BRITISH TRAVELLERS IN SWITZERLAND 1814 - 1860.

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ABSTRACT.

The thesis examines British travellers in Switzerland over the period from 1814 to 1860. Evidence was gathered on the travellers themselves: their numbers, social position, age and gender, as well as on the groups within which they travelled. The nature of the tours was also considered, in particular, their duration, the itineraries followed, and the responses of travellers to these itineraries. In order to build up as objective a picture of possible, evidence was sought from two different but complementary sources. The first comprised passport and other registers. These indicated not only the numbers of British visitors to the Continent in general, and to Switzerland in particular, but also furnished a range of information about the travellers themselves and their tours. Administrative arrangements relating to passport issue, and to frontier and internal controls, either required or requested from travellers details about their age, gender, social status and itinerary. At the same time, information was collected on the size and nature of travelling groups. In addition to collating and analysing this material, it was possible to examine the dates and places at which particular administrative formalities were carried out, and thereby to make at least tentative deductions about the rate of travel and the scope and length of the tour. In exploring the motivations of travellers, it was considered that hypotheses were likely to be more sound if objective evidence on the travellers themselves, and on the structure of their tours, was collected first.

Register evidence had the benefit that it was based on a large sample of travellers; its disadvantage lay in its focus on individuals at particular places and points in time. Thus, it did not convey a global view of the Continental tour, nor did it permit any detailed conclusions to be drawn about how the components of such a tour, including, in particular, a visit to Switzerland, might have fitted together. In order to gain insights into the Continental tour as a whole, a second, complementary source of evidence was tapped: accounts written by visitors to Switzerland during the period under review. Although the sample of these visitors in relation to the overall number of travellers was necessarily a small one, it enabled itineraries to be followed with much greater precision, and suggested which were the most popular. Because images of

Switzerland created during the period provided both a record of visits and a stimulus for them, a study of the images of Switzerland published in Britain during the first half of the century was added to the section on travelogues.

The thesis seeks to contribute to the study of British travel in a way which is original in its combination of choice of period, of country, and of methodology. Firstly, little has been written about the British on the Continent between the end of the eighteenth century, when the Grand Tour may be considered to have ended, and the period when railways were sufficiently established to create new styles of travel, for instance in the development of 'package tours'. Secondly, France and Italy have dominated research studies into the British on the Continent to the relative exclusion of other countries. Finally, registers, which provide information about individual travellers, have not been exploited as an important source of evidence.

Preface and acknowledgements.

In writing this thesis, one of my central aims was to base the research on a large number of British travellers in Switzerland, in order to introduce some measure of objectivity into the findings. In pursuing this aim, I collected information about several thousand travellers recorded in passport and other registers, and considered travelogues written by over ninety visitors to Switzerland. Collecting material from these sources, and organising it in tables, enabled many characteristics of the travellers and many features of their journeys to emerge. While recognising that the resulting tables played a central role in the thesis, I nevertheless decided to place them in an appendix at the end, rather than incorporating them in the text itself. This decision had the benefit of encouraging me to draw the most significant conclusions from the tables for incorporation in the text, while discouraging me from following up many of the minor and sometimes ambivalent points which the tables sometimes suggested. From the reader's point of view, the presentation should allow access to the argument uninterrupted by tables interposed within the text itself. However, to enable easy reference whenever required, a list of the tables has been provided at the front, and references to the relevant pages in the Appendix feature in the text itself.

Although some well-known names are included amongst the travelogue writers considered, it is with ordinary travellers that the thesis is concerned. These have been designated as 'travellers' to avoid the pejorative undertones sometimes carried by the word 'tourist'. Distinguishing between the two terms is, in any case, much more complex than is usually acknowledged.

It is hoped that the spellings of place names will not lead to confusion. Apart from differences in spelling resulting from the multilingual structure of Swiss society, the spelling of some places remained fluid throughout the nineteenth century, and was sometimes rendered more so by British visitors failing to transcribe names correctly; Chamonix, Grindelwald and Interlaken were all particularly susceptible to variable spellings.

It remains for me to thank all those who have contributed to this thesis through the support they have given me. The staff at the Archives d'Etat in Geneva provided

helpful advice and easy access to the registers in their care. Particular thanks must go to Chanoine Jean-Pierre Voutaz at the hospice of the Great St Bernard and to Herr Beat Käppeli of the Rigi Kulm Hotel. Both made the registers in their possession fully available to me by providing twenty four hour access and a suitable room in which to work. Finally, I should like to thank my two supervisors, Dr David Fletcher and Dr Peter Mandler. The former has given much pertinent and detailed advice on the text and its presentation. The latter helped me from the start to produce a coherent structure in which my wide-ranging interest in British travellers in Switzerland could become productively focused. I am most grateful to him for his general encouragement throughout, for his enthusiastic interest in the subject, and for his many appropriate critical comments and exhortations.

A. INTRODUCTION.

When Dr Johnson commented in 1776 that 'a man who has not been in Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority', he was acknowledging that for his landed and monied contemporaries a journey to Italy was an accomplishment essential for social status. Such a journey with residence in Rome or Naples allowed the study of the Classics and the Classical world *in situ*, the purchase of art and antiquities to adorn one's residence at home, the learning of a foreign language, movement in polite European society where social graces could be practised, possibly refined, and exposure to political ideas and social institutions so different from those prevailing at home that they could broaden the mind and sharpen critical powers. So popular did Italy become as a destination that the journey thence and back both acquired its own appellation of 'Grand Tour' and also gave rise to a mass of travel literature aimed at providing historical, cultural and practical information for prospective travellers. However, the Grand Tour was effectively brought to an end by the French Revolution, and when the Continent was again opened up to the British in 1814, travel to Europe took on a different character in which Switzerland[1] became an increasingly popular destination in its own right.

It is the aim of this thesis to examine the British travellers to Switzerland over the period from1814 to 1860 with a view to throwing light both on the travellers themselves and on the nature of their experience. The beginning of the period is defined by the reopening of the Continent to the British after the Napoleonic wars, and its end is characterised by the advent of increasingly important new influences, cheaper and more rapid European travel through a rapidly extending railway network, a growing interest in mountaineering, and new assessments of the importance of travel for health reasons. Evidence will be drawn principally from two sources, from registers in which the names of travellers along with some personal details are recorded, and from travelogues written by the travellers themselves. Having established who the travellers were and where they went, the thesis will also consider the factors which attracted them to Switzerland and influenced their itinerary within it.

[1] Throughout this thesis, Switzerland is taken to mean the area lying within the present-day boundaries of Switzerland, along with the Chamonix valley and the area directly to the south of the Valais Alps; the latter lay in Savoy, in the early nineteenth century part of the Kingdom of Sardinia.

In seeking to place this study within the wider field of work already published, three aspects need to be explored: the period from 1814 to 1860 examined in the present thesis, Switzerland as the place selected, and the particular methodology adopted, in which registers and travelogues were subjected to analysis. As far as British travel on the Continent is concerned, the period which has been most extensively studied is that of the eighteenth century Grand Tour, the period preceding that selected for this thesis. The literature here seeks quite rightly to define the geographical area it wishes to cover. Mead[2] limits his view to France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries. Trease[3] and Hibbert[4] do the same, though Hibbert adds Austria. Black finds setting himself geographical confines problematic. He therefore decides to 'enlarge the scope of the work to include all British tourism in Europe.'[5] Towner observes that the Grand Tour circuit centred principally on France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and the Low Countries, though, on the same page where he outlines the 'distinct tour itinerary', he omits Switzerland and the Alps completely.[6] In the work edited by Lambert[7], a chapter is devoted to each stage of the Grand Tour, and here one chapter of twenty pages is devoted to Switzerland and the Alps. Obviously, the wider the geographical area covered, the less scope there is for any survey of travellers to Switzerland in particular. Thus Black (1992) devotes roughly three pages to it, Hibbert about eleven, and Mead fourteen. In those works in which chapters centre around themes or individual travellers, this page count may underestimate the cover given to Swiss travel. However, it does provide evidence that there is no sustained examination of Switzerland as a destination of eighteenth century travellers.

If geographical overlap is minimal, we need also to question to what extent the periods of time overlap. Here a problem is encountered because of a widespread failure to focus on the purpose and function of the Grand Tour with a view to reaching a working definition of the term. Mead and Black in particular centre their interest on the experience of travelling rather that the motivation of travellers. They include chapters on such practical topics as cost, carriages, transport, health, and dangers, helpfully

[2] Mead, *The Grand Tour*.
[3] Trease, *The Grand Tour.*
[4] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour.*
[5] Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 1985.
[6] Towner, The Grand Tour; in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol.12, p.301.
[7] Lambert, *Grand Tour.*

reminding their readers of how the minutiae of travelling routine affected the nature of the traveller's experience. However, even without a definition, these writers restrict themselves to the eighteenth century in the titles to their work. Trease centres his work around the tours of particular individuals over a period from the second half of the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, but does so in descriptive rather than analytical mode. Hibbert draws on contemporary accounts to trace the 'typical' journey of the tourist to Naples and back, but does not indicate how he has established what is typical. When definitions are explored, the results are all too often simplistic. Lambert suggests that time was the key ingredient: 'it was speed that killed the Grand Tour; as it was slowness, that is time for leisurely travel, that made it what it once was.' [8] . Trease seems to equate the Grand Tour with the notion of the 'once and for all' visit. He also adds that 'you could hardly consider yourself a Grand Tourist unless you somehow reached Italy.'[9] This view cannot be reflected by Black (1992) who devotes a single page to Rome, less that he allocates to Hanover! Towner suggests that the Grand Tour could be defined either 'by the social class of the tourist or where the tourist went.' [10] He chooses the latter.

The failure to provide a satisfactory definition of 'Grand Tour' makes it harder to perceive how it developed, let alone comprehend the reasons for any development. For instance, Michael Levey writes that in the eighteenth century 'Florence was far from being an obligatory stop on the typical tour' [11] and J.R. Hale, in his introduction to the *Italian Journal of Samuel Rogers* points out that 'Venice had been declining in popularity throughout the preceding century [i.e. the eighteenth], and though it was still visited as a marvellous curiosity, few English stayed there for more than a few days.' [12] The failure adequately to examine the underlying reasons for changes in the patterns of travel conveys a static rather than evolving relationship between traveller and destination.

The present thesis seeks to show that Switzerland became an important destination for many British on their Continental tour. For a country with scant Classical remains, no capital like Rome where the *beau monde* could indulge in cosmopolitan

[8] Ibid., p.12.
[9] Trease, *The Grand Tour*, p.2.
[10] Black, *The British abroad*, p.300.
[11] Levey, *Florence*, p.2.
[12] Hale, *Italian Journal*, p.82.

conversations or arrange social encounters with the local aristocracy, no Venice or Florence bursting with works of art, to be included in the itinerary required a fundamental readjustment of what was considered worthwhile. Towner in effect recognises this change by writing of a 'Classical Grand Tour' and a 'Romantic Grand Tour'.[13] Hibbert suggests that the change was well under way by the end of the eighteenth century when he quotes James St John writing of Chantilly in 1788: 'I would rather spend my life even in an old Gothic castle in a romantic situation, with rocks and woods and cataracts round me than in all the formal grandeur and stupid regularity of Versailles'. Hibbert points out that 'these were sentiments quite out of tune with the spirit of the Grand Tour' and concludes that 'as an aristocratic institution the Grand Tour was already dying when the map of Europe was redrawn at Vienna in 1815.'[14]

From the considerable literature on the Grand Tour, there emerges neither a generally accepted definition of what it was nor an agreed point in time when it ceased to be undertaken. Nevertheless the works considered isolate a number of factors which, in combination, do help to characterise it and those undertaking it. Similarly, it would be surprising if the Grand Tour came to a sudden end to be replaced immediately by a different type of tour. It would seem more likely that the interests and priorities of travellers changed gradually over time and that the tour itself underwent adjustments in line with these. These are points which can usefully be returned to when evaluating the place of Switzerland in the Continental tour undertaken in the early nineteenth century.

While writings on the Grand Tour have been concerned with the British on the Continent, they treat Switzerland briefly, they largely cover an earlier period, and they devote themselves more to the daily experience of travel rather than to the reasons for it. In contrast, most writing in English on Switzerland seeks to expose features of Swiss life, history, geography and customs to English readers and is not concerned about the British experiences in Switzerland.[15] There are, however, some exceptions. Gavin de Beer, probably the most prolific writer in English on Switzerland between the 1930s and 1960s, showed a clear interest in Switzerland as a tourist destination.

[13] Towner, The Grand Tour; in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol.12, p.313.
[14] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, p.246.
[15] e.g. Hughes, *Switzerland*, and Steinberg, *Why Switzerland*.

For instance, the subtitle of his *Alps and Men* is *Pages from forgotten diaries of Travellers and Tourists in Switzerland.*[16] However, he did not here seek to generalise about travellers to Switzerland but to entertain his readers by making the experiences of the individual visitors come alive by placing their accounts in context and quoting from them *in extenso*; he selected an international group of travellers, by no means solely British ones. The same writer's *Speaking of Switzerland*[17] consists of a series of essays on particular aspects of the country. Some of these concern British travellers, but again individual ones rather than travellers generally. Finally his *Travellers in Switzerland*[18] devoted to travellers of all nations to Switzerland contains an extensive bibliography, quotations from the works listed, and details of the itineraries followed. It is essentially a book of reference, albeit a most useful one, rather than one of exposition.

The other prolific writer on Switzerland in the twentieth century was Arnold Lunn. His largest output was concerned with the history of skiing, a history to which he himself actively contributed. He also wrote essays on Swiss themes. Where these did not relate to skiing, they were mainly concerned with the history of mountaineering, and here he was but one of many contributors to the field. Mountaineering was beginning to be taken up seriously as a hobby by a very small proportion of British travellers to Switzerland by the 1850s. The growth of interest in the activity, marked institutionally by the creation of the Alpine Club in 1857, occurred, therefore, at the very end of the period under consideration. It did not, of course, develop from nowhere. Writers on the topic suggest it emerged naturally from earlier ascents of Alpine peaks, and, in particular, from that of Mont Blanc. This explanation of why mountaineering underwent such a rapid expansion in the 1850s seems too narrow. A study of travel in Switzerland in the decades which led up to the expansion of mountaineering in the 1850s may indicate other relevant factors.

While the first half of the nineteenth century has been relatively neglected by the writers so far considered, the same, perhaps more surprisingly, is true of two writers whose focus is on the development of tourism in the Alps. The first is Bernard's *Rush*

[16] Published London, 1932.
[17] Published London, 1952.
[18] Published London, 1949.

to the Alps (1978) which Tissot considers as 'la seule synthèse ... à ce jour'.[19] Such a description implies an overview and a comprehensive framework which the work sadly does not provide. Essentially it consists of a number of chapters comprising separate essays/monographs, some of which cover a wide timespan, e.g. that on the changing perceptions of mountains which begins with references to Neolithic times, and that on the history of vacations recording early Babylonian influence, while others restrict themselves to a much more limited period, those examining aspects of the growth of St Moritz as a resort. The range of the chapters overall, as well as the wide timespan examined, in some inevitably leads to superficiality, and even misinformation where the author seeks to provide background for the study of particular phenomena over a much shorter period. For instance, the chapter devoted to the development of mountaineering,[20] which is essentially derivative, i.e. based on secondary sources, fails to place mountaineering within the wider contemporary context of travel. As a result, Bernard is led, wrongly, to the notion that mountaineers may have laid 'the foundation of the Swiss Alps as a vacation area'.[21] His chapters on the 'Swiss Vacation'[22] do provide a useful overview, but are based largely on Swiss German sources. As a result, they are not sufficiently detailed to distinguish between national habits in vacationing; at the very least, any assumption that the Germans, the English and the native Swiss went to the same vacation destinations for the same reasons must be demonstrated, not assumed. For instance, although there were a number of well-known spas in Switzerland in the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that these were widely frequented by the British. Bernard's work concludes with much more focused chapters on the development of St Moritz as a holiday resort. These provide a useful case-study, though because of the resort chosen, one which describes developments largely outside our period. Here there is some reference to different nationalities at the resort. Overall, however, these chapters might be criticised for the converse weakness to the earlier chapters: the developments described are not placed in the wider context of the evolution of Alpine vacation during the nineteenth century.

A more recent book with fewer, tighter themes is Tissot's *Naissance d'une industrie*

[19] Tissot, *Naissance d'une industrie touristique*, p.227.
[20] Bernard, P., *Rush to the Alps*, ch. 2, pp.28-43.
[21] Ibid., p.43
[22] Ibid., chapters 5 & 6, pp.87-127.

touristique, which has the subtitle *Les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle.*[23] The writer concentrates on three factors in the industrialisation of Switzerland as a tourist destination: the development of guidebooks in English, the development of railways, and the initiation of group travel, especially by Thomas Cook. All three of these topics focus his attention on the later part of the period. The development of guidebooks in English burgeoned from 1838 with the first publication of Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland.* This, along with its subsequent editions and with the emergence of Baedeker's guides to Switzerland[24] undoubtedly played a part in influencing how people travelled and where they stayed. However, perhaps Tissot rather neglects the fact that travelogues could act as substitutes for guides - this was certainly true of the works of William Coxe. In 1779 he published his *Sketches of the natural, civil, and political state of Swisserland* with a second edition appearing the following year. He sought to make his coverage more geographically comprehensive, in particular by visiting the Grisons, in his enlarged *Travels in Switzerland* which appeared in 1789 and which subsequently ran to four editions. It was also true that many British visitors in the first half of the century availed themselves of guides in French, particularly Ebel's *Manuel du voyageur en Suisse.* Because group travel was dependent on the creation of a railway network, its evolution inevitably occurred later in the century - Thomas Cook's first excursion to Switzerland took place in 1863.

Bernard and Tissot are not alone in examining Thomas Cook and his pioneer work in developing group travel in the nineteenth century, with one or two writers, such as Pudney and Brendon,[25] devoting works exclusively to him A much broader view of British travel on the Continent in the nineteenth century is to be found in John Pemble's *The Mediterranean Passion. Victorians and Edwardians in the South.*[26] The writer seeks to establish not only the patterns of travelling, but also the thoughts, feelings and moods evoked in travellers by the lands around the Mediterranean. However, as his title suggests, he has no reason to examine travel in the early decades of the century, and certainly inasmuch as he considers Switzerland at all, it is mainly in relation to the quest for a cure for tuberculosis, a development which largely

[23] Published Lausanne, 2000. Tissot covered the same ground in an earlier article entitled 'How did the British conquer Switzerland?', in the *Journal of Transport History*, Vol.16, March 1995, pp.21-54.

[24] The first edition in English only appeared in 1863.

[25] Pudney, *The Thomas Cook story*, and Brendon, *Thomas Cook.*

[26] Published Oxford, 1987.

falls outside the period under consideration in this thesis.

For those investigating eighteenth and nineteenth century travellers, two primary sources immediately present themselves: travelogues and guidebooks. The former can helpfully be supplemented by autobiographies and biographies along with published collections of travellers' correspondence. It is on these two sources that the writers so far discussed have essentially relied, though the forms of their presentation have varied. Some, like Trease, de Beer (1932), and Coulson,[27] have adopted an essentially biographical approach in which the travel experiences of individuals are presented; others, like Mead, Black Hibbert and Pemble, have selected topics such as transport, accommodation, attitudes to religion and politics, and worked through their source material to build up a picture of the particular aspects chosen. The second approach, in particular, does succeed in presenting an overview of both the practicalities of travel in a bygone age as well as some of the motivations of travellers. However, both approaches must be viewed with some circumspection if one considers the size of the sample in relation to the whole travelling population.

In the first part of this thesis, it is the intention to show that some questions relating to early nineteenth century travellers can be answered more satisfactorily by using registers as source material than by a close reading of guidebooks and travelogues. The former allow a macro-analysis which it is hoped will make it easier to place individual accounts in context. In the second part of the thesis, the contemporary accounts will be examined both in relation to the analysis of registers and in an attempt to supplement them. It may be helpful here just to indicate the difference in scale of the data on which the two approaches are based. In his *Travellers in Switzerland*, De Beer lists publications which describe, in whole or in part, visits made to the country by British travellers during the period 1814-60. If these publications are broken down according to year (see Table A1, p.154), the annual number over the period amounts to about ten. Even allowing for the fact that de Beer's list is not complete[28] and that a limited amount of manuscript material is also available to researchers, it seems unlikely that it would be possible to find more than low two figure totals for accessible travel

[27] Coulson, *Southwards to Geneva*.

[28] There are some surprising omissions, in particular William Beattie and William Bartlett, writer and painter respectively of the most popular of the plate books on Switzerland. De Beer fully recognised that his bibliography was not complete, see p.xiv.

accounts for any particular year.[29] These figures can be set against the three and four figure totals of British travellers who are shown by contemporary registers to have visited Switzerland annually.

In making any attempt to understand the motivations and habits of the 'ordinary tourist', Black (1992) urges caution before placing too much emphasis on 'readily accessible published material by prominent figures' [30] and Towner suggests the need to counterbalance the 'bias to literary travellers.'[31] Analysis of travel writing about a particular region in a given period needs to be undertaken with circumspection for other reasons also. In particular, the more unusual the traveller, the destination, the motivation, or the mode of travel, the greater the inducement to the traveller to go into print. Thus the blind James Holman recounted his tour of the Continent from his own perspective;[32] John McGregor described his adventures in crossing Europe in a canoe;[33] James Johnson promoted the links between travel, change of air and better health;[34] James Forbes described his journeys in the Alps in relation to his quest for an acceptable theory of glacial movement;[35] and so unusual an accomplishment was the ascent of Mont Blanc considered that almost all those who successfully completed it, recorded their adventures in print.[36] Whereas the more unusual the tour, the more likely an account of it was to be published, the converse was undoubtedly also true: the more a tour was perceived as being 'typical', the lower the incentive to write it up for publication or for publishers to accept it.

While recognising the need for caution in generalising from published accounts, in the second part of the thesis contemporary travel accounts are used as a basis for drawing conclusions about the tour of Switzerland. An examination of the writers of these accounts will be presented in order to show that those selected represent a fair

[29] John Ingamells in *A Dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy* recorded an average of just over 60 visitors to Italy per year over the period 1701-1800. However, many of these were casually mentioned in letters or diaries, i.e. there would certainly not be enough information on most of them to draw any conclusions about the nature or length of their tour.
[30] Black, *The British abroad*, p.xii.
[31] Towner, The Grand Tour; in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol.12, p.303.
[32] Holman, *Narrative of a journey.*
[33] Macgregor, *A thousand miles in the Rob Roy canoe.*
[34] Johnson, *Change of Air.*
[35] Forbes, James D. , *Travels through the Alps of Savoy.*
[36] A very full list of accounts published in English up to 1853 can be found in Brown, T. Graham & De Beer, *The first ascent of Mont Blanc*, pp.443-452.

cross-section of all travellers even if they all have in common their having recorded their experiences in writing. The inclusion of manuscript accounts and of accounts edited and published by others long after the tour should help to make the sample more representative overall. The starting point will be the tracing of the routes followed by the travellers selected. By plotting the routes of at least fifteen travellers for each decade, it can be anticipated that some routes will prove much more popular than others. The plotting will be done on a map of Europe to show how the Swiss component fitted into a more general tour of the Continent, and on a map of Switzerland to indicate the route followed and the places visited. A similar approach has been used by Towner in his analysis of Grand Tour routes but over a much larger time-scale: 108 tours made between 1547 and 1840.[37] It is intended that the present analysis will complement the macro-analysis arising from the study of the registers and at the same time provide supplementary insights of its own about the nature and length of the Swiss tour.

If travel accounts informed some readers about the nature of travel in Switzerland and stimulated them to undertake the journey while enabling others to remember their own experiences on past journeys, pictures of Swiss life and landscape could play the same role in a more immediate way. The section on travelogues will be extended to consider the range of images of Switzerland published in Britain or brought back from the tour and seek to show how they too can be taken as a measure of the popularity of the country in the British Continental tour.

The two central sections on registers and on travelogues are designed to answer the following questions:

1. Is there evidence that Switzerland was perceived by British travellers as an attractive destination in its own right during the period between 1814 and 1860? Is it possible to quantify its popularity?

2. What were the characteristics of the travellers in terms of social status, age and gender?

[37] Towner, The Grand Tour; in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol.12, p.303.

3. What was the nature of the tour of Switzerland in terms of route followed, of the length of time spent in the country, and of the sights seen and places visited, and how did this tour relate to the tour of the Continent as a whole?

4. Does the nature of the tour, in terms of content or length, evolve over the period, and, if so, how?

5. Do the images of Switzerland produced at the time help to elucidate the nature of the travellers' interests?

6. What conclusions can we draw about the motivations of travellers from examining the objective data elicited from the study of where they went and what they did?

In seeking to answer these questions, some attention will be given to certain aspects of travel which undoubtedly affected the decisions travellers made about their routes and rates of travel. These will include, in particular, consideration of the infrastructure of travel, e.g. factors relating to means of communication, transport, and accommodation which may have facilitated or encouraged travellers to follow one route rather than another, or to stay in one place longer than in another. To whatever extent these factors may provide compelling reasons to draw travellers along particular routes, or to particular places, in any numbers, it is unlikely that they are sufficient. It is equally important to take into account the motivations and the mind-set of the individual travellers. To explain the travelling behaviour of individuals is inevitably complex and must be approached tentatively. Nevertheless, in order to understand the nature of the Swiss experience in the post-Napoleonic and post-Grand Tour era, it is worth attempting. It is hoped that the merit of this thesis will be that interpretation is based, as far as possible, on evidence of an objective nature. In particular, the use of registers allows a large sample of travellers to be examined, thereby providing a framework of information which can be used to evaluate the travelogue writers individually and as a group. Furthermore, by collating the routes followed by a considerable number of travelogue writers, it is possible, when considering questions of their motivation, to take as a starting-point what they actually did on their journeys rather than their own justifications for them.

B. BRITISH PASSPORT REGISTERS.

Introduction.

In this and the next section, three categories of register are examined, firstly, British passport registers, secondly, the passport registers at Geneva, and thirdly, the registers of the inn on the Rigi Kulm and of the hospice on the Great St Bernard. Registers in all three categories record the names of individual British travellers and all three contribute information about their Continental travel. However, because their function was different, the nature and reliability of the information varies considerably from register to register. In that they run continuously through the period from 1814 to 1860 without breaks, the British passport records are the most complete and reliable. They enable us to make some generalisations about British travellers which are interesting in their own right. They also allow some rough estimation of the overall number of British travellers on the Continent, though with greater accuracy at the end of our period than at the beginning. Examined in isolation, they unfortunately tell us little about the popularity of Switzerland as a destination, but are helpful when viewed in combination with the other registers. The Geneva registers provide much information about the British entering Switzerland at Geneva, possibly the most favoured point of entry. Both categories of passport register were kept officially by clerks who were undoubtedly under pressure to be legible, accurate and thorough. In contrast, entries in the Rigi and St Bernard registers were made by the travellers themselves and were, therefore, not subject to any rigorous standardisation. Thus, at their best, they can provide supplementary and entertaining information, at their worst can mislead. The positive and negative aspects of the three categories will be considered in more detail as each is analysed. The information which may be derived from each category separately, can be considerably enhanced by cross-referencing between categories. This both enables a more accurate picture to be drawn of travellers in general and, in some cases, allows identification of the same individual in more than one register. Recurring names help to build up information about both the travellers concerned and the nature of their journeys.

The context.

During the nineteenth century, passports were not required by those travelling within the British Empire or indeed overseas. However, at least until the final twenty years or so of the century, they were essential for anyone wishing to travel on the Continent of Europe. Prospective visitors, having obtained their passports, were required to obtain the necessary supplementary visas. Both passports and visas usually involved payment of a fee, or, at least, an unofficial tip to the local administrators. The more countries a traveller intended to visit, the greater the time and expense of satisfying the bureaucratic demands. A visitor to Paris like Edward Clarke in 1858 needed only a single visa on his passport. William Burrell travelling to Switzerland and North Italy in 1818 and returning along the Rhine and through Belgium required twenty two and Miss Mary Coxe on a long Continental visit in the 1840s and heading as far south as Naples had to negotiate the frontiers of the Italian petty states and collected well over one hundred and twenty.[38] The necessary documentation could usually be obtained from the embassies and consulates in large cities, but not necessarily at frontiers. Here travellers whose documentation was not in order could be turned back. For instance the unfortunate William Rose, heading for Milan in 1817 was refused entry by the Austrian frontier official because his passport had not been 'visto' by an Austrian minister; he had to deviate to Genoa to rectify the deficiency. No pleading or remonstrance succeeded in softening the stance of the official.[39] Even travellers who believed that their papers were in order were not guaranteed a trouble-free journey: local officials either through ignorance or in the hope of obtaining a gratuity discovered irregularities real or imaginary. Kenelm Digby returning home from Geneva in September 1816 was forced at Chatillon to exchange the passport he had obtained from the Dutch ambassador in London and which had been 'signed at so many places and in so many languages' that he was understandably unwilling to part with it, but recognised that ' there was no use in disputing with these fellows'.[40] Thomas Hayes in 1833 had to surrender his passport on entering Prussia in view of a new regulation which only recognised passports signed by the Prussian ambassador in London; he was therefore obliged to pay for a Prussian passport. Hayes concluded that 'the only passport wh. will take one over the Continent free of trouble

[38] See list of original passports in bibliography.
[39] Rose, *Letters from the North of Italy*, I, pp.15-18.
[40] Digby, *Manuscript Journal*, p.109.

is one from the Secretary of State in England wh. costs 2 guineas.'[41]

The two incidents above point to the fact that in the first half of the nineteenth century, a passport was not necessarily an indication of nationality. British travellers were able to apply to the legations or consulates of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and other European states for a passport rather than to the British Foreign Office. One suspects that it was largely the high cost of the British passport which induced travellers to opt for those of other countries. Certainly Brockedon recommended the French passport because it cost nothing.[42] Occasionally, particular benefits might have been linked to a particular passport. Roby about to embark for the Continent in 1838 spent considerable effort in deciding which passport would enable him to travel with the least official hassle through Belgium and up the Rhine; he finally opted for a Prussian passport.[43] It is to be assumed that, whichever authority issued a passport, a careful record was kept of the application details. Unfortunately, it is not clear how many records are still in existence from this period apart from those kept by the British Foreign Office which are now located in the Public Record Office. These throw interesting light on the status and destination of British travellers on the Continent, even if they provide little 'Switzerland-specific' information.

Over the period when British travellers could obtain passports from the embassies of other nations, the British passport registers cannot readily be used as a means of assessing the overall number of British travellers on the Continent. The situation changed dramatically in the 1850s. In the first half of the decade, the cost was lowered, making the acquisition of a British passport more attractive, and, in the second half, it was made compulsory for British subjects to obtain a British passport. Thus, from the mid-1850s, the registers provide a much more accurate idea of the numbers of British travellers. However, the amount of supplementary information about them is more limited.

<u>The British Passport Registers themselves.</u>

An important strength of these registers is that they exist in a complete run. All those applying to the Foreign Office in London for a British passport throughout the period

[41] Hayes, *Manuscript Journal*, p.26.
[42] Brockedon, *Road Book*, p.3.
[43] Roby, *Seven weeks*, I, pp.17-27.

were listed; on a few occasions only, a very small number of blank passports were handed over to a senior official or minister of state. As well as naming passport applicants, the registers provided information about their proposed destination and whether they were eligible to receive a passport gratis. In the latter case, the justification for waiving the fee sometimes gives an indication of the purpose of the journey proposed. For the current study, an indication of the numbers obtaining British passports for each year between 1814 and 1860 is given. Also, a much closer analysis is made of the registers covering eight individual years spaced, with one exception, at five year intervals: 1816, 1820, 1825, 1830, 1835, 1840, 1845 and 1850; the year 1816 was chosen in preference to 1815 as it seemed probable that renewal of the Napoleonic conflict in that year would have directly restricted the flow of travellers crossing the Channel.

The registers indicated the date of application, the number of passports issued, the name of the applicant, the proposed destination, the person recommending the applicant, and any fee payable. A note was often appended to justify the granting of a free passport. There is every indication that care was taken in filling in the registers, though occasionally errors were made in the numbering system; when noticed, these were corrected by the clerk responsible.

The number of British travellers.

An examination of passport allocations made by the Foreign Office in London (see Table B1, p.155) over the period indicates that until the 1850s, the annual number issued varied from under 500 to just over 1000, a strikingly small number in comparison with the total number suggested for British travellers on the Continent. [44] During the 1850s, the number of passports issued rose dramatically. The rise can be attributed in the first place to the reduction in the passport fee made in 1851 from two pounds, seven shillings and sixpence to seven shillings and sixpence. This was soon further reduced to six shillings and, in 1858, to two shillings. During this latter year, in part as a result of the Orsini plot,[45] British subjects were no longer able to apply to a foreign legation or consulate and were obliged to obtain a Foreign Office passport. If the number of allocations made in 1849 and 1850 (the last two years of the expensive passports) are compared with those of 1858 and 1859 (when the cheap

[44] See Gerbod, Voyageurs et résidents, *Acta Geographica,* p.35.

[45] Orsini had entered France as a British subject on a passport issued by the French Embassy.

and compulsory passport began to operate), a seventeen fold increase is to be noted. Although such a calculation may allow some estimate of the proportion of British passport holders to British travellers in the earlier decades, it must be considered with some circumspection for two reasons: firstly, cheaper passports probably encouraged some who would previously have travelled on a group passport to travel on an individual one, and secondly, the 1850s was a period of rapid expansion in numbers, largely as a result of the cheaper travel offered by rail transport. A different, and possibly more accurate, way of estimating this proportion will be considered later.

Travellers in selected years - fee paying and gratis.

Passport holders can be divided easily into two groups: those who had to pay for their passport and those who received one free. Most of those receiving a free passport were travelling on official business, for example the King's Messengers, members of the consular and diplomatic corps and their families, military and naval personnel when on service. Very occasionally free passports were issued for non-professional purposes to those who would have been professionally entitled to one, e.g. to a Foreign Office minister or civil servant wishing to take his family on a Continental tour. However, with very few exceptions, those travelling on free passports were travelling on official business by the quickest route to a particular destination. Similarly, amongst the fee- payers, there were undoubtedly a small number who were travelling on business rather than for pleasure.

