Playground of Europe, a place for both winter sports and summer getaways. The relationship between a traveller and the Alps was far more constrained by the tourism industry, from boarding a train to reaching the slopes. Unlike the period covered by this thesis, resorts started to be the very centre of tourists' Alpine experience. Mental mapping, which this thesis has presented as the main channel through which representations of the Alps developed, transformed in order to fade into the more modern touristic sphere. As marketing, branding, and reputation became valuable concepts, 'the Alps' became a sellable name. Ultimately, many towns got to a point of no return, where tourism was inextricably bound to the very nature of the place. In 1921, the town council of Chamonix decided to change the name of the town into 'Chamonix-Mont-Blanc'. The reasons exposed were the following:

465. "Chemins de fer suisses. Rapport de la majorité de la commission du Conseil national", report, 1 May 1852, A.C.VD., K/IX/204, p. 15.

Translation: Railways have a great influence on the decisions of the people who only travel for leisure, or at least do not have to travel to points where railways do not stretch. You may call this bad taste or use some other expression, but it is true to say that people prefer quick transport as opposed to routes where travel is slow, even when those might be more interesting and beautiful. The beauty of our valleys and the magnificence of the Alps, if we do not develop railways, would be powerless when trying to place us ahead of other states with a railway network. However, in the other scenario, i.e. if we have railways, the natural beauties that Switzerland is so rich of will attract travellers with even more strength.

466. Jon Mathieu, *Die Alpen*, p. 175.

Considérant que la dénomination actuelle de la Commune de Chamonix est insuffisante pour la distinguer de diverses autres communes de nom presque identique, notamment celle de Chamoux (Savoie). Que fréquemment cette similitude de nom entraîne des erreurs dans le services des correspondances postales, cause parfois de sérieux préjudices. Que la commune de Chamonix est voisine de la frontière Suisse, que son nom est étroitement associé à celui du Mont Blanc, dont nos voisins suisses exploitent la renommée au bénéfice de leurs stations. Que la correspondance des pays étrangers ou même provenant de France, à destination de Chamonix porte fréquemment l'indication "Chamonix Suisse". Que toutes ces erreurs et pertes de correspondance seraient évitées par l'appellation de notre "Commune de Chamonix-Mont-Blanc".⁴⁶⁷

This council deliberation, although it partially justifies it for reasons of clarity for postal services, is a clear branding process of the entire town of Chamonix. Whilst mental mapping was enough in the eighteenth and nineteenth century to give Chamonix the reputation of a gateway to Mont Blanc, the town used the ultimate technique to keep doing so in the twentieth: by changing its name. The forthcoming Winter Olympic Games held in 1924 in Chamonix finished the process of spreading this brand to the world. Many resorts, officially or informally, became known through their Alpine characteristic, for instance Isola 2000, L'Alpe d'Huez, or Zugspitze – Top of Germany. Tourism planning was also a product of the early twentieth century. Throughout the nineteenth century, hotels developed, spas became regular, winter sports grew in popularity, and therefore towns started to discuss their policy agenda through the creation of tourism offices. These offices facilitated the spread of tourism as a mass practice: as generalised paid leave spread across Europe from the 1860s to the 1940s, so did offices which acted as mediators between the least wealthy and the space they were not too familiar with. At that point, 'tourists' replaced 'travellers' for good, as the latter was always perceived through the lens of class elitism.⁴⁶⁸

The role of this thesis – and of transnational history in general – has not been to naively present an ever-more-open transnational Alpine space, but rather to remain aware of transnational entanglements in a nation-orientated world. Whilst the Alps

467. Délibérations du Conseil municipal de Chamonix, town council decree, 16 January 1921. (A.M.C., 1D31).

Translation: Considering that the current name of the town of Chamonix is not enough to distinguish it from other towns with a similar name, especially that of Chamoux (Savoie). That frequently this similarity leads to postal errors, which sometimes causes serious disruptions. That the town of Chamonix is close to the Swiss border, that its name is closely linked to that of Mont Blanc, which is used by our Swiss neighbours for the benefits of their resorts. That the correspondence from foreign countries or even France towards Chamonix often bear the wrong indication "Chamonix Switzerland". That all these mistakes and losses would be avoided if our town was named "Town of Chamonix-Mont-Blanc".

468. Marc Boyer, *Histoire du tourisme de masse* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France), p. 51.

witnessed more circulation, cooperation, and comparison, political discourse also strengthened their importance as a political frontier. As the nation-state grew stronger and stronger as the atom of international relations, so did the role of the Alps as a natural border. Danton's famous speech on France's natural boundaries clearly stated that "les limites de la France sont marquées par la nature. Nous les atteindrons dans leurs quatre points: à l'Océan, au Rhin, aux Alpes, aux Pyrénées".⁴⁶⁹ Arguably, Napoleon firmly dismissed that concept by attempting to stretch his Empire to Europe's natural boundaries. However, the state never dismissed the Alps again, which represents a significant change: by planning transalpine routes, Napoleon understood that the Alps were a natural boundary to be tamed and used. Across the passes of Simplon and Mont Cenis, he preserved the idea that France could not quite be called as such. The departments annexed to the Empire located across the mountains were officially nicknamed *Départements au-delà des Alpes*,⁴⁷⁰ therefore preserving the image of the Alps as a limit to Old France.