Through most of the selected years, the numbers travelling on free passports (see Table B2, p.156) remained steady, between 220 and 300; only in 1840 did the figure increase considerably before falling back in 1845. In 1855 the very substantial increase can be attributed to military personnel travelling to the Crimea via the Continent. The stability in numbers conforms with the regular pattern of international diplomacy which one would expect in Europe during a period of peace.

Most travellers to Switzerland were fee-paying, and it is, therefore, on this group that we need principally to focus when considering the British registers. Here, (see again, Table B2, p.156) one can point to an overall rise in numbers during the first half of the century, but also to considerable variation between years. Alongside inevitable

statistical variations, these may reasonably be attributed firstly to possible incentives or disincentives for travelling in a particular year (for example, news of political unrest) and secondly to any particular advantages which travellers might have perceived in acquiring a British passport as opposed to a foreign one.

Seasonal variation.

If the numbers travelling in each calendar month in each of the selected years are added together (see Table B3, p.157), monthly totals are obtained which clearly reveal seasonal variations. As would be expected, for those travelling on a free passport, there was only limited variation: diplomatic links had to be maintained throughout the year, not just in the summer. However for the fee-payers, the group with which this thesis in principally concerned, there was a noticeable season which peaked in August and fell right back in the winter months of December, January and February. Over 75 per cent of the passports allocated to this group were issued during the six months of April to September. For the gratis passport group, the figure for the same six months was just over 60 per cent.

Numbers of passports, numbers of travellers.

So far we have considered the number of passport allocations. However, as passports could contain the names of more than one traveller, it seemed important to estimate the relationship between passports and the numbers of travellers. Passports themselves were usually quite explicit about the number of individuals included, but not always about names. The passport of Miss Coxe, for instance, includes her travelling companion Mlle Sonnette who is named, and also her 'suite', namely a courier and a 'femme de chambre', who are not named. Major George Parke's passport issued in Malta in the same year, 1844, names also his son, his three daughters and their governess. The passport registers are less explicit. The 'leading' adults are usually named, but their retinues are often designated simply as 'family' or 'suite' with no indication of names or numbers. For the purposes of estimating numbers, a 'family' is taken to consist of a wife and two children (one female and one male), and a 'suite" of two servants (one female and one male). As single offspring and single servants were usually designated, e.g. as 'and son' or 'and servant', this form of estimation may be considered the minimum as far as numbers are concerned, though in view of the cost of travel, it seems unlikely that many

individuals or families would have taken more than two or three servants. The number of travellers per passport was noted for each of the selected years up to and including 1850 (see Table B4, p.158). The figures indicated that the proportion of travellers to passports varied little over this period: on average, in the fee-paying group, there were roughly two individuals per passport; in the free passport group, slightly fewer. The difference in groups was as expected: most official business was carried out by single males, though of course resident diplomats, ambassadors and consuls, were usually accompanied or followed to their postings by their families. In contrast, for the fee-paying group, there was some cost incentive to maximise the numbers travelling on one passport rather than acquiring separate passports for each individual. It is supposed that the proportion would have dropped in the late 1850s when cheaper passports diminished the cost incentive.

Numbers of male and female travellers.

The registers enable an estimate to be made of the number of male and female travellers. Although most passports in the period were issued to males, these were often accompanied by their wives or by larger family groups. In most cases, the gender of individuals entered on a passport was self-evident. In those cases where it was not, especially in the instances mentioned above, the following approach to estimating numbers was adopted. 'Family' was taken to include a wife, one son and one daughter, 'suite' was taken to include one male and one female servant; a single servant is taken to be male if accompanying a single man and female if accompanying a woman or a family. Operating with these guidelines, the number of men and of women travelling in each of the selected years was calculated (see Table B5, p.159). It emerged, as would be expected, that a lower proportion of women travelled in the free passport group than in the fee-paying one. However, considering the apparent male domination of early nineteenth century society, the percentage of women travelling must be considered high, about 30 per cent of the fee-paying group at the start of the period and around 40 per cent by the end. To put it more precisely, if we average out the first four of the selected years (1816-1830) 30.1 per cent of the fee-paying group were female; by the second quarter of the century (1835-1850), the percentage had risen to 38.1 per cent.

Passport allocations to individuals and groups.

In the eighteenth century, travel groups seem mainly to have consisted either of young men travelling with their tutors or of quite large clusters of aristocrats with their servants moving from one city to another and often staying in private residences or renting spacious accommodation. Changed circumstances inevitably made these groupings less sustainable in the nineteenth century. There were more travellers with less wealth and fewer social connections, travellers who were also less city oriented than their predecessors. They were less likely to wish to spend as long on the Continent as their eighteenth century predecessors or to spend as much money on tutors, servants or accommodation. We would expect, therefore, smaller groups for social and financial reasons. Such groupings were, of course, also much more suited to travelling off the major roads and away from big towns, i.e. where accommodation was limited in quantity and very mixed in quality.

For two reasons, it was decided to examine the make-up of travel groups within the fee-paying cohort only. Firstly, few of those receiving a free passport would have passed through Switzerland and secondly the focus of this study is on those travelling 'for pleasure' rather than 'on business'. In view of the high cost of a British passport, one would expect travellers to have grouped themselves on a single passport if that were feasible, i.e. where they were planning to remain together for the whole tour. One suspects that those obtaining the much cheaper passports issued by the foreign embassies and consulates in London would have been more likely to obtain individual passports. Even with British passports, we must regard the allocations as indicating minimum group size and assume, especially in the case of single gentlemen, that some linked up with friends for their Continental tour, i.e. a certain number of those on single passports will have made arrangements to travel with others.

Allowing for the above reservation, an examination of passport allocations gives some insight into the formation of travelling groups. Initially groups were categorised according to the number and gender of individuals entered on each passport (see Table B6, p.160). Over the five selected years as a whole, it was striking that the largest category by far was that of single males to whom nearly half the passports were allocated. The other sizable categories were husbands and wives (13.6%),

men travelling with their families (11.9%), two men travelling together ((8%), and mixed groups of three ((6.1%). It was anticipated that some categories would remain small. For instance, having established a category for man and wife, a mixed group of two could, in most cases, only have consisted of mother and son or father and daughter. Similarly, the constraints of public conveyances and hotel accommodation would have made travel in groups of five or more difficult in the early decades of the century.

Some notion of change can be deduced by considering the five highest categories for each of the selected years (see Table B7, p.161) Here the five categories (single male, two males, husband and wife, man and family, and mixed group of three) remained the same throughout, but there were changes discernible in proportion and in position. While the 'single male' category topped the list in each year, the percentage of passport allocations dropped from over fifty per cent in the first four selected years (up to and including 1830) to under fifty in the last four. Passports allocated to two males also dropped over the period from over ten per cent to just over five per cent. In contrast the percentage of passports issued to husbands and wives increased over the period from a mere six per cent in 1816 to over fifteen per cent by 1845.

It is possible to focus more sharply on the gender make-up of groups by conflating categories into 'male groups' (including single males), 'female groups' (including singe females) and 'mixed groups' (including husbands and wives) (see Table B8, p.162). Although the number of passports allocated to women, singly or in groups, remains low, below ten per cent, there is a gradual increase over the period. Similarly, there is a small but steady increase in the percentage of passports allocated to mixed groups. Both these are necessarily paralleled by a small decrease in the percentage allocated to males.

British passport holders - destinations.

When applying for a passport, applicants had to state their destination, this being then entered on the passport. The intended destination was also copied into the passport register. As we would expect, those travelling on a free passport, usually on an official state mission of some sort, were normally able to indicate a tightly

defined destination, in most cases the name of a particular town. Those embarking on a European tour and travelling on a purchased passport were vaguer about their destination. It is suspected from the entries in the register that this group either provided the name of a country, possibly that furthest from home, or a list of countries, or used the overall term 'The Continent'. Whatever information they worked on, it appears that the clerks who kept the register probably had some policy about recording the entries, but were not consistent in this over the period. In 1816 and 1820 the term 'The Continent' was extensively used; it must have had the benefit of saving time over the more laborious task of listing each country. In 1825 and 1830, however, a list of countries became more common. Still later there was a reversion to the use of 'The Continent' which persisted until the end of the period under review. One may furthermore deduce that in the later period at least, the 'Continent' came to mean those countries to the south of the Channel ports which were the most common destination of British travellers: the Netherlands, the German states, France, Switzerland, Austria and Italy. Those countries lying to the west or east of this block were specified in addition, e.g. 'The Continent and Spain', 'the Continent and Russia'. Although travellers heading for the Empire or South America did not require a passport on arrival at their destination, they did if they were to reach it by passing through Europe or if sailing from a European port. Thus the registers also contain terms such as 'the Continent and India', 'the Continent and Algeria'. In all these cases where the entry suggests that the Continent was merely providing the transit route, the passport entry has been listed under the destination country. Similarly with the combination 'France and Spain', it has been assumed that the destination was Spain with the traveller passing through France to reach it. In other instances, where two or more countries have been named, e.g. France and Italy, they have been categorised under the heading 'The Continent'.

An analysis of the stated destinations of the fee-paying passport holders during each of the eight selected years (Table B9, p.163) indicated that it was unusual for this group to name a particular town or country as their destination: in the vast majority of cases they inserted 'the Continent' as their destination or listed two or more countries. The percentage so doing was higher than 90 per cent during the first and last year considered. When it dropped below this high figure, one suspects that the cause lay in the way destinations were recorded rather than in any change in the

destinations themselves. Both 'Spain and Portugal' and 'Russia' were cited as destinations by an increasing, but relatively small number of travellers. Unfortunately, because of the vagueness of the term 'The Continent' as a destination, the registers proved unhelpful in determining how many of the travellers intended visiting Switzerland - in only seven cases was it explicitly mentioned. It can, of course be assumed that all those whose stated destination was the Continent, may have become visitors. Switzerland could also have been on the itinerary of those heading for Germany, Austria, and Italy. It seems less likely that those who indicated France, Belgium or the Netherlands as their intended destination would have continued to the Alps. Many, one suspects, would have not proceeded further than Paris, Brussels or Amsterdam.

We may assume that, generally, those with a free passport were travelling on official business. It has already been noted that the majority of this group gave a particular town or country as their destination. However, for a proportion of this group, the less specific destination of 'The Continent' was recorded in the register. The size of this sub-group travelling during the selected years as a percentage of all free passport holders ranges between thirteen per cent and thirty five per cent, with the higher proportions falling in the second half of the period (Table B10, p.164). While some of those heading for 'The Continent' may have had official business in several countries, it seems likely that others took advantage of their position to obtain a free passport in order to enable themselves, or members of their family, to engage on a European tour. We may assume that, as with the fee-payers, members of this sub-group were potentially at least visitors to Switzerland.

British Passport Registers - Conclusions.

Until the late 1850s only a small proportion of British travellers held a British passport. Thus up to this point the registers in themselves can provide little information about the numbers of British travellers, either to the Continent in general or to Switzerland in particular. Nevertheless, even if viewed in isolation, they do provide a wealth of information about Continental travel over this period. British travellers holding Foreign Office passports fell into two groups: those travelling on free passports and those who had to pay. It is probable that all those travellers entitled to a free passport obtained one, so that the size of this group is fully enumerated. It is clear in contrast that because of the high cost of a British passport until the 1850s, those who had to pay a fee in order to obtain one only represent a small proportion of the total number of travellers. The fact that the reduction of the passport fee in 1851 resulted in more than a sixfold increase in the number of allocations suggests that we can multiply allocations from all previous years by at least six. Even after 1851, figures still did not represent the full total, because it was not obligatory for British subjects to obtain a British passport for travel on the Continent until 1858.

In general, we may assume that those who paid a fee for their passports were essentially travelling for pleasure while those who received free passports were travelling on business. However, there would have been exceptions. Some may have used their privilege of obtaining a free passport to take themselves, with or without their families, on a Continental tour, while some of those who paid a fee would have been engaged on some professional or commercial business. Similarly, it may be safe to assume that the majority of those who designated 'The Continent' as the destination of their visit were planning a pleasure tour, but again there will have been exceptions: those travelling on business to several countries or for pleasure to a single country destination.

Any notion that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the place of women was exclusively in the home, is challenged by the passport information, at least for the socio-economic group engaged in Continental travel. Women made up about a third of the fee-paying group at the start of the period, and thereafter the percentage gradually increased. While single or groups of women rarely applied for a passport, it

became increasingly common for them to travel with husbands or in family groups. It would seem probable that women were less likely to have participated in a journey which was especially long or perceived as dangerous; therefore it is possible that as the cohort of travellers moved further from the Channel ports, the proportion of women may have dropped.

This examination of British passport records does not directly provide information about British travellers to Switzerland. However, it has allowed some estimate of the overall numbers of British travellers on the Continent. Also, by focusing on the fee-paying group in particular, it has been possible to show the extent to which the number of travellers exceeded the number of passports issued, to give some indication of the make-up of travelling groups, and to gain some notion of the proportion of males and females travelling. All this information can be advantageously used to interpret and to monitor the Switzerland-specific information deriving from the Swiss registers. It also allows cross-referencing to be made between the names of individuals in the British registers and those in the Swiss registers.

C. THE SWISS REGISTERS.

C1. The passport registers in Geneva .

Having received their passport from an issuing authority and having acquired essential visas, travellers were in a position to embark on their journey. At frontiers, their travel documents were regularly scrutinised. In France, in particular, the regime must have been especially tiresome. Mariana Starke describes what happened on arrival at the Channel port: passports were handed in and temporary ones issued in their place. On arrival in Paris, travellers had to collect the original passport from the Sous-Prefecture, forward it to the British Embassy for the ambassador's signature, take it back to the Sous-Prefecture for the signature of the Minister of the Interior, and then on to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where an official seal was attached for a fee of ten francs.[46] Passport regulations in other countries may not have been so complex, but were usually rigorous. Records were probably kept of the names and passport numbers of travellers each time they crossed frontiers, and sometimes within countries, on passing between county equivalents or on entering towns;[47] it is probable some of these records still exist. For the purposes of research into travellers in Switzerland, it was possible to draw on some extant registers to be found in the Archives d'Etat at Geneva, which listed all foreigners entering the city. Other key cantonal archives, in particular those of Basel, Bern, Lucern, Uri, Valais, Vaud and Zurich, were approached in the hope that they might hold similar passport registers, but all unfortunately responded negatively. However, as Geneva was almost certainly the most important place of entry and exit for British travellers into and out of Switzerland, the records there can be considered a significant source of information.

The registers and their content.

While the British passport registers yielded useful information about British travellers on the Continent as a whole, the Genevan registers were able to provide much more specific information about those who visited Switzerland. It was assumed that the Genevan authorities kept a record of those entering the canton of Geneva during the period immediately after the Napoleonic period. However, the first passport records to survive were found in a register the first entry of which was dated 22 February 1832. This date, along with the entry numbering system, and the lack of headings to

[46] Starke, *Travels on the Continent*, London, 1820, p.44.
[47] See Boddington, *Sketches in the Pyrenees*, I, p.23.

the columns of entries, pointed to the existence of earlier volumes. The register was laid out in well-defined columns which, although not explicitly headed, contained data which was fairly self-evident, and which was further confirmed by some later registers into which printed headings had been introduced. The main columns entered in the register indicated the entry numbers running up from number one, allocated to the first entrant in January, to a number in the thousands, allocated to the last entrant on 31 December, the date of the traveller's entry into the city, the name, or names, of the passport holders, the place and date of issue of the passport and usually its number, the age and the profession of the passport holder, the place or country of origin, the place issuing the most recent visa, and the traveller's destination; the hotel or pension of residence in Geneva was also usually entered.

A further twenty nine registers covering periods between 1833 and 1863 are currently held in the archives in Geneva. As can be deduced from the list of these (Table C1.1, p.165), there are many gaps, especially in the early years. As a basis for analysis of British visitors to Geneva during the period, the names and recorded details of these were transcribed for three complete twelve month periods. The first period of 1 March 1832 to 28 February 1833 was chosen as the first twelve-month period available. The second period running through the calendar year of 1845 was covered by a complete register and appropriate as a year lying before the European turmoil of 1847-8. The third period covered the year 1855. By this year, train travel to the Swiss frontier, possible from the early 1850s, can be expected to have affected the pattern of European travel generally, and travel to Switzerland in particular. The full information from these three selected years is supplemented by a head count of British visitors recorded in the registers for 1836 and 1850, two of the intermediate years for which entries over a full twelve month period are complete.

The information contained in the registers was evidently derived, in part, from the travel documents of travellers. However, a considerable number of details were entered in the registers which were not available in the passport. These included not only personal details such as age and profession, but also a more precise indication of the traveller's route than that entered in the passport application register. It was evident, therefore, that either the innkeepers were required to collect this information and pass it on, or that travellers were asked to fill in a form which elicited the relevant

details. As far as the 'destination' column was concerned, a card left by chance in the register for 1855 cast some light on the procedure operating in that year, and it seems quite probable that a similar procedure operated throughout the period. On arrival at Geneva, travellers were required to hand over their passports, receiving a receipt in the form of a card. The day before their departure, they wrote on the card their destination in the space allocated, and exchanged it at the passport office for their passport. Thus it seems that the clerks in the passport office copied the details of visitors' passports directly from the passports into their register, and added the proposed destination when, on the eve of the travellers' departure, they received the card back.

The registers contained columns in which the age and profession of travellers were to be entered, and information on these must have been sought from the travellers themselves. It is noticeable that these particular columns are often left blank, especially in the case of British visitors. The British, who were never enamoured of the passport system, probably felt more easily than most that these were questions of too personal a nature. In addition, a 'profession', as a means of earning a living, was not an activity in which British ladies, landowners, and gentry admitted engaging. Nevertheless, however much they may have resented the intrusion of foreign officials, they would have been generally careful not to create too much offence - little bureaucrats could be particularly troublesome, and recourse to objective judicial support not easy to come by. Certainly, Lord Byron, who jocularly entered his age as 100 in the hotel register at Geneva in 1816, was, half an hour later, asked for an explanation by the innkeeper.[48]

The clerks were evidently fairly conscientious in carrying out their task of completing the registers. Nevertheless, they certainly made a few mistakes, sometimes finding it difficult to decipher foreign names and words, sometimes through carelessness. Pressure of time may also have led to some details being omitted; for instance, the issue number of a passport was not always recorded. As well as some lack of consistency in the recording of individual entries within each register, there was further variation over the period as a whole. In the register of 1832, for instance, mention was regularly made of those accompanying the passport holder; by 1855, such mention

[48] See Engel, *Byron et Shelley en Suisse*, p.11.

was almost never made. Similarly, a much higher proportion of ages and professions were entered in the relevant columns in 1832 than in 1855. By 1855, the practice of entering the issue number of a passport had been abandoned. By contrast, the date of departure from Geneva was much more precisely entered. These variations over the years meant that some of the information to be derived from one of the selected years was not always comparable with that from the other two. Even where data could not be matched over each of the three years, the combined insights derived from those registers studied did cast useful light on the British visitors and the pattern of their travels over the period as a whole.

British entries to Geneva 1832-1855.

An examination of British entries to Geneva over the five selected years (see Table C1.2, p.166) shows a spread in numbers between 841 in the year 1850 and 1898 in the year 1836. Apart from the dip in 1850, perhaps due to the unsettled political state of the Continent in the late 1840s, the numbers from the mid-1830s to the mid-1850s lay between 1500 and 2000. These annual totals cannot be regarded as the true totals of British visitors to Geneva because, as already discussed, often a single passport included a travelling party. Some measure of this underestimate in relation to the year 1832-3 emerges from the detailed analysis of British entries to Geneva in that year to be outlined later. As well as those subsumed under the name of the principal passport holder, it also seems likely that some visitors may have managed to pass through Geneva unrecorded by the authorities, especially those who did not spend a night in the city. In contrast, some travellers entered the city more than once in the year and therefore will have been counted twice. For each of the selected years, this small sub-group is discussed in a later section. In any attempt to calculate British visitors to Switzerland as a whole, it was necessary to recognise that while Geneva may have been the most popular point of entry and exit, lying as it did on the extension of the popular London-Paris route towards Italy, Basel must have run it a close second, especially as a journey up or down the Rhine became an increasingly popular ingredient of the Continental tour.

Within the Geneva registers, the entries of British travellers are intermingled with those of all other visitors to the city. If the percentage of British entries to others is considered, it shows a rise from over six per cent in 1832 to some fifteen per cent in

1855. Considering the distance the British had to travel, the percentages come across as high. However, the later percentages need to be viewed with some caution as, after the 1840s, Swiss visitors from outside the canton no longer required a passport for entry; therefore, the higher percentage in 1855, in particular, may not actually represent a higher proportion of British visitors.

Seasonal variation.

If the numbers entering Geneva each month in each of the selected years are added together, a clear notion of the seasonal nature of British visits is gained (Table C1.3, p.167). The season reached its height in July, August and September, with June and October also busy months. Overall, the six months from May to October inclusive, which experienced the highest number of British passport applications (Table B3, p.157), were also those during which most British travellers entered Geneva. However, where the figure was just over seventy five per cent for British passport applications, it rose to over ninety per cent of entries to Geneva. The winter months would have been perceived as a period of the year where the weather conditions made Switzerland a place to avoid. Register evidence suggested that most of those passing through Geneva between November and May were travelling on business rather than for pleasure.

British entries to Geneva 1832-33.

The very full detail contained in the registers for 1832-3 allowed an analysis to be made not only of passport holders, but also of those accompanying them (Table C1.4, p.168). The registers listed 1130 passport holders over the twelve-month period. In just under 130 cases, two passport holders were listed separately in the register; the clerks examined 1003 passports in order to enter 1130 names of passport holders. Out of the 1130 passport holders, 140, or just over twelve per cent, were women. On the line devoted to each passport holder, the clerks wrote in those accompanying the named traveller. This information indicated that the 1130 passport holders were accompanied by 710 others in their parties. It seems likely that the figure is conservative, as officials may not have always entered all the relevant details. This figure included 'servants' some of whom might well not have been British, given the custom of employing foreigners in certain positions, especially when travelling abroad. The proportion of passport holders to the whole British cohort

emerged as sixty per cent to forty per cent. Applying this proportion to other selected years provided a rough method of estimating by how much the number of passport holders would have to be multiplied in order to establish the total number of travellers.

Dividing the accompanying group according to gender, (using the same criteria as those used in considering British passports), suggested that over one half of this group (fifty seven per cent) were women. Of the whole British cohort of 1839 visitors, 546, or thirty per cent, were women.

Although the registers for 1845 and 1855 did not permit a similar analysis of the size of travelling groups, the figures for the number of female passport holders were 142 and 156 respectively, in both cases nine per cent of all passport holder entries. This percentage represents a slight drop in comparison with 1832 and would seem to indicate that even if the proportion of women travelling to Switzerland increased over the period, the numbers travelling on their own passports did not.

The Age of Passport Holders.

The early nineteenth century passport did not include the age of the holder, and there was clearly a particular reluctance on the part of the British to divulge their age to foreign bureaucrats who might have required this as further information. Certainly in the pages of the Genevan Passport Registers, it was for British travellers that the age column was most often left blank. Even so, an age was entered by over half of the group, both in 1832-3 and in 1845. When this data is collated in age groups (see Table C1.5, p.169), a similar pattern in both years emerged: the twenty year olds formed the largest group, followed by the thirty year olds. This preponderance of young age groups might be attributable to the physical demands of travel at the time and/or to the continuing perception of travel as part of a young person's education. It was interesting to note that in 1845, in comparison with 1832, older age groups, the forty to seventy year olds, expanded slightly in relation to the younger groups, perhaps the result of more reliable transport and improved quality and quantity of accommodation. In interpreting these tables it is important to recognise that non-respondents may have distorted the distribution. It should also be noted that many

under-20s will have entered Geneva accompanied by their families rather than as passport holders in their own right.

Individuals and groups arriving in Geneva 1832-3.

Taking advantage of the full detail in the 1832-3 register, an examination was made of the make-up of travelling groups (Table C1.6, p.170). The findings were compatible with those based on the British passport registers (Table B6, p.160), but there were some differences. In particular, a higher proportion of single males were entered in the Genevan registers than in the British ones (sixty per cent as opposed to forty five per cent), a difference to be expected because of the high cost of the British Foreign Office passport. More females were entered also, possibly for the same reason. There are differences in the proportion of the categories of 'man and family' and 'man and suite', though if these two categories are compounded, the percentage in each case becomes similar, suggesting, perhaps, differences in register entry procedures.

In summary, single males dominated entry to Geneva in 1832-3, followed by the categories of two males, man and suite, husband and wife, mixed group of three. These are categories which, if man and suite is substituted for man and family, correspond, though in a slightly different order, with the top categories in the British passport allocations (Table B7, p.161).

The occupation/profession of British travellers 1832 and 1845.

To the British aristocracy and landed gentry, a question as to their trade or profession must have come across as unanswerable, if not as downright intrusive. As a result, large numbers failed to put down anything in the relevant column. On those occasions when they did oblige, they regularly used a number of vague designations such as 'propriétaire', 'rentier', 'gentilhomme' (intended presumably as a translation of 'gentleman'), or, even more vaguely, 'particulier'. If it is assumed that those who did not provide information about occupation/profession belonged to the gentry, and if then the numbers in this group are added to those who used one of the vague designations just mentioned, we find that in both these selected years, the gentry group accounts for some seventy per cent of the total (see Tables 1.7a and b, pp.171-2). This percentage should be increased slightly to incorporate titled travellers (by some three and a half per cent in 1832-3 and one and a half per cent in 1845).

The findings suggested that, over this period, travel to Switzerland was dominated by the titled and the well-off gentry. However, an unspecified number within these large groups may have had a trade or profession which, for whatever reason, they did not wish to enter. Certainly Isambard Kingdom Brunel passed though Geneva in mid-August 1845 without revealing that he was an engineer!

In both selected years, over 20% of all those whose entry is recorded put down a specific occupation, and for both years a list of the most represented professional groups was drawn up in descending order of size (Table C1.8, p.173). The largest group in both years was formed of military and naval personnel, some of whom would probably have been on leave and moving between Britain and the Mediterranean ports. The professional classes of doctors and lawyers formed a growing presence, and members of the clergy, often bear-leaders in the eighteenth century, were now travelling increasingly on their own account. The number of merchants also appeared to be on the increase, though there was no indication as to whether these were travelling for business or pleasure purposes. Occupational groups with a small number of representatives included teachers, artists and architects. Tradesmen and servants were undoubtedly entering Geneva on business. The latter would often have been included on their employer's passport, but were occasionally sent on errands separately, for example, to collect horses, and on these occasions required their own passport.

The register entries for 1832-3 were also used to estimate the number of servants who were accompanying passport holders (as opposed to the small number who were travelling on their own passports). In the registers, the role of the servant was sometimes precisely described, for instance as 'courrier', 'gouvernante', 'femme de chambre', sometimes less precisely as simply 'domestique' or 'servante', and sometimes assumed in the unspecified 'suite'. Accepting, as before, that the interpretation of imprecise terms may lead to some degree of inaccuracy, the calculation suggested that of those accompanying passport holders, some forty per cent were servants. Of all British entries, nearly sixteen per cent were servants, and, of these, roughly two thirds were male and one third female.

Geneva within the framework of the tour 1832-3, 1845 and 1855.

The Genevan registers of 1832, 1845, and 1855 provided information about the route visitors were following by indicating both where they had come from and where they were going to. The information was collated and analysed in different ways. Routes of entry and departure were categorised under six main headings listed in a roughly clockwise direction: from Northern France including Paris, from Eastern France, Gemany including the Rhine, and Austria, from within Switzerland itself, from Italy, from Southern France, and finally, from Western France including Lyons and Bellegarde. Some individual entries were left blank in the register, but only rarely for both provenance and destination. Many travellers gave Chamonix as their destination and these were categorised separately. Similarly, travellers arriving in Geneva from Chamonix in 1845 and 1855 seem to have got their passports stamped in Annemasse, and so, for these two years, this group was also categorised separately.

Numbers arriving from Germany and the Rhine appeared low. However, those entering Geneva from this direction were likely to have passed through Switzerland and, therefore, to have been entered as having arrived from there. Arrivals and departures through Western France were the most difficult to interpret, for travellers arriving from or leaving for this area could have originally come from or be heading towards either the south or the north. In most cases, they were probably en route to or from Paris; however, this may not be taken for granted.

The provenance of visitors in 1832, 1845 and 1855.

A column in the register indicated the last place in which the traveller's passport was *viséd*. Excluding the possibility of clerical error, it provided objective data on the traveller's route into Geneva. Using this information, it was possible to draw up tables (C1.9a,b,c, pp.174-6) to show the provenance of visitors to Geneva in the three selected years. In 1832, three routes dominated: that from Northern France, that from Italy and that from within Switzerland itself. These three routes accounted for eighty six per cent of all entries. Whether those arriving from Northern France and Italy were simply traversing Switzerland is a question to be considered later. Here it is worth stressing the high percentage of arrivals, about a quarter, from within Switzerland itself, a figure which certainly suggests some sort of tour within the country. The fact that a

large proportion of these arrived from Bern was compatible both with the popularity of the Rhine route into Switzerland and with a tour of the Bernese Oberland for which Bern was the usual starting point. By 1845, those arriving from Italy had dropped considerably (from twenty seven per cent to fourteen), and there followed a further drop in 1855 (to ten per cent). For these two later years, the figures of those arriving from Italy, as well as those from other directions, were inevitably distorted by the Annemasse frontier post where the visas of up to a fifth of all entrants to Geneva were stamped. These figures provided, along with the evidence from the examination of destinations, a testimony to the enormous popularity of Chamonix during the period. The growth in arrivals from Paris and Northern France, combined with the fall of those arriving from Italy, suggests the growing popularity of a shorter tour with Switzerland as its destination.

The findings also refine information on the seasonal nature of travel to Geneva and to Switzerland which was considered in relation both to British passport allocations and to the monthly entries in the Geneva registers. In all three years, December to March were clearly *hors saison* months. In 1832, April witnessed arrivals in Geneva from both north and south, the latter group presumably consisting essentially of those who had wintered in the south; certainly, cross-checking with the places of passport allocation for this month showed that all those arriving in Geneva from Milan and Turin had travelled either on passports issued in Italy in 1832 or in London in 1831. In May, travellers again arrived in larger numbers from north and south. Most, but not all, of the latter arrivals had passports issued in Italy or, from at least six months earlier, in London. In June, there was a small but noticeable increase in arrivals from Switzerland itself. These arrivals increased during the ensuing months to reach a peak in September when they made up nearly half of all arrivals. Numbers then fell back in October and again in November. It is the size of this group which gives one firm indicator of the popularity of Switzerland as a tourist destination, for those merely in transit from London to the Italian cities would have had no cause to pass through Switzerland except along the stretch of road through the Valais. In fact, the great majority of the Swiss arrivals (i.e. from the C area) in Geneva came from Bern.

Over the period, the decline in numbers entering Geneva from Italy has already been noted. Placed in a seasonal context, the decline suggests that new patterns of

travelling were emerging These were especially to be noted in the considerable reduction in the numbers of those who wintered in Italy and awaited the spring in order to return to Britain.

Destination of British visitors in 1832, 1845 and 1855.

The destination entry in the Genevan registers was presumably copied from the passport receipt form when travellers handed it back to the authorities in order to reclaim their passports. It may be that some deliberately sought to mislead the authorities on this matter, but there is no evidence that they did. On the form, some gave an immediate destination, others an ultimate one, and yet others gave both. The stated destinations were categorised as before, except that Chamonix was inserted in place of Annemasse. The results (see Tables C 1.10 a, b, c, pp.177-9) confirmed the seasonal nature of visits to Switzerland, and, within the season, its popularity: from April to August inclusive, around a fifth of all British leaving Geneva gave Switzerland or a Swiss location as their destination, and, in addition, roughly a further fifth were planning to visit Chamonix. By October, all but a few were turning either homewards towards Paris and London, or southwards to spend the winter in Italy, presumably in Florence, Rome or Naples. The latter group diminished notably over the three selected years from nearly 25% to less that 5%. This diminution does not necessarily indicate that Italy had become less popular, but that the pattern of tour established in the eighteenth century and maintained to some extent after the Napoleonic Wars had been broken.

To and from Geneva.

To obtain a more precise notion of the movement of all British travellers, an attempt was made to link provenance and destination for each individual. The same categories representing the six areas were combined to give thirty six possible combinations of provenance/destination (Tables 1.11a,b,c, pp.180-2). This approach allowed some quantification of the popularity of one route over another. Such a global view of the movement of each individual could not be recorded if either provenance or destination had been omitted for the register. It was also obscured for those heading to or returning from Chamonix, though assessing the size of the group was, in itself, of interest. The initial analysis showed that almost every combination of route was

covered by at least one traveller in one or more of the three selected years. However, more important conclusions could be drawn by using the data to focus on the relative popularity of the six routes of entry/departure. When these were combined for each of the three selected years (Table C1.12, p.183), a picture of movement and a pattern of change emerged. As was to be expected, movement to and from Northern France dominated in all three years. In contrast, Italy dropped down the table from second to fifth place. Switzerland maintained a strong position throughout. Germany rose, probably a reflection of the incorporation of a journey up the Rhine as an alternative to the traditional itinerary to Switzerland through Paris. Southern and Western France remained low on the list, suggesting that combining visits to Switzerland and the South of France was not customary, and that strong communication routes enabled travellers to move to and from the French Mediterranean region without needing to deviate into Geneva. The most striking feature was the high number making the trip to Chamonix, a clear indication of the important place it had on the Swiss and Continental tour, not only at the end, but throughout the period.

A final use was made of the provenance and destination data by creating a list of the sixteen most popular routes in each of the selected years (C1.13, p.184). This approach helped to stress the nature of the change in the preferred routes over the period. In 1832-3, the position of Geneva on the route between London, Paris and Italy was dominant, while those moving between Switzerland and Italy, and between France and Switzerland, lay some way behind in the order. By 1845, the Northern France to Switzerland route had gained in relative popularity, while the Switzerland to Italy route had fallen back. By 1855, the Northern France to Switzerland route had come to head the table, and the Northern France to Northern France route had moved into a strong second place; at the same time the Northern France to Italy route had fallen to a low third place, only slightly ahead of the Germany to Northern France route which had steadily risen in popularity over the period.