Following the Congress of Vienna, each nation-state in the making embraced the Alps as a corner of their territory, or for some of them as their main element of identity and territory. Throughout the nineteenth century, Switzerland fully integrated the Alps as part of its national discourse and political nature. While the connection between Switzerland's existence and its mountains had been stressed throughout the early modern period both by travellers and by the Swiss, the post-1815 period was a time of explicit proclamation of the landscape as a symbol of federal unity.⁴⁷¹ Switzerland grew as an Alpine country, and somehow the Alps developed with a Swiss label. Johanna Spyri's *Heidi*⁴⁷² embodies this 'Alpinisation' of Switzerland and

469 . Danton's Speech to the *Convention Nationale*, Paris, 31 January 1793. <<http://www.egeablog.net/dotclear/index.php?post/2011/04/30/Discours-Danton>> [accessed 11th May 2016].

Translation: France's limits are marked by Nature. We will reach all of them: to the Ocean, to the Rhine, to the Alps, to the Pyrenees."

470. "Organisation administrative des départements au-delà des Alpes", report (Arch. Nat., AF IV 1066).

471. Jonas Römer, "Vielfalt und Einheit: das Alpenmotiv im politischen Diskurs der Schweiz zwischen 1815 und 1848", in in Jon Mathieu & Simona Boscani Leoni (eds), *Die Alpen! Zur europäischen Wahrnehmungsgeschichte seit der Renaissance – Les Alpes ! Pour une histoire de la perception européenne depuis la Renaissance* (Oxford, Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 337 – 347.

472. Johanna Spyri, *Heidi's Lehr- und Wanderjahre* (Gotha, Perthes, 1880) and *Heidi kann brauchen, was es gelernt hat* (Gotha, Perthes, 1881).

nationalisation of the Alps. Heidi's life in the heart of the Swiss mountains is seen as pure and authentic, whilst Klara's family life in Frankfurt is both foreign and unfamiliar – neither Alpine, nor Swiss. On the contrary, Klara finds in the Alps the cure to her industrial, urban problems.⁴⁷³ During the same period as Heidi, other forms of art and culture combined the idea of Swissness alongside that of the Alps, such as Albert Anker and his depictions of Swiss mountainous and rural life. Numismatics – an other form of official art – also linked both concepts from the beginning: when the Swiss franc was introduced in 1850, the very first coins already featured the Alps on it.⁴⁷⁴

While the question of periodisation remains essential in our contemporary historiographical debates, many aspects put forward throughout this research can be reflected upon in 2016. The question of the Alps as a consistent transnational borderland remains key: while global issues such as the protection of our environment or the supervision of human flows – trade, migration, or tourism – the question of pushing the boundaries of the Alpine Space further remains very much alive, and the boundaries of the Alps do not cease to be subject to subjective interpretations. Although the Alpine convention attempted to close the debate in 1991 by drawing the borders of what territories are considered 'Alpine',⁴⁷⁵ politics and transnational cooperation continue to reconsider these lines. The European Union's 'Alpine Space' programme – one of the very rare occurrences of the expression – aims to favour in domains as diverse and crucial as transport, mobility, trade, and the protection of the environment. The boundaries of the regions involved in the programme stretch from Marseille to Vienna and from the outskirts of Zagreb to Strasbourg.⁴⁷⁶ Like many travellers, scientists, and planners imagined it in the Enlightenment, the Alps are fully

473. Walter Leimgruber, "Heidiland: Vom literarischen Branding einer Landschaft", in Jon Mathieu & Simona Boscani Leoni (eds), *Die Alpen! – Les Alpes !*, p. 434.

474. For more on landscape as a tool of national construction, see David Gugerli & Daniel Speich, *Topografien der Nation: Politik, kartografische Ordnung und Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zurich, Chronos, 2002).

475. Axel Borsdorf et al., "Mapping the Alps", in *Challenges for Mountain Regions – Tackling Complexity* (Vienna, Böhlau, 2010), pp. 186 – 191.

476. Alpine Space programme – Interreg website, <<http://www.alpine-space.eu>> [accessed 11th May 2016].

acknowledged as a human space, a set of networks and interactions which are conditioned by the peaks of the Alps but reach out to further places.

Alpine travel is also facing issues that were not unknown in the early nineteenth century. The question of the promotion of landscape beauty to better serve touristic interests remains a very high priority question. In the early twenty-first century, the increasing numbers of tourists coming from Asia poses new problems regarding the quantity of travellers that can be transported through the Alps' infrastructures. The recent plans to imagine a high-speed cable car taking travellers straight from Grindelwald to the Jungfrau redefine the sequence and the temporality of this popular experience of the Bernese Oberland.⁴⁷⁷ Through the nineteenth century Alpine tourism was allegedly reduced to a train journey and a stay in a fashionable resort: is the new Alpine dynamic nowadays aiming to grant express access to the most grandiose from the tarmac and back to the duty free shop? Beyond tourism, the existence of different scales of mobility in and through the Alps remains a very sensitive topic. The Swiss canton of Ticino, for instance, is often confronted to political and economic dilemmas due to its geographic and political situation. As a Swiss canton, its economy and political ties lie across the St Gotthard with the rest of Switzerland. As an Italian-speaking region located on the southern side of the Alpine crescent, its networks and interests are often intertwined with those of Italy. Since the St Gotthard route runs through the entire canton, the question of transalpine scales and axes is essential. The referendum held on 28th February 2016 asking the citizens of Switzerland to approve or disapprove of a second motorway tunnel through St Gotthard saw a larger support in the areas near the entrance of said tunnel rather than the southern districts of Ticino⁴⁷⁸. The Alps connect territories at multiple scales, and unlike those in Chamonix who refused to pay for a bridge they would not use, the people of northern Ticino chose to drive along European lorries across a multi-scale

477. John Eifion Jones, "Jungfrau Cable Car to cut time to 'Top of Europe'", in *The Telegraph* (27th February 2014) <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/ski/news/Jungfrau-cable-car-to-cut-time-to-Top-of-Europe/>> [accessed 5th April 2016].

478. The district of Leventina, covering the southern entrance of the Gotthard tunnels, supported the second tube by 66.1% (the highest score across the Canton) while the district of Mendrisio, by the Italian border, rejected it by 53.9%. Data available on <<http://www.srf.ch/news/schweiz/abstimmungen/abstimmungen/zweite-gotthard-roehre-2>> [accessed 5th April 2016].

tunnel – a supranational, transnational, and transcantonal one – while those from the South focused on their demographic movements across the Italian border.

*

Julie Bourrit's words resonate somewhat differently after what this thesis has investigated.⁴⁷⁹ When Marc-Théodore's granddaughter expressed her pride to be a Bourrit when crossing the Simplon pass, not only did she express her respect for her grandfather's discoveries; she understood that he contributed to turning the Alps into a cultural object. She expressed that an itinerary, an image, an emotion had a mental dimension to which people could relate. In 1774, Jakob Samuel Wyttenbach wrote a letter to Bourrit to express his gratitude for what Bourrit had done to make the Alps known, intelligible, and appealing:

J'ai très bien reçu votre description des glaciers de Savoye, je l'ai lue avec beaucoup d'attention et avec un plaisir infini; je me retraçais les fatigues que j'ai souffertes pendant mes voyages sur les Alpes, je me présentais les beaux tableaux que la Nature a formé dans ces pays merveilleux. Vous avez rompu la glace, Monsieur ! Vous êtes le premier qui nous ait donné des relations fidelles et étendues sur ces amas de glace, qui étoient jusqu'à présent pour ainsi dire inconnus. Continuez toujours, j'attends avec impatience la suite de vos travaux et surtout la partie physique et générale qui considérera la chaîne de glace en entier.⁴⁸⁰

When Marc-Théodore Bourrit died in 1819, his obituary reiterated the mythical tale of the 'discovery of the Alps' that the seventh chapter of this thesis addressed. It presented Bourrit as the first who 'signalled to his citizens and to the scientific world the wonders of the Alps' nature'.⁴⁸¹ The obituary went on and kept

479. Julie Bourrit's quote can be found at the very beginning of the introduction of this thesis.

480. Jakob Samuel Wyttenbach to Marc-Théodore Bourrit, letter, 29 April 1774 (B.G.E., Ms fr 9142).

Translation: I received your description of the glaciers of Savoy, I read it with much attention and with an infinite pleasure; I recalled the fatigue I faced during my travels over the Alps, I pictures the beautiful landscapes that Nature has formed in these wonderful lands. You broke the ice, Sir! You are the first who gave us trustworthy and thorough accounts of these stretches of ice, which were hitherto unknown, so to speak. Keep doing so; I look forward to the continuation of your works, especially the general and physical part which will consider the chain of ice as a whole.

481. "Nécrologie", B.G.E., Ms fr 9143.

Original: "Celui de ses citoyens qui le premier, leur signala, et au monde savant, les merveilles de la nature de nos Alpes"

praising Bourrit's work for turning *les montagnes maudites* into a tamed and celebrated space.

There is no doubt that Bourrit, De Saussure, Balmat, Paccard, and those who preceded and succeeded them all contributed crucially to bringing the Alps out of the unknown. However, this thesis has also shown that, for better or for worse, there was also space for the geographically unaware, the urban socialites, the passionate writers, the goitre-curious, the non-German or non-French speakers, the ambitious emperors, to express themselves and to contribute to the building of the Alps' image. Each of them, because of their curiosity, their exposure, their power to convey ideas and representations, their determination to express their opinion, transferred a portion of their representations to their reader, regardless of legitimacy or accuracy. Nowadays, these forms of approximations are everywhere in our relationship with space; this was not different back in that crucial moment of transition in the development of our modern world. Thus, alongside the picture of snow-capped peaks, the promise of a more humanly-tamed space, running across multiple boundaries and limits, emerged in the minds of the people of Europe.

Selective Bibliography

Primary Sources

- **Published Primary Sources**

Addison, Joseph, *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison*. New York, William Durell, 1811.

Almanach de Gotha pour l'année 1819. Gotha, Perthes, 1819.

Altmann, Johannes Georgius, *Versuch einer historischen und physischen Beschreibung der helvetischen Eisbergen*. Zürich, Heidegger und Compagnie, 1751.

Annuaire officiel du Canton de Vaud, pour l'année 1821. Contenant le Tableau Général du Gouvernement. Lausanne, Blanchard, 1821.

Annuaire officiel du Canton de Vaud, pour l'année 1827. Contenant le Tableau Général du Gouvernement et des Fonctionnaires Publics. Lausanne, Blanchard, 1827.

Annuaire officiel du Canton de Vaud, pour l'année bissextile 1836. Avec le Tableau général des autorités, des fonctionnaires, des employés de l'État, du Clergé national, etc. Lausanne, Blanchard, 1836.

Anonymous, *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (no. 21, May 1806).

Anonymous, *Letters from Several Parts of Europe, and the East, written in the Years 1750, etc.* London, Davis, 1753.

Anonymous, *Voyage épisodique et anecdotique dans les Alpes, par un Parisien*. Paris, Gagniard, 1830.

Bailey, Nathan (ed), *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary – Twentieth Edition, with considerable Improvements*. London, Osborne et al., 1763.

Baillie, Marianne, *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, John Murray, 1819.