The strength of the Northern France to Italy route in the two early years studied should not lead to the conclusion that travellers following this route were simply in transit: the journey across the Simplon could have begun along the northern shore of the Lake of Geneva and taken in Lausanne, Clarens and the Castle of Chillon, as well

as further key sights in the Rhone valley; it could also have included detours to Chamonix and the Great St Bernard. As far as other routes were concerned, the data suggested how Switzerland was, for many, incorporated into their Continental itinerary, and how the Rhine route to Switzerland was increasing in popularity. The evidence also indicated how, by 1855, fewer travellers were going on to Italy from Switzerland; in contrast, the group arriving from or leaving for Switzerland remained large, and the group for which Geneva appeared the most southerly point on the journey before the return home had become the second largest.

Multiple entries.

Information about routes followed was supplemented by examining the entries in the registers of British travellers who visited Geneva on more than one occasion in a year. Thirty five individuals were thus identified for 1832, ten for 1845, and one hundred and nineteen for 1855. The high number of returners in 1855 cannot simply be attributed to an increase in the category, but rather to a change in how those who visited Chamonix from Geneva were recorded in Geneva upon their return. In the earlier years a simple annotation in the margin of the entry indicating provenance was made, whereas, in 1855, a separate entry was usually added. For the first two selected years, a full list of those identified was drawn up, and for 1855 a selection (see Tables C 14a,b,c, pp.185-190). By examining the provenance and destination of these travellers and, where appropriate, combining these data with place and date of passport issue, it was possible to obtain a clearer notion of the tour route followed. The sample was not large enough to allow general conclusions to be drawn from it, but it did help to confirm certain categories of route, while at the same time, pointing up a few travellers who were pursuing unusual routes and who perhaps for that reason had unusual purposes.

The 1832 list contained examples of travellers travelling direct from England to Italy and vice versa (e.g. Checucci, Courcy Laffan, Murray, Spear), those doing the same but incorporating a longer visit to Switzerland and possibly a visit to Chamonix (e.g. Carfrue, Comte, Cox, Cozens, Digby,Fellowes, Harcourt, Irby, Morgan, Nixon, Thorold, Woodward, York), those based in or temporarily residing in Switzerland (e.g. Campbell, Carnac, Hartley, Lenfely, Morell, Trafford), those for whom Switzerland was their final outward destination (e.g. Gowland, Ramsay, Scott), and

lastly, a small group who did not fit into any of the above 'patterns' (e.g. Bottger, Bradyll, Orred, Robin). The 1845 list contained a few who had simply completed the Chamonix excursion (e.g. Gibson, Remington, Jenkinson and Longmire), two naval captains probably coming up from one of the Italian ports and returning thither (Sperling and Stewart), two travelling from London to Italy and back (Howard and Sillery). The two women seemed atypical tourists: Mrs Pitt appears to have been based in Switzerland, but spending the summer months, presumably for health reasons, at Aix-les-Bains; and Bertie Mathew, described as a 'chanoinesse', did the journey from Italy to England, returning a couple of months later accompanied by three nuns, presumably new recruits for her convent in Rome. The 1855 selective list contained apparent examples of those who arrived in Geneva essentially to undertake the excursion to Chamonix (Ashton, Fosbery, Taylor), those who combined a journey along the Rhine with a visit to Switzerland (Harberton, Swaine), those who were heading for Italy through Switzerland (Kempson, Neale) and those engaged in a longer Swiss tour (Armitage, Bradford, Currie, Curtis, Harries, Every, Gordon, Turner). There are some examples of travellers who returned to Britain between visits (Abercrombie, Walters, Moillet), and of some incorporating the South of France in their itinerary: Freeman who simply passed through Geneva on his way to and from Nice, Sumner who, having spent the summer in Switzerland, headed south in the autumn, and Nesbitt who may well have been resident on the Riviera. Four-time entrant Anna Rees was probably resident in Switzerland. Blackmore and Bridge appeared to have spent the summer in Italy, and then returned home in leisurely fashion, taking in Switzerland and probably the Italian lakes on the way.

Place of issue of passports.

It was possible to gain further insights into traveller movement by examining the places on the Continent, and beyond, where passports were issued. The places were listed for the three selected years (Table C1.15, p.191) in descending order according to the number of allocations made, with only those issuing a single passport being omitted. As to be expected, the largest number of passports in each of the years were issued in London. A long way behind in second place came Paris. Bern, the city closest to Geneva with consular offices available for passport delivery, understandably also came high on each list. The remaining places of issue are numerous and varied, indicating a wide range of approaches to Geneva, not only from

northern cities, but also from those in Italy and on the Mediterranean seaboard. Numerous must have been the reasons why individual travellers acquired their documents at places other than London, but one suspects that amongst the more frequent would have been included the following: arrival at Channel or at Mediterranean ports from places outside Europe where passports were not obligatory, the existing passport becoming lost or invalid, the need for two people who had set off on one passport to travel separately, the decision of British residents on the Continent to go on a tour or to change their place of residence.

Passport issue in London and arrival in Geneva.

In order to gain some idea of the length of tours undertaken and of the pace of travel, an analysis was made of the time interval between passport issue in London and arrival in Geneva for each of the three selected years (Tables C1.16 a,b, c, pp.192-4). Interpretation of the resulting data is partly dependent on the correctness of the assumption that passports were obtained shortly before departure. Two factors support this assumption: that travellers had to collect their passports in person from the Foreign Office, and that, in those cases where passport issue and departure date were both known, the time interval was generally short (Table C1.17, p.195). In all three sample years, a high percentage reached Geneva within thirty days of passport issue. To the improvement of modes of transport, especially the development of railways, may be attributed the increase in the proportion of travellers arriving in ten days or less: from two per cent in 1832 to approaching eight per cent in 1855. In each year between thirty and forty per cent arrived within the first month, between twenty and twenty five in the second month, and between seven and nine per cent in the third. The number arriving between four and twelve months after passport issue declined from about a quarter in 1832 to fifteen per cent in 1855, a decline consistent both with more rapid travelling and with shorter tours. Harder to interpret is the group in possession of passports issued in London a year or more prior to arrival in Geneva. The tables show a decrease from twelve per cent to about nine per cent between 1832 and 1845, but then an increase to over twenty per cent in 1855. The decrease might be the result of fewer travellers engaged in tours lasting a year or more, and the increase attributable to the practice and permissibility of using a passport on multiple visits to the Continent. The analysis of travelogues in the next section may help to prioritise the likelihood of one explanation rather than another.

British passport: Foreign Office and other.

By cross referencing the British passport registers with those of Geneva, it was possible to establish how many of the British visitors to Geneva had passports issued by the Foreign Office in London (Tables C1.18 a, b, pp.196-7). The proportion of the latter in relation to all British visitors was just under nine per cent in 1832 and fourteen per cent in 1845. These percentages indicate that fewer than one British traveller in twelve had a British passport in 1832, and fewer than one in seven had one in 1845. The tables, including that for 1855 (Table C1.18c, p.198), also show the proportion of British visitors to all visitors. During the season, often more than one in ten visitors were British; during the off-season months, the number fell to one in fifty or more.

C2. THE REGISTERS OF THE RIGI KULM HOTEL AND THE GREAT ST. BERNARD HOSPICE.

Context.

In addition to the British and Genevan Passport Registers, two further Swiss registers were examined in some detail: those of the hotel on the Rigi Kulm and of the hospice on the pass of the Great Saint Bernard. While the two latter were compiled and maintained in a much less formal way than the former, they were helpful in both complementing and supplementing the official records.

Unlike the city of Geneva which, owing to its position, probably provided the most important entry and exit point into and out of Switzerland during the period under review, the two establishments whose registers are now considered were not easily accessible. The Rigi Kulm hotel lay at the top of a mountain nearly 6000 feet high and was reached by a walk or mule ride of between three and four hours from lake level (c.1400 feet). The St. Bernard Hospice was higher still at over 8000 feet and required the traveller to make an ascent of four hours from Martigny in the Rhone valley to Liddes, the last village on the Swiss side of the pass; thence a further four hours were needed to reach the hospice. Yet, despite this inaccessibility, the registers in both places show that they were surprisingly popular destinations. Possible explanations of this popularity will be proposed later.

As well as giving an indication of the overall number of visitors spending the night at the two establishments, the registers provided supplementary information on who was travelling in Switzerland, not only in the three selected sample years, but also in the period before the first extant Genevan register. The St. Bernard registers run right through from 1814, and those from the Rigi from 1816 when the first register was introduced into the newly completed inn on the Kulm. However, the information is stronger on the male/female distinction than on age and professional background: the hotel and hospice registers, unlike the Genevan passport registers, did not have headed columns for age and profession to be inserted.

Using the two registers and the Genevan passport registers in combination with

each other makes it possible to explore other questions relating to travel at the time, for instance, the extent to which visitors to Switzerland restricted themselves to one area of the country or whether they moved around between areas. A further relevant by-product of this analysis should be to provide some indication as to whether those passing through Geneva represented a large or small proportion of all British travellers in Switzerland.

Taking those visitors who are recorded in both the Rigi and the Geneva registers, dates of arrival at the two destinations can be examined in order to establish direction of travel. Those travelling from London to Switzerland down the Rhine would be expected to reach the Rigi first and proceed on to Geneva while those passing through Paris would normally enter Switzerland at Geneva. It will be of significance, therefore, if there is a clear preponderance of movement one way or the other.

By examining the interval between visits to the two areas, it is also possible to suggest the rate of movement. Proceeding directly from the Rigi to Geneva, a traveller might be expected to take four to five days on the journey. A few days spent at Lucern or Bern would raise the interval to about ten days , and a week in the Bernese Oberland to between fifteen and twenty. An interval of more than twenty five days spent in passing between the two places suggests a more circuitous route, or one or more prolonged stays in one of the increasingly popular resorts such as Thun, Interlaken or Vevey. Longer intervals might also be the result of longer residence, or of more extensive excursions in Northern Italy.

While the findings derived from these registers are considered to be quite accurate, there are a number of features which somewhat reduce this accuracy. These were registers in which the travellers themselves made the inscriptions (in contrast with the passport registers where the information was inscribed officially by a clerk) and to which subsequent travellers had access. As a result, a transcriber today has to cope not only with often rapidly inscribed names where *i*s may not be dotted and *t*s may not be crossed, but also, on occasion, with names covered with ink blots, names altered by subsequent visitors, and some spurious names. Easy access to the registers also sadly allowed later unscrupulous travellers to cut out names, presumably signatures of the famous, or, more frequently, to tear out parts of pages

or whole pages. These depredations, along with the fact that some travellers may have omitted, whether deliberately or not, to sign their names in the register mean that indicated totals will be lower than actual ones.

Male and Female visitors to the Rigi and Great St. Bernard.

The survival of registers from the years immediately following the downfall of Napoleon allowed some investigation into British travellers from the early part of the period. Between 1816 and 1830 nearly three thousand British names were recorded in the registers of the Rigi Kulm (Table C2.1, p.199), and over the shorter period between 1814 and 1820, nearly one thousand, three hundred British names were to be found in the register at the Great St. Bernard hospice (Table C2.2, p.200). Within the two groups of travellers, in spite of the difficulty of access to both places, women formed a substantial proportion. Taking the period up to and including 1820 alone, there was a slightly higher proportion of women reaching the Rigi than reaching the St. Bernard (twenty four per cent as opposed to twenty per cent), a difference probably attributable, in part, to the relative difficulty of the two ascents. In both cases the percentages are somewhat lower than the percentage of women included in British passports of the period (see the figures for 1816 and 1820 in Table B5, p.159).

The registers at the Rigi and St. Bernard 1816-1820.

Names in the two registers were examined alongside each other over the first five year period in which they both existed. Although the two registers only contained the names of a small proportion of all visitors to Switzerland, they allowed some insights into the areas under review.Over this five year period 477 names[49] were recorded in the Rigi register, 782 in that of the St. Bernard. Of these, 110 were considered common to both registers.[50] This figure included 13 names which were recorded in both registers but in different years, suggesting either two separate visits or a longer tour in which the traveller probably spent the winter months in Italy. Of the remainder, 49 travelled from the St. Bernard to the Rigi and 48 in the opposite direction, indicating that, over this period, there was no directional movement in fashion, for example, one which would have been 'imposed' by starting the Continental tour by

[49] Visitors with the same surname arriving and departing at the same time have only been counted once.

[50] By considering how common a surname was, and whether it was combined with initials, some degree of judgment was used to try to ensure that similar entries in the two registers belonged to the same person.

travelling up the Rhine to Basel and returning by Geneva and Paris.

The dates when names were entered in the two registers were compared, and the interval between them calculated (Table C2.3, p.200). The resulting figures indicated that, on average a traveller spent over three weeks (24 days) en route between the Rigi and the St. Bernard hospice or vice versa.[51] The intervals between the visits to the two places suggested that the majority of travellers were moving at a leisurely pace through Switzerland, but were not residing at one place for any length of time. Similarly, in most cases, the interval was not long enough to have allowed a visit to Italy, other than to the Italian Lakes and/or Milan. Overall, the evidence supported the view that, already at this period, a Swiss tour was popular, whether or not it formed part of a longer Continental tour which might have included Italy.

Rigi and Geneva 1832.

A similar analysis was carried out for 1832 to show the time taken by travellers moving between the Rigi and Geneva (Table C2.4, p.201). Ninety five names appeared in both the registers. Again no favoured direction of movement emerged with forty seven moving from Geneva to the Rigi and forty eight in the opposite direction. The average number of days taken over the journey was twenty six, with the intervals again suggesting a leisurely pace,

Rigi and Geneva 1845.

The analysis was repeated for the second sample year of 1845 when one hundred and four names were found to be common to the two registers(Table C2.5, p.201). Here, a preference, though not a marked one, for moving in one direction rather than the other, was noted, with sixty four moving from the Rigi to Geneva, and forty moving in the opposite direction. This might suggest the increased popularity of starting the Continental tour with a journey down the Rhine rather than with a visit to Paris. The average time taken on the journey between the two places had decreased by three to four days, indicating a tendency to complete the journey more rapidly. In 1832, under half the travellers completed it in three weeks weeks or under; by 1845, the percentage had risen to sixty five per cent. This diminution in time taken might indicate more efficient modes of transport or a shorter vacation period. With few

[51] Excluding the 13 who visited the two places in different years.

developments in Switzerland as far as the former were concerned, the latter interpretation seems the more plausible one.

Rigi and St. Bernard 1845.

To supplement the Rigi-Geneva analysis, and to provide comparison with the earlier section examining the Rigi and St. Bernard registers of 1816-20, the entries of the thirty five travellers who visited both the Rigi and the St. Bernard hospice in 1845 were examined (Table C2.6, p.202). As would be expected, there were slightly more travellers moving from the Rigi to the St. Bernard than in the opposite direction (twenty six as opposed to fourteen). The average number of days taken between the two places was twenty three and the distribution indicated that most travellers covered the journey in under four weeks.

How comprehensive are the Genevan registers?

The number of British travellers passing though Geneva has already been shown. The role of the city as a major entry or exit point to and from Switzerland, and its situation on a key road leading across the Alps into Italy, would suggest that the names of a high proportion of all British travellers to Switzerland would have been recorded in the registers. Had there been similar, officially kept, registers still in existence in Basel, the gateway to Switzerland from the north, or in Bern, the starting point for visits to the Bernese Oberland, a clearer perspective of overall numbers would have been possible. The registers of the Rigi and the St. Bernard must be taken as poor substitutes, particularly because the numbers of visitors registered in them is relatively small in relation to the overall numbers in the Genevan registers.

Taking the three sample years, of 163 names recorded in the Rigi register for 1832, 95 (58.3%) are to be found in the Genevan register. In 1845, of 290 names in the Rigi register, 113 (39%) are found in the Genevan register. In 1855, of 61 names at the Rigi, 10 (16.4%) are also in the Genevan register. Even allowing for some underestimation of names common to both registers, these figures suggest that there was a substantial number of British travellers in Switzerland who did not pass through Geneva, and that this number grew over the period. These Rigi figures are confirmed by those of the St. Bernard. Because of the proximity of the St. Bernard to Geneva, a higher proportion of names in common would be expected . Yet in 1845, of 198

names in the St. Bernard register, only 117 (59%) appear also in that of Geneva; and in 1855, of 223 names in the St. Bernard register only 82 (36.8%) appear also in the Genevan register.

It would seem that while the numbers of British passing through Geneva formed a substantial proportion of all British visitors to Switzerland, they became, as the years passed, a diminishing one. It may not be unreasonable to assume that, in order to estimate the overall number of British travellers passing through Switzerland as a whole, the Genevan totals should be increased by thirty to forty per cent for the early period, and by seventy to eighty per cent for the end of the period .

THE REGISTER EVIDENCE - CONCLUSIONS.

By drawing together the findings from the analysis of all three categories of register, it was possible to build up an overall impression of the British visitors to Switzerland in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Numbers.

In selected years, passport holders entering Geneva were listed and added up. The British names in the Rigi and St. Bernard registers were then used as a way of speculating on the degree to which the Genevan figures would need to be increased to make allowance for those who did not pass through Geneva. With the exception of 1850, the number of passport holders registered entering the city fluctuated between about one thousand and two thousand a year in the selected years. An analysis of names common to the Genevan and the Rigi registers in these years, suggested that the Genevan figures would need to be increased by some forty per cent in 1832, sixty per cent in 1845, and eighty four per cent in 1855. If these increases are applied, totals of 1582 in 1832-3, 2202 in 1845 and 3203 in 1855 are suggested. These figures are based on passport holders alone. Bearing in mind the examination of the relationship between passport holders and the total number of travellers based on both the British and the Genevan passport registers, it seems likely that the figures represent possibly only between fifty and sixty per cent of the total number of travellers to Switzerland.

Male and female travellers.

The registers proved helpful in estimating the proportion of men to women travellers. In the Genevan passport register of 1832, women made up nearly 30% of the whole cohort, a proportion exactly replicated in the British fee-paying group of 1830. The British registers suggested a gradual growth in the proportion over the period. The lower proportions reaching the Rigi Kulm and the St. Bernard hospice in the early years of the period may be attributable not only to the slightly lower proportion of women travelling at the beginning of the period but also to the perceived strenuousness of the journey to the two places.

Social position and age of the travellers.

The vast majority of British travellers came from the affluent classes. To obtain a British Foreign Office passport, applicants had to be personally known at the Foreign Office or be able to procure a written or personal recommendation from a banker or other person of respectability; they also had, until the 1850s, to be prepared to pay the substantial fee of two guineas or more. However, beyond this, the passport did not give any further indication of social position. In contrast, in Geneva, an indication of occupation was requested, though demonstrably not always insisted on. About half of those entering the city responded in some way to the request, thereby making some analysis of the social position/profession of travellers possible. Alongside the large numbers of gentry, officers and clergy predominated as the principal professional groups.

It is similarly to the Genevan registers that we are indebted for information about the age of travellers, though again only about half of the travelling group divulged it. Sixty to seventy per cent of those who did were aged between twenty and forty. The figures suggested that the proportion of those over forty grew slightly over the period. The number of those under twenty was difficult to estimate as, in most cases, they would have been entered on the passport of an adult.

Switzerland and the Continental Tour.

The Genevan registers gave information about the provenance and destination of travellers, provided insights into the routes followed in order to reach Geneva and into how these routes might have gained or lost in popularity over the period. The evidence suggested that a Swiss element was incorporated in the tour of many, that the traditional route from Geneva into Italy and back declined over the period, and that, throughout, large numbers made the expedition to Chamonix.

The Genevan registers also included details of the place and date of passport issue which allowed the time taken over the journey from London to Geneva to be estimated. It was possible to deduce that the tour was leisurely throughout, though there was a trend towards a slightly shorter journey time between London and Geneva. By finding the names of individuals replicated in the registers at Geneva, the

Rigi Kulm and the St. Bernard hospice, it was possible to calculate how long it took those individuals to move from one place to another, and thereby to gain some idea of the pace with which they undertook their Swiss tour. Here too, evidence pointed to leisurely progression, supporting the view that Switzerland was being visited for its own sake, not just seen rapidly whilst in transit.

D. AN EXAMINATION OF TRAVELOGUES.

Introduction.

By examining and interpreting passport records, it was possible to draw some conclusions about travellers to the Continent in general, and to Switzerland in particular, during the first decades of the nineteenth century: not only some estimate of their overall numbers, but an indication of the proportion of men to women, the nature of the groups in which they travelled, their social/professional background, and the nature and length of their journeys. The benefit of this approach derived from the large numbers of travellers considered in the samples, as well as from the relative objectivity with which their details were recorded in official and other documents. However, the information presented on the length of the tours and on the routes followed was necessarily limited, because it was based on data gathered at only one or two fixed points on each traveller's itinerary. The aim of this section, therefore, is to complement the broad coverage of the first section with a much more targeted examination of the tours of travellers for which a detailed account was available. Travel accounts were considered generally, and, in addition, a substantial number were analysed in some detail to determine the length of the Continental tour, the relative importance of the period spent in Switzerland within it, the route followed within the country, and the particular places visited and sights seen.

As the focus of this study was to be British travellers in Switzerland, travel accounts of journeys to other European destinations were *a priori* not considered unless they included at least a minor Swiss component. A relatively small Swiss element was most likely to form part of Italian tours where passage was made through Switzerland, of French tours which were extended to include an incursion into Switzerland, or of tours through Belgium, Holland and the Rhineland which could also be extended into Switzerland. It would have been of relevance to compare the quantity and quality of British published travelogues to all these destinations as a gauge of their relative popularity. However, because of a dearth of relevant bibliographies, the closest comparison to be made is between C.P.Brand's *Bibliography of travel books describing Italy and published in England 1800-1850* [52] and De Beer's *Travellers in Switzerland*. Overall Brand lists some 150 Italian tour titles published in comparison with de Beer's listing of over 300 Swiss travel accounts over the same period.

[52] In *Italian Studies*, Vol.XI, 1956.

However, as neither list is comprehensive. and the criteria they individually used for inclusion in their bibliographies was not identical, conclusions can only be drawn with caution. It is at least possible to propose, on the basis of the relative quantity of material produced by travellers to the two countries, that Switzerland, during the first half of the nineteenth century, was regarded as a destination at least as worthy of visits and written commentaries as Italy.

In the examination of travelogues, it was useful to distinguish three different types: those published by travellers soon after completing a tour; those published several, or possibly many, years after it, either by the traveller in an autobiography, or by an editor after the traveller's death; and those which existed only in manuscript. All three have their particular features which help or hinder analysis. Travelogues published soon after a traveller's return are almost certainly 'censored' in a number of ways: incidents which cast the writer in a bad light, or those of a sordid nature, are likely to be omitted; responses will tend to be reflected rather than spontaneous; indeed, there could be a risk that accounts both in the general impression they give, and in their detail, have been to some extent fictionalised. However, at a time when guide books were neither easily available nor up-to-date, published travelogues were partly written to give practical guidance to readers about to undertake a similar journey. Therefore, along with guide books, they form part of that symbiotic process in which published material both reflects the prevailing fashions and reinforces them. Travelogues published either late in the traveller's life, perhaps as part of an autobiography, or edited after the death of the traveller, may be less likely to be adapted in order to cast the writer in a better light, but may suffer excisions made in line with the writer's or editor's judgment of what is important and what is not. However, these later produced accounts may supply much useful information about the traveller and the context of the tour. In contrast, because they lack any form of introduction, manuscript accounts are harder to place in context. They may also be both untidy, difficult to read and incomplete. Nevertheless, they often provide much detail about the routine of travel which would be omitted from published works on the grounds of triviality. They can be more frank and spontaneous, and focus more on human relationships.

Within these main categories, further variations were possible. In particular, some

writers included several tours in their publications. William Brockedon incorporated tours of 1824 and 1825 in his publication of 1833, and Charles Latrobe his tours of 1825 and 1826 in his publication of 1829.[53] In his *Travels through the Alps of Savoy* of 1843, James David Forbes collated experiences over a number of visits to the area from the early 1830s. The tour of James Cockburn described in his *Swiss scenery* of 1820 purports to be a single tour, but is probably an amalgam of at least two. These may all be considered 'contemporary' publications. The nine Continental tours made between 1839 and 1858 collected in Alfred Charles Smith's *The Autobiography of an Old Passport* published in 1893 would probably fall into the category of later publications, though the accounts were undoubtedly based on notes made at the time the tours were undertaken.

To the criteria used in the selection of travelogues must be added that of accessibility, essential in view of the importance of detail in the analysis and in checking back at later stages. In the end, just under a hundred travelogues were examined in the analysis of the chosen period. Other travelogues were consulted and used as a source of information, but not included in the analysis itself, usually because they did not satisfy some of the criteria; in particular, those were excluded which were too episodic in their narrative so that it was not possible to trace the writer's route with any accuracy.

The *Journal of a Tour on the Continent* may be taken to represent the traditional title of a travelogue at the beginning of our period, the word 'journal' suggesting a day-by-day account of the traveller's experiences. While many publications followed this approach, as did the manuscript journal writers throughout, there were pressures which encouraged changes to the traditional format.. Even before 1820, writers sometimes apologised for adding their accounts to a host of similar works already published. One of these was Francis Hall who, in his *Travels in France in 1818*[54], pointed to a host of similar publications which had preceded his:

> The public has thus banquetted on Travels, Agricultural, Philosophical, and Political; on Visits, and Visitations, from Six months to Six Weeks; on Letters and Observations; on "Reflections during a Residence," and "Notes during an Abode;" on "Walks in, round, and about Paris;" on "Sketches of Scenery," and "Scenic Delineation:" on Journeys, voluntary and forced; on Excursions on Horseback, and on Foot; by Old Routes, and New Routes, and Unusual

[53] Brockedon, *Excursions*; Latrobe, *Alpenstock*.
[54] Published London, 1819.

> routes. Nor have the species of travellers been less numerous than the forms given to their productions: - clergymen and men of letters, lords and farmers, physicians, journalists, officers, cockneys, and ladies, have in turn figured, and disappeared, from the stage of travelling notoriety. [55]

The range in travelogue format and traveller type was a manifestation of the enthusiasm both for travel and travel literature after 1814, but it was not as unnecessarily superabundant as Hall was suggesting. One of the regularly professed aims of the writers was to provide their readers with practical information about travel on the Continent and the format in part anticipated differing needs in terms of destination, mode of travel, and budget, and in part sought to complement the limited provision of guide books. As far as Switzerland was concerned, the latter were of surprisingly high quality, essentially due to the work of Johann Gottfried Ebel who as early as 1793 had produced a two volume guide to Switzerland in German. Importantly for British visitors who usually had a working knowledge of French but none of German, the two volumes were translated into French in 1795. An expanded four volume edition in French, published in 1810-11, was followed by a slightly more compact three volume edition in 1818.[56] In this edition, the first volume consisted of general advice to travellers and recommendations about routes, the last two of a gazeteer. Mindful of the needs of the pedestrian traveller, the author suggested that the first volume should be read before setting off and the final two disbound and only those sections taken which pertained to places on the selected itinerary.

The first English edition of Ebel edited by Daniel Wall tackled the weight problem more vigorously and reduced the three volumes to a small, but thick tome accompanied by a slightly larger but thinner atlas containing a map, panoramas and a phrase book.[57] The weakness of these early English guide books to Switzerland was, therefore, not their size but the complexity of their lay-out and the limitations of their content. In particular, they obliged their readers to flit from itinerary to gazeteer, they provided no helpful advice to travellers about the quality of inns and services to be found on the way, and finally they tended to become out of date before the appearance of a new edition. Travellers could remedy some of these defects by a

[55] Hall, Francis, *Travels*, p.2.

[56] A brief introduction to Ebel's guides along with bibliographical details can be found in Catalogue 246 of the Liechtenstein bookseller Interlibrum entitled *Die Bibliothek Sir Gavin de Beer. Geschichte des Reisens in der Schweiz, Teil I: A - K.*

[57] *The Traveller's Guide through Switzerland*, London, 1816

careful consultation of published travel journals, for the writers of these necessarily described sequential routes, were able to insert descriptive information about the places they visited, and were able to warn other travellers of possible dangers, fiddles and rip-offs to which they might be subjected. Each writer could consciously or unconsciously correct the mistakes and take issue, if necessary, with the impressions conveyed by both guide books and previous travel writers.

The topic which was of greatest concern to the traveller and upon which guide books had been of but little assistance was that of accommodation, and, in particular, its quality and cost. In the early part of the period, the most that ordinary travellers who had been overcharged could do was to add an entry into hotel registers to warn off prospective travellers. Thus a William Scott wrote in the register of the Rigi Kulm inn that fellow-travellers would be advised to 'avoid the Bear, a white house lately established at Grindelwald' [58] and three years later another guest at the inn gave a starker warning concerning a hotel in Dieppe:

> Travellers to England, by way of Dieppe, are strongly recommended to avoid an hotel at that place kept by an Englishman of the the name of Taylor. His charges are double; & when remonstrated with lately on the unreasonableness of his bill, he replied, "That he had made his fortune, & cared for nobody"!

Another year on, there was an entry: 'The Albergo della Posta at Duomo d'Ossola is abominably infested with bugs of great size & voracity: the beds are perfectly like ant-hills.' Mary Boddington provided one example of how such comments led to reform: the son of the innkeeper at Wesen travelling to Lausanne found in hotel registers 'his honoured father's name coupled with the most opprobrious epithets, and an admonition to future travellers to avoid the inn at Wesen'.[59] On his return home, the son instigated the necessary reforms and the father retired to the chimney corner. However, because of their narrow diffusion, it must be assumed that, in general, these acts of reprisal can have had little effect. In contrast, publication in print necessarily carried much greater weight. In his *Hyperion* , Longfellow described how Mr Berkly penned the following lines in the Travellers Book at an inn at Schaffhausen:

> Beware the Raven of Zurich!
> 'T is a bird of omen ill
> With a noisy and unclean nest,

[58] Entry for 3-10-1821.
[59] Boddington, *Slight reminiscencies*, I,p.302.

And a very, very long bill! [60]

The resulting bad publicity for the inn was widely circulated and therefore more effective. Thus when James Grant visited Zurich some ten years later in the early 1850s, he remembered the doggerel warning and determined to avoid the Raven. He had also met up with fellow travellers who were likewise determined and therefore, on arrival at Zurich, they were all delighted to find accommodation at the Bellevue. Their delight, however, was quickly moderated when they subsequently discovered, next to the enormous letters of HOTEL BELLEVUE on the signboard, written very small, 'Late the Raven'.[61]

The travel writer could point not only point to good and bad inns, but could also offer advice about journey times and optimum ways of travel, about employing guides and valets de place, about souvenirs and entertainments. However, as guide books increased in number, quality and frequency of publication, so the need for practically oriented content in travelogues declined. This became particularly the case after the publication of Murray's *Hand-book for travellers in Switzerland and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont* in 1838, for the guide was regularly reprinted and made qualitative judgments, both general and specific, about the quality of inns and modes of transport. As far as inns were concerned, Murray began to use descriptive terms such as 'good', 'recommended', 'clean', 'with moderate charges', quite extensively. By declaring himself to be 'very solicitous to be favoured with corrections of any mistakes and omissions which may be discovered' , [62] he gave average travellers some influence over the services with which they were provided. The fact that John Murray was an old-established British publishing house undoubtedly encouraged considerable correspondence, some of which was considered inappropriate, for the second edition of the guide added that 'no attention can be paid to letters from Hotel-keepers in praise of their own inns'.[63]

An example of how immediate the influence of the guide became is provided by Anna Eliza Bray.[64] In 1839, the year immediately following publication of the first

[60] Longfellow, Henry W., *Hyperion,* p.170. The first edition of the work had appeared in 1839.
[61] Grant, *Records of a run*, I, pp.338-9.
[62] Murray's *Handbook*, 1838, opposite title page.
[63] Murray's *Handbook*, 1842, opposite title page.
[64] Bray , *Mountains & Lakes*, I, p.245.

edition of Murray's *Handbook*, she put up at the Couronne in Schaffhausen where the landlord was 'quite a gentlemanly person' who spoke German, French, and English and had been in England for some time staying with a clergyman in Kent. The accommodation and meals he provided were good, and the cost was modest. However, far from prospering, his inn was 'almost universally shunned by the English' as a result of the censure passed on it in the *Handbook* - in fact, simply the epithet 'not recommended'. It so happened that Mrs Bray knew John Murray, and wrote to him on her return with the result that, for the second edition, he had his description of the Couronne amended to 'good and clean'. The pervasiveness of the influence of the new guide is indicated by Robert Ferguson when he reports an encounter he had with a gentleman who shared the patronymic of the book's editor. This Mr Murray travelled the country finding his fare was remarkably good and his bills remarkably small. 'At first at a loss as to what he should attribute this good fortune, he finally discovered when, after he had "eaten a preposterously good dinner, and paid a ridiculously small bill", the landlord expressed the hope "to be favoured with a recommendation in the next edition of the hand-book." '[65]

As the quality of information and the presentation of it improved in guide books - Baedeker was ultimately to prove a formidable rival to Murray[66] - a further powerful pressure was exerted on travel writers to produce more original accounts, for instance by giving a personal response to the places they saw or by seeking out aspects of the country which were not covered, or only superficially treated, in the guidebooks. The most common response was to focus on a much tighter geographical area. Titles such as *A Walk round Mont Blanc* and *The Italian Valleys of the Alps*[67] replaced the traditional *Journal of a Tour on the Continent.* The new works tended not to give much detail of the journey from Britain and back, or even within Switzerland beyond the particular district being described. Alternatively particular modes of travel could be undertaken. The pedestrians could compare their tenacity favourably with the horse-driven passenger. Mrs Dalkeith Holmes described the journey though France and Switzerland to Florence made by her husband and herself 'on horseback'[68], and similarly the family of Alfred Charles Smith completed many driving tours to the

[65] Ferguson, *Swiss men*, pp.37-8.
[66] The first edition in English of Baedeker's *Switzerland* was published in 1863, but a French version had already appeared in 1854.
[67] By Francis Trench ,1847, and Samuel King ,1858.
[68] *A Ride to Florence*, 1842.

Continent with their 'own English horses'.[69] A specialist interest provided the motivation for the writing of James Johnson (links between travel and health)[70] and of James Edward Forbes (the study of glaciers).[71] Finally, others described how the traditional two to three month tour could be accomplished more rapidly or more cheaply. The title of a work published in 1842 exemplifies this approach: *A scamper through Italy and the Tyrol: showing the minimum of expense and time necessary for a visit to the principal Italian cities.*[72] As a preface, this work includes an indication not only of the itinerary each day but also of the expenditure. A similar itinerary with expenses can be found in Albert Smith's *A Month at Constantinople* which included a tour in 1849 of over a month in Switzerland.[73]

The growing expansion of the national and local press also contributed to the stimulation and diffusion of travel writing in Britain. Often this manifested itself in short articles about particular places, but sometimes whole travelogues were included in sections over a number of issues. Thus George Falkner's account of his tour in 1854, *Three weeks from home*, was reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian* and J.J. Reynolds's *Tour of Switzerland and Savoy* was first published in the *Hereford Times* of 1856.

Finally, tours could be not only described, but also depicted. A few illustrations, or merely a frontispiece plate, increasingly accompanied the descriptions of a tour, and in a few cases the illustrations themselves outline the tour. This aspect of the tour will be considered later.

The principles and aims of the selection of travelogues for analysis.

While it was not the aim of this thesis to study the changing approaches to travel writing, it was important to exclude from analysis works which did not lend themselves to the same sort of objective analysis throughout the period. Thus as far as possible, travelogues were selected which gave an account of a full tour to the Continent and back. On a few occasions works dedicated to Switzerland alone were included, for they could contribute usefully to some parts of the analysis. Similarly, some accounts

[69] *The Autobiography of an Old Passport*, 1893.
[70] See, for instance, his *Change of Air, or the pursuit of health*, 1831.
[71] Forbes, James, *Travels through the Alps*, 1843.
[72] By a Gentleman, London, 1842.
[73] London, 1850, pp.221-8.

had a precise beginning, but did not have a similar ending, e.g. they may have been left unfinished by their writers, or the traveller may have been embarking on a prolonged period of Continental residence. Most manuscript journals were written up daily, or at least had an entry for almost every day which was clearly dated. Some printed travelogues also adopted this practice, thereby giving an objective picture of the overall length of the tour, the rate of travel and the places regarded as attractive for a few days' stay. Most accounts gave a fairly accurate idea of the route covered, some even including a map. For this study, routes were transcribed onto maps for the purpose of analysis but necessarily only as accurately as the descriptions in the text allowed.

A central strand in the current thesis is that Switzerland was regarded in this period as a country to be visited in its own right, and not merely as a place of transit. A through journey from Geneva to Italy would have needed no more than a couple of nights in the Rhone valley. Every traveller, therefore, who deviated from the direct route, or who spent more time in Switzerland than the minimum necessary, provided support to the argument. It was intended that the analysis of routes would support the evidence of the registers by showing that, while Switzerland did not always replace Italy as the ultimate travel destination, it did, for many travellers, become an important destination in its own right, and that, as a result, these established over the period increasingly well-worn tourist tracks. Where variations in routes and travellers' interests seemed to occur over the course of the period, these were noted.

An examination of the routes followed by travellers in Switzerland during the course of each decade indicated the relative popularity of different towns. Some consideration was paid as to whether towns were visited for their own sake or simply because they lay on a route to a popular destination. However, such a distinction could not be easily maintained. Most towns had features of interest, and passing visitors sought these out. At the same time, once a place became a tourist resort, it created its own attractions.

Particular attention was paid to the sights which seemed to have attracted travellers over the period. Some sights lay directly on a thoroughfare, and so, for that reason, any traveller passing along a particular route must, in one sense, have 'visited' them.

However, even though the traveller may not have made a particular detour to see them, it was nevertheless important to consider whether and how they were mentioned. Other sights lay off direct routes, indeed often required very considerable efforts to reach. These included the summit of the Rigi, the Lauterbrunnen, Grindelwald and Chamonix valleys, and the Hospice on the Great St. Bernard. Those who 'went out of their way' to visit these places thereby threw light on their motivations for travel. Two approaches were combined in carrying out the analysis. Individual routes through Switzerland were plotted for each traveller and then collated onto a single plan. From this, it was possible to draw some conclusions about the popularity of some routes over others. This approach was supplemented by considering particular sites picked out by travellers and whether there were changes over the period.To this end, a speculative list was created on the basis of preliminary reading of some travelogues, but before a systematic analysis of the full selection.

The sites selected included three viewpoints: the Rigi, the Weissenstein and the churchyard at Thun. The Rigi seemed to have attracted visitors from the very beginning of the period, and it was anticipated the analysis would confirm its great popularity. The Weissenstein was a viewpoint recommended to travellers, but possibly lay too far off the beaten track to attract many of the sample. Thirdly the view from the castle and churchyard at Thun was represented in many engraved views and there seemed little doubt that most visitors to the Oberland climbed up the low hill to enjoy it.

The second group of sites involved historical figures of note. It was hoped here to measure the response of British visitors to a small number of celebrities and to estimate whether interest in them grew or waned over the decades. William Tell may be regarded as the most famous Swiss person of all time. In the eighteenth century, William Coxe had drawn attention to evidence which questioned the historical authenticity of the Tell story.[74] It was therefore important to consider whether the story itself, and the sites allegedly linked to his life, would attract the British traveller of the nineteenth century.

After Tell, the two celebrities who had attracted much attention in their lifetime and

[74] Coxe, *Sketches*, pp.115-6.

who continued to do so after their death were Voltaire and Rousseau. The former had lived for a number of years at Ferney, just outside Geneva. During his lifetime, many British travellers passing through Geneva made the short trip to visit him.[75] After his death, his property passed into private hands. However, the new owner did allow access to a couple of rooms preserved with Voltaire's furnishings as well as to the grounds. Although Rousseau had been born in Geneva, his subsequent residences in Switzerland were brief: essentially a stay in Motiers in the Val de Travers between 1762 and 1765 followed by a couple of months on the Ile St. Pierre in the Lake of Bienne. Alongside these 'real' sites where he had resided were two fictional ones linked to his novel, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*: Clarens and Meillerie, both on the Lake of Geneva. Such was the popularity of the novel after its first publication in 1761 that British visitors immediately began to seek out the lakeside spots mentioned, in spite of Rousseau's own insistence on the fictional nature of his story. Because sites relating to both Voltaire and Rousseau were potentially accessible, the degree to which they were actually visited could provide information about the interests and attitudes of British visitors.

Three British celebrities also had links with Switzerland and especially the Lake of Geneva. Edmund Ludlow, a leading figure in Commonwealth England, had, at the Restoration, been forced into exile in Switzerland. It was here that he ultimately died and here, in the Church of St Martin at Vevey, that he was buried. He represented a figure who had played an important part in English history, but who, a century and a half later, might easily have been forgotten; yet perhaps some of those passing along the Lake would remember him. A much more recent resident on this same stretch of lakeside was the historian Edward Gibbon. He had resided at a house in Lausanne in the garden of which lay the summerhouse in which he had written some of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and where he had ultimately concluded it. Gibbon had died in 1787, but his house and its famous summerhouse remained as possible tourist attractions. Finally, and most recently - actually during the first decade of the period under investigation - Lord Byron had resided at Geneva between May and October 1816, had travelled round the Lake and had visited Chamonix and the Bernese Oberland. Would subsequent visitors be interested in the villa where he had resided (Villa Diodati), in his well-known friends and fellow residents, the Shelleys, or

[75] See Besterman, Theodore, *Studies on Voltaire* ,Vol.XLIX, *(Voltaire's British visitors).*

would it be his poetry rather than his person which they called to mind: Canto III of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, the *Prisoner of Chillon* and the poetic drama *Manfred*?

One of the dominating personalities of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was Madame de Stael whose residence at Coppet also lay on the Lake of Geneva and close to the main road along the north side of the Lake. She was alive at the beginning of our period, indeed played host to Lord Byron on a few occasions, but died in Paris in 1817. An analysis should show whether visitors were conscious of her residence both in the first and in the subsequent decades under study.

Two of the most widely known educationalists in Europe were working in Switzerland in the early decades of the nineteenth century: Heinrich Pestalozzi at Yverdon and Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg at Hofwyl. British visitors would, therefore, have had an opportunity to visit their institutions and investigate their ideas. It may be, however, that other priorities along with the language barrier caused them to pass by these interesting experiments. One innovation which had certainly aroused interest in the eighteenth century was a three-dimensional model of the central Alps created by the retired General Pfyffer. Was this a tourist attraction which would maintain the interest of travellers into the nineteenth century?

The usually mild climate and low-lying land of most of the British Isles meant that it was relatively free from natural disasters. One of the fascinations of a visit to the Alps, however, was the manifestation of spectacular natural phenomena, the loftiness of the mountains, the gloom of the deep-cut gorges, the great variety of waterfalls from the large volume, but short drop, of the Rhine falls at Schaffhausen through the higher falls of the Giessbach and Reichenbach to the very high drop of the Staubbach during the course of which the water dispersed into mist before reaching the ground. Before the days of photography and television, visitors to the Alps could also witness nature at its most terrifyingly destructive. Summer avalanches were normally relatively small and harmless, but the thundering roar that even these minor falls occasioned helped visitors to imagine how terrifying a spring avalanche must be. Two even more destructive natural phenomena took place in the early years of the century. In the first, a large section of the Rossberg, a mountain above the Lake of Lowertz, had broken loose, swept away three villages as it crashed downhill, and had then fallen into the

Lake, causing extensive flooding. Over 400 lives were lost. Although the disaster took place in 1806, and therefore almost a decade before the British travellers began to arrive, the results remained visible long afterwards. The second disaster took place in 1818 and very much in tourist territory. In the spring of that year, a landslide had blocked the outlet from a high mountain lake in the Val de Bagnes, above Martigny and the Rhone valley. The authorities, becoming aware of the danger posed by water building up behind an artificial and unstable dam, sent an engineer to investigate. His attempt to let the water out in a controlled manner proved an inadequate solution when, on 21 June, the dam burst, allowing the waters to rush all the way down the valley. Even though the population were aware of the danger, many were killed, including the innkeeper of the inn at Martigny. It would seem unlikely that any traveller passing along the Rhone valley after this date would not have mentioned the disaster. It will be important to consider, however, for how long the two disasters remained noteworthy.

The selected travelogues.

The notion of selecting the same number of travelogues for each decade was rejected once it became clear that by the final decades of the period under study, the number of published travelogues in traditional form declined. As an alternative it was decided to select as many as conveniently fitted the criteria, with the minimum number being fixed at fifteen. Even so, finding a sufficient number for the final decade proved difficult because, as stated, visits made in separate years were often conflated, and accounts became region-centred rather than descriptions of full tours. For the final decade, therefore, some tours were taken from later published autobiographies (such as those of Huxley and Palmer); from them it was possible to trace the route followed with reasonable accuracy. Hinchcliff's work was also included because although it combined information about travels over three separate years, it did contain his full tour of 1856, albeit ending with the itinerary and details of his tour in the previous year.

Although in many cases, information was sufficient to trace the route of a traveller, and the dates on which it was covered, with considerable accuracy, often parts of the route were omitted, or days and dates confused. These deficiencies seemed to occur especially at the end of tours where possibly the traveller had to hasten home and became less assiduous at completing his or her journal. Amongst the manuscript

journals, Thomas Hayes stopped writing a couple of months into his tour when at the Great St. Bernard hospice, Marianne Wilkinson in mid-sentence in Venice, reached after over a year of travelling and journal keeping, and Harriet Miller while at Frankfurt on her way home. Some published tours also finished in abrupt manner, for instance, those of John Scott, John Carne and Daniel Wilson.

In the shorter tour at the start of the period, the typical traveller moved on from place to place every day with only occasional stays of more than a night or two in any one place. However, those engaged in a longer tour, after the Grand Tour model, understandably selected some places for longer stays. Thus Thomas Pennington on his tour which lasted from July 1818 until August 1821 spent longer periods at Zurich (five months), Florence (four months and a month and a half), Naples (four months), Rome (two months and a half), Lyon (two months and a half). Paris (two months), Brussels (two months) and Vevey (one month and a half). Between these longer stays, he was constantly moving on and made over two hundred overnight stops at different inns. Twenty years later, in a tour which began in April 1844 and ended in June 1845, Marianne Wilkinson and her charge Marianne Malvars spent a month and a half in Paris, another month and a half in Bern, including excursions to the Oberland, a fortnight in Vevey, one month and a half in Geneva, and several months in Rome and Naples.

These two tours point to the difficulty of drawing a sharp distinction between tourists and residents. Several accounts, as well as the two just mentioned, derived from Britons residing on the Continent for a longer period who made 'mini-tours' from their base. As is well known, Lord Byron spent the summer of 1816 at Geneva and from there made excursions to Chamonix and the Bernese Oberland, Charles Latrobe was resident in Neuchatel between 1824 and 1827 and made his extended tours from there, and Elizabeth Strutt based her writing on Switzerland during a continuous period of residence in the Canton of Vaud (at Vevey and Rossinière) between 1834 and 1837.

Examples of the leisurely tour interspersed with periods of residence or of a period of residence during which excursions were undertaken can be found throughout the period. Alongside these, the shorter tour of a month or two became increasingly

popular as those engaged in professional and scholastic life also wished to explore the Continent but were constrained by set periods of vacation. Thus even in the period prior to 1820, examples of the vacation-limited traveller were to be found in Kenelm Digby (Cambridge University Long Vacation) and Samuel Butler (Shrewsbury School vacation). Later Thomas Talfourd taking his Etonian son with him onto the Continent was conscious of the need to return in time for the start of the new Eton term. The trend over the period towards the shorter tour was undoubtedly given further impetus by the development of the railway network which allowed travellers to reduce considerably the time spent in reaching their intended holiday destination. Railways also meant that longer distances could be covered cheaply. For instance, in 1852 John Barrow, having passed through Paris and Geneva, continued to Milan and Venice and then headed north and east to Vienna and Berlin before returning home.

The travelogue writers.

All the travelogue writers selected for the analysis were listed by decade along with details of their sex, the year of their tour, the type of the travelogue (whether contemporary publication, later publication, or manuscript), their age and their occupation (Table D1, p.203). An effort was made to make the information as accurate and complete as possible, yet every category, except perhaps that of travelogue type, presented some problems. It did prove possible to discover the authorship of two of the anonymous manuscript journals (those of John Langford and Marianne Wilkinson). In contrast, no attribution could be made for the anonymous published works, with the exception of that entitled *Lion-hunting* where an inscription indicated Alexander Dunlop as the author. [76] In most cases, the year of the tour was made clear in the text, but, in a few cases, days of the week had to be linked to dates in the month to reach a conclusion. The age and occupation of about three quarters of the writers were discovered. The term 'occupation' must necessarily be interpreted in a fluid manner, for, in some cases at least, an occupation may have been pursued more as a hobby than as an essential way of earning a living, for instance, that of 'writer'. In order to establish the extent to which the writers of the travelogues represent the full spectrum of travellers whose details were recorded in the registers, information on gender, age and profession is summarised here.

[76] See note of introduction to 'Primary sources: Books' in the Bibliography.

Gender. Of the ninety three writers, twenty were female, and of the latter, it is believed that all but five were married. The number of women writers provides an indication of growing emancipation. The proportion of female to male writers was compatible with that of female to male travellers which emerged from the register data. There is, of course, no reason to assume that there should be exact correspondence between access to publication and access to Continental travel as measures of female emancipation.

Age. The ages of writers whose date of birth it proved possible to discover, were tabulated in age groups (Table D2, p.205).Most were over twenty and under fifty, but older age groups and younger were also represented. Comparing these ages with those of travellers entered in the Genevan passport registers (Table C1.5), it emerged that the average travelogue writer was older than the average traveller, a feature that could be anticipated from the fact that young writers were less likely to have easy access to publication. In the small under twenties group, only Henniker's account provided a contemporary publication.

Occupation. In those cases where the writer's social status/occupation was discovered, it was noted (Table D3, p.206). In comparison with the Geneva register data (Tables C1.7a,b, pp.171-2), the small number of the titled and the gentry writing travelogues was striking. However, it was to be assumed that writing for publication was not regarded as an activity holding merit for this group. Indeed, of the six names in these two categories, only Stanhope's *Letters* were published immediately after the tour described - and then anonymously and in Karlsruhe! However, more predictable was the finding that the majority of the male travelogue writers were already engaged in activities which involved writing: the clergy, teachers and academics, lawyers, and publishers form the principal groups, with the clergy forming the largest group.

The social groups of travellers whose testimony are most noticeably lacking are the merchants, tradesmen and servants, groups who would have had little opportunity to develop writing skills and even less time or opportunity to practise them. A completely different perspective on the Continental tour might have been gained from first hand accounts by servants who travelled the same routes as their

employers. The number of servants taken on a Continental tour would have been few in comparison with the number employed at home. For the journey, the household's male servants may well have been replaced by a simple courier or servant specialising in travel. Such a person could have been British, but might equally well have been a foreigner; he would have been expected to have command of the foreign languages required and to deal with the practical aspects of the travel arrangements. When women were travelling, they would often have taken a maid-servant as a personal attendant, and if children were in the group, a governess might have been included also. The lack of personal testimonies from this group means that we can, at most, get brief glimpses of them through the accounts of their employers. Sometimes the latter do not mention them at all!

Travel groups. It was not always possible to establish the precise constitution of travelling groups: while some writers indicated clearly the number of their companions and the nature of their relationship to the writer and each other, others referred to their 'party' or their 'companions' who were not enumerated or named. Some merely used the pronoun 'we' without further specification. Inasmuch as it was possible to discover the make-up of travel groups, these were listed (Table D4, pp.207-8). The travelogue writers, both as a whole and within each decade, were travelling in a wide range of 'groupings'. A few travelled alone, e.g. Rickman, Latrobe, Weatherhead, Henniker, but the most usual groups were husbands and wives, e.g. Blessington, Holmes, Headlam, larger family groups, e.g. Agassiz, Bakewell, Waldie, mixed family and friends groups, e.g. Rogers, Wilson, and groups of two or more male friends, e.g. Adamson and Burrell, Langford, and Boyd, Digby and three fellow-undergraduates. As we would expect, female groups were few in number but probably not underrepresented: Harriet Campbell with mother and sisters, Martha Lamont with female friend and friends's mother, and Marianne Wilkinson with Marianne Malvars. Groups were not necessarily fixed: friends would link up or separate 'en route', local servants and guides might be employed for short periods, and sometimes travellers joined others, whom they had met by chance, for parts of their journey.

As far as servants were concerned, the data confirmed the points made generally in the section on occupations. Although probably an underestimate, fewer than ten of

the travelogue writers recorded that they were accompanied by a single servant, and only two had more than one. Three travelled with Swiss servants.

Analysis of the routes.

It has already been recognised that the 90 or so travelogue writers selected represent only a tiny proportion of all travellers to Switzerland and the Continent. Register evidence suggested that several thousand Britons were visiting Switzerland each year and, therefore, over the full period, the total number of visits made may have amounted to a figure in the region of 175,000. In spite of the small size of the travelogue sample in relation to such a total travelling population, evidence from the sample should be of interest if used with caution. In particular, routes followed by a high proportion of travelogue writers and those undertaken by none or almost none would both seem indications of the interests and intentions of both travelogue writers and other travellers, especially as it may be assumed that the publicity, or lack of it, offered by the former will have encouraged or discouraged others to follow their chosen routes.

The data are presented in different ways. The Swiss element of the tours is placed within the wider geographical framework of the whole tour. The most popular and least popular routes within Switzerland are considered and the relative popularity of particular regions and towns is examined. As well as conflating the evidence for the whole period under review, consideration is also given to the ways in which the route of the 'typical' tour may have been adjusted over time.

Switzerland within the context of the whole tour.

An examination of the routes followed by travellers on their tour as a whole suggested that there were two principal corridors leading from London and the Channel ports to Switzerland, the one passing through Paris, on to Dijon or Lyons and into Geneva, the other passing through the Netherlands, and continuing down the Rhine into Basel. While most travellers entered Switzerland through either Geneva or Basel, there were those who instead of turning east into Geneva from Lyons, continued south into Italy (either across the Mont Cenis Pass or along the Riviera coast), and only entered Switzerland on their return journey. From an examination of the outline route taken by each travelogue writer (Table D5, pp.209-10), it is to be

noted that few moved outside the corridors indicated, for instance by extending their tour into Western France, into German territory east of the Rhineland, or into Austria. Similarly, few travellers 'changed corridors' between the Channel coast and Switzerland, for instance by proceeding to the Rhine from Paris or vice versa. Henry Matthews was the only traveller in the selected group to travel by sea from England to Italy. Variations did occur in the choice of 'corridor' for the outward and return journey and in the decision as to whether Italy was the joint or main destination of the tour. In the latter case travellers chose different places at which to stop moving south and turn homeward.

If the main cities and regions reached or traversed on the route to and from Switzerland are collated for each decade (Table D6, p..211), it is possible to assess the relative popularity of each route by considering, for instance, the number of travelogue writers moving up or down the two corridors, and the number of those continuing into Italy. The resulting collation indicates that the journey along the Rhine became an increasingly popular alternative to the route through Paris. It also suggests that, over the period, fewer travellers combined tours of both Switzerland and Italy. The Riviera did not feature prominently, being in most cases no more than the route chosen to enter into Italy.

The increasing ease of travel along the Rhine gave travellers a real alternative to the Paris route and, therefore, it might be expected that they would have added variety to their tour by returning by a different route from the one they took on their outward journey. At the time there were those who suggested that the beauties of the Rhine could best be appreciated in the slower upstream journey. In contrast, in a downstream journey, these would not only be viewed more cursorily but would seem diminished in the eyes of those travellers who, only a couple of days before, had been contemplating the mighty Alps. The actual choices made by travelogue writers were collated (Table D7, p.211). No very clear pattern of choice emerged from the collation, though it did suggest a diminishing number travelling through Paris on both the outward and homeward journeys, a corresponding increasing popularity of travelling both up and down the Rhine, and a slight preference for travelling 'clockwise' up the Rhine and back through Paris rather than in the opposite direction.

London to Geneva.

Where it was possible to estimate the time taken by the travelogue writers to reach Geneva from London or the Channel ports, journey time in days was noted for each individual (Table D8, p.212). It was also recorded for the small number of travellers who started their journey from Paris is noted also. In addition, there were some of whom it was known that they passed through Geneva, but whose travelogues did not indicate how long it took them to reach the city. The proportion of travellers in the latter category seemed to increase over the period and especially after 1840, a finding which was in line with earlier evidence from the registers of a decline in the proportion of travellers to Switzerland who passed though Geneva..

The above data was used to produce a list in which travellers were arranged in order according to the number of days taken for them to complete the journey from London or the Channel ports to Geneva (Table D9, p.213). The result indicated that nearly forty per cent reached Geneva within a month and a further thirty per cent within two months. Individuals taking over six months to reach Geneva consisted of those who took up residence for some weeks or months in one or more places on their way to Switzerland, for instance, Martha Lamont at a Paris boarding establishment, or who, like Henry Matthews, only entered Switzerland on their return journey, usually from Italy. It also seemed likely likely that some travellers, especially those starting their tour by ascending the Rhine, passed through central Switzerland on their way to Italy, but only entered Geneva on their return journey. William Webb provided the only example in our sample; he reached Switzerland within a month, but Geneva more than a year later, having spent over eight months in Italy in the interim.

In the pre-railway age it would have been difficult to cover the ground from the Channel coast to Geneva, or vice versa, in less than a week. The homeward journey of Charles Tennant from Geneva to Calais over the Christmas period in 1821-2 provided a good example. He should have taken a day over the run from Geneva to Lyons - in fact it took him two because of a serious incident (over a Customs inspection) at the French frontier. He covered the long stretch on to Paris in a through *diligence* , taking four days and nights in the process and arriving at his destination early on the fifth morning. After a few days in Paris, he completed the next stage to Calais again in another through *diligence* which involved a further two days and a night.

In our sample, of the small group of individuals who took less than a fortnight to reach Geneva, only Samuel Butler, taking twelve days, did so in the pre-railway age. Journey times between London and Geneva were potentially reduced from the early 1850s when journeys could be made entirely by train as far as Basel, Dijon or Macon. A through railway link with Geneva itself was only finally completed in the late 1850s.[77]

When examining data from the Genevan registers, it was proposed that long periods between passport issue in London and arrival in Geneva might be simply the result of extended tours where Geneva was only entered at a late stage of the tour. Travelogue analysis clearly supported this as an important explanation. In contrast, the travelogues did not provide evidence on whether passports were used as a matter of course for more than one tour. The travel account of James Buckingham, for instance, does not reveal whether he entered Geneva in 1846 with the same passport that he had used in 1845, nor does Thomas Talfourd indicate whether he was using his passport of 1841 when he reentered Geneva in 1843. It seems unlikely that there can be a definitive answer to the question, since the requirements for passports were not determined by the issuer, but by the national and local authorities in the countries through which the traveller passed. While one suspects that in most instances, the essential task was for travellers to ensure that they obtained the requisite visas, it is quite possible that particular countries, or their frontier control representatives, decided, possibly arbitrarily, that a passport was no longer valid. The traveller could do no more than try to find out the regulations before setting out and then acquire the necessary documents as cheaply as possible. Thus, in 1841, the author of *A Scamper through Italy* ended up by obtaining, before he set off from London, both a Belgian and a French passport, the latter with a Prussian, Dutch, Sardinian, and Neapolitan visa affixed, but he postponed obtaining Swiss, Tuscan, Papal, and Austrian visas, until he arrived in Paris.[78] In contrast, Walter White, returning to the Continent in 1855, found he did not have to replace his Foreign Office passport, in spite of its being two years old. He did, however, have to add new visas.[79] By the 1850s, the situation was apparently, depending on the country visited, becoming more relaxed.

[77] See map entitled 'Entwicklung der Eisenbahnen in Mitteleuropa bis 1866,' p.99 in Putzgers, *Historischer Schulatlas.*
[78] Anon., *A Scamper through Italy*, p.3.
[79] White, *On foot through Tyrol*, p.2.

Duration of the tours.

The importance which travellers attached to their Swiss tour can, at least in part, be measured by its duration. To provide a basis for analysis, the duration of the whole tour of each individual was considered alongside the duration of the Swiss component (Table 10a, p.214).This information was then used to provide two further lists, showing,in descending order, the number of days spent on the whole tour and on the Swiss component within it (Table 10b and 10c, pp215-6). The first Table (Table 10a) was used to examine further the relationship of the Swiss component to the whole tour by linking the average length of the whole tour to that of the Swiss tour, and thereby calculating of the proportion of the whole tour spent in Switzerland (Table 10d, p.217).

When examined as a whole, the resulting information showed a wide variety in the duration of tours, both overall and within Switzerland. The longer tours had features in common with the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century, in particular the inclusion of Italy in the tour and of one or more longer periods of residence in particular places. Over the decades examined, the travelogues did seem to bear witness to a decline in the overall length of the tour, to some decline in the length of the Swiss component, but not to any consistent decline in the proportion of the whole tour spent in Switzerland. The figures could reasonably be interpreted to show changes in the structure of tours over the period: in the immediate post-1814 period, Italy remained an important destination for many travellers; in the 1820s, the longer tour was still in vogue, but the Swiss tour was becoming an increasingly important component of this; and by the 1850s, tours had generally become much shorter, with the emerging railway system enabling travellers to reach their chosen destination quickly, and thereby allowing them to spend a greater proportion of their tour at their destination and a shorter period of time on the journey to it..

Even if the nature of the Continental tour, and the Swiss component within it, changed over the period, it would be misleading to link too tightly the duration of a tour with the importance attached to it. The life-style of the professional classes who were now participating in Continental tours in increasing numbers required shorter and more focused breaks, and a more organised and more rapid transport system supported

this requirement. A telling instance of the nature of the change can be found by contrasting the visits to Switzerland of Jane Waldie in 1817 and George Falkner in 1854. Both spent nine days in Switzerland. For Jane Waldie, the nine days made up a tiny proportion of the whole tour which lasted nearly a year and the days in Switzerland were taken up essentially by the passage from the Italian Swiss frontier on the Simplon to the Swiss French frontier at Les Rousses. In contrast, George Falkner's nine days made up over a third of his whole tour of between three and four weeks and during his nine days, he visited parts of the Lake of Geneva and the Chamonix valley, he crossed the Tête Noire and the Gemmi, and then passed through Thun and Bern before returning along the Rhine. Motivation and means of transport remained relevant variables throughout the period.

Travellers routes in Switzerland.

In order to show the relative popularity of actual and potential itineraries through Switzerland; a diagrammatic map was created on which the routes of the travelogue writers were collated (Map D 11, p.218). The map immediately drew attention to the uneven coverage of the territory by the travellers, in particular, the relatively low number of visits to north-eastern Switzerland, and to the almost total neglect of the Engadine and the lateral valleys of the Rhone. The pattern of movement became clearer by highlighting the routes taken by at least half of all the selected travellers (Map D12, p.219). By temporarily excluding from consideration the route along the north side of the Lake of Geneva and along the Rhone valley as far as Domodossola, the popularity of which could derive from its being a key transit route between France and Italy, three distinct tourist centres emerged: Geneva and Chamonix, the Bernese Oberland, and the Lake of Lucern. By examining in turn the next most popular routes, those covered by between a quarter and a half of travellers (also marked on Map D12), a clearer notion of the pattern of movement emerged. In particular, the added routes suggested how travellers moved from the points of entry to the three tourist centres and between them. Wherever the routes marked in red and green ended abruptly, there were two or more alternative routes. The choice between these must have depended not only on personal interest in particular sights, but also on physical constraints such as suitable transport, weather and road conditions, and the time available for the journey. For instance,the considerable numbers who passed from Chamonix to Martigny had a choice of two routes, one over the Tête Noire, the other

across the Col de Balme. The latter was deemed more attractive, but was higher, took longer to cross, and was more susceptible to the hazards of bad weather. Similarly, the journey from the district of Lucern to the Bernese Oberland could be made via the Furca and Grimsel passes, and that from the Bernese Oberland to the Rhone valley via the Gemmi, but both routes involved considerable ascents in altitude which could be dangerous in bad weather. Many travellers therefore opted for easier routes. The Brunig Pass or the Emmental provided less daunting routes from Lucern to the Bernese Oberland, and, thence, the journey via Bern and the relatively low-lying roads led on to Lausanne, Vevey and either Geneva or the Rhone Valley.

The three tourist centres.

Having established the attraction which the three centres held for visitors, it was important to consider their relative popularity, and whether there were changes over the period. The centres visited by each individual traveller were listed (Table D13a, p.220), thereby making it possible to establish how many visited each centre in each decade (Table D13b, p.221). The resulting information suggested that, in the first and shorter six year period (1814-19), Chamonix was the most popular of the three centres. After the early period, the Oberland seemed to have established itself as an equally popular destination, with the Lucern area following not far behind, indicating that Chamonix ceased to dominate. In order to gain an idea of how travellers structured their Swiss tour, consideration was given as to whether and how they combined visits to the three centres during each decade and in total (Table D13c, p.221). The relatively high numbers visiting three, or at least two of the centres, suggested that a high proportion of travellers did engage in a tour of Switzerland in which, overall, each of the three centres was regarded as an important element. Those who entered Switzerland without visiting any of the centres, or only one, were in part made up of those passing through. However, at least two other reasons for a more limited visit can be given. Firstly, while most visitors to Switzerland came to visit the Alps and admire the scenery, others may have had other motivations. It has already been noted that the centres, with the possible exception of Lucern, lay off main highroads and therefore offered few town-based interests and activities. Some evangelical clergymen, for instance, were particularly keen to meet up with like-minded colleagues during the course of their travels. As a result, a stay in Geneva formed an important

stopping place on their tour.[80] Secondly, although the centres were amongst the most 'publicised' of the Swiss beauty spots, there were plenty of other scenic attractions both in location, such as the route over the Splügen, the Via Mala, Pfeffers and the Lake of Wallenstadt, and in type, for instance, the softer scenery on the northern shore of the Lake of Geneva and around the Lakes of Neuchatel and Bienne. These alternative attractions help to explain how Minter Morgan spent nearly three months in Switzerland but only visited one centre, and Aldborough Henniker over three weeks without visiting any.

Places visited - analysis and interpretation.

In order to refine further the pattern of visiting, it was decided to examine the number of visits to geographical units smaller than the centres. Based principally on the map of routes (Map D11, p.218), a selection of key towns and villages was made; to complement information in Section C, the Rigi and the Great St. Bernard hospice were added. In order to show the relative popularity of particular places which were visited, or at least passed through, they were ranked according to the number of travelogue writers who visited them over the full period (Table D14a, p.222) thereby providing an overview. In order to gain an insight into the way changes occurred over the period, the places were firstly arranged alphabetically and the number of visits each place received each decade was recorded (Table D14b, p.223) and secondly arranged for each decade in rank order according to the number of visits recorded (Table D14c, p.224).

Relative positions can, in part, be attributed to lines of communication. These were, of course, particularly well defined in mountainous areas, where alternative routes, in terms of distance and duration, were seldom if ever available. Thus, the four most visited towns overall, Geneva, Martigny, Lausanne, and Vevey, all lay on the route to the Simplon pass, the only carriageable road over the Alps in the area. However, that those passing through each of these towns did not solely consist of those in transit is indicated by the much lower numbers passing through Brig and Domodossola which lay further along the same route. The high position of Martigny on the list can be attributed not only to its situation on the Simplon route, but also to the fact that it was the starting point for both the Great St. Bernard Pass and the Aosta valley, as well as

[80] In particular, the names of Jean Henri Merle d'Aubigné, Abraham-César Malan, and Louis Gaussen were regularly mentioned.

one of the two gateways to the Chamonix valley. Geneva itself, the other gateway to Chamonix, undoubtedly also provided a stopping place for some of those travelling between the north and south of France. Similarly, Lucern, Zurich, Zug and Altdorf all lay on the St Gotthard route and therefore can be regarded as transit towns; however the lower figures of Andermatt and Bellinzona on the same route suggest that they were more than this.

Basel and Schaffhausen were popular, at least in part, as points of entry to Switzerland. Basel's rise in popularity over the decades can be attributed both to the increasing tourist traffic along the Rhine, and, from the 1840s, to the gradual opening up of the railway system which initially favoured Basel over Geneva as the access point to Switzerland from the Channel coast. Bern achieved a high place on the list because of its multi-functional role, acting as transit town on the routes from the north and centre of Switzerland to the Lake of Geneva area and also providing an urban starting point for those visiting the Bernese Oberland.