Benjamin, Lewis Saul & Storer, James Sargant (eds), *The Life and Letters of William Beckford, of Fonthill*. London, Heinemann, 1910.

- Bernard, Richard Boyle, *A Tour through some Parts of France, Switzerland, Savoy, Germany and Belgium, during the Summer and Autumn of 1814*. London, Longman, 1815.
- Birrell, Francis (ed), *Thomas Blaikie: Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1931.
- Blaikie, Thomas, *Journal de Thomas Blaikie. Excursions d'un botaniste écossais dans les Alpes et le Jura en 1775*. Neuchâtel, La Baconnière, 1935.
- Boswell, James (Danziger, Marlies K., ed), *James Boswell: the Journal of his German and Swiss travels, 1764*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
- (de) Bougy, Alfred, *Évian et ses Environs, Province du Chablais en Savoie, Rive Gauche du Lac Léman*. Geneva, Gruaz, 1852.
- Bourrit, Marc-Théodore, *Description des Alpes Pennines et Rhétiennes ; dédiée à S. M. Très-Chrétienne Louis XVI, Roi de France et de Navarre*. Geneva, Bonnant, 1781.
- Bourrit, Marc-Théodore, *Itinéraire de Genève, Lausanne et Chamouni*. Geneva, Didier, 1791.
- Bridges, George Wilson, *Alpine Sketches, comprised in a short tour through parts of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland and Germany, during the Summer of 1814*. London, Longmans & Co., 1814.
- Brockedon, William, *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps by which Italy communicates with France, Switzerland, and Germany*. London, Brockedon, 1828.
- Brockedon, William, *Journal of Excursions in the Alps*. London, James Duncan, 1833.
- Brydone, Patrick, *Tour through Sicily and Malta, in a Series of Letters to William Beckford, Esq. of Somerly in Suffolk*. Glasgow, Chapman, 1817.
- Bunney, John Wharltton, *Freemason's Magazine, Or, General and Complete Library*. London, Bunney, 1796.
- Burnet, Gilbert, *Some letters, containing an account of what seem'd most remarkable in travelling through Switzerland, Italy, some parts of Germany, etc.*. London, Ward & Chandler, 1738.
- Casanova, Giacomo, *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, écrits par lui-même, Tome III*. Brussels, Meline, 1833.

(de) Chateaubriand, François-René, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*. Paris, Penaud, 1849-1850.

Constantine, Mary-Ann & Frame, Paul (eds), *George Cadogan Morgan: Travels in Revolutionary France & A Journey across America*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2012.

Coxe, William, *Travels in Switzerland, in a series of letters to William Melmoth*. London, Cadell, 1789.

Coxe, William, *Travels in Switzerland, and in the Country of the Grisons*. London, Strahan, 1801.

Diderot, Denis & d'Alembert, Jean le Rond (eds), *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris, Briasson, 1751.

(Sir) Egerton Brydges, *Recollections of Foreign Travel, on Life, Literature, and Self-Knowledge*. London, Longman, 1825.

Forbes, Murray, *The Diary of a Traveller over Alps and Apennines; or, Daily Minutes of a Circuitous Excursion*. London, W. Smith, 1824.

Fremantle, Anne (ed), *The Wynne Diaries (1789 - 1820)*. London, Oxford University Press, 1952.

(de) Golbéry, Philippe, *Lettres sur la Suisse. Quatrième partie : Lac de Genève, Chamouny, Valais*. Paris, Engelmann, 1827.

Halsband, Robert (ed), *The Selected Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. London, Longman, 1970.

(d')Haussez, Charles, *Alpes et Danube, ou Voyage en Suisse, Styrie, Hongrie et Transylvanie*. Paris, Ambroise Dupont, 1837.

Hayward, Abraham, *Some Account of a Journey across the Alps: in a Letter to a Friend*. London, Roworth and Sons, 1834.

Hernon, Paul (ed), *Sir Watkin's Tours: Excursions to France, Italy and North Wales (1768 - 1771)*. Bridge Books, 2013.

Johnson, Samuel (ed), *A Dictionary of the English language: in which the words are deduced from their Originals, Explained in their different meanings, and Authorized by the names of the writers in whose works they are found*. London, A. Wilson, 1812.

Katshofer, Karl, *Bemerkungen auf einer Alpen-Reise über den Brünig, Bragel, Kirzenberg, und über die Flüela, den Malona, und Splügen*. Berne, Jenni, 1825.

Kellermann, *Die Alpen-Reise: ein humoristisches Gemälde einer Reise durch die Schweiz*. Augsburg, Wirth, 1828.

Hoppe, David Heinrich & Hornschuch, Friedrich, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach den Küsten des adriatischen Meers und den Gebürgen von Krain, Kärnthen, Tyrol, Salzburg, Baiern und Brnthen, Tyrol, Salzburg, Baiern und Böhmen; vorzüglich in botanischer und entomologischer Hinsicht*. Regensburg, Rotermund, 1818.

Johnson, James, *Change of Air or the Pursuit of Health and Recreation through France, Switzerland, Italy, &c*. London, Highley, 1835.

Jouy, Etienne, *Oeuvres complètes d'Etienne Jouy*, Paris, Jules Didot, 1823.

Keate, George, *Ferney: an Epistle to Monsr de Voltaire*. London, Dodsley, 1768.

Knapman, David (ed), *Conversation Sharp: the biography of a London Gentleman Richard Sharp (1759 – 1835) in letters, prose and verse*. Dorchester, Dorset Press, 2003.

Knight, William Angus (ed), *Letters of the Wordsworth Family from 1787 to 1855*. London, Ginn, 1907.