Other places high in the order of popularity, Chamonix, Interlaken, Grindelwald, Lauterbrunnen and Thun, reflect the importance of the three tourist centres already identified. Of these, Thun was already an established town in the eighteenth century; in contrast, Chamonix and Interlaken were little more than hamlets in 1750; both owed their expansion exclusively to the passage of travellers. The numbers visiting Grindelwald and Lauterbrunnen, two villages whose names in 1700 would surely have meant nothing to any inhabitant of the British Isles, give a clear indication of just how popular the Bernese Oberland had become as a destination. The high position on the list of the Rigi and the Great St. Bernard hospice confirm their attraction for British visitors, especially in view of their difficulty of access.

The position of places lower on the list suggested the routes which were less frequented over the period. Towns like Fribourg, Neuchatel, Murten and Solothurn lying in the plain between the Bernese Oberland and the Lake of Geneva saw comparatively modest numbers passing through, indicating that no one route had overwhelming attraction. The Gotthard and Splügen passes were clearly less popular as routes from the north to the south of the Alps than the Simplon - hence the low position of places such as Bellinzona, Thusis, and Chur. They do however rise in

position over the period, the result, probably at least in part, of the creation of carriage roads over both the St Gotthard, the Splügen and the San Bernardino passes, and of the growing draw of the Lucern area as a centre. The Swiss-Italian lakes did not attract large numbers of visitors and north eastern Switzerland very few, a fact reflected in the low position of Locarno, Lugano and Constance. The gentler valleys, such as the Emmental (represented by Langnau) or the area around Chateau d'Oex, saw a few travellers in transit, but did not attract them in any numbers for their own sake. St Moritz in the Engadine, which was, within a couple of decades to become a major health resort and to attract large numbers of British visitors, did not attract enough visitors to be included in the selection. Other places such as Champéry, Davos, Mürren, and Saas Fee, to become popular by the end of the century, remained unknown and unvisited villages. Even Zermatt would have not featured in the selection, but for a small cluster of visits in the last decade of the period.

A further important factor establishing the relative popularity of routes was suitability of accommodation. Already in the eighteenth century, Switzerland possessed some fine hotels by European standards. [81] These lay on the main lines of communication, and many more were established during the early decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that, in the first edition of Murray's *Handbook*, visitors were told that 'Switzerland is well provided with inns; and those of the large towns, such as the Faucon, at Berne, the Bergues and Couronne, at Geneva, the Bellevue, at Thun, the Three Kings, at Basle, yield, in extent and good management, to few hotels in either France or Germany.' [82] In an era where hotel rooms were often filthy, bed bugs rampant, and the stench overwhelming, and where meals might consist of watery soup, scrawny chicken, rock-hard bread and rancid butter, the attraction of a clean bed and a pleasant meal at a reasonable price was enormous. By sticking to frequented routes, travellers often had a choice of good hotels; by striking off the beaten track, they risked the bad ones. Indeed, in many villages there were none at all, and travellers had to seek help from the local clergyman or priest. Inevitably, a mule track up a valley with no accommodation at the end of it was not going to be a serious draw to most. However, if the provision of satisfactory accommodation by an enterprising innkeeper could overcome the disincentive of bad roads, such provision could only become good business when undertaken either in response to, or in correct

[81] See Grellet, *Suisse des diligences*, p. 44.
[82] Murray's *Handbook*, 1838 edition, p.xix.

anticipation of, customer demand.

Places on the tour - observations of the travellers.

The objective analysis of the travelogues can be usefully supplemented by considering more closely the observations made by the travellers about their routes and the places they visited. The evidence put forward has suggested, for instance, that British visitors were concentrated in three centres, while other parts of the country remained relatively unvisited. It is therefore their perceptions of these three areas which will be considered first, before their responses to particular sites and sights are examined.

Geneva, Chamonix and the Lake of Geneva.

Both the results from the register survey and the travelogue analysis indicate Geneva as the usual starting place of the Swiss tour, at least in the early decades of the century. This popularity is regularly confirmed by the travellers themselves. Already in 1814, John Mayne found the Sécheron inn, the most popular stopping place at Geneva at the time, 'crowded with English ladies and Gentlemen and their servants,' [83] and John Milford commented, in the same year, that 'the English resort so much to this inn ... that you can almost fancy yourself in England.' [84] Tisdall found the inn so full that he had to sleep in his carriage. There was no let-up in the years that followed. In 1818, Marianne Baillie's party found the Sécheron full and 'had the mortification of being turned away from every inn except one, owing to the swarms of our countrymen who had previously monopolised all accommodation.' [85] As this implies, what was true of the Sécheron was true of the town as a whole. When Milford returned from his trip to Italy, he found the town 'was become an English colony'. [86] In 1816, Lady Shelley reckoned there were 'above 1,100 English in and near this place,' [87] although the author of *A picturesque tour* was 'credibly informed' that the number had never exceeded seven hundred. [88] Crowds of British travellers continued to arrive in the years that followed. William Brockedon travelling with Clarkson Stanfield in 1824 commented that an Englishman was struck by the prevalence of his language to be

[83] Mayne, *Journal*, p.86.
[84] Milford, *Observations*, I, p.154.
[85] Baillie, *First impressions*, pp. 244-5.
[86] Milford, *Observations*, II, p.226.
[87] Shelley, Frances, *Diary*, I, p.231.
[88] Anon., *A picturesque tour*, p.312.

heard 'from half the persons who pass him in the street.' [89] William Liddiard, in 1827, found the town so full that it was only with difficulty that he got a bed, many stories up, at the Ecu,[90] and four years later, Robert Gray wrote home that 'the English swarm here as much as ever, and bring all their amusements with them, horses, carriages, and dogs, in abundance.' [91]

Two strong reasons for the concentration of British travellers in Geneva have already been proposed: its position on the Simplon route and its proximity to Chamonix. Travel accounts also make it clear that Geneva was not solely an overnight stopping place, but, for many, a place to pause for a few days, or even to take up residence for a month, a season, or even longer. At least ten of the travelogue writers spent between about a week and a fortnight in Geneva, and some spent longer: Lord Byron over four months in 1816, Robert Bakewell the winter of 1820-21, John Carne that of 1826-7, and Martha Lamont that of 1838-39.

Other places along the lake owe some of their popularity to their provision of similar opportunities for a longer stay. Louis Agassiz, Henry Matthews and John Murray passed a month or more at Lausanne. Famous British residents included John Philip Kemble who resided in Lausanne in his final years, and Charles Dickens who rented the villa Rosemont for six months in 1846. Of Vevey, only a short distance further round the lake, Alexander Dunlop commented that 'a good many strangers reside here.' [92] Again, the sample group provides examples: William Pennington spent two months in the town in 1820, Weever Walter spent several weeks there between August and November 1822 and returned the following year having wintered in Italy, William Hazlitt rented an apartment for over three months in 1825, and Elizabeth Strutt resided there for some three years in the 1830s.

The area along the northern shore of the lake stretching from Geneva to Vevey had three features which made it particularly acceptable as a place for a longer stay: it was French-speaking, the inhabitants were Protestant, and it was 'free from the immorality and dissipation that prevail in many cities'. [93] The latter quality was particularly important

[89] Brockedon, *Journals*, p.13.
[90] Liddiard, *Three Months' Tour*, p.81.
[91] Gray, Charles (ed.), *Life of Robert Gray*, I, p.19.
[92] [Dunlop], *Lion-hunting*, p. 239.
[93] Bakewell, *Travels*, II, p.149.

for those who brought or sent their offspring to the area for educational reasons, especially in order to learn French. The custom of lodging with teachers in Geneva and Lausanne had already been established in the eighteenth century and developed further in the nineteenth. As numbers grew, groups of young people were accommodated not only in families, but also in *pensions*, the best remembered nowadays being that of Rodolphe Töpffer. These were international in character, but the British usually figured prominently in the roll.[94] For other British travellers, the renting of a summer villa (a so-called *campagne*) with views over the lake provided a delightful place to spend a summer, an ideal base from which to make excursions to Chamonix or to the Bernese Oberland, and all at less expense than keeping up with the social whirl at home.

The Genevan passport registers indicated large numbers visiting Chamonix, and the travelogues confirm its popularity not only through the route analysis, but also in the observations made. The author of a *Picturesque Tour* who had climbed up to the Mer de Glace at the end of August 1816 noted some 30 people there, almost all of them English. Reckoning the same number on half the 120 days of a four month season, we would expect some 1800 British visitors over the year. This figure corresponds exactly with that suggested by one visitor in 1818 who indicated that 2000 had visited Chamonix that year, 1800 of whom were British.[95] For the year 1822, Webb puts forward a figure of 2,250 without specifying nationality.[96]

Hotel accommodation had developed early in order to cater for both the numbers and the social standing of the clientele arriving at the village. Even in the early 1820s, Robert Bakewell deemed the Hotel de l'Union and the Hotel de Londres 'more like English inns, than those in any other part of the duchy [i.e. in Savoy].' [97] It was at the latter that the Wordsworth party arrived on the 14 September 1820 and found it 'full of English People, and as gay, within its wooden walls, as a city hotel. We took our supper at one end of the Salle à manger while an English party, dressed as at one of our watering-places - all over frills and flounces - had tea at the other.' [98] Five years

[94] No serious account has been written either of British residence in the area or of the British young people educated in the families and boarding establishments.
[95] *Journal of a tour*, II, p.129.
[96] Webb, *Minutes*, I, p.368.
[97] Bakewell, *Travels*, II, 33-4.
[98] Wordsworth, D., *Journal*, II, p.284.

later, Seth Stevenson arriving at the Hotel de Londres found 'the guests conversing with each other in English. The house was indeed filled with company, forming part of a British *summer-colony* at the foot of the Pennine Alps!' [99] Visitors rarely spent more than a couple of nights in the village, just enough to enable them to do one or more of the day excursions, by far the most popular of which was that to the Montanvert to view and walk on the Mer de Glace.

Over the ensuing decades, the resort continued to expand, with old hotels being extended and new ones erected. By 1850, the number of visitors had risen to some 5000 annually.[100] Roget's party arriving in 1844 considered themselves lucky to get rooms because 'the influx of travellers was so great that all the hotels were soon completely filled, and many were obliged to put up with makeshift accommodation, such as whole families sleeping in one room straw supplying the place of beds, and eight persons were reported to have slept upon a billiard table.'[101] Even a major fire in the village in 1855 scarcely stemmed the flow, for the following year Reynolds described a situation similar to that found by Roget. He too had benefited by reserving a room in good time, but wondered how all the later arrivals found accommodation: 'they must have been stowed away in the nooks of the village.' Later, as he sat down to tea 'with English faces around, English phrases ringing in our ears, and waiters speaking English like natives, it was easy,' he reflected, 'to imagine oneself back again in the little isle, and not a thousand miles away in the secluded valley of Chamouni, not long ago inaccessible to the wheels of the tourist.' [102]

Apart from the scenery in general, what made Chamonix particularly attractive to visitors were the glaciers, for here, as in Grindelwald these descended into prosperous valleys, which had the practical advantage of supporting villages and therefore accommodation. Travellers were understandably fascinated by a phenomenon which did not exist in the British Isles and about the nature of which there was considerable speculation. They found it particularly striking that it was possible to be touching ice with one hand while picking wild strawberries with the other.[103] The

[99] Stevenson, Seth, *Tour*, I, p.217.
[100] Payot, *Au royaume du Mont-Blanc*, p.77.
[101] Roget, *Travel*, p.197.
[102] Reynolds, *Occasional pieces*, p.225.
[103] Murray, *Glance*, p.207. Seth Stevenson comments on corn ripening 'within a few paces of the ice', *Tour*, I, p. 217.

essential excursion from Chamonix was to the Mer de Glace, which was imposing in its length and intriguing in its surface form. A simple building for visitors on the Montanvert adjoining the glacier had already been funded in the eighteenth century by a philanthropic Englishman by the name of Blair. This simple structure was supplemented and ultimately replaced by other buildings in the nineteenth century. From the base on the Montanvert where food and simple accommodation could be procured, visitors could not only view the glacier, but, with the help of guides, step onto its surface. The more intrepid could even venture right across the glacier. On their descent, they could visit the source of the river Arveiron which issued from the mouth of the glacier. Many also, usually on a different day, visited the Glacier des Bossons, which descended much more dramatically slightly further down the valley. Another popular excursion was to cross to the other side of the valley, and, from there, to climb up to the Brévent or the Flégère, two high points from which a fine view over the whole Mont Blanc range was gained.

Those who, on leaving Chamonix, did not return to Geneva, but crossed into the Rhone Valley by the Col de la Forclaz, usually spent the night at Martigny. From there, a considerable number, about a quarter, made the strenuous eight-hour journey to the Great St. Bernard Hospice. The place possessed a number of features which clearly appealed to visitors. Its isolated position, and its reputation as the highest place in Europe inhabited throughout the year, undoubtedly gave it cachet. Also both the pass and the hospice had historical associations with Napoleon, and visitors during the period immediately after 1814, in particular, were regaled by the monks with accounts of his crossing in 1802. A marble sculpture produced on Napoleon's orders to commemorate General Desaix, killed at the Battle of Marengo, was to be found outside the hospice chapel. A further factor contributing to the unique nature of the experience was the presence of a morgue in a building adjoining the hospice. Here were placed the bodies of those who had perished while crossing the pass. The cold temperature throughout the year ensured the slow decomposition. William Brockedon described how

> upon some the clothes had remained after eighteen years, though tattered like a gibbet-wardrobe. Some of these bodies represented a horrid aspect; part of the bones of the head were exposed and blanched, whilst black integuments were attached to other parts of the face; we particularly remarked this in a sitting peasant. [104]

[104] Brockedon, *Excursions*, p.154.

Charles Latrobe found one group 'irresistibly affecting':

> This is a poor mother, and a child at her breast, who were found frozen, dead, stiff, and past all recovery. The bone of the mother's arm can still be distinguished among the mass of half-mouldered and shapeless bones and rags, pressing the head of her infant to her bosom. [105]

If the morgue gave rise to thoughts of the tenuousness of human life and the dangers of travel in such desolate regions exposed to freezing winds, heavy snowfall, and avalanches, the dogs of the hospice stimulated similar thoughts but in a more positive way. British visitors were immediately impressed by their physical size combined with a gentleness of manner, but they were particularly fascinated by their legendary sagacity in locating bodies buried under the snow and their ability to retrace their steps to the hospice when poor visibility prevented their human masters from doing so. Visitors often recorded the number and names of the dogs they found at the hospice and related stories of particular rescues they had carried out.

Central to the whole Great St. Bernard experience was the stay at the hospice itself. To large numbers of British travellers, brought up at home to abhor Catholicism and to distrust Catholics, staying in the hospice as guests of Augustinian monks came across as a defining moment. Though reluctant to generalise, they recognised that these Catholics were involved in 'good works' and found it difficult not to praise their dedication, their unassuming lifestyle, and their willingness to sacrifice their own health for the wellbeing of others. They were also surprised to enjoy a dinner conversation which was much more urbane and informed than they had expected. James Wilson was amongst those who found his preconceptions challenged:

> These excellent Augustines, who smooth the rugged brow of the mountain before the travellers feet, may be called the last defenders of the Romish church; we see nothing, which can turn aside our contempt for it, till we behold these men; but the sight of them almost casts back our scorn in our own teeth.[106]

John Murray considered that at the hospice 'we forget for a time the difference between Protestant and Catholic - merging into one tide and confluence of active benevolence.' [107] David Drummond too seemed to surprise himself by his response to his encounter:

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[105] Latrobe, *Alpenstock*, p.282.
[106] Wilson, James, *Journal*, III, p.468.
[107] Murray, *Glance*, pp.103-4.

> I never thought I should be so much obliged to monks. But, in truth, they are not monks, properly so called. They are intelligent men, who enter freely into conversation with the large number of travellers who are constantly passing and repassing the Hospice - they like to hear and to talk of all that is going on in the world, as if they had a real *social* interest in its concerns, and their life is one of real activity and *useful* devotedness. [108]

The warm praise bestowed on the humanitarian work of the monks living in such a desolate, but imposing place had endowed it with a Europe-wide reputation which ensured further visitors. Francis Trench considered it 'so well known ...that I need scarcely describe it.' [109] 'Who has not heard of the convent of St. Bernard?', questioned Robert Ferguson,[110] and, similarly, J.J.Reynolds asked: 'Whose boyhood has not thrilled with the anecdotes of courage and true heroism displayed by the inmates, and the sagacious feats of the noble dogs of St. Bernard?' [111] For some travellers, the visit to the Great St. Bernard was particularly memorable. As evening fell, Jane Waldie was caught in a heavy snowstorm as she ascended the pass. She rapidly came to fear for her own safety as well as that of her brother who had disappeared ahead of her and her guide. When, thanks to the latter, she reached the Hospice and learnt that her brother was safe, she could scarcely persuade herself that she was not dreaming. 'The kindness of the good monks,' she wrote, 'I never shall forget.' [112] Walter White, having eschewed the services of a guide, was caught in the wildest of storms during his ascent. When he finally perceived the outline of the convent, he rushed across the intervening bank of snow to the door. 'If ever a thanksgiving was spoken from the heart, it was there and then by me.' [113] For Waldie and White who found themselves in real personal danger when making the ascent, their reception at the Hospice marked an unforgettable moment in their lives. Most of the others, who were more fortunate in the weather conditions they encountered, nevertheless responded with emotion and admiration to their experience. 'These lowly men, the monks of St. Bernard,' concluded O'Flanagan, 'will yet be remembered, when the name of Napoleon shall be heard no more.' [114]

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[108] Drummond, *Scenes*, p.98.
[109] Trench, *Walk*, p.241.
[110] Ferguson, R., *Swiss men*, p.120.
[111] Reynolds, *Occasional pieces*, p.241.
[112] Waldie, *Sketches*, IV, pp.303-4.
[113] White, W., *To Switzerland*, p.104.
[114] O'Flanagan, *Impressions*, I, p.44.

Interlaken and the Bernese Oberland.

Mountain excursions required a suitable base whence travellers could embark on their journey, whither they could return, and where, if necessary, they could pass time enjoyably should the weather or other circumstances preclude travel. For Chamonix, the city of Geneva satisfied this need. In the case of the Oberland, Bern and Thun were suitable centres, but rather distant from the objects of the travellers' interest. Under these circumstances, traveller need created an appropriate centre at the village of Interlaken. Its situation was ideal, lying between the lakes of Thun and Brienz, the former providing a link with Bern and the the western plain, the latter with the Brunig pass and northern and central Switzerland, as well as with the Grimsel pass and the Rhone valley. At the same time, the most popular destinations in the Bernese Oberland were easily accessible from it: the Lauterbrunnen valley, Grindelwald, and the waterfalls of the Giessbach, Reichenbach and Handeck.

Although the 1818 edition of Ebel's *Manuel*[115] still only recorded a single inn at Interlaken, it is clear that by the early 1820s a number of *pensions* had opened in the village especially to cater for Bernese visitors. These were rapidly taken over almost exclusively by the British, and soon comparisons were being made between Interlaken and English sea-side resorts and watering places. Mary Boddington fancied herself 'on the Marine Parade at Brighton' and Elizabeth Bray dubbed Interlaken the 'Margate of Switzerland.'[116] George Downes was taken aback on his arrival to find the village 'crowded with flaunting hotels and boarding houses - increasing daily in number, and swarming with English fashionables, who frequently spend the whole summer here.'[117] There was no subsequent waning in the popularity of the place. In the 1830s, Elizabeth Strutt noted how over a fifteen year period, it had been lifted

> from total obscurity, its name before scarcely to be found in a road-book or to be traced upon a map, to a place of fashionable resort, for people of all nations; but above all for the English, insomuch that out of two thousand persons who, at the lowest calculation, visit it in the course of four months termed "the season", it may be fairly estimated that fifteen hundred of them are from the British Isles.[118]

In the 1840s William Chambers designated it the 'home of self-expatriated English' and in the 1850s Reynolds wrote that it had been described as 'an English boarding

[115] Ebel, *Manuel*, 1818, II, p.620.
[116] Boddington, *Slight reminisceneces*, I, p.209, Bray, *Mountains & lakes*, II, p.124.
[117] Downes, *Letters*, I, 92.
[118] Strutt, *Domestic residence*, I, 165.

house with a street running through it.' [119]

Although they did not always see the overwhelming numbers of their compatriots as a recommendation, the British continued to praise and patronise the place. Mary Boddington made it their family's headquarters, describing it as

> unquestionably the best central point in the Oberlands, beautiful in itself, and in the very heart of all the first-rate things; a summer would soon fly away here, like a morning dream. It is not a rugged nature that forbids approach, but an alluring one that spreads out its lakes and meadows, and its magnificent walnut-trees, wooingly; and tells you in its living book of leaves and flowers, that it is blest with a soft and genial climate, the rarest of nature's bounties in this romantic country. [120]

Chambers wrote that the ladies in his party were charmed with Interlaken:

> Never was there such a pretty place. It was like a scene in a theatre. Neat pavilions filled with Swiss toys exhibited their attractions under great spreading trees; long shady walks, with seats, invited the visitant to loiter away the lazy hours, and from over the bounding enclosures came the perfume of flowers and orchards. The adjacent hills - the Silver Horn, the Monk, Mount Eiger, and, above all, the brilliant white Jungfrau piercing the blue firmament - contribute at once shelter and picturesque beauty to the scene.[121]

Boundless praise also poured from the pen of Henry Inglis:

> I do not believe a more charming spot than Interlaken is to be found in Europe. I know of nothing that it wants. It combines the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime. The little plain is redolent in beauty and fertility. The immediate environs present the picturesque in its multiform aspects; and the glorious peaks of the Silver Horn, the Monk, Mount Eiger, and the Jungfrau, are the boundary of its horizon. Add to all this, that the climate of Interlaken is mild; that, in the hottest sun, the fine avenues of magnificent walnut-trees offer an effectual shade; that within the limits of a stroll are the shores of two charming lakes; that, in one's morning gown and slippers, a dish of trout may be taken from the Aar for breakfast; and that comfortable accommodation, and a choice of good society, are at command. And I think I may safely say, that if fashion should desert Interlaken, she will run counter to good taste. [122]

The establishment of pleasant accommodation and of an agreeable life-style in Interlaken encouraged visitors to stay for longer periods, possibly for the whole summer season. The increased numbers in the town must also have had a knock-on effect on the two principal excursion destinations, Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald, where the number and quality of inns improved over the period. The establishment of these, in turn, promoted visitors to undertake the two more strenuous excursions: from Lauterbrunnen to Grindelwald over the col of the Kleine Scheidegg and from

[119] Chambers, *Tour*, p.35. Reynolds, *Occasional pieces*, p.203.
[120] Boddington, *Slight reminiscences*, I, p.208.
[121] Chambers, *Tour*, p.35.
[122] Inglis, *Switzerland*, I, p.229

Grindelwald to Meiringen over the Grosse Scheidegg.

The Lucern area.

In visiting Lucern in 1848, Adolphus Trollope considered the place underrated:

> The place certainly has never been be-rapturized and tourist-haunted as many a far less beautiful one has. The banks of its lakes - decidedly, in my opinion, the most lovely in Europe - are not covered with villas and pretty cottages, in answer to the demand of summer ruralizers .... No! Interlacken, Chamouny, Como, and Lake Leman have the vogue, and the flock of summer tourists always religiously pass through the gap in the hedge which the bell-wether first selected. [123]

It seems questionable whether the comparative neglect of Lucern can be attributed, as Trollope suggested, simply to a matter of fashion. In the Lucern area, the most important destinations of visitors - the Rigi, the Tell sites, the landslide of Goldau, the Devil's Bridge - were more diffuse and could be reached from a range of different starting points. In addition, movement along the Lake of Uri was dependent on small boat travel, thus slow. At the same time, boat travel was flexible and, as a result, it was often quicker to by-pass Lucern completely. Two other reasons, especially in combination, would have diminished the attraction of the Lucern area as a place for a longer stay: that it was both German-speaking and Catholic.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Lucern had become one of the most popular of all European cities with the British, and some of the factors influencing this rise in status began to emerge during the course of our period. In 1822, the statue of the Lion of Lucern, designed by Thorwaldsen, was completed. It commemorated the Swiss Guards who had died in 1792 defending Louis XVI. The originality and the poignancy of the sculpture made it part of the Lucern itinerary. The introduction of steamers onto the lake in 1836 made movement up, down and across the lake much more rapid and reliable. The 1840s saw also a building programme along the lakeside which resulted both in the creation of promenades and in the erection of the first of the new 'palace' hotels, the Schweizerhof. The town was further opened up in the 1860s by its integration into the rapidly expanding railway system and by the creation of the Axenstrasse, a road skirting the Uri shore of the lake and linking up with the Gotthard road.

[123] Trollope, *Impressions*, pp.140-1.

Throughout the period, the greatest magnet within the Lucern area to the British, as to other travellers, was not the town of Lucern but the summit of the Rigi. Henry Inglis described the peer pressure to visit it:

> Before travelling into Switzerland, or, at all events, soon after arriving in it, every one hears of the Rigi. "Have you been up the Rigi?" is the universal question; "You must be sure to ascend the Rigi," is the universal injunction. [124]

And nearly thirty years on, towards the end of our period, the Catlows considered it 'hardly necessary to remind the reader that all the world visiting Switzerland ascends the Rigi.' [125] As the aim was to see the sunset and, more particularly, the sunrise from the summit, the ideal was to spend the night at the inn on the Rigi summit, the Kulm, itself. Plans to build a substantial inn here were formulated in 1814-15, and by the summer of 1815, there was already a provisional wooden cabin in place which, as well as enabling the innkeeper to supervise work on the the new building, provided shelter for visitors. Cambridge undergraduate Kenelm Digby was one of those who spent the night in this cabin:

> The hut was the dwelling of an old man & his wife who seemed particularly desirous of giving good entertainment to their guests. It was however a miserable habitation so low that I could not stand straight within the door & so full of smoke that we wept bitterly all the time that we staid in it. ..... After finishing our supper which we all enjoyed very much, the old man laid planks of wood on benches over which he put straw & a counterpaine, & on these we laid ourselves down for the night. I lay next the fire, & should have been much alarmed for the safety of our bed,(for I was not 2 feet from the fire) if I had not seen the old couple on the watch sitting on each side of the fire contemplating their guests.

The new inn opened slightly later in the year and was further extended in the 1820s. Further expansion took place between 1847 and 1848 when the old wooden construction was pulled down and replaced by a larger and more solid building. This new inn was capable of sleeping between one and three hundred people and was supplemented by yet another building completed in 1856 providing accommodation for a further one hundred and fifty to two hundred. Slightly below the summit, at the Staffel, was a second inn which also catered for increasingly large numbers of visitors.

There were a number of possible routes up to the two inns from the lakeside below, but all took three to four hours. Having made the strenuous ascent, travellers were understandably surprised at the numbers of fellow travellers they found at the

[124] Inglis, *Switzerland*, I, p.177
[125] Catlow, *Sketching rambles*, I, p.43.

top. In 1822, William Webb recorded twenty four sleeping at the Kulm and an equal number at the Staffel, and, in 1823, Daniel Wilson distinguished between the twenty four gentry and the twenty seven servants and guides who spent the night at the Kulm. Even with all the expanded provision of accommodation, demand would often exceed supply. Thus, Seth Stevenson, who stayed at the Staffel, reckoned that it was not uncommon for sixty to seventy travellers to dine together, and warned that though the inn was large, ' men are sometimes forced to take up their night's lodging upon benches in the salle-à-manger, and the ladies to share very small apartments with each other.' [126] In 1829, Louis Agassiz arrived at the Kulm to find over a hundred people 'clamorously demanding supper'. A waiter informed him that 'double the number of beds the house contained would not accommodate one half the claimants.' [127]

Wherever they slept, guests were woken up, between three and four in the morning, by a blast on the alpenhorn. Then, as Mary Boddington described:

> All start up, for the thin mattresses are no incentives to laziness; then comes a general creaking of bedsteads, and a bursting of doors, and huddling on of cloaks to hide the scanty petticoat and half-laced corset, and a muster of sleepy faces, and jaws opening galvanically. [128]

A short time later, many observed with amusement the crowd as it assembled on the summit. George Downes considered that there

> never was a more motley group assembled at a masquerade - ladies wrapped in gentlemen's surtouts - gentlemen involved in pelisses, blankets, or coverlets. Whatever garment lay nearest had been assumed at the signal for a general rush. The young Italian and his Swiss friend were arrayed in bedding - the German students as usual, in pale blue frocks, with a light belt round the waist, and felt caps. The most remarkable figure was a supposed Black Forester, in sable attire - black spencer, black breeches of Dutch dimensions, black hat, and black boots reaching to the knee. [129]

These were descriptions of fortunate groups. Some never set off for the Rigi on account of the poor weather, and many more, having reached the summit, found the mist prevented enjoying sunset and sunrise. G.L. Danckwerts from London was enveloped in heavy fog shortly before reaching the Kulm on 9 October 1823. The fog continued for two days and was followed by a fall of snow. As a result, it was only on the 14th of the month that he was able, in the company of the innkeeper, to return

[126] Roby, *Seven weeks*, II, p.511.
[127] Agassiz, *Journey*, p.164.
[128] Boddington, *Slight reminiscences*, II, pp.242-2.
[129] Downes, *Letters*, I, pp.173-4.

to Weggis. Having had to wait five days, he did, however, see the view from the summit before his descent.[130] John Roby had no such luck. He got to the top in thick mist, and simply turned round and returned, voicing his frustration: 'It was too bad to be deprived of such a sublime vision, just by a dirty deposition of aqueous vapour.' [131]

Of all the travelogue writers whose routes were plotted, over thirty, about a third of the whole group, reached the summit. Yet, of these, only three are recorded in the register. Reasons for the discrepancy include both the removal of pages from the register already noted, and the possible failure of some overnight visitors to sign themselves in. Those who spent the night at the Staffel, or who ascended and descended on the same day, would, of course, have had no reason to sign the register at the Kulm. It follows that the entries in the Kulm register must form only a tiny proportion, the travelogue evidence suggests a tenth, of the British travellers who reached the summit of the Rigi.

Sites and sights.

A record was made of whenever a traveller visited one of the sights selected and described in the introduction to this section (see Table D15, p.225). Sometimes travellers explicitly mentioned a place as of interest but could not visit it, often because of adverse weather conditions, occasionally because of lack of time. The number of sights recorded is likely to be an underestimate; especially where a tour has been only sketchily outlined in the account: places may well have been visited but not mentioned.

In certain cases, there was no possibility of travellers commenting on a site, because the site as described did not exist. In particular, Byron's poem on Chillon was only published in 1816, and the inundation of Martigny took place in 1818. In these instances, travellers passing Chillon and Martigny 'before the event' must be counted out before any estimation of the popularity of the two places is assessed. More problematic are those situations where the route chosen by a traveller would seem to have excluded the possibility of particular visits. For instance, a traveller not passing though Geneva could not have visited Ferney; one not in Lucern could not

[130] Rigi register, 1823.

[131] Roby, *Seven weeks*, I, p.375.

have viewed Pfyffer's model. However, it must be assumed that, in some cases at least, routes were selected according to the relative attractiveness of some sites rather than others.

Viewpoints.

The popularity of the summit of the Rigi as a viewpoint has already been noted. Particularly notable was that in the 1820s, fourteen out of twenty travelogue writers reached the summit. The churchyard at Thun features regularly in the list and was probably visited more often than mentioned in the travelogues. As had been anticipated, the Weissenstein was only visited by a tiny number of travellers.

Disasters.

Both the fall of the Rossberg of 1806 and the inundation of Martigny on 16 June 1818 held a fascination for travellers; they are not only regularly mentioned, but the events and the causes are often described in detail. In the case of the Martigny disaster, Henry Matthews had dined at Martigny on 14 June 1818 and returned four days later to witness the effects. The innkeeper who had presided over his meal on the 14th was one of the victims. Few travellers can have had such a narrow escape and few can have been on the scene such a short time after to describe it. Over the ensuing months, British visitors contributed over fifteen thousand francs to the disaster fund. [132]

Lord Byron.

Evidence from the travelogues suggests that Byron's poems *Childe Harold, Canto the Third* and *The Prisoner of Chillon* must have been widely read from the date of their publication in 1816 onwards. Certainly few travellers passed the Castle of Chillon without quoting Byron, or at least mentioning his name. Locally produced guides to the castle included the text of the poems[133] and it seems likely that often travellers read them 'in situ' as did James Buckingham in 1845 and the Headlams in 1854. [134]

[132] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.LXXXVIII, July-Dec. 1818, p.457.
[133] For instance, *The Prisoner of Chillon by Lord Byron. With a short description of the castle*, 2nd ed. Vevey, n.d.
[134] Buckingham, *Belgium &c.*, II, p.145, and Headlam, *Manuscript journal*, entry for 16 September.

Byron had begun to write his 'dramatic poem' *Manfred* in September 1816 after his excursion to the Oberland and he had set it in the 'higher Alps'. The castle of Manfred was supposed to have been inspired by the Castle of Unspunnen which lay between Interlaken and Lauterbrunnen. Thus visitors to the Oberland also referred to this work of Byron (published in 1817), and, in particular, to his description of a waterfall in Scene Two which clearly referred to the Staubbach Fall at Lauterbrunnen. Consciousness of Byron's descriptions were reinforced by the publication of Murray's *Handbook* in 1838 which included quotations from the works which referred to his stay in Switzerland.

Visitors focused their attention on Byron's verse, and the places mentioned within it; few expressed much knowledge of, or interest in, Byron's tours in Switzerland as such. For instance, on his journey from Geneva to the Bernese Oberland, Byron crossed the Col de Jaman from Vevey, then passed through Chateau d'Oex and the Simmental to Thun, and yet this attractive stretch of country remained relatively unvisited by the British until the end of the nineteenth century, and it was never particularly associated with Byron. Part of this neglect may be attributed to real ignorance of his movements. His excursion to Chamonix was described in his correspondence only and his journal to the Oberland seems to have first appeared in print in Moore's edition of his works in 1833. No doubt his reputation also discouraged the demonstration of interest in Byron the man as opposed to Byron the poet.

Edward Gibbon.

Most of those who passed through Lausanne were at least aware that Edward Gibbon had lived there and written part of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* while a resident. In particular, some to them remembered the memorable passage in his memoirs where he described his feelings on completing his great work:

> It was on the day or rather the night of the 27th June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve that I wrote the last lines of the last page in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau* or covered walk of Acacias which commands a prospect of the country the lake and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene; the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom and perhaps the establishment of my fame.

Henry Matthews and Lady Blessington quoted the passage in their travelogues[135]

[135] Matthews, *Diary*, p.296, and Blessington, *Idler*, I, p.49.

and Lord Byron refers John Murray to it in a letter enclosing 'a sprig of *Gibbon's Acacia* and some rose leaves from his garden'.[136] The passage was subsequently incorporated in the first, and subsequent, editions of Murray's *Handbook* in the section devoted to Lausanne.

In the years immediately after Waterloo, visitors did get some access to Gibbon's house. There was understandably considerable interest in Gibbon's library which had been purchased after his death by William Beckford. Beckford, who liked to have books accessible to him about the Continent, did not bring it home, but left it in Lausanne. He subsequently gave it to his friend Frederic Schöll, a local physician. The latter kept it for a while, but then sold some books in 1825 and the rest in the 1830s.[137] In 1816,the writer of *A picturesque tour* found the library still in the room which it occupied during Gibbon's lifetime. He went on to announce its forthcoming sale and entertained the hope that it would not be broken up. Two years later, Henry Matthews found that it was still in Lausanne but now locked up in an unoccupied house. In the ensuing years, George Downes, John Murray and Henry Inglis all managed to gain access to it.

The house itself was bought by a banker, and, from the 1820s, British visitors on the Gibbon trail were restricted to the garden, terrace and summer-house. They were particularly fascinated by the latter, indeed so taken that they 'took' it: 'As every English visitor cut away a portion, the summer-house gradually disappeared from Lausanne and was distributed in fragments through Great Britain.'[138] Even the replacement summer-house was similarly attacked. In the late 1830s, the whole site was redeveloped and a new Post Office and the Hotel Gibbon erected. From this point onwards, the only tangible reminders of Gibbon were a few acacia trees which had been in his garden. It is not surprising, therefore, that at the end of the period, there was some falling off of mentions of Gibbon.

Living in an age of religious revival, later visitors especially were quick to find fault with the famous author. Francis Trench, staying at the Hotel Gibbon, found a picture of Gibbon 'displaying the notoriously ugly features of the man who here composed that

[136] Marchand, *Byron's journals*, Vol.5, p.81.
[137] See Keynes, *The Library of Edward Gibbon.*
[138] Hill (ed.), *Memoirs ... of Edward Gibbon*, p.225.

remarkable work which every Christian must condemn, and yet which no reading man would like to be ignorant of.' [139] Mrs Yates, staying at the same hotel, trenchantly declared that she had 'no respect for the man: he was a cold-hearted, vain, selfish being, who did his best to poison the pure stream of knowledge, by an infusion of the deadly nightshade of infidelity.' [140] One wonders how much she, and indeed some of the other visitors, had actually read of the work. Certainly, almost all would have been surprised to learn that Gibbon had originally had in mind to write a history on quite a different theme, a work to be entitled *The History of the Liberty of the Swiss.* [141]

Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Except in the last decade of the period, consciousness of the sites connected with Rousseau held up well. There was comparatively little interest in the real Rousseau sites. Some visitors remarked on his childhood home in Geneva, but very few passed through Motiers in the Val de Travers. Surprisingly neglected too was the most romantic of all Rousseau sites, the Ile St Pierre in the Lake of Bienne. This had been much visited and admired in the late eighteenth century, yet only five of the tour writers made the short boat trip required. It was, therefore, Rousseau's novel, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, and the sites associated with it, particularly Clarens and Meillerie on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, which drew the attention of travellers. In the late eighteenth century, the enthusiasm for the novel had introduced many British visitors to the area around Vevey. They brought the text of the novel with them and read it on the spot. The custom prevailed into the nineteenth century. Lord Byron announced in a letter to Hobhouse: 'Tomorrow we go to Meillerei - & Clarens - & Vevey - with Rousseau in hand - to see his scenery - according to his delineation in his Héloïse now before me' [142] and subsequently reported to John Murray; 'I have traversed all Rousseau's ground - with the Héloïse before me - & am struck to a degree with the force & accuracy of his descriptions - & the beauty of their reality.' [143] James Cockburn, having seen Meillerie and Clarens from the shore, took a boat to contemplate them 'from the water, and by moon-light.' [144] John Milford also had his copy of the novel with

[139] Trench, *Walk*, p.90
[140] Yates, *Switzerland*, II, p.61.
[141] See Lunn, *Switzerland and the English*, p.44.
[142] Marchand, *Byron's journals*, Vol.5, p.81.
[143] Ibid., p.82.
[144] Cockburn, *Swiss scenery*, p.135.

him and contemplating the scenery,

> introduced a Julie, a St. Preux, a Clara, and the other dramatis personae, and I fancied, for a moment, that such persons had existed. The theatre is so well chosen, the scenery painted in such exquisite colours, that every heart, not a stranger to sensibility, will feel the force of his descriptions, and sympathise with the interesting tale which he narrates. [145]

We find Samuel Rogers climbing 'up through a vineyard to the Maison Rousseau, now a heap of stones, but supposed to be the site of Julia's house,' and later viewing Meillerie by moonlight and reading the novel.[146]

Whilst, over ensuing decades, enthusiasts for Rousseau and his novel continued to draw attention to the fictional sites, critics increasingly emerged in the ranks of travellers. The clergy led the way with Patrick Pounden denoting him a 'foe to Christianity',[147] Weever Walter stressing that he had *not* read the *Nouvelle Héloïse,*[148] and Francis Trench dismissing him as 'unprincipled and irreligious'.[149] Others expressed similar sentiments. Elizabeth Bray deemed the novel 'a most *unnatural* as well as most *immoral* book,'[150] and Hoppus warned of the 'poison of his unbelief.'[151] Martha Lamont no longer belonged to a generation likely to have bought and read Rousseau's novel as a young woman. Instead, she chanced upon an odd volume in an Interlaken boarding house. Having expressed surprise at finding 'such a want of true knowledge of the mind of woman in it',[152] she went on to detail Rousseau's misconception of female morality and psychology. When, shortly afterwards, she found herself in Vevey, she mentioned the Rousseau connection, but not the novel or the places it had done so much to promote. By the 1850s, the literary associations of Clarens and Meillerie were fading fast, as the *Nouvelle Héloïse* was relegated to the library shelf of unread literature. At the same time, the charm of the north eastern shore of the lake was compromised by the development of Vevey, the growth of Montreux and the building of the railroad along the shoreline, finally opened in 1861.

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[145] Milford, *Observations*, I, p.138.
[146] Hale, *Italian journal of Samuel Rogers*, p.143 and p.155.
[147] Pounden, *Private remarks*, p.45.
[148] Walter, *Letters*, p.45.
[149] Trench, *Walk*, p.80.
[150] Bray, *Lakes & Mountains*, I, p.223.
[151] Hoppus, *Continent*, II, p.130.
[152] Lamont, *Impressions*, p.272.

Voltaire.

While nineteenth century visitors associated Rousseau with the Lake of Geneva principally through his fictional work, their interest in Voltaire arose from his own residence in the area at Lausanne, at Geneva, and above all at Ferney. Here, a couple of rooms had been preserved with his pictures and furniture and were open to visitors. Visitors could also wander in the grounds where they could see the church with its famous inscription 'Deo erixit Voltaire' with the letters of 'Voltaire' eclipsing in size those of 'Deo'. A visit to his residence was considered one of the great sights of Geneva and had to be seen. However, for most British visitors, Voltaire's writings belonged to an age that had passed and, in any case, propounded ideas that were to be deplored. Thus, in the rooms accessible to visitors, Voltaire's furnishings and possessions - his pictures and prints, his silk night-cap, his library chair, his collection of seals - were often described coldly and critically. Frances Carey mentioned 'a few shabby prints of his friends,'[153] and Robert Bakewell reckoned that 'nothing can be in worse taste or more paltry than the drawings and ornaments of the apartments.'[154] Louis Agassiz mentioned the bedframe 'of common fir, and of equally common workmanship,'[155] and Martha Lamont firmly stated that 'his ugly pictures, and ugly prints, in his ugly rooms' gave her no pleasure.[156] Rae Wilson distanced himself from the cult of Voltaire as he was shown various relics. He noted that the bark of the elm tree planted by Voltaire himself had been 'stripped off and carried away by the devout and faithful, as affectionate mementos of the old *barker* himself.' He was shown the cap which Voltaire wore while writing *Zaïre* and was permitted to touch Voltaire's walking stick and to 'refresh' his eyes with a sight of his inkstand'.[157] Some items in the rooms were assessed in different ways. Lady Blessington admired the portrait of Madame du Chatelet with a countenance which 'is *piquant*, lively, and intelligent,'[158] while Frances Carey dismissed it as 'the picture of a fat woman who might be taken for a landlady.'[159]

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[153] Carey, *Journal*, p.401.
[154] Bakewell, *Travels*, II, p.70.
[155] Agassiz, *Journey*, p,131.
[156] Lamont, *Impressions*, p.293.
[157] Wilson, Rae, *Notes abroad*, II, p.153-5.
[158] Blessington, *Idler*, I, p.43.
[159] Carey, *Journal*, p.401.

Whatever their feeling about Voltaire, there were many who wished to have something by which to remember their visit to Ferney and for this purpose turned their attention not only to the elm tree but also to the curtains. Even by 1816, Frances Carey reckoned that they had been ravaged, mainly by the English, and, in consequence, several times renewed. Lady Blessington regarded the practice of such souvenir hunting as 'our homage to those who have merited celebrity' and was pleased to come away with a portion of curtain.[160] George Downes was warned by the housekeeper not to take too much while he was in the process of 'detaching an atom.'[161] Murray's *Handbook* of 1838 reported that the curtains were reduced to a third of their original length and would disappear altogether if an end was not put to the souvenir-hunting.[162] He had clearly not appreciated that there was no chance of that happening as long as the guides to the house received a gratuity for overlooking visitors who filched a small piece of material.

The visit was often used as an excuse to relate anecdotes of Voltaire, a practice no doubt facilitated in the early decades by the fact that visitors were shown round by former servants of Voltaire himself. Few professed to the 'awe' with which George Bridges visited the chamber of Voltaire or to the open praise of Major Frye who considered his visit as 'hommage to the memory of that great man, the benefactor of the human race.'[163] Indeed, disparaging remarks and open attacks on his memory were common. Patrick Pounden protested that 'a sad disquietude pervades a Christian's mind in such a place ... the abode of perverted genius.'[164] John Sheppard protested that 'it is lamentable that a mind so highly gifted ... should have perverted its wit ... to destroy the moral dignity and best hopes of human nature.' [165] Dorothy Wordsworth describes how her party did not enter the house because, 'our Gentlemen .... not having much respect for his character, were little disposed to pay devotion to his memory, and would not be prevailed on to enter the house, in opposition to female curiosity, they disdaining to see sights merely because others see them.'[166] A visit was likewise rejected by Thomas Raffles for he would have

[160] Blessington, *Idler*, I, pp.41-2.
[161] Downes, *Letters*, I, p.259.
[162] Murray's *Handbook*, 1838, p.139.
[163] Frye, *After Waterloo*, p.110.
[164] Pounden, *Private remarks*, p.46.
[165] Sheppard, *Letters*, p.175.
[166] Wordsworth, *Journal*, II, p.305.

'shuddered to enter the dwelling once inhabited by the bitterest and most malignant enemy of the Redeemer, that ever, perhaps, appeared in a human form!'[167] Some years later, Thomas Talfourd went to some lengths to explain that he did not 'visit the chateau at Ferney, to handle and filch the mouldering relics of genius, intoxicated by vanity and paralysed by scorn.'[168] The travelogue evidence would suggest that, by the 1850s, a visit to Ferney seemed to have lost its attraction for the majority of visitors to Geneva.

William Tell.

Most travellers to the Lucern area visited one or more sites connected with William Tell and with the founding of the Swiss confederation on the Rütli. An examination of the travelogues strongly suggests that these visits were not made 'en passant', but were a fundamental feature of a visit to Central Switzerland. It appears that in most cases travellers did not 'discover' the Tell story after their arrival in Switzerland, but came already knowing it. John Murray deemed the 'legend familiar to almost every one' [169] and William Alexander acknowledged the 'inspiration of the Tell story in youth.' [170] Publicity for the story in Britain would have been given by versions of it in print, in particular English translations of that by Florian. To these may be added Schiller's drama published in 1804 and Rossini's opera, based on Schiller, and first performed in 1829 in Paris and the following year in an English version adapted under the title of *Hofer, the Tell of Tyrol.*

It appears that British visitors not only knew the story both of Tell and of the oath on the Rütli, but also believed them to be largely true. 'If the tale of Tell, as believed by his countrymen,' reflected William Brockedon, 'be not true in all the leading facts, - of the apple, the storm, and the death of Gesler, - it is one of the most extraordinary errors into which the world was ever led.' [171] William Webb remained 'convinced of the literal truth of this story of ancient Swiss renown,' [172] and John Hoppus similarly asserted that 'the history of Tell, in general, admits of no reasonable doubt.' [173] Those

[167] Raffles, *Letters*, p.167.
[168] Talfourd, *Vacation rambles*, I, p.86.
[169] Murray, *Glance*, p.233.
[170] Alexander, *Switzerland*, p.2.
[171] Brockedon, *Excursions*, p.337.
[172] Webb, *Minutes*, I, p.52.
[173] Hoppus, *Continent*, I, p.275

who were not quite so convinced of the literal accuracy of all the details sought to recognise its deeper truth. Elizabeth Bray summed up what comes across as the prevailing response: 'His whole history is so spirit-stirring and heroic, that all lovers of the romance of history would wish it might remain undisturbed in the general acceptation of its truth.' [174]

Part of the power of the story lay in the fact that, as mentioned above, the sites linked to the story were so specific: the very spot where Tell's son had stood with the apple on his head, the very rock onto which Tell had leapt from the storm-tossed boat to escape his captors, the very place where Tell had lain in wait for the wicked Austrian Gessler. This part was further enhanced by the scenery in which the sites were placed: the Uri branch of the Lake of Lucern is the most dramatic, dominated by Alpine peaks, in some places with cliffs dropping perpendicularly down to the water's edge, and in others with the larch forests creating a dark and secretive atmosphere. The apparent harmony of past events and present scenery made the narrated events more forceful and more believable. Samuel Rogers noted that there 'never was a more imposing scene, or one so full of splendid recollections,'[175] and John Forbes found a new context for Lord Byron's lines on Homer:

> Oh, cold were he
> Who here could gaze, denying thee.' [176]

However true the story, however imposing the setting, British visitors would not have responded as enthusiastically had they not regarded the protagonists as true heroes. No higher compliment could be paid to the latter than by associating them with the heroes of the Ancient World. James Mackintosh did just this as he reflected on his visit to the Tell sites:

> The combination of what is grandest in nature with whatever is pure and sublime in human conduct, affected me in this passage more powerfully than any scene which I had ever seen. Perhaps neither Greece nor Rome would have had such power over me .... This is perhaps the only place in our globe where deeds of pure virtue, ancient enough to be venerable, are consecrated by the religion of the people, and continue to command interest and reverence. No local superstition so beautiful and so moral anywhere exists.[177]

A decade or so later, O'Conor wrote in similar vein:

[174] Bray, II, *Lakes & Mountains*, p.71.
[175] Hale, ed., *Italian Journal*, p.148
[176] Forbes, John, *Physician's holiday*, p.123.
[177] Mackintosh, *Memoirs*, II, p.303,

> Marathon and Salamis and Platea are equalled by Morat, Sempach, Morgarthen, and Naefels. The heroes of Greece have surpassed in renown, though not in devotion to their country, the patriot chiefs of Helvetia; their uncouth names have wrapped them in darkness and shut them out from universal admiration. Yet the names of William Tell, Walter Furst, Arnold de Melchthal, and Werner Stauffecher, should live for ever in the memory of mankind. [178]

The Tell story, as also that of the oath on the Rütli, stimulated the British perception of Switzerland as the land of liberty and of the Forest Cantons as its cradle, and by so doing seemed to create an affinity between them and the country they were visiting: two nations enjoying individual freedom in a Europe largely consisting of unconstitutional monarchies and petty princedoms. This aspect of the relationship is exemplified in a conversation between Seth Stevenson and the hostess of the inn at Arth. At one point, the latter 'broke forth into an impassioned exclamation on the happiness of living in a free country', whereupon Stevenson assured her

> that in England, to read the history of William Tell was one of our earliest delights; that, prizing our own constitution above every earthly blessing, we felt a sympathetic interest in the liberties of Switzerland, and revered the memory of their founders and defenders. - She said, the English were a noble nation, and that the Swiss loved us for our love of liberty. Adieu, adieu! - And this was the landlady of an inn where we had scarcely laid out half a crown. [179]

Other sites.

At the very start of our period, Mme de Staël was still alive and receiving visitors at her residence at Coppet. Samuel Rogers with Sir James Mackintosh were her guests for a few days in 1814, Richard Bernard was invited to a fete in the same year, but arrived too late from his excursion to Chamonix to attend, and Lord Byron a frequent visitor during the summer of 1816 during his stay at Geneva. After her death in 1817, George Downes was, in 1825, granted an interview with her son, Baron Alphonse de Staël, of which he reports some details.[180] The majority of British travellers merely noted the residence as they passed, though a few visited the grounds.

Edmund Ludlow, one of the regicides involved in the tribunal which had led to the execution of Charles I, had passed his final years in Vevey, and was buried in the church. A number of travellers visited the church and noted the inscription on his

[178] O'Conor, *Picturesque & historical recollections*, pp.179-80.
[179] Stevenson, *Tour*, II, pp.529-30.
[180] Downes, *Letters*, I, pp.256-7.

monument. Some, in addition, made a mild judgmental comment, either in favour or against his political activities, but none exhibited the much more emotional response which was often displayed when reflecting on Rousseau or Voltaire.

Switzerland's two famous educationists were not frequently called on by the general traveller. By the early 1820s, Pestalozzi's star was already waning, and his institution at Yverdon effectively closed after his death in 1827. Fellenberg's establishment at Hofwyl thrived for considerably longer, was given much more publicity in Britain, and received a considerable number of British visitors through the early part of our period. Marianne Wilkinson's visit in July 1844 must have been amongst the last British visits to the school during Fellenberg's lifetime. He died on 21 November 1844.

Pfyffer's model, which had been much admired in the late eighteenth century, did not receive many visitors in the early nineteenth century. The first of its kind in its day, it had inevitably been copied. When mapping Switzerland in the 1790s, Johann Rudolph Müller and Johann Heinrich Weiss had also made a three-dimensional model of Switzerland, which stretched from the Lake of Geneva to the Lake of Constance, as well as models of other parts of the country. Under pressure from Napoleon, the first was sold to France, and may have been on view in Paris after 1814, just as the latter may have been exhibited in Switzerland.[181] Certainly, Murray's *Handbook* of 1838 recommended a model in Zurich as better made and more extensive than that of Pfyffer, which was considered not worth the entrance fee.[182] More easily accessible to the British public would have been the models of Swiss scenery exhibited in Soho Square in 1823. The reviewer in the *New Monthly Magazine* considered their principal merit lay in allowing travellers who had passed through the area to remember their journey in correct detail.[183] For the British visitor to Lucern after 1820, Pfyffer's model had lost its novelty value and been supplanted by the Lion of Lucern as the main attraction of the town.

[181] See Hammer, *Farbe, Licht und Schatten*, p.17.
[182] Murray's *Handbook*, 1838, p.37.
[183] *New Monthly Magazine*, Vol.IX, Dec.1823, pp.439-40.

The scenery of Switzerland.

The discussion of travelogue material as presented so far could give the impression of British travellers engaged in rather fragmented activities, in part visiting curiosities, in part recollecting people and places of past fame, in part staying over the summer in particular resorts. However, overriding all these, the travelogues testify that Switzerland gave most of its visitors an experience which they found visually overwhelming, emotionally deeply moving, and even profoundly religious.

For Thomas Hookham, the initial impact came with his very first sighting of the Alps in 1816:

> When I gazed upon the wild and craggy summits of these mountains, towering above those clouds which are supposed, by the majority of our species, to be the limits of all that is earthly, - when I looked from their summits to their base, and contemplated their stupendous and oppressive magnitude, I shrunk from the daring speculations of imagination, which would picture that period of mundane convulsion when these mountains were heaved into their imperishable forms. I have always been a lover of Nature; I have made myself familiar with her various charms; I have struggled through her closely-embowered recesses, which coyly resisted my intrusion; I have reposed on her verdant uplands; I have bathed in her delicious streams - she has been my mistress, and I have loved her with inconceivable affection; but here she was no longer the same being - I beheld her, but I could not approach her; a new feeling took entire possession of my heart; I had been before her lover - I now became her worshipper.[184]

For Samuel Rogers, it was also the Alpine range in its full extent which impressed him:

> In our way to Sursee the Alps, all snow, bounded our horizon, extending along a vast plain from east to west, in my wildest dreams nothing ever surpassed them. They shone in the sun, & seemed impassable; nor was their extent less striking than their altitude. Every thing indeed has fallen perhaps a little short of my expectations, but the Alps alone. They have exceeded them, & whenever they appear, they affect me as much as if I was seeing them for the first time. [185]

Passing along the southern side of the Lake of Geneva a week or so earlier, Samuel Rogers's fellow-traveller, Sir James Mackintosh, had had low expectations, having been told that the building of Napoleon's road along the southern side of the Lake of Geneva had destroyed the charm of the scenery around Meillerie:

> Surprise, therefore, enhanced our delight, as we passed on through the most exquisite and enchanting scene in nature, to the village of Gingoulph, of which it would be vain to describe the beauties. I never saw any faint approach to it. Till this morning, I never thoroughly believed that any scenes could surpass

[184] [Hookham], *Walk*, pp,22-3
[185] Rogers, *Italian journal*, p.146.

those of Scotland and the Lakes; but they are nothing.[186]

The Alps also showed nature at her most violent and terrifying, not only through the scenes of past destruction, for instance at Goldau and Martigny, but also directly. Thus it was that Colonel Armine Mountain was caught in a storm as he descended from the Glacier des Bossons:

> The rain fell as I have never seen it fall; the thunder, bursting like ten thousand fireworks, continued in one tremendous roll, reverberated from rock to rock completely round the valley; the lightning reddening the road before us, dazzled our eyes, and a thunderbolt falling.... into the forest, within a hundred yards of us, so startled one of the mules which we drove before us, that he set off at full speed; at length, thoroughly drenched, but delighted with the magnificence of the scene, we arrived at .. Chamounix. [187]

Rae Wilson was also caught in a storm not far from Chamonix:

> We were nearly stunned by the thunder which rattled like the discharge of a whole field of artillery, so greatly was the sound increased by its reverberating among the mountains. .... During this terrific storm we witnessed the sublime in a degree far exceeding the bounds of enjoyment, nor should we have voluntarily exposed ourselves to the peril of thus facing it. In proportion, however, to the dismay and other suffering we had undergone, was our satisfaction - I might say rapture, when thoroughly drenched and exhausted we regained our inn at Chamouni. [188]

But whether in storm or sunlight, the superlatives came tumbling from the pens of the visitors as they viewed the Alps. Lady Shelley suggested that 'Nothing can surpass the charm of lovely Rigiberg'[189] and John Sheppard considered the road from Arona to Brig 'offers more that is beautiful, sublime, and surprising, than any similar space in Europe.' [190] Dorothy Wordsworth in viewing the Mer de Glace 'had never dreamt of anything so enchantingly beautiful', and crossing the Wengernalp, Robert Bakewell considered that 'all sunk in comparison with this scene.' William Chambers, also on the Wengernalp, waited for the mist to clear:

> When it was all opened up to us, we gazed upon the scene in the full consciousness and belief that the world had no grander landscape to spread before the admiring eye of man than that which was now laid open to us..... In scanning these prodigious precipices with my eye, I acknowledged that they filled up all the space which my imagination contained for mountain grandeur.[191]

For Moyle Sherer, the most moving moment came when he viewed the Rhone

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[186] Mackintosh, *Memoirs*, II, p.298.
[187] Mountain, *Memoirs*, p.23.
[188] Wilson, Rae , Notes abroad, II, pp.145-6
[189] Shelley, Frances, *Diary*, I. p.271.
[190] Sheppard, *Letters*, p.163.
[191] Chambers, *Tour*, p.66.

glacier from the Furca:

> No man can look upon these scenes, none can tread this snow, which here cracks to the foot, there glistens meltingly in the hot sunbeam, and is here again broken by rude chasms and clefts, down into whose beautifully blue depths you look with trembling, - none can do this, and forget that he has with him a second self, invisible, spiritual, immortal. [192]

In seeing or travelling in the high Alps, visitors regularly expressed their feelings of awe and wonder when confronted with nature at its most grand and intimidating. However, Switzerland had other features to attract the visitor: clear mountain streams rushed through flowered pasturelands where peaceful cattle grazed, then tumbled over precipices and crashed amid plumes of spray into the valley below; or over the centuries, they cut dark damp gorges in the rock through which they hastened noisily. Forests of fir and spruce surrounded gloomy and mysterious mountain lakes while, at lower altitude, sunlit vineyards sloped down to the water's edge of larger, softer lakes. On these, boats could be seen carrying bales of hay and market produce or small groups of prosperous peasants neatly dressed in colourful native costume. Seen through carefully pre-conditioned eyes, felt by a susceptible heart, the Swiss landscape could take on the aspect of a paradise. Thus certainly it was seen by the young Stratford Canning arriving in Zurich in 1814 and who wrote enthusiastically to a friend:

> Put on your spurs, mount your yacht, and come the shortest possible way to this delicious country. When once here, you will acknowledge that you have spent twenty years of your life most unprofitably. In short you are, and must be, an owl till you set foot in this land of liberty and cocked hats. The finest mountains - the greenest hills - the richest plains - the neatest houses - the best inns - the most limpid streams, and for aught I know the most delightful fair ones, ever yet beheld in this transitory sphere! Elysium and Mahomet's seventh heaven are mere jokes to this earthly anticipation of Paradise!! [193]

In similar vein, Marianne Baillie, staying outside Geneva looked out over the lake:

> The prospect from the drawing-room windows, of the blue waters of the majestic lake, with Mont Blanc, surrounded by his attendant chain of humbler mountains, was grand beyond all idea! in short, this abode was far more like Paradise than any dwelling upon earth.[194]

Lord Byron, setting off for the Bernese Oberland, climbed up into the pastureland above the Lake of Geneva. Here

> the music of the Cows' bells .... in the pastures .... and the Shepherds' shouting to us from crag to crag & playing on their reeds where the steeps appeared

[192] ISherer], *Notes*, pp.161-2.
[193] Lane-Poole, Stanley, ed., *The Life of .....Canning*, I, p.222.
[194] Baillie, *First ismpressions*, p. 252.

> almost inaccessible, with the surrounding scenery - realized all that I have ever heard or imagined of a pastoral existence - much more so than Greece or Asia Minor.[195]

By the Lake of Geneva, George Bridges declared himself 'never sated with this delicious scenery'. [196] Samuel Butler supposed the view from Geneva to Lausanne 'the most superb in the whole world,' [197] and John Milford, completing a tour of the whole lake, declared that he had never before been 'so delighted with the beauties of nature.'[198] Similar praise was lavished on other areas. Matthew O'Conor considered the Grisons the 'most romantic spot in the known world',[199] while Elizabeth Strutt judged the Valais 'perhaps the most extraordinary country in the world.' [200] The day that he spent visiting the Great St. Bernard struck Edward Copleston 'as the most romantic occurrence of my life, the most unlike reality, and the most like a dream of any thing I ever remember.' [201] No wonder that Louis Agassiz decided to paraphrase the proverb by writing: 'He who has not seen Switzerland has seen nothing.' [202]

It was reasonably anticipated by British travellers that the inhabitants of Switzerland, uncorrupted by life in large cities, living in picturesque lake and valley settings, with the high Alps as a backdrop, would possess appropriate physical and moral characteristics. Some travellers, especially in the early part of the period, found what they had expected. Thus, on entering Geneva, John Milford is full of praise:

> The mode of life and the variety of the scenes around the simple peasants of the Alps, render their faculties richer in conception, and their hearts warmer in affections, than if they dwelt upon uniform plains, and gave themselves up to luxury ....The unspeakable openness of heart which they display, their frequent instances of benevolence and affection, together with the good humour and native simplicity legible in every countenance, endear them to every friend of humanity. [203]

When he left the country the following year, his opinion had not changed:

> The general features of manners among all the cantons of Switzerland, both catholic and protestant, are those of an open sincerity and plainness, mixed with an independence of mind, and love of liberty; which are never found in despotic governments. Nature has not much favoured this country, except in the grand

[195] Marchand (ed.), Byron's Journals, Vol.5, p.99.
[196] Bridges, *Alpine sketches,* p.87.
[197] Butler Manuscript, p.53.
[198] Milford, *Observations,* I, p.143.
[199] O'Conor, *Picturesque and historical recollections,* p.141.
[200] Strutt, *Domestic residence,* II, p.69.
[201] Coplestone, *Memoir,* p.51.
[202] Agassiz, *Journey,* p.179
[203] Milford, *Observations,* I, pp.174-5.

> and sublime scenery .... but the absence of luxury, the simplicity of manners, and the indefatigable industry of all the inhabitants, amply compensate for these disadvantages. [204]

The author of *A Picturesque Tour* noted similar virtues in the Swiss whom he described as 'humble and courteous in their manner, religious in their habits , and of a serious temperament.' He was particularly impressed by the inhabitants of the Bernese Oberland who 'appeared to be of a fine and handsome race. They were tall, compact, and fitted for hardihood.' [205] With the passing of time, many came to challenge such a flattering perception of the Swiss, pointing to the mercenary nature of the inhabitants. Some innkeepers overcharged, or deceived their guests about weather or transport arrangements in order to detain them longer; some voituriers broke agreements and increased their charges, or took unauthorised passengers; and along the main routes, travellers were regularly assailed by beggars. As for as physical attributes were concerned, there were sadly areas, particularly in the Rhone valley, where goitres and cretinism were prevalent, and where consequently many inhabitants appeared out of place in the beauty of their natural surroundings. The more sceptical view of the Swiss found expression Murray's *Handbook* of 1838 where they were severely castigated:

> We do not find the nation actuated by that independence and nobleness of sentiment which might be expected. On the contrary, a spirit of time-serving and a love of money appear the influencing motives in the national character, and the people who have enjoyed freedom longer than any other in Europe, are principally distinguished .... for sending forth the most obsequious and drudging of valets; for extortionate innkeepers, and among the lower class of Swiss for almost universal mendicity [*sic*]. [206]

Yet writing about the same time, William Beattie saw the country and its natives in a completely different light:

> Here the energies of the human mind are presented to him in full operation. Every where he observes the regenerating influence of freedom; the equal protection of rights and extension of privileges; an equable distribution of the public burdens; a strong practical morality; an unwearied industry, and love of independence; united with a patriotism which, from its very intensity, has become proverbial. Here the peasant, fearing no avaricious lord, no spiritual inquisitor, enjoys the fruits of his labour in peace, sweetened and improved by the free and full toleration of his religion. [207]

It was the beauty of the sights, combined with historical associations and social

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[204] Ibid., II, 233-4.
[205] *Picturesque tour*, p. 307 & p.331.
[206] Murray's *Handbook*, 1838, pp. xxx-xxxi.
[207] Beattie, *Switzerland*, I, p.2.

conceptions and fantasies, which made Switzerland such an attractive destination and these proved relatively unaffected by individual criticisms. Helping to create and maintain an idealised vision of the country were the pictorial images of it which were diffused in Britain from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. Before drawing conclusions about individual tours and travelogues, it seems important, therefore, to consider the iconography of Switzerland, for an analysis of the scenes and places depicted should both complement and supplement the written travelogues.

The iconography of Switzerland - an aspect of the Swiss experience.

> They were looking over views in Swisserland.
> 'As soon as my aunt gets well, I shall go abroad,' said he. 'I shall never be easy till I have seen some of these places. You will have my sketches, some time or other, to look at - or my tour to read - or my poem.' [208]

Jane Austen was writing *Emma* during the two years when her contemporaries were rushing back onto the Continent after the defeat of Napoleon. This incident from the novel is significant not only because pictures of a foreign country were seen to stimulate a desire to travel but also because the particular country was Switzerland. With their increasing quality and wider diffusion, images played an ever more important role not only as motivators of travel, but also as providers of a means of familiarising viewers with particular places and, for the travellers themselves, as reminders of those places they had actually visited. A comprehensive study of the iconography of Switzerland would provide ample material for one or more theses, and so here the aim is to concentrate on images available to a wider British public; published images or those put on public display will be considered, and not the work of individual artists which, in most cases, would have been viewed only by the small number of people visiting their studios. At the same time, particular attention will be paid to the subject of the images in order to establish the relationship between places depicted and places visited.

It seems likely that the Swiss views admired by the characters in *Emma* would have been published in Switzerland rather than in Britain. Indeed, perhaps it was because the Swiss had, already at the end of the eighteenth century, become increasingly responsive to the requirements of travellers for artistic representation of their country's scenery that British publishers had been slow to enter the field. Probably the first Alpine views to be exhibited at the Royal Academy were seven watercolour drawings by William Pars which he entered in 1771. Some of these views were subsequently engraved by William Woollett and published in 1773-74.[209] It is interesting to note that the subjects included the Valley of Chamonix, the glaciers of Grindelwald, and the Devil's Bridge. It appears that no further collection of images of Switzerland was produced on this side of the Channel until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when one version of the fourth edition of William Coxe's *Travels in*

[208] Jane Austen, *Emma*, Chapter XLII.
[209] See Fagan, *Works of William Woollett.*

Switzerland was published with twenty topographical plates. These included some views of Eastern Switzerland but none of the Valley of Chamonix or, if we exclude a view of Thun and the panorama of the Alps as seen from Bern, of the Bernese Oberland. Albanis de Beaumont's *Travels through the Lepontine Alps* of 1800 seems to have provided the first collection of coloured illustrations of Switzerland published in Britain. [210] Seven plates illustrated the Lake of Geneva area, including pictures of Ferney and of Voltaire's tomb, five the valley of the Rhone with a further two resulting from a diversion to the summit of the Great St. Bernard; the final three provided illustrations of the St Gotthard Pass, with the Devil's Bridge again featuring. Steinitzer describes it as the first of the large, lavish productions of the time to draw attention to the Alps.[211]

The 1820s witnessed the publication in Britain of the first two plate books which were more widely circulated: James Cockburn's *Swiss Scenery* and William Brockedon's *Illustrations of Passes of the Alps*. As the title would imply, the latter work also included some passes which fall well outside the geographical area being considered here, for example, the Corniche road and the Stelvio Pass, but Swiss images were reproduced for the Great St. Bernard, St Gotthard, Grimsel, Gries, Bernadino, Splügen and Simplon passes described in the work. Following the road across a mountain pass in order to produce a series of views resulted in two further British publications, both, one suspects, in small editions: James Cockburn's *Views to illustrate the route of the Simplon* with fifty lithographed plates, published in 1822, and George Clowes's *A picturesque tour by the new road from Chiavenna over the Splügen* with thirteen plates, published in 1826. The album of *Views in Savoy, Switzerland, and on the Rhine*, from drawings by John Dennis cannot have been produced in a large edition when published in London around 1820. Another scarce collection of plates accompanied Marianne Colston's *Journal of a Tour in France, Switzerland and Italy* which was published in Paris. Of the fifty plates, contained in a separate folio volume, nine were of Swiss views.