König, Franz Niklaus, *Reise in die Alpen*. Berne, 1814.

Levade, Louis, *Dictionnaire Géographique, Statistique et Historique du Canton de Vaud, avec carte et planches*. Lausanne, Blanchard, 1824.

Lewis, Theresa (ed), *Extracts from the journals and correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783 to 1852*. London, Longmans, 1865.

Liddiard, William, *A Three Months' Tour in Switzerland and France*. London, Smith, Elder, and Co., 1832.

Lucock Wilkinson, Joshua, *The Wanderer; or Anecdotes and Incidents, the result and occurrences of a Ramble on Foot, through France, Germany and Italy in 1791 and 1793*. London, Higham, 1798.

Lucy, or the Little Enquirer: being the Conversation of a Mother with her Infant Daughter. London, Harvey & Darton, 1824.

Malkin, A.W., "Diary of Thomas Brand", in *Alpine Journal* (no. 32, 1918).

Martel, Peter & Windham, William, *An account of the glaciers or ice alps in Savoy, in two letters; one from an English gentleman to his friend at Geneva; the other from*

Peter Martel, engineer, to the said English gentleman. As laid before the Royal Society. Ipswich, W. Craighton, 1747.

Matthews, Henry, *The Diary of an Invalid being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health in Portugal Italy Switzerland and France in the Years 1817 1818 and 1819, Volume II.* London, John Murray, 1824.

Montémont, Albert, *Voyage aux Alpes et en Italie, ou Lettres en Prose et en Vers.* Paris, Lelong, 1821.

Moore, John, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany.* London, Strahan & Cadell, 1780.

Moskal, Jeanne (ed), *The Novels and Selected Works of Mary Shelley.* London, William Pickering, 1996.

Necker de Saussure, Albertine, *Sketch of the Life, Character, and Writings of Baroness de Staël-Holstein.* London, Treuttel & Würtz, 1820.

(d')Ostervald, Jean-Frédéric, *Voyage pittoresque aux Glaciers de Chamouni.* Paris, Imprimerie de Didot l'aîné, 1815.

d'Ostervald, Jean-Frédéric, *Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan, by way of the Simplon.* London, Ackermann, 1820.

Pennington, Thomas, *A Journey into Various Parts of Europe: and a residence in them, during the Years 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821; with Notes, Historical and Classical; and Memoirs of The Grand Dukes of the House of Medici; of the Dynasties of the Kings of Naples; and of the Dukes of Milan.* London, Whittaker, 1825.

Pottle, Frederick A., (ed), *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland, 1764.* London, William Heinemann, 1953.

Quinet, Edgard, *Correspondances – Lettres à sa Mère.* Paris, Germer-Baillièrre, 1877.

Radcliffe, Ann, *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a Return Down the Rhine.* Dublin, William Porter, 1795.

Radcliffe, Ann, *The Romance of the Forest.* Stroud, Nonsuch, 2005.

Raoul-Rochette, Désiré, *Lettres sur la Suisse, écrites en 1819, 1820 et 1821.* Paris, Nepveu, 1828.

(von der) Recke, Elisa, *Tagebuch einer Reise durch einen Theil Deutschlands und durch Italien, in den Jahren 1804 bis 1806.* Berlin, Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1815 – 1817.

Rossetti, William Michael (ed), *The Diary of Dr John William Polidori, 1816. Relating to Byron, Shelley, etc.* London, Matthews, 1911.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse. Lettres de deux Amans, Habitans d'une petite Ville au pied des Alpes.* Amsterdam, Marc-Michel Rey, 1772.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Oeuvres complètes de J.J. Rousseau, nouvelle édition.* Paris, Dalibon, 1826.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Les Confessions, nouvelle édition.* Paris, Gennequin, 1869.

(de) Saussure, Horace-Bénédict, *Voyages dans les Alpes, précédés d'un essai sur l'histoire naturelle des environs de Genève.* Neuchâtel, Fauche, 1779 - 1796.

Scheuchzer, *Ouresiphoides Helveticus, sive Itinera Alpina tria.* London, Henry Clements, 1708.

Schiner, *Description du Département du Simplon ou de la ci-devant République du Valais.* Sion, Antoine Advocat, 1812.

Seigneux de Correvon, Gabriel, "Voiage fait à la fin de juillet 1736 dans les Montagnes occidentales du País de Vaud", in *Mercure Suisse* (Neuchâtel, July 1737), pp. 33 – 62.

Sharp, Richard, *Letters and Essays in Prose and Verse.* London, Edward Moxon, 1834.

Sharp, Samuel, *Letters from Italy, describing the Customs and Manners of that Country, In the Years 1765, and 1766.* London, Henry & Cave, 1767.

(Lord) Sheffield, John, *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq. with Memoirs of his Life and writings, composed by himself.* London, John Murray, 1814.

Shelley, Mary and Percy, *History of a Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland.* London, Hookham, 1817.

Shelley, Mary, *Frankenstein; Or, The Modern Prometheus.* London, Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, & Jones, 1818.

Simond, Louis, *Switzerland; or, a Journal of a Tour and Residence in that Country, in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819: Followed by an Historical Sketch on the Manners and Customs of Ancient and Modern Helvetia.* Boston, Wells and Lilly, 1822.

Spyri, Johanna, *Heidi's Lehr- und Wanderjahre.* Gotha, Perthes, 1880.

Spyri, Johanna, *Heidi kann brauchen, was es gelernt hat.* Gotha, Perthes, 1881.

Stevens, Sacheverell, *Miscellaneous remarks made on the spot, in a late seven years tour through France, Italy, Germany and Holland*. London, S. Hooper, 1756.