In the 1830s, the publication in Britain of books containing topographical views increased apace. The *Landscape Annuals* proved one of the most successful series The first in the series published in 1830 was devoted to Switzerland and Italy and

[210] Only some copies were in colour; many were in bistre.
[211] Steinitzer, A., *Alpinismus in Bildern*, p.58.

contained twenty five plates accompanied by long descriptive texts; eight were devoted to Swiss views. Just as mountain passes had provided inspiration for a series of illustrations of scenes along their length, so too rivers provided an attractive theme. In 1832 Tombleson had produced a collection of engravings of views along the Rhine from Cologne to Mainz. Two years later a sequel was produced entitled *Upper Rhine* containing views between Mainz and the river's sources in the Alps. Following the river upstream, not only brought Tombleson into Switzerland but suggested to him scenic subjects which had not been illustrated before in any British publication. The year 1836 saw the publication of a much more comprehensive and a highly popular collection of Swiss views, William Beattie's *Switzerland* with 106 plates based on illustrations by William Bartlett. The plates from all these books were regularly reused in productions for the drawing room with such titles as *The Gallery of Engravings*, and *The Drawing Room Scrap Book* in which Swiss views were mixed with others from different parts of the world as well as with portraits and fictional scenes.

Two poets also contributed to the diffusion of images of Switzerland. The work of Samuel Rogers entitled *Italy* had not been a success until, in 1830 and at great expense, Rogers brought out a new edition illustrated by Turner, Stodhart and Prout. Although chiefly devoted to Italy, the illustrations to the opening section of the poem were of Swiss views, all by Turner. The impact of the new format was immediate. Four thousand copies had sold by the end of the year and seven thousand by May 1832. According to Hale[212] , it remained, for two generations, 'the ideal present for those about to leave for Italy or who had just come back.' John Ruskin was given a copy by his father's business partner for his birthday and attributed to the gift 'the entire direction of my life's energies'.[213] No sooner had he cast his eyes over the vignettes than he took them as his 'only masters' and set about trying to imitate them by fine pen shading.[214] Lord Byron's fame ensured that his poems with Swiss links, especially the Third Canto of *Childe Harold* and *The Prisoner of Chillon*, became well known in their original, unillustrated, versions. However, illustrations soon followed both in individual volumes dedicated to the titles and in collections of his works. In addition, in 1833, illustrations appeared separately from the works in *Finden's Illustrations of the*

[212] Rogers, *Italian Journal*, p.111.
[213] Ruskin, *Praeterita*, I, p.26.
[214] Ibid., p.107.

Life and Works of Lord Byron, with notes by William Brockedon. Some of these views, including those of Interlaken, Lausanne and Thun, were in turn used on a dinner service issued by Spode and Copeland later in the 1830s.

In the late 1830s and in the 1840s, some artists took advantage of the refinement of the lithographic process to produce high-quality views of the Continent which included views of Switzerland. The *Sketches in Italy, Switzerland, France etc.* of Thomas Miles Richardson published in 1837 contained a handful of views of popular Swiss locations including the Hospice on the St. Bernard and the Castle of Chillon. In 1847, George Hering's work *The Mountains and Lakes of Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Italy* was published and two years later, in 1849, J.D. Glennie produced his *Views on the Continent* with illustrations of his journey down the Rhine and into Switzerland. Perhaps the finest production of all was George Barnard's *Switzerland, Scenes and incidents of travel in the Bernese Oberland* published in 1843 with 25 folio-size lithographs exclusively of Swiss views.

At the same time as these 'top of the market' publications, woodcuts were being increasingly used for illustrative purposes. As a result, it was possible both to add illustrations to books and to publish illustrated magazines at low cost. Thus, the tours of O'Conor, Roby and Chambers contained a few woodcut illustrations, and magazines such as the *Saturday Magazine*, regularly featured illustrated articles on places considered of interest to the British public; these included a number of Swiss views.

Whereas the focus of this chapter is on British publications, illustrated material transcends language barriers, and there is no doubt that British travellers regularly bought pictures of Switzerland produced in the country itself and elsewhere in Europe. It seems unlikely that there was any country in Europe which produced more topographical illustrations of its landscapes, nor of such quality, as did Switzerland. With artists such as Johann Aberli, Sigmund Freudenberger and Caspar Wolf, the *Kleinmeister* tradition was already well established by the end of the eighteenth century. It then flowered in the first decades of the nineteenth through the talents of a host of individuals including Samuel Birmann, Johann Bleuler, Gabriel Lory, father and son, and Johann Wetzel. These produced finely coloured line engravings or aquatints or a combination of both. The resulting plates were then put on the market either in

book form or sold individually. Subjects were largely chosen in line with tourist demand, though, in the search for new subjects, it seems likely that artists also sought to draw the attention of travellers to new places and picturesque sights.[215]

Two Kleinmeister works deserve special mention: Gabriel Lory's *Voyage pittoresque de Genève à Milan* of 1811 and Samuel Weibel's *Voyage pittoresque de l'Oberland* of 1812. The plates from these two works were re-engraved by Rudolph Ackermann and published in London in *The Repository of Arts* between 1818 and 1822, thus drawing the attention of a wider British public both to Swiss artists and Swiss views. Both were subsequently published by Ackermann in book form under the titles of *Picturesque Tour from Geneva to Milan by way of the Simplon*, London, 1820, and *Picturesque Tour through the Oberland*, London, 1823.

Alongside topographical views, travellers were also interested in domestic scenes and above all in native costumes. From the 1790s onwards, the Kleinmeister produced, in large numbers, plates illustrating the particularities of the costumes in each of the 22 cantons . As there were distinctions to be made within these, the series was often extended beyond 22. The reprint of the 'large Reinhardt' of 1819 contained 46 plates and exemplified costume plates at their finest, with the two or more figures placed in an appropriate setting. Cheaper collections were usually smaller, and often featured single figures. Interestingly, a few British publishers printed series of costume plates. Yosy's *Switzerland* of 1815 contained 50 plates after König and, in 1817, Ackermann published a series of 15 coloured aquatints after Lory. *A Collection of Swiss Costumes in miniature*, the so-called 'small Reinhardt' was published in London in 1822 and contained 30 plates and two years later the publishers Rodwell and Martin produced a small volume entitled *Swiss Costume* with 24 plates by G. Scharf. The *World in Miniature* series edited by Frederic Shoberl and published by Ackermann in the 1820s included a volume devoted to Switzerland containing 18 illustrations of Swiss costumes. It would be difficult to imagine that this widespread diffusion of costume plates and genre scenes produced towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, did not contribute forcefully to the image of the Swiss peasant as contented and prosperous, and thereby to

[215] Some idea of the range of Swiss publications containing views can deduced by examining the catalogue of the Lucern bookseller Xavier Meyer entitled *Catalogue des meilleurs ouvrages, voyages pittoresques, estampes et costumes qui ont rapport à la Suisse,* published in Lucern in 1824.

fantasies concerning the merits of a simple, rural lifestyle.

Given the wide range of illustrated material available, cost certainly would have established how the material was diffused: only the wealthy would have been able to acquire the large Swiss-produced aquatint books along with the folio British illustrated works, like Albanis de Beaumont's *Travels*, James Cockburn's *Views of the Simplon* and George Barnard's *Switzerland.* However, there was much in the middle of the price range with the volumes of steel engravings, particularly James Cockburn's *Swiss Scenery* and William Bartlett's *Switzerland.* At the lower end of the market were the works illustrated with wood engravings,above all, the magazines and the annuals. In Switzerland itself, the print shops catered for the not-so-rich traveller both by producing small albums usually with titles such as *Souvenir de la Suisse* and by selling individual plates from folio size down to postcard size and smaller. Also, because no language barrier obstructs access to an image, it is likely that British travellers purchased some of the woks with Swiss illustrations produced in Paris and elsewhere. The large folio volumes entitled *Lettres sur la Suisse* with plates by Villeneuve and printed in Paris in the 1820s focused on popular areas including the Bernese Oberland, the Lake of Lucern, and the Lake of Geneva with Chamonix. Similar to Bartlett's *Switzerland* in presentation and identical in date of publication was Heinrich Zschokke's *Die klassischen Stellen der Schweiz* published in Karlsruhe in 1836; a French language version came out two years later.

Prints and book illustrations were not the only forms of image of Switzerland available at this period. The close of the eighteenth century had seen the development of a new form of public entertainment, the panorama. Over ensuing decades, the large-scale paintings, exhibited in specially built rotundas, depicted not only townscapes and battle scenes, but some alpine landscapes as well. The diorama emerged as a variant form of pictorial representation of landscape scenes. By using back as well as front lighting, it enabled the landscape to be diffused with sunlight or moonlight, and was thus particularly effective in conveying the atmosphere of an Alpine scene. Because Swiss scenes lent themselves well to this new medium of entertainment, they featured quite frequently in the public shows (see Table D16, p.229, for a list of the better publicised ones).

Some travelogue writers remembered their attendance at these shows when they subsequently visited the real scenes on their travels. In 1818, the writer of the *Journal of a Tour* mentioned that Mr Barker was at Lausanne preparing a panoramic view.[216] Two years later, Dorothy Wordsworth looked at the view from the terrace at Lausanne

> which may be seen in Leicester Fields by any one who will pay a shilling; there let him fancy himself to be standing, and he may look upon nearly the same prospect which we saw, and see the very same house forty yards distant, with a long twisted chimney, and, I believe, people standing at the windows - all as natural as life.[217]

Charles Tennant was also impressed by the same panorama, reckoning that 'it is impossible to conceive a more correct representation of Lausanne and its environs', even if, understandably, it necessarily fell 'very far short of the beauty of the original.' [218] In 1822, Lady Blessington, standing on the terrace, felt she had been 'prepared by the panorama of Lausanne,' [219] and in 1825 Rickman made a point of visiting 'that part of the public walk from which Barker's panorama was taken.' [220] Of the dioramas, those painted by Louis Daguerre of the Valley of Sarnen and of the village of Unterseen were particularly praised in the columns of *The Times*[221] and seem to have attracted large audiences. Certainly, when the author of a *Summer's Tour* drove through the valley of Sarnen, he reckoned it was 'familiar to us all, from the picture of it exhibited at the Diorama in London, ' [222] and John Hoppus, in the same valley, reckoned it 'well deserving the distinction it obtained ... of being exhibited at the Diorama in the Regent's Park, as an example of the beauties of Switzerland.' [223] For Walter White, a visit to the Panorama in his youth made a deep impact:

> To see the mountains had been a dream with me ever since my boyhood, when the sight of a panoramic view of some Alpine scenery almost struck me dumb with wondering delight, and gave me strange yearning for a sight of the original, not unmingled with doubt as to whether it could be half so imposing or beautiful. '

Later, he indicates that it was the view of Unterseen which he had seen, and that reality did indeed match all his expectations. [224] In contrast, John Hoppus, who had viewed

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[216] Anon., *Journal of a Tour*, I, p.
[217] Wordsworth, *Journal*, II, p.298.
[218] Tennant, *Tour*, II, p.96
[219] Blessington, Idler, I, p.51
[220] Rickman, *Diary*, p.47.
[221] See, for instance, *The Times* of 24 March 1828, p.6
[222] [Bateman], *Summer's Tour*, p.108.
[223] Hoppus, *Continent*, I, p.297.
[224] White, *To Switzerland*, p.1 and p.66.

the panorama of Unterseen with adult eyes considered that the village had a 'decayed and uninviting appearance, which would disappoint those whose associations were formed by the exhibition of it at the Diorama.' [225] However the correspondence of image and reality was judged, it emerges clearly that the public exhibitions alerted many to Swiss scenery, and for some, at least, provided a stimulus to travel.

The most popular show of the whole period also introduced Swiss and Alpine scenes to the public. On March 15 1852, Albert Smith presented, for the first time and for its first season, his *Ascent of Mont Blanc* at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. The focus of the show was a description by Smith of his journey to and in Switzerland and of his ascent of Mont Blanc in 1851.[226] By the end of the second season alone, he had presented the show 471 times before an audience which totalled 193,754. Further seasons followed, often with innovative variations, including the appearance on the stage of chamois and St. Bernard dogs. Two of the latter were presented by Smith to the Prince of Wales, and one was paraded in the auditorium during the interval by a girl from Chamonix in national costume. On July 5 1858, Albert Smith gave his two-thousandth and final performance of the show. Dioramic scenes of the Rhine, Switzerland and the Chamonix valley, painted by William Beverley, had formed the backdrop to all the performances.[227]

Smith's itinerary had followed well-worn tracks, his stay at Chamonix had been in an already popular resort, and his ascent of Mont Blanc had required the aid of several guides who, it is said, had to carry him to the top. However, although the achievements on which his entertainment at the Egyptian Hall were based, were not in any way particularly praiseworthy or outstanding, the entertainment itself not only made Smith a rich man, but publicised Chamonix to a degree which a modern advertising agency would find some difficulty in emulating. J.J. Reynolds was one of those to attend and begins his journal with the question:

> Reader, are you one of the half-million who have laughed with and at Albert Smith in his amusing descriptive ascent of Mont Blanc? If yea, did not his beautiful panorama fill you there and then with a desire to visit the mountain monarch and the rocky realm over which he rules.

[225] Hoppus, *Continent*, II, p.15

[226] He had made the ascent in 1851 and describes it in his book *The Story of Mont Blanc*, London, 1853,

[227] A full account of the evolution of the show is given in Fitzsimons, *The Baron of Piccadilly.*

Reynolds confessed to having attended three separate performances of the show, and, having made his Swiss tour, was planning a fourth.

Analysis of places illustrated.

In perusing the range of illustrative material on Switzerland, certain images recur regularly, while others seem only to have been produced on one occasion. The varying sources of the illustrations goes some way to explaining this range. Many illustrations were created as a by-product of a particular tour being undertaken by the illustrator. Inasmuch as tours followed traditional routes, illustrations arising from them tended to depict familiar scenes often from familiar angles. Other illustrations were produced in order to present a selection of views from the country as a whole, and these, as a result, contained a mixture of familiar and unfamiliar scenes. Yet others pursued narrower themes, and were thus most likely to contain unusual subjects. In order to examine the distribution of views and the degree to which certain images were regularly repeated, it was decided to list the views in a range of British illustrated works on Switzerland (i.e. published in Britain or published abroad by a British author), including all the works containing larger selections of views. In order to facilitate analysis, these were arranged under area headings along with their date of publication and their source (see Table D17, pp.230-234 for the list, and Map D18, p.235, for the areas). In drawing conclusions about the relative popularity of images, it was recognised, for the reasons indicated above, that the frequency with which particular locations were illustrated would not provide a precise measure of the routes most followed by travellers in general. In drawing conclusions from the relative popularity of images, the ends of the scale were more informative than the middle: multiple images of a place could be regarded as an indication of its popularity, places which were not illustrated at all seemed unlikely to have been widely visited.

The overall number of views of subjects in each area was calculated (Table D19, p.236), allowing some tentative conclusions to be drawn. More images were produced of the Bernese Oberland (Area 3) than the Chamonix area (Area 9), a superiority which still applied even if the images of Geneva and its lake (Area 1) were added in. Twice as many images were produced of the Oberland than of Lucern and its surroundings, suggesting that, of the three areas, it was the most highly rated by British travellers. A large number of images featured scenes along the

Simplon route. The fact that some works consisted solely of views between Geneva and Milan helped to raise the total, and this would have been higher still if Cockburn's scarce title, *Views to illustrate the route of the Simplon*, had not been excluded from the analysis. It was principally views along the other two carriageable roads, the Gotthard and the Splügen, which contributed most heavily to the totals for Eastern and Southern Switzerland (Areas 6 and 7). That the totals here fell below those depicting the Simplon might be expected; the two more eastern passes had only opened up as carriage roads later in the period, when the engineering skills involved in creating the necessary gradual gradient were no longer as startlingly innovative. Alpine thoroughfares were unavoidable for travellers, but, at the same time, gave relatively easy access to the most sought-after aspects of alpine landscapes: town and country scenes, lakes and rivers, hills and mountains, waterfalls and glaciers, not to mention remarkable features of the road-building itself. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that artists sought subjects along their length. The lower totals for North-Western Switzerland (Area 2) and Northern Switzerland (Area 5) suggested that the travellers did not linger within them. The number of images for the Mont Blanc area also came across as low. Perhaps artists felt that the number of suitable views was more limited. In summarising the overall distribution of images, it was apparent that the three tourists centres, which emerged from the travelogues, were all well represented; at the same time, there were comparatively few images from the areas unvisited by the travelogue writers. Images 'off the beaten track' were usually the result of an artist following an agenda different from that of the usual traveller, for example, Tombleson following the Rhine to its sources.

Turning from the overall distribution of images to the images themselves, there were numerous town views, as well as views of unusual or romantically situated buildings, for example, castles, convents, and bridges. Lakes were often depicted in conjunction with towns on their banks, and mountains, often inaccurately delineated especially at the beginning of the period, usually formed the backdrop to a building or buildings in the foreground. Outside towns and villages, waterfalls and defiles seemed to have exerted a strong appeal. Amongst individual scenes and places represented, the ten towns depicted most often were Geneva, Thun, Lucern, Sion, Bern, Lausanne, Fribourg, Interlaken and Martigny, the most depicted waterfalls were the Rhine Falls and the Staubbach, and the most depicted defile the Via Mala on the

Splügen road. Alongside these common views, often repeated images were found of Mont Blanc from one of several viewpoints (especially from the Valley of Chamonix or the Lake of Geneva), the Hospice on the Great St. Bernard, the Castle of Chillon, the village of Grindelwald, the Devil's Bridge, the Mer de Glace, and Tell's Chapel on the Lake of Lucern.

Extensive mountain views, as seen from a high vantage point or summit, could not be easily compressed onto a single plate in a book. For such views, travellers might have been able to obtain a folding plan on which the principal physical features, particularly the peaks, lakes and towns, were usually named. Such plans came, by analogy, to be named 'panoramas'. Over the period, the Swiss themselves gradually produced printed panoramas taken from the most popular viewpoints. Possibly the earliest of these was that from the Rigi, printed as early as 1815, even before the inn on the summit had been officially restored and reopened. Guide books too regularly incorporated them. Ebel's *Manuel* contained pull-outs of views from the Albis, from near Neuchatel, and from near Zurich, and early editions of Murray's *Handbook* followed suit with panoramas of the Bernese Alps from near Bern and of the Mont Blanc chain from the Brévent.

The wide range of images of Switzerland produced during the period brought Switzerland into the eye of the British public, and must have been a factor in encouraging travellers to visit the country. The emergence of a number of key images was testimony to particular routes being followed in preference to others, and, in turn, helped to define the beaten track, or, as it was designated in the 1860s, the 'regular Swiss round.' [228]

[228] See, for instance, Jones, Harry, *The Regular Swiss Round*.

Travelogues - conclusions.

In seeking to complement register data by an analysis of travelogues, it was important to be able to show that the travelogue writers were not atypical of the main body of travellers, particularly with regard to the nature of the European tour they undertook. An examination of the ages of the selected group showed a wide spread, in line with that of all travellers. The range of occupations engaged in was also wide, though with a preponderance of those occupations which required some sort of literary ability. It was not felt that this ability would, in general, have resulted in idiosyncratic decisions being made about the travel routes to be followed. The gender mix of the group was similar to that established for the whole travelling population as enumerated in the registers. A full range of travel groupings was also represented, including individuals, family groups and groups of friends.

Once over the Channel, various analogies might be used to interpret the distribution of British travellers across the Continent. One is to a filtering process created by a number of elements, of which money and time were two major ones. In the early part of our period, travel was necessarily slow. For those intending to visit Switzerland, a week was about the minimum time necessary to complete the journey from a Channel port to the Swiss border. It followed that travellers wishing to make a two-week tour of Switzerland would have had to set aside at least four weeks for the tour as a whole. Speed was also tightly linked to cost: the more rapidly travellers wished to travel, the more they had to pay. Slowing the rate of travel, and thereby saving on its cost, had usually to be offset by an increase in the cost of accommodation. With the gradual construction of the railway network, both cost and journey time were decreased. As a result, not only were tours made more accessible to a wider range of the British population, but different patterns of travel emerged: more frequent visits to the Continent, visits of shorter duration, visits focused on the destination rather than the journey, and the possibility for large groups to travel together. However, the rail network was created gradually and only began to have an impact on travel to Switzerland within the last decade of the period under consideration. It had almost no influence on travel within Switzerland until after 1860.[229]

[229] Thomas Cook's first tour to Switzerland took place in 1863.

While the travelogue evidence indicated a trend towards shorter tours, it also suggested that, throughout the period, a heterogeneous group of travellers were engaged in tours of different geographical range and for different lengths of time varying from a few weeks to a year or more. Time and cost explain some of the differences, but many must also be attributed to motivational factors. If, during the eighteenth century, Italy would have been regarded as the most important destination of a Continental tour, in the nineteenth, the merits of Switzerland and Italy came to be viewed in ways which no longer immediately acknowledged superiority to the latter. For instance, Daniel Wilson set out with some care how he saw the balance sheet:

> In Switzerland, all was the grandeur and majesty of nature; in Italy, it is the splendour and perfection of architecture. In the one, the towns were of themselves nothing; in the other, they are every thing. In Switzerland, the modern efforts for religion and liberty, and the fine spirit of the inhabitants, attract your chief attention; in Italy, the ancient memorials of past power, and the remains of science and literature. In Switzerland, you connect the works of nature with the men; in Italy, the men with the works, not of nature, but of art. The Swiss have for five centuries been raising their poor and desolate country, by their industry and good government, to be the praise of Europe; the Italians have for twelve centuries been depressing, by their indolence and bad administration, the most fertile and luxuriant, to be its reproach. Switzerland, in short, is the land of freedom and the purest form of Christianity; Italy, of slavery and of the most corrupt state of the Christian doctrine.[230]

This sort of evaluation did not seek to exclude Italy as an interesting destination, but it did emphasise that Switzerland, far from being merely a country of transit, had its own merits - and merits which to a religiously and morally inclined nation, firmly Protestant in persuasion, were particularly appealing.

When planning their Continental itinerary, travellers would not only have had regard to speed of travel, quality of accommodation, time available, and cost, but also to the safety of their persons and their belongings. As a result, they understandably avoided places affected by civil unrest, natural disasters, and epidemics or disease. Such deterrents to travel were generally of a short-term nature. A more ongoing concern arose from threats to their property and person. Such threats would have been assessed with particular care where women formed part of the travelling group, and might well have acted as a complete deterrent to any contemplating travelling alone. Within this context, countries were perceived differently. Even early in our period, the northern countries were regarded as 'safe'. On reaching Switzerland in

[230] Wilson, D., *Letters from absent brother*, II, pp.58-9.

1820, Dorothy Wordsworth stated that 'I should not fear to travel through Germany France and Switzerland without any companions but females,' [231] and a few year later Charles Tennant assured his readers that "this great advantage the traveller in all parts of Switzerland may confidently rely upon, viz. the security of his person and his property.'[232] Some had good occasion to attest Swiss honesty. When Seth Stevenson left a diamond pin in his inn in Brig, he wrote to the innkeeper from Geneva and had it safely returned,[233] and when John Roby's large travelling bag fell off the coach somewhere between Riddes and Sion, a peasant chased after the coach with it for more than a mile in the broiling sun.[234] Conscious of this reputation, James Forbes did not hesitate to lend his 'valuable gold chronometer' to the alpine shepherds who requested it in order to wake him early the following morning.[235] These incidents may be compared with the panic which set in when Marianne Malvars left a precious watch at an inn at Empoli and where its ultimate loss was presumed,[236] for the reputation of Italy was very different from that of Switzerland. For instance, the Gentleman's Magazine of 1816 warned its readers that 'assassinations and robberies multiply dreadfully in Italy. Travellers are stopped at 15 or 20 miles distance from the Simplon,' [237] and two years later reported an attack on two British officers between Rome and Naples; their postillion was shot dead without warning.[238] In Northern Italy, the party of Marianne Baillie met a merchant who had just been robbed by banditti, and, as a result, they enlisted the escort of two completely armed Austrian soldiers before proceeding. Marianne herself never remembered to have been more frightened in her life.[239] Further south, the party of Thomas Pennington also availed themselves of an armed escort, having heard that, only a few days before, a Genoese marquis had been kidnapped for a ransom. [240] The relating of such incidents undoubtedly raised anxiety levels amongst travellers, and caused them to perceive Italy as a country where their personal safety was at some risk.

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[231] Selincourt, *Letters of W. & D. Wordsworth*, II, p.903.
[232] Tennant, *Tour*, p.342.
[233] Stevenson, *Tour*, I, p.202.
[234] Roby, *Seven weeks*, II, p.181.
[235] Forbes, James, *Travels*, p.295.
[236] Wilkinson journal, entry for 23 October 1844.
[237] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.LXXXVI, Jul.-Dec. 1816, p.359.
[238] Ibid., Vol.LXXXVIII, Jan.-Jun.1818, p.71.
[239] Baillie, *First impressions*, pp.199-201.
[240] Pennington, *Journey*, I, p.515.

Within this wider framework, the constraints operating on individuals, and the positive motivations impelling them to travel, resulted in considerable variation in the duration of their tours, and in the places they chose to visit. At the same time, there was much overlap in the routes they followed, both on their way to Switzerland, and within Switzerland itself. The former Grand Tour itinerary via Paris to Rome and Naples, and back, was regularly followed, especially in the early part of the period. However, even those heading for Italy tended to linger on their passage through Switzerland, or followed a diversionary route, above all to Chamonix. While the traditional route south, which passed through Paris, remained popular, a more easterly corridor down the Rhine became increasingly frequented. The opening up of this route enabled travellers to return home by a different route from the one undertaken on the outward journey; about a half came to do so.

An examination of routes followed within Switzerland showed a great concentration of travellers in three centres, based on Lucern, Interlaken and Geneva/Chamonix. In contrast, many areas remained almost unvisited, including some which later in the century were to become household names. The latter included the villages of the Engadine and the Prätigau, as well as those in the lateral valleys of the Rhone. Zermatt, to become world famous in 1865 after the first ascent of the Matterhorn, only registered a few visitors in the last decade of our period. The analysis of illustrated material by and large confirms the travelogue evidence: most illustrations show places within the three centres, on the major thoroughfares between them, or on those linking Switzerland to Italy.

Travelogue evidence suggests that a combination of factors led to the development of the centres. Firstly, there had to be a strong motives for a visit. In the case of both Chamonix and the Bernese Oberland, it was the presence of the high Alps and access to glaciers, for Lucern it was the Rigi, the lake scenery and the Tell legend. Secondly, there had to be reasonable access to the centre. On this point, Geneva lay on the Simplon thoroughfare, Lucern on the Gotthard, and Thun and Interlaken were both easily accessible from Bern and only slightly less so from Lucern across the relatively low Brunig pass. Even the final stages of the journey to Chamonix and Grindelwald, under normal weather conditions, presented no serious problems. Thirdly there had to be reasonably provision for board and lodging. Here,

no doubt because Switzerland had long been on the route between northern and southern Europe, there were many inns which, according to the travellers themselves, compared favourably with the best of British hostelries. Beyond these, and especially considering their remote situations, the mountain destinations of Chamonix, Grindelwald, and the Rigi, catered surprisingly well for their visitors. Finally, for those heading for the Alpine resorts, it was desirable there should be fall-back locations which, in the case of poor weather conditions, provided more comfortable accommodation and a sophisticated urban environment. In this connection, the travelogues showed how the key towns of Geneva, Thun, Interlaken and Lucern became increasingly popular resorts where the British gathered in numbers over the summer months and where the facilities which were introduced, for instance, an English church, an English library and English newspapers, encouraged longer stays.

The travelogues indicated not only the areas visited, but also the duration of the Swiss tour. Even for those for whom the visit was a small component in a longer tour, travellers generally took their time over it. Most visited at least two of the three centres, and even if the obvious long-term residents (those who stayed over a year) were discounted, the average duration of the Swiss tour lasted approximately a month and a half.

The choice of centres gave some indication of the interests of the travellers. More information was gleaned both from an examination of places they made a detour to visit and from comments they recorded in the travelogues. The latter could provide no more than vignettes from a much larger picture, but they were selected to convey some feel for the way individuals observed and responded to their travel in Switzerland. Considered overall, particularly notable were the numbers who visited Chamonix, who not only climbed up to Grindelwald, but who often did so across the Kleine or the Grosse Scheidegg, who braved barren landscapes and often terrible weather to cross the Gemmi, Gotthard, Grimsel, Furca or Splügen Pass, or who spent hours to reach the hospice on the Great St. Bernard or the inn at the top of the Rigi. If one or more of these ascents became an essential ingredient of the Swiss tour, other aspects of the country gave rise to regular comment by the travellers. They remembered their compatriots Lord Byron, Edward Gibbon, and Edmund Ludlow, and they were conscious of some of the places associated with Rousseau and his

work; they usually commented on Mme de Staël's residence at Coppet as they passed it. Voltaire's country house at Ferney was easily accessible from Geneva and visited by large numbers. When in the Lucern area, they showed detailed knowledge of the Tell story, and they knew how the sites connected with his life fitted into the overall narrative. Historical association added an extra dimension to the attraction of the country.

It would appear from the routes travellers followed and the features of the country in which they expressed interest that their main focus was different from that of their predecessors; key activities of the latter group, such as recording factual information about the country and its institutions, detailing the history of its towns and buildings, or arranging meetings with persons of note, had been replaced, or at least largely supplemented, by a fascination with the very wide range of natural landscapes which Switzerland provided, and to which they responded with a similarly wide range of emotions. Further evidence for this notion was gained from the study of the images of Switzerland which were published in Britain over the period and of those which the travellers brought back with them from Switzerland itself. In their writing, they used the terms 'picturesque' and 'sublime' extensively They clearly took pleasure in pointing out the former in the quiet images of Swiss towns or villages in which attractive and well-dressed peasants in native costume were strategically placed, while also respectfully recognising the latter in the Alpine scenes in which nature showed all her power. At the same time they regularly made the point that neither pen nor brush could adequately convey the beauty or grandeur of the scenery they had witnessed.

A sharper indication of the changes which took place over the period itself can be gained by examining two groups of three typical travelogue writers in combination. For the first group, young men under 20 were selected: the tours of Digby, Henniker and Fox, and for the second group, married couples and the tours of Baillie, Bray and Headlam. We would anticipate the tours of the young men to tend towards the innovative and adventurous, those of the married couples towards the safe and tested. The selected tours not only support this general distinction, but also suggest how, within the categories, the nature of the tour may have changed over time. Digby, in 1816, undertook a tour which followed the Rhine route to Switzerland, included the Rigi (from the summit of which he sketched his own panorama, over six feet in length),

the Bernese Oberland and Chamonix, and returned by Lyons and Paris. It therefore provided a pioneering example of what was to become later the typical tour of Switzerland. In 1840, towards the middle of our period, Aldborough Henniker engaged in a much wider European tour, in which he spent some three weeks in Switzerland, surprisingly not visiting any of the three centres, but not moving out far from the beaten track either. Here it is the scope of the tour and the substitution of the Paris route by one through Vienna and Germany which signify a more innovative approach. Joseph Fox's tour of 1853 took advantage of rail travel as far as Strasburg. Within Switzerland, he travelled by combining public transport journeys with pedestrian ones. As a result, he enjoyed an extensive tour while still finding time to cross on foot the Klausen, the Splügen, the Grimsel, the Grosse and the Kleine Scheidegg, the Gemmi, the Theodule and the Great St. Bernard passes, all within a month. This show of physical energy was appropriate in a decade which was to witness the foundation of the Alpine Club; Fox himself was to become a member. The tours of the three married couples show a different kind of progression. In each case, their tours lasted about two months altogether, and the Swiss component between three and four weeks. The Swiss section of the tour made by the Baillies in 1818 was undertaken as they returned from Northern Italy; it included an excursion round the Lake of Geneva, a visit to Chamonix, and a route through Bern and Basel on the journey home. The 1839 tour of the Bray family in Switzerland included a visit to all three centres. The honeymoon tour of the Headlams in 1854 included two longer stays: ten days or so in the Bernese Oberland and a week in Vevey. All three come across as typical of their period: the first because the Swiss component formed a relatively small part of a longer tour which included Italy, the second because it focused on Switzerland and was characterised by constant movement from one place to the next, and the third because, while retaining a Swiss focus, a couple of places were selected for longer stays.

While engaged on their tour, most of the travellers may appear to have been following traditional routes. Particularly where they moved between the major cities in the western half of the country, or when crossing the Simplon and the Gotthard passes between Switzerland and Italy, this was indeed the case. However, there were other routes, perfectly well known to the native Swiss but not on the British eighteenth century itinerary, which were gradually integrated into the nineteenth century

tour of Switzerland; these included the crossing of the Gemmi and of the Grosse and the Kleine Scheidegg, as well as the visit to the Great St. Bernard Hospice. Thus, over the period, new routes became incorporated into the beaten track. However, it would be wrong to identify the beaten track with a primrose path; moving along it often required prolonged physical effort and endurance and could place the traveller in real physical danger.