Taillard, Constant (ed), *Les Voyageurs en Italie, ou Relation du Voyage de Trois Amis dans les diverses parties de l'Italie, en passant par le Tyrol, la Suisse et les Alpes*. Paris, Dondey-Dupré, 1828.

Teignmouth (Lord), Charles Shore, *Reminiscences of Many Years*. Edinburgh, Constable, 1878.

Waring, Samuel Miller, *The Traveller's Fire-Side: a Series of Papers on Switzerland, the Alps, &c.* London, Baldwin, 1819.

Wordsworth, William, "Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey", in *Lyrical Ballads*. London, J. & A. Arch, 1798.

Zedler, Johann Heinrich, *Grosse vollständige Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*. Leipzig, Zedler, 1742.

- **Published Maps**

Arrowsmith, John, *North Italy &c and the Passes of the Alps and Apennines*. London, John Arrowsmith, 1834.

Faden, William, *Suisse*. London, William Faden, 1799.

Grasset, François, *Carte de la Suisse où sont les Treize Cantons, leurs alliés et leurs sujets*. Lausanne, François Grasset, 1769.

Jaillot, Alexis Hubert, Mortier, Pierre & Sanson, Nicolas, *Les Montagnes des Alpes où sont remarqués les Passages de France en Italie, le Duché de Milan et les Etats du Duc de Savoye*. Paris, Pierre Mortier, 1708.

Stieler, Adolf, *Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde und über das Weltgebäude*. Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1816 - 1840.

- **Manuscript Sources**

Bibliothèque de Genève - Service des Manuscrits

Ms 9142-9142: Archives Bourrit, collection of letters.

National Library of Scotland

GB 1929 (30): "Lettre de March-Théodore Bourrit sur le premier voyage fait au Sommet du Mont Blanc, le 8 Août dernier", letter, Geneva, 20 September 1786.

Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek

10 000 480, "Bericht der vom Bundesrathe einberufenen Experten: Herren R. Stephenson, M. P., und H. Swinburne über den Bau von Eisenbahnen in der Schweiz", *Schweizerisches Bundesblatt*, 23 December 1850.

Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Sammlung Perthes

2020 "Alpen": "The Monarch of Mountains", in *New Monthly Magazine*, 1871.

SPK-20-12 A-10: *Carte des Nouvelles routes dans les Grisons par les cols du Splügen et du St Bernardin jusqu'aux lacs Majeurs et de Come*, map, 1827.

Archives Nationales

AF/III/51/A, "Renseignements sur les Émigrés", dossier of administrative reports, 1804.

AF/IV/1055: "Ponts et Chaussées", dossier of administrative reports.

AF/IV/1056: "Ponts et Chaussées", dossier of administrative reports.

AF/IV/1066: "Organisation administrative des départements au-delà des Alpes", dossier of administrative reports.

M//1032: "Frontière des Alpes, 1695 - XVIIIe siècle", dossier of political reports.

Archives de l'État de Genève

Étrangers A2: Registre des Étrangers, foreigners' register, 1792 - 1795.

ADL B 761: "Tableau des Cantons des Routes impériales du Département, dans l'Etendue de la Sous-Préfecture de Thonon, Conformément aux Art 37, 38 et 39 du Décret de 1811", report, 1812.

Archives cantonales Vaudoises

K/IX/204: "Chemins de fer suisses. Rapport de la majorité de la commission du Conseil national", report", 1 May 1852.

K/IX/204/4: "*Rapport sur l'établissement de chemins de fer en Suisse*", report, 12 October 1850.

Archives départementales de Haute-Savoie

1 J 2907: "Journal d'un voyage fait au Montanvert au mois de Juillet 1814", Empress Marie-Louise, diary.

1 J 2949: "Souscription - Premier Voyage à la Cime de la Plus Haute Montagne de l'Ancien Continent, le Mont Blanc, par le Docteur Michel-Gabriel Paccard, Médecin dans les Alpes de Chamonix", subscription form, 7 August 1786.

Archives municipales de Lyon

1 C 4029: "Réunions du Valais à la France"

1 II 311: "Projet de Canal entre Lyon et Genève", reports, 1783 – 1840

Archives municipales de Chamonix-Mont-Blanc

Registre des Ordonnances de l'Intendance de la Province du Faucigny

1D31: Délibérations du Conseil municipal de Chamonix, town council decree, 16 January 1921.

Archives municipales d'Évian-les-Bains

1D6: Délibérations du Conseil municipal d'Évian, council decree, 1816

Archives municipales de Thonon-les-Bains

2B3: Letter from a bourgeois to the town council of Thonon, 14 February 1824.

Archives communales de Vevey

A 107 bis: Alfred Ceserole, *Notes Historiques sur la Ville de Vevey dédiées à mes jeunes combourgeois*.

G6 bleu 11: M. de la Ramière, *Mémoire touchant la construction d'un Port devant la Ville de Vevey*.

Dupont, Patricia & Frey, Sabine, *Un paradis encadré : la fonction du tourisme à Vevey et Montreux*, dissertation, Université de Lausanne

Secondary Sources

Adamovsky, Ezequiel, "Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810 – 1880", in *The Journal of Modern History* (Vol. 77, No. 3, September 2005), pp. 591 – 628.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, Verso, 2006.

Bade, Klaus J., *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich, C. H. Beck, 2000.

Bate, Jonathan, *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition*. Oxford, Routledge, 1991.

Baud, Michiel & van Schendel, Willem, "Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands", in *Journal of World History* (vol. 8, no. 2, Autumn 1997).

(de) Beer, Gavin, *Early Travellers in the Alps*. London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1930.

(de) Beer, Gavin, *Travellers in Switzerland*. London, Oxford University Press, 1949.

Bendix, Regina, "Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?", in *The Journal of American Folklore* (vol. 102, no. 404, April - June 1989), p. 135.

Bergier, Jean François, "Des Alpes traversées aux Alpes vécues: Pour un projet de coopération internationale et interdisciplinaire en histoire des Alpes", in *Histoires des Alpes / Storia delle Alpi / Geschichte der Alpen*, (vol. 1, 1996).

Bertrand, Gilles, *Le Grand Tour revisité : pour une archéologie du tourisme. Le voyage des Français en Italie (milieu XVIIIème siècle – début XIXème siècle)*. Rome, École française de Rome, 2008.

Black, Jeremy, *France and the Grand Tour*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Black, Jeremy, *Italy and the Grand Tour*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003.

Black, Jeremy, *The British and the Grand Tour*. London, Croom Helm, 1985.

Blume, Mary, *Côte d'Azur: Inventing the French Riviera*. London, Thames & Hudson, 1992.

Borsdorf, Axel et al., "Mapping the Alps", in *Challenges for Mountain Regions – Tackling Complexity*. Vienna, Böhlau, 2010.

Bourdon, Étienne, *Le voyage et la découverte des Alpes : Histoire de la construction d'un savoir (1492 – 1713)*. Paris, Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011.

Bourguet, Marie-Noëlle et al. (eds), *Instruments, Travel, and Science: Itineraries of Precision from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*. London, Routledge, 2002.

Bouvier, Nicholas et al. (eds), *Geneva, Zurich, Basel: History, Culture, and National Identity*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994.

Boyer, Marc, *Histoire du tourisme de masse*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.

Braudel, Fernand, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Paris, Armand Colin, 1946.

Breuillaud-Sottas, Françoise, *La Prodigueuse Ascension des Eaux d'Evian*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Savoie, 2003.

Bruchet, Max, *La Savoie d'après les Anciens Voyageurs*. Annecy, Hérisson, 1908.

Brückner, Martin (ed), *Early American Cartographies*. Williamsburg, University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Brunner, Otto, Conze, Werner & Koselleck, Reinhart (eds), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, Band 3*. Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1982.

Burke, Peter, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Caplan, Jane & Torpey, John (eds), *Documenting Individual Identity: the Development of State Practices in the Modern World*. Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2001.

Clark, William et al. (eds), *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Clavin, Patricia, “Defining Transnationalism”, in *Contemporary European History* (Vol. 14, No. 4, November 2005), pp. 421 – 439.

Courlet, Claude, “La frontière : coupure ou couture”, in *Économie et Humanisme* (no. 301, 1988).

Dekker, George G., *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott, and Mary Shelley*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2005.

Delaloye, Gérard (ed), *Un Léman Suisse: la Suisse, le Chablais et la neutralisation de la Savoie (1476 – 1932)*. Geneva, Cabédita, 2002.

Demangeon, Albert & Febvre, Lucien, *Le Rhin : Problèmes d’histoire et d’économie*. Paris, Armand Colin, 1935.

Demeulenaere, Christiane (ed), *Explorations et voyages scientifiques de l’antiquité à nos jours*. Paris, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2008.

Duffy, Cian, *Shelley and the Revolutionary Sublime*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Duffy, Cian, “‘We had hopes that pointed to the clouds’: The Alps and the Poetics of Ascent”, in *The Landscapes of the Sublime 1700-1830: Classic Ground*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Dübi, Heinrich, *Paccard wider Balmat oder die Entwicklung einer Legende: Ein Beitrag zur Besteigungsgeschichte des Mont Blanc*. Berne, A. Francke, 1913.

Ferrand, H., “Premiers voyages à Chamouni”, in *Revue Alpine* (no. 18, 1912).

Fischer, Joachim, “An Irish traveller in eighteenth-century Switzerland: Blayne Townley Balfour’s letters from Orbe and Berne, 1788/89”, in *From the Margins to the Centre: Irish Perspectives on Swiss Culture and Literature*. Berne, Peter Lang, 2007.

Forcher, Michael, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Innsbruck*. Innsbruck, Haymon, 2008.

Forrest, Alan & Jones, Peter (eds), *Reshaping France: Town, country and region during the French Revolution*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1991.

- Gascoigne, John, “The Eighteenth-Century Scientific Community: A Prosopographical Study”, in *Social Studies of Science* (Vol. 25, No. 3, August 1995), pp. 575 – 581.
- Gidl, Anneliese, *Alpenverein: die Städter entdecken die Alpen*. Vienna, Böhlau, 2007.
- Gugerli, David & Speich, Daniel, *Topografien der Nation: Politik, kartografische Ordnung und Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*. Zurich, Chronos, 2002.
- Guichonnet, Paul (ed), *Histoire de Genève*. Toulouse, Privat, 1974.
- Hankins, Thomas, *Science and the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hansen, Peter H., “Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain”, in *Journal of British Studies* (vol. 34, no. 3, July 1995), pp. 300 - 324.
- Hansen, Peter H., *The Summits of Modern Man: Mountaineering after the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Heafford, Michael, *British Travellers in Switzerland 1814 - 1860*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London Metropolitan University, 2003.
- Hope Nicolson, Marjorie, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: the development of aesthetics of the infinite*. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1959.
- Howells, R. J., *Rousseau – Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse: Critical Guides to French Texts*. London, Grant & Cutler, 1986.
- Iriye, Akira & Saunier, Pierre-Yves (ed), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Jackson, Peter, et al. (eds), *Transnational Spaces*. London, Routledge, 2004.
- Koselleck, Reinhart, Conze, Werner & Brunner, Otto (eds), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, Band 3*. Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1982.
- Knapton, E. J., *The Lady of the Holy Alliance: the Life of Julie de Krudener*. New York, 1939.
- Kuehn, Julia & Smethurst, Paul (eds), *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*. London, Routledge, 2009.

Lechevalier, Michel, *L'ingénieur Nicolas Céard (1745 - 1821) et la Route du Simplon*. Geneva, La Baconnière, 2007.

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1991 (original in French, Paris, Anthropos, 1974).

Lehmann, Hartmut & Richter, Melvin (eds), *The Meaning of Historical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte*. Washington D.C., German Historical Institute, 1996.

Maczak, Antoni, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford, Polity Press, 1995.

Mathieu, Jon, *Die Alpen: Raum - Kultur - Geschichte*. Stuttgart, Reclam, 2015.

Mathieu, Jon, "Der Alpenraum", in *EGO – European History Online*, 4 March 2013, <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/border-regions/jon-mathieu-der-alpenraum>> (accessed 6 March 2015).

Mathieu, Jon, *Geschichte der Alpen 1500-1900: Umwelt, Entwicklung, Gesellschaft*. Vienna, Böhlau, 1998.

Mathieu, Jon & Boscani Leoni, Simona (eds), *Die Alpen! Zur europäischen Wahrnehmungsgeschichte seit der Renaissance – Les Alpes ! Pour une histoire de la perception européenne depuis la Renaissance*. Oxford, Peter Lang, 2005.

Morane, Pierre, *Paul Ier de Russie avant l'Avènement (1754 – 1796)*. Paris, Plon, 1907.

Moretti, Franco, *Distant Reading*. London, Verso, 2013.

Morieux, Renaud, *The Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Olsen, Niklas, *History in the Plural: An Introduction to the Work of Reinhart Koselleck*. Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2012.

Osterhammel, Jürgen, "Die Wiederkehr des Raumes: Geopolitik, Geohistorie, und historische Geographie", in *Neue Politische Literatur* (Vol. 43, No. 3, 1998), pp. 374 – 397.

Paul, Ellen Frankel, Miller Jr., Fred D. & Paul, Jeffrey (eds), *Natural Rights Individualism and Progressivism in American Political Philosophy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Pyatt, Edward, *The Passage of the Alps: from Hannibal to the Motorway*. London, Robert Hale, 1984.

Reichler, Claude, *La découverte des Alpes et la question du paysage*. Geneva, Georg, 2002.

Reichler, Claude, *Les Alpes et leurs imagiers: Voyage et histoire du regard*. Lausanne, Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes, 2013.

Ring, Jim, *How the English Made the Alps*. London, John Murray, 2000.

Riskin, Jessica, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: the Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Sahlins, Peter, *Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989.

Scaramellini, Guglielmo, "The Picturesque and the Sublime in Nature and the Landscape: Writing and iconography in the romantic voyaging in the Alps", in *GeoJournal* (Vol. 38, No. 1, January 1996), p. 49.

Schaumann, Caroline, *Heights of Reflection: Mountains in the German imagination from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century*. Rochester, New York, Camden House, 2012.

Schenk, Frithjof Benjamin, "Mental Maps. Die Konstruktion von geographischen Räumen in Europa seit der Aufklärung", in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (No. 28, Vol. 3, July – September 2002), pp. 493 – 514.

Schenk, Frithjof Benjamin, "Mental Maps: The Cognitive Mapping of the Continent as an Object of Research of European History", in *EGO - European History Online* (2013).

Sperber, Dan, "Anthropology and Psychology: Towards an Epidemiology of Representations", in *Man* (New Series, Vol. 20, No. 1 (March 1985), pp. 73 – 89.

Stephen, Leslie, *The Playground of Europe*. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1871.

Sweet, Rosemary, *Cities and the Grand Tour: the British in Italy (c. 1690-1820)*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Struck, Bernhard, *Nicht West – Nicht Ost: Frankreich und Polen in der Wahrnehmung deutscher Reisender zwischen 1750 und 1850*. Göttingen, Wallstein, 2006.

Struck, Bernhard, "Der genormte Blick auf die Fremde. Reisen, Vorwissen und Erwartung. Die Beispiele Italien und Polen im späten 18. Jahrhundert", in Jaworski, Rudolf et al (eds), *Der genormte Blick aufs Fremde. Reiseführer in und über Ostmitteleuropa*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2011, pp. 21-35.

Tissot, Laurent & Humair Cédric (eds), *Le tourisme suisse et son rayonnement international: "Switzerland, the Playground of Europe"*. Lausanne, Antipodes, 2011.

Torpey, John, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Tracy, James D. (ed), *City Walls: the Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Tyrrell, Ian, *Transnational Nation: United States history in global perspective since 1789*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Viazzo, Pier Paolo, *Upland Communities: Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Walton, John K. & Wood, Jason (ed), *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750 – 2010*. London, Routledge, 2013.

Ware, Malcolm, "Sublimity in the Novels of Ann Radcliffe", in Liljegren, Sten Bodvar (ed), *Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature* (Vol. 25, 1963).

Whatmore, Richard, *Against War & Empire: Geneva, Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century*. London, Yale University Press, 2012.

Wilson, Thomas M. & Donnan, Hastings, *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Withey, Lynne, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915*. London, Aurum Press, 1997.

Wolff, Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe: the map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994.

Youngs, Tim, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.