Even more enterprising were those travellers who moved further outside the routes increasingly followed by large numbers of visitors to Switzerland. Two of the travelogue writers stand out in this respect: Charles Latrobe and William Brockedon. In the summer of 1825, Latrobe, having made a traditional excursion in the Oberland and the Lucern area, set off again from Meiringen and crossed the Grimsel into the Rhone Valley. Thence, he moved into unfrequented territory by crossing the Gries Pass into the Val Formazza. As night began to fall, the frontiers of Italy did not fill him with 'classic raptures', but made him fearful of spending a night 'amongst wilds, where the character of the peasantry was not the most encouraging'.[241] Continuing on, a 'disagreeable feeling of .... complete loneliness lingered on his mind'. [242] When, still concerned about his safety, he finally reached the village of Formazza, he found the only inn and was shown 'an upper room with two gigantic dingy looking beds in it. Every part of it was disgustingly filthy. The furniture consisted of a table and a chair, and neither the window nor the door would shut.' [243] In spite of his fears, he was, during the night, 'neither poisoned, pistolled nor stilettoed'[244] and he continued the next morning down the Val Formazza and the Val Antigoro which he found 'abounding with the most exquisite scenery'. In this episode, he showed how uncertain could be finding accommodation in a remote location and, if found, how insecure the traveller might still feel. The following year, he used his account of crossing the Rawyl Pass from Lenk to Sion to warn his readers of the dangers in travelling in the Alps without a guide. He pointed out that these dangers lay not in the obvious obstacles, the abyss, the glacier, the torrent, but

> in the long pathless waste, the bare head of the mountain, fields of loose shale or bog, which retain no track for any length of time together; places where the tempest and the torrent have grooved ten thousand furrows, where it requires a practised and sagacious eye to distinguish the trace of

[241] Latrobe, *Alpenstock*, p.98
[242] Ibid. p.00.
[243] Ibid. p.102.
[244] Ibid. p.103

> footsteps, even where they exist; to see where the earth or moss had been depressed, or worn by the casual passenger, or the surface of the rock a little tinged by the iron of a shoe or hoof. The reader will easily perceive, that in parts where even these faint indications are wanting, perplexity is excusable, and the utmost caution necessary.

In his *Excursions in the Alps*, William Brockedon also covered unfamiliar routes, passing from Aosta to St Gervais and visiting Zermatt and Saas. Like Latrobe, he crossed the Gries Pass, but then turned east from Formazza in order to reach Domodossola. He included the Gries in his series of engravings in the second volume of *Passes of the Alps*, but warned that the ascent was 'very difficult.' [245] Both Brockedon and Latrobe demonstrated the very real obstacles faced by any who tried to move outside of the traditional tour routes.

For most travellers, reasonable accessibility and a modicum of comfort were prerequisites for following particular routes. As modes of transport, especially the railway system, developed and improved, access to the Swiss border and beyond became more rapid and cheaper. At the same time, within Switzerland, the quality as well as the quantity of accommodation increased. More rapid access in combination with lower cost and more comfortable living quarters all tended to encourage multiple short visits to the country rather than one long one in which an attempt was made to cover as much ground as possible. However, throughout the period, it was in the three centres, and in the main lines of communication between them, in which change mainly took place.

There were those like Charles Latrobe and William Brockedon who began to explore less frequented areas and who subsequently described their experiences, but their impact was inevitably only gradual. Only in the 1850s was there a real push into some of the hitherto less frequented valleys and a desire to approach familiar peaks from different angles. No doubt the development was brought about by a range of influences which included direct railway links to Switzerland allowing more time within the country itself, the increase in the quality and quantity of accommodation and of internal transport, and the growing interest in mountaineering, which, while practised only by a few, drew attention to new places and routes. This expansion was greatly extended when, after 1860, the benefits of the Swiss climate in winter, particularly in

[245] Brockedon, *Passes of the Alps*, II, p.24.

the cure of pulmonary diseases was promoted. In turn, winter residence contributed directly to the development of winter sports.

The British were to play an important part in such future developments, especially in the field of mountaineering and the creation of the various forms of winter sport. However, these changes may be said to have grown out of the relationship which the British established with Switzerland in the first decades of the century. It was during this period that the Swiss tour became part of the travelling experience shared by the upper echelons of British society. Even by the 1820s, Charles Latrobe reckoned the road from Martigny to Lausanne 'so well known to all the world' that there was no reason to describe it, beyond acknowledging that:

> Like most travellers .... I got sprinkled with the spray of the Pissevache; was challenged by the douanier at the bridge of St. Maurice; gazed with delight upon the broad lake of Geneva; quoted Byron in the dungeon of Chillon; thought of Rousseau as I passed Clarens; got miserably scorched in the road among the vineyards from Vevay to Lausanne, and finally execrated the bad paving and uneven streets of the town, while my eye lingered with delight upon the magnificent view it commands. [246]

By 1860, the Pissevache, St Maurice, Chillon, and Clarens were not the only names which had become familiar in the households of the travelling classes; so had Grindelwald and Lauterbrunnen, Montanvert and the Wengernalp, the Rigi and the Rossberg, the Giessbach and the Handeck, the Devil's Bridge and the Via Mala, the Gemmi and the Tête Noire, all were names which had come to resonate in British ears by recalling past journeys or arousing the desire for new ones.

[246] Latrobe, *Alpenstock*, p.150.

E. CONCLUSION.

Some overall conclusions.

This thesis set out to provide new insights into British travellers on the Continent in three ways: firstly, by applying a methodology which sought evidence about the nature of travel not only from the writing of individual travellers, but also from a systematic analysis of relevant registers and travelogues; secondly, by focusing on Switzerland as a travel destination about which little had been written, especially in comparison with France and Italy; and thirdly, by considering the unreasonably neglected period between 1814 and 1860, the period between the Grand Tour and the increased accessibility of Continental travelling to a wider social group; this extension was greatly accelerated as a result of the development of the railway, which in turn enabled travel in much larger groups than hitherto to be undertaken.

It was established that registers have not been used in any systematic way by British researchers to throw light on the number and nature of British travellers on the Continent in the early nineteenth century. In this research project, their great benefit lay in their provision of much more extensive data, because deriving from a much larger cohort, than could be gained from collating details about travelogue writers. At the same time, the data could be regarded as more objective than the hearsay, and one suspects often speculative, information provided by individual writers, especially about the number of travellers.[247] Nevertheless, had the analysis of registers been undertaken in isolation, it would have provided only an incomplete picture of many aspects of travel to and in Switzerland over the period. Combined with an analysis of travelogues, however, the two sources of evidence complemented each other, and helped to build up what appears to be a coherent impression of the travellers themselves, and of the nature of their tour through Switzerland in terms of route, duration, and places visited. These, in turn, provided insights into the objectives of their travel. If considered in isolation, the study of British images of Switzerland, undertaken as an adjunct to the travelogue section, might well have been similarly misleading; however, placed in the context of the other sources of evidence, it confirmed key features of interest to the travellers, thereby further clarifying their

[247] See, for instance, Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, pp.39-41 and Towner, in The Grand Tour, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1985, p.301.

motivations.

The examination of registers suggested that the annual number of British travellers in Switzerland rose from around 3000 in the early 1830s, to about 4000 in the mid-1840s, and up to about 6,500 in the mid-1850s.The research also showed how the visits of these travellers would usually have taken place within a six-month period from May to October, with the main concentration between July and September. While the figures arrived at undoubtedly represent a more objective general assessment than the more speculative figures which individual travellers occasionally produced, they may still need further adjustment. Gerbod has indicated that nearly 20,000 Britons entered France by the Channel ports in 1830, some 40,000 in 1845, and over 80,000 in 1855.[248] It can be assumed that a considerable portion of these will have got no further than northern France where, even in the 1830s, there were many British residents. Many others will have stopped in Paris which must have been the most popular and most easily accessible major foreign city destination throughout the Continent. Further research into traveller movement might allow firmer conclusions to be drawn on where those arriving at the Channel ports from Britain were headed, and at what point they turned back for home. Bearing in mind the shortness of the Swiss travelling season, alongside the popularity of certain places and excursions to the exclusion of most others, it is not surprising that British travelogue writers, while describing their experiences in Switzerland, provided numerous comments on the large numbers of their compatriots whom they encountered.

Data from the Genevan registers, in particular, allowed conclusions to be drawn about the routes taken by travellers to and within Switzerland. The route between Paris and Geneva retained its popularity throughout, while the route to Switzerland along the Rhine seemed to gain favour over the period. In contrast, the numbers passing over the Simplon to and from Italy declined. Some possible reasons for this decline were put forward; these included the opening up of alternative routes into Italy from Switzerland and the favouring of shorter, more frequent Continental tours. As far as patterns of movement were concerned, the analysis of the travelogues did generally corroborate the register evidence, though, of course, only a very small number of travellers in relation to the whole cohort were involved.

[248] Gerbod , *Acta Geographica,* 1988, p.35. The figures for 1855 may be particularly high because of soldiers travelling overland to the Crimea.

As well as allowing estimates to be made of the overall numbers of travellers in Switzerland and the general direction of the routes they took, the Genevan registers, by providing information on the date of passport allocation in London and the date of arrival in Geneva, allowed an estimate to be made of the time taken to cover the ground between the two places. The shortest intervals showed how rapidly the distance could be covered by those who did not linger on the way, but the longer intervals gave evidence of the more leisurely tour engaged in by most. Clearly a very wide range of practice existed, but, here again, the figures confirmed a trend towards the shorter tour, though only in relative terms. In addition, by cross-referencing names between registers, it was possible to gain further insights into routes followed and time taken between two or three fixed points. Within Switzerland itself, the interval between visits to the Rigi, the St. Bernard hospice and the city of Geneva confirmed that most travellers took their time over the Swiss element of the tour. As well as making it clear that, for most British travellers, Switzerland was not merely a country crossed in transit, the travelogue analysis showed how British visitors were concentrated on three centres, with most stopping in at least two of them. The analysis of the sites they visited, and of the images of Switzerland in British publications, both allowed conclusions to be drawn about some of their motives for travelling. They were clearly particularly attracted by a range of phenomena including sublime scenery, picturesque rural scenes enhanced by locals in native costume, panoramic views, glaciers, avalanches, natural disasters, waterfalls and defiles, alongside places which, for them, had historical or literary associations. One or more of these usually evoked a powerful and positive emotional response in them, though this was sometimes mitigated by the extortion of an innkeeper or the clamourings of a group of beggars.

As well as providing information on numbers of travellers and their routes, the registers helped to build up a picture of the travellers themselves: their age, gender and occupation, as well as the groups in which they travelled. Particularly striking was the number of women travellers - a small but increasing group on their own, but a substantial number with husbands or in family groups. The overall increase in women travellers was paralleled by an increase in the numbers of women whose Continental travelogues were published. The role of travel as an important contributor to the emancipation of women during this period is worthy of further study.

The great strength of the register evidence lay in the size of the cohort on which it was based. Using registers, it was possible to base findings on hundreds, sometimes thousands, of Continental travellers each year; using published travel accounts, it would be difficult to raise the total above one hundred. Nevertheless, conclusions drawn from the registers needed to be viewed with some caution where interpretations or assumptions were involved. In this thesis, it was fully recognised that some of the results from register analysis were less secure than others - registers were likely to be more or less accurate according to the abilities and motivations of those filling them in and to the purposes for which they were being maintained. It was nevertheless shown that register analysis, as a source of information about travellers and travelling, resulted in findings in certain areas, those relating, for instance, to number, gender and status of travellers, and to the general duration and structure of their travels, which were much more objectively secure than any which could be obtained from travelogue sources..

The travelogues provided a wealth of information about travel routes, destinations, and the speed of travel, as well as about the behaviour, and thereby the motivations, of the travellers themselves. The detail and the usually coherent narrative provided by the travel accounts gave an indication of how the tours of a sample of travellers evolved over time in terms of structure and route. Because the size of the sample was small, it was unlikely to be fully representative. However, an examination of the writers showed that women and different age groups were well represented and that, within the broad social class to which they belonged, they came from a wide range of backgrounds. To travel on the Continent required a certain measure of affluence except for those who were in the employ of the travellers as couriers, governesses, valets and servants.

The analysis of nearly a hundred travelogues dealing with journeys over a period of forty five years revealed a wide range of practice in terms of both route and duration. However, it did seem to confirm the trend away from the long wide-ranging tour with the ultimate destination of Rome or Naples towards the tour of shorter duration where the ultimate destination might be Switzerland or Northern Italy. The gradual development of rail travel made it possible both to pass by intermediate destinations

and to tour the Continent more frequently. However, railways made almost no impact on the Swiss tour until the 1850s and then only gradually.

For all the variety, certain routes both to and within Switzerland dominated, while others were almost completely neglected. Possible reasons for this have already been suggested. These included objective features such as a favourable infrastructure of transport systems and accommodation, to more subjective ones such as perceptions of personal safety, historical associations, religious affinity, and a tendency, consciously or unconsciously, to follow the beaten track. The development of the three centres, and the activities of the British travellers within them, indicated that it was to its scenery, both sublime and picturesque, that Switzerland owed its principal attraction.

The travelogues not only provided many examples of the patterns of travel indicated from the registers, but also added a personal dimension to them. It was possible to show the extent to which particular sites were visited, and how travellers responded to them. It was noted how they visited Ferney, but tended to deplore its former owner, how well they knew the legend of William Tell and were reluctant to doubt its authenticity, how they admired the good works of the Augustinians on the Great St. Bernard, even though they were Catholics, and how they were prepared to undertake long and strenuous expeditions in order to see the sunrise from the top of the Rigi or step on a glacier at the Mer de Glace or watch from the Wengernalp for avalanches falling on the Jungfrau. At the same time, travelogue evidence was able to complement that from the registers in showing, for instance, that, for many, a visit to the Great St. Bernard hospice was undertaken for it own sake, and not as a stopping place between the Rhone and Aosta valleys, that the numbers recorded in the register of the Rigi Kulm inn represented only a very small proportion of those who actually visited the Rigi, that the numbers recorded in the Genevan registers as arriving from Swiss destinations could well have journeyed down the Rhine and reached Geneva after visits to the Lucern area and/or the Bernese Oberland. While the registers provided quantitative information on the numbers of British travellers visiting Switzerland, the travelogues added qualitative information by showing their emotional responses to their visit.

Contribution to some wider issues.

In more general research on British travel on the Continent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the importance of Switzerland as a destination has been underestimated, and the period between 1814 and 1860 particularly neglected. A focus on the country in this period, along with the broad perceptions about the development of British travel which emerged, inevitably suggests the need to relook at some older issues. One or two examples must suffice. The very neglect of the period following the defeat of Napoleon as a period with its own ethos and practice seems to have led to its being regarded either as an extension of the Grand Tour period, or as a mere lead-in to that in which the advent of a railway system extended the ease and speed of travel, while reducing its cost. When writers proposed a definition of the Grand Tour which saw the period extending into the nineteenth century, they were liable to interpret what were quite fundamental changes in attitudes and perceptions as mere adjustments to the traditional patterns. For instance, the very title of Withey's work *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours* implied that the decline of the Grand Tour witnessed the birth of the package tour. Withey certainly recognised that post-1815 travellers 'brought to their travels different sensibilities,' [249] but , in a chapter tellingly entitled 'The Grand Tour revisited' , she regarded them as 'trying to recreate the old grand tour'.[250] With a similar approach, Salmon writing on the impact of the archaeology of Rome on British architects played down the changes which had taken place during the Napoleonic period. He considered 'the respects in which the British resumed eighteenth-century travel traditions after the Napoleonic era' and suggested that 'a significant proportion of the travellers .... continued to be the young sons of the wealthy and aristocratic, completing their educations'. [251] After an examination of the travel accounts written on Italy in the nineteenth century, he asserted that the 'people who wrote these books were doing much the same things as their eighteenth-century counterparts: visiting the museums of antiquities and modern art ....; acquiring art-works; studying foreign languages and manners; attending the salons and local festivals; behaving outlandishly; writing poems, and so forth.'[252] The desire to extend the Grand Tour into the nineteenth century was also manifested by Towner who distinguished between the Classical Grand Tour and the Romantic

[249] Withey, Grand Tours and Cook's Tours, p.61.
[250] Ibid., p.60
[251] Salmon, Frank, in Hornsby, C., *The Impact of Italy*, pp.220-1.
[252] Ibid. p.221.

Grand Tour, the latter being his term for the tour of the early nineteenth century. He played down any great difference between the two when proposing that 'the spatial pattern of the tour remained much the same as for the seventeenth century' and that only 'certain modifications' separated the two.[253]

By focusing too sharply on Italy and by regarding it as the ultimate and most important destination of the European tour, such writers are in danger of writing out the profound impact which the Romantic movement had exercised on the perceived functions of travel. Nineteenth century British travellers in Rome may indeed have engaged in very similar activities to their eighteenth century predecessors, but many of them had journeyed up the Rhine, climbed to the top of the Rigi, and visited the Bernese Oberland, on their way to Rome, all activities which their fellow-travellers from the previous century would never have dreamt of doing. If the Batoni portrait of an English gentleman, featured proudly surrounded by the Roman antiquities he had purchased, might represent the epitome of the Grand Tour participant, it would be a totally inappropriate representation of the typical British Continental traveller of 1820. Whereas most writers have produced definitions of the Grand Tour which appear too loose, that of Redford is perhaps too restrictive:

> The Grand Tour is not the Grand Tour unless it includes the following: first, a young British male patrician (that is a member of the aristocracy or the gentry); second, a tutor who accompanies his charge throughout the journey; third, a fixed itinerary that makes Rome its principal destination; fourth, a lengthy period of absence, averaging two to three years. [254]

Even if it is proposed that the term 'Grand Tour' might still apply with suspension of some of these criteria, especially those relating to the ever-present tutor or the minimum two year requirement, this study has shown that the term would be inappropriate for the post-Napoleonic period: there may have been some male patricians with their tutors on the Continent in this period, but their numbers would have been insignificant in relation to the overall cohort in which there were large numbers of men travelling alone, many representatives of the professions, and a surprisingly high proportion of women, all engaged in travels which increasingly seldom exceeded a few months in length. Ironically, of the travelogues examined, that which seemed most closely to match Grand Tour criteria was that of Marianne Wilkinson acting as companion/tutor to the 16-year-old Marianne Malvars, a telling

[253] Towner, The Grand Tour; in *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol.12, p.314.
[254] Redford, B., *Venice & the Grand Tour*, p.14.

example of how far the Grand Tour had been left behind.

Just as this study can contribute to a definition of the period which preceded it, so it can suggest the reappraisal of an area of study within the period itself, the history of mountaineering. When explaining nineteenth century developments, recent histories have tended to recycle previous material.[255] The approach generally adopted combines an account of the early ascents of Mont Blanc with descriptions of the contributions made by certain British individuals, in particular James David Forbes, John Ruskin and Albert Smith, in stimulating an interest in mountains and mountaineering in a wide public. The publicity given by these individuals is regarded as providing much of the inspiration to the generation of 'peak baggers' of the 1850s and 1860s, the period which came to be designated as the 'golden age of mountaineering'. The findings of this thesis would suggest that this form of explanation is oversimplistic, neglecting as it does many aspects of British travel in Switzerland in the early part of the century. These included the creation of a sound infrastructure of transport and accommodation which provided access and a secure base for those wishing to explore remoter parts of the Alpine region. The movement of large numbers of travellers also stimulated the creation of the local guides, often requisite for even the most straightforward expeditions in the mountains. Some guides emerged from the ranks of ordinary villagers who, initially at least, knew no more than the path to the next village; others , in particular the chamois hunters, were well equipped physically and mentally to cope with climbing in the high Alps and brought to the task of guiding good knowledge of the terrain and of appropriate clothing, footwear and equipment, the skills necessary to tackle rock and ice surfaces, and a long experience of assessing weather conditions. In Chamonix, a society of guides emerged early; other places in the Bernese Oberland and the Valais followed suit.

The presence of an infrastructure and the support of guides enabled many British travellers to participate in mountaineering activities during the early decades of the century. It has been noted that large numbers ascended the Rigi making it surely the most climbed mountain of the nineteenth century, a fact strangely absent from histories of mountaineering! The object of the expedition was to see the view from the summit, thus acknowledging the visual 'reward' which was acquired by reaching a high vantage

[255] Two recent examples are provided by Fleming, *Killing Dragons*, 2000, and Ring, *How the English made the Alps*, 2000.

point, especially a summit. Printed panoramas were produced of the view from the Rigi from 1815 onwards, enabling visitors to the Kulm to identify the natural features they could see and to act as a souvenir of their ascent. Printed panoramas became an essential feature of guide books too. For those who could not experience or had not experienced such scenes directly, the large painted panoramas exhibited publicly in Britain acted as a substitute for and a stimulant to travel. Especially in diorama format, the shows became increasingly sophisticated. Thus when Albert Smith put on his extremely successful performances of his ascent of Mont Blanc, he was further refining a long-established form of entertainment.

The sudden enthusiasm for conquering summits perhaps can be explained in part by the response to Albert Smith's Egyptian Hall performances. On the other hand, over the previous half-century, travellers had gradually been extending their routes in height and difficulty. The study of travelogues showed an increasing popularity of the high altitude routes from Lauterbrunnen to Grindelwald across the Kleine Scheidegg and from Grindelwald to Meiringen across the Grosse Scheidegg; both excursions required at least seven hours of strenuous ascent and descent. Many travellers also took the most direct route from the Bernese Oberland to the Rhone valley by crossing the Gemmi pass, a journey of some six hours between the two closest habitable villages and one which included a vertiginous ascent or descent on the Valais side. While many were assimilating these strenuous routes into their itinerary, some others, like William Brockedon and Charles Latrobe were exploring more out-of-the-way places. Although both Latrobe and Brockedon drew attention in their publications to new areas of the country, they were to achieve even greater influence than that exerted through their own works when the latter were used as the basis for some of the entries in Murray's *Handbook*. John Murray acknowledged his debt to both in the Preface of the first edition. [256] He expressed particular gratitude to Brockedon for his preparation of the second section of the Handbook on Savoy and Piedmont which he believed 'will probably be the means of throwing open to English travellers a region little visited hitherto, but possessing from its romantic beauties, the highest claim to attention.' [257] When John Murray himself died in 1892, Douglas Freshfield recognised the debt that was owed to Murray and Brockedon who 'did

[256] Murray's *Handbook*, 1838, p.i.
[257] Ibid. p.ii.

more than any others to encourage and extend the taste for Alpine travel.'[258] Freshfield was suggesting what modern historians of mountaineering seem to ignore - that the way the activity developed derived not only from the ascents of summits, but also from the creation of comfortable bases to gather, acclimatise, find guides and supplies, and subsequently to recoup strength; it also depended on the discovery of the routes and techniques which were essential prerequisites to a successful acquisition of mountaineering skills. The development was also greatly aided by the access routes and the maps which had been produced in response to the needs of the many early nineteenth century travellers who would not have considered themselves as mountaineers.

Directions for further study.

When in the early 1850s, Edmund Spencer was travelling through Savoy, he reflected on its attractiveness as a destination in relation to Switzerland:

> While Switzerland, the adjoining state, has its thousands and tens of thousands of visitors every year, exploring its highest mountains and remotest valleys, ... Savoy is rarely traversed except by an occasional traveller on his route to and from Italy across Mount Cenis, and then the extent of his tour is through Chambery to France. Yet Savoy has its lakes and its waterfalls, its alps and its glaciers, its beautiful valleys, glens, and defiles equally picturesque and romantic as those of its rival, Switzerland, with this great advantage, that the expense of a tour would be comparatively trifling in a country where the people have not yet learned to cheat, and where provisions are excellent and at the lowest rate, and where a tourist would be as safe from harm as if he were passing through his own domain. [259]

Spencer recognised the predominant position of Switzerland as a destination for visitors in search of Alpine scenery. In this thesis, evidence of this predominance has been put forward and a range of reasons suggested to explain it. At the same time, this research has not been able to benefit from parallel studies into the British in other areas of the Continent over the same period. There appear to have been no extensive studies of the British in Germany, the Tyrol or Norway. Even Italy has been neglected and the only serious study of the British in France during this period has been conducted in France.[260] The difficulty of distinguishing between travellers and residents has also been noted, and on this subject too, little work has been done: how many British were living in Paris, Geneva, Florence or Rome? How long did they stay and why? Who were they? There is no doubt that the analysis of registers may

[258] Alpine Journal, Vol. XVI, 1893, p.114.
[259] Spencer, *Tour of Inquiry*, II, pp.318-9.
[260] See Gerbod, *Voyages*, 1991.

provide one way in which evidence about large numbers of travellers may be gathered. Even those registers used in this research have only been sampled and there are certainly others of interest in existence.

Another area could usefully be singled out for special treatment: travel and its role in education. While this research found little evidence for the continuation of the Grand Tour practice of young men travelling with their tutor on the Continent, the notion that travel had an educational component remained strong, whether the benefits were derived informally by simply absorbing the daily experiences of a tour and trying to understand them, or formally by attending some educational institution or receiving instruction locally from a teacher. In Switzerland, the cantons of Geneva, Vaud and Neuchatel seem to have been particularly selected as suitable places for sending young people to be 'finished' , presumably because of their combination of Protestant religion, French language, and an environment considered safe, both physically and morally. During our period, it is assumed that it was mainly males who benefited from such education and that it was during the later decades of the nineteenth century that female institutions began to prosper. However, little is known of the number and background of those attending such places, or of their evolution during the century.

Finally, topics broached more directly in this thesis could be further explored and extended. It has been proposed that the British developed a particular interest in and affection for Switzerland during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Support was sought for this proposal not, in the first instance, by invoking the testimony of travellers, but by showing how large numbers visited the country, many of whom then engaged in lengthy tours. This approach allowed the verbal testimony of travellers to be evaluated alongside their actual activities. The examination of testimonies was here only carried out in a circumscribed way, focusing primarily on responses to the most popular places and routes followed. This approach showed how the subjective comments of travellers helped to confirm and illuminate the findings derived from the analysis of the registers and of the travelogues. However, within the framework provided by the latter, there would be scope for the consideration of many broader issues. These might include a study of the attitudes of British travellers to religion and politics, of the degree to which they travelled for health or educational reasons, of the

notice they took of social features, and of the judgments they made about their hosts, other nationalities, and themselves. Of course, one would not expect a uniform response to these topics, but an examination and evaluation of the degree of consensus in their responses would not only provide further valuable insights into Switzerland and Swiss society in the early nineteenth century, but also reveal much about the attitudes and preoccupations of the British visitor.

The findings of further studies on British travellers to Switzerland should allow some refinement, even adjustment, to be made to the findings of the present research. However it is not believed there would be any challenge to be mounted to the notion that the post-Napoleonic period witnessed the creation of a special relationship between British travellers and Switzerland, a relationship which gained a new lease of life in the later decades of the century as the benefits of an Alpine climate to health and wellbeing were acknowledged, and, as a result, new summer resorts developed and a second travelling season over the winter months was established.

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Passports.

i. British passports:

Name	Date of issue	Place of issue	Location
Miss Coxe	18-9-1843	London	
Major G.T. Parke	23-4-1844	Malta	
Thomas L. Hodges	8-7-1846	London	Lloyd, p.8.
Earl of Essex	28-2-1848	London	PRO
Thomas K. Bros	27-6-1854	London	PRO
Mrs Joanna Lee	28-8-1854	London	
Charles A. Lee	11-1-1855	London	

Edwin Clarke	15-10-1858	London	

ii. French passports:

William Burrell	18-7-1818	London	
William Wordsworth	15-3-1837	London	Dove Cottage

Under the heading 'location', Lloyd refers to the publication entitled *The Passport* by Martin Lloyd. Where no location is indicated, passports are in private ownership.

Books. (an * marks those travelogues used in the route analysis)

One or two works in the following bibliography have been questionably attributed in the past. In particular,there seems to be no evidence that the work entitled *What may be done in two months* was written by Mrs Bateman as suggested by De Beer in *Travellers in Switzerland;* indeed, the evidence points to a male writer with initials of G.T.; however, the title is listed here under Bateman. Similarly, no evidence has been found to support the view that *A Walk through Switzerland* was written by Thomas Hookham as De Beer proposes, but with hesitation, his attribution has been left to stand. Various authors have been proposed for A *picturesque tour* none of whom I have been able to verify, and so this title has been listed under its title as an anonymous work. In contrast the work entitled *Lion-Hunting or a Summer's Ramble* is listed with anonymous titles in De Beer, but the copy used for this thesis attributes it to Alexander Dunlop, an attribution maintained in this bibliography.

It should be noted that John Murray, author of *A glance at the sublimities etc.,* is not the John Murray who published the series of *Handbooks.*

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APPENDIX

Table A1. **British visits to Switzerland recorded by De Beer.**

The list is derived from De Beer's *Travels in Switzerland* and indicates the number of visits recorded for each year in published travel accounts by British travellers. The accounts do not necessarily give details of full tours: sometimes only a few destinations are mentioned. It should also be noted that one published work may give details of visits in more than one year. It is the visits, not the publications, which are enumerated below.

1814	19	1838	8
1815	7	1839	10
1816	2	1840	9
1817	17	1841	11
1818	14	1842	7
1819	8	1843	9
1820	11	1844	1
1821	13	1845	6
1822	5	1846	14
1823	9	1847	9
1824	8	1848	6
1825	12	1849	8
1826	10	1850	7
1827	12	1851	7
1828	4	1852	10
1829	7	1853	18
1830	9	1854	14
1831	1	1855	13
1832	7	1856	19
1833	7	1857	23
1834	9	1858	20
1835	8	1859	18
1836	4	1860	20
1837	9		

Average: c.10 per year.

Table B1. **British Passport Allocations 1814 - 1859.**

Year	Passport nos.	Year	Passport nos.
1814	984	1837	864
1815	690	1838	1100
1816	649	1839	1100
1817	485	1840	1100
1818	487	1841	1049
1819	550	1842	1007
1820	476	1843	913
1821	439	1844	889
1822	366	1845	931
1823	292	1846	918
1824	397	1847	785
1825	462	1848	541
1826	482	1849	1221
1827	434	1850	1121
1828	461	1851	7040
1829	498	1852	7931
1830	505	1853	9895
1831	464	1854	9609
1832	437	1855	13456
1833	650	1856	16271
1834	825	1857	11397
1835	789	1858	21811
1836	1078	1859	18243

Totals in this table refer to passports issued by the Foreign Office in London and have been calculated from the passport numbering system. Some passports issued may subsequently have been cancelled.

Table B2 **Passport Allocations 1816-55** (selected years)

	Fee-payers	%	Gratis	%	Total
1816	396	61.5	248	38.5	644
1820	228	45.2	276	58.8	504
1825	239	52	221	48	460
1830	247	51	237	49	484
1835	514	65.8	267	34.2	781
1840	734	67.1	360	32.9	1094
1845	697	75.3	229	24.7	926
1850	837	75.7	268	24.3	1105
1855	13283	90.6	1380	9.4	14663

The percentage column indicates, for each of the selected years, the proportion of fee-payers to gratis passport holders.

Table B3 **Monthly passport allocations 1816-1850** (selected years).

Month	Fee-payers	%	Gratis	%
January	94	2,4	119	6.7
February	93	2.4	106	5.0
March	140	3.6	132	6.3
April	281	7.2	158	7.5
May	389	10.0	171	8.1
June	480	12.3	195	9.3
July	674	17.3	272	12.9
August	720	18.5	285	13.5
September	408	10.5	196	9.3
October	301	7.7	189	9.9
November	188	4.8	147	7.0
December	124	3.9	136	6.5
Total	3892		2106	

The totals for each calendar month in the 8 selected years have been added together.

Table B4 **Number of travellers per passport issued** (selected years).

	Feepayers			Gratis			Total		
	No. of passports	No. of travellers	Average number of travellers per passport	No. of passports	No. of travellers	Average number of travellers per passport	No. of passports	No. of travellers	Average number of travellers per passport
1816	396	756	1.9	248	330	1.3	644	1086	1.7
1820	228	411	1.8	276	352	1.3	504	763	1.5
1825	239	411	1.7	221	306	1.4	460	717	1.6
1830	247	449	1.8	237	319	1.3	484	768	1.6
1835	514	1018	2.0	267	366	1.4	781	1384	1.8
1840	734	1526	2.1	360	523	1.4	1094	2049	1.9
1845	697	1372	2.0	229	335	1.5	926	1707	1.8
1850	837	1574	1.9	268	375	1.4	1105	1949	1.8
TOTAL	**3892**	**7517**	**1.9**	**2106**	**2906**	**1.4**	**5998**	**10423**	**1.7**

Table B5. **Passport allocations: male/female travellers** (selected years).

	Feepayers					Gratis					Total				
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	Men	%	Women	%	Total	Men	%	Women	%	Total
1816	532	*70.4*	224	*29.6*	756	265	*80.3*	65	*19.7*	330	797	*73.4*	289	*26.6*	1086
1820	281	*68.4*	130	*31.6*	411	294	*83.5*	58	*16.5*	352	575	*75.4*	188	*24.6*	763
1825	289	*70.6*	122	*29.7*	411	262	*85.6*	44	*14.4*	306	551	*76.8*	166	*23.2*	717
1830	315	*70.2*	134	*29.8*	449	274	*85.9*	45	*14.1*	319	589	*76.7*	179	*23.3*	768
1835	650	*63.9*	368	*36.1*	1018	296	*80.9*	70	*19.1*	366	946	*68.4*	438	*31.6*	1384
1840	905	*59.3*	621	*40.7*	1526	403	*77*	120	*23*	523	1308	*63.8*	741	*36.2*	2049
1845	875	*63.8*	497	*36.2*	1372	245	*73.1*	90	*26.9*	335	1120	*65.6*	587	*34.4*	1707
1850	968	*61.5*	606	*38.5*	1574	285	*76*	90	*34*	375	1253	*64.3*	696	*35.7*	1949
TOTAL	**4815**		**2702**		**7517**	**2324**		**582**		**2906**	**7139**		**3284**		**10,423**
%	**64%**		**36%**		**100%**	**80%**		**20%**		**100%**	**68.5%**		**31.5%**		**100%**

Table B6. **Passport (fee-paying) allocations to single travellers and groups** (selected years).

TOTAL NO. OF PASSPORTS ISSUED TO FEE-PAYERS: 3892

	M	2M	3M	4M+	F	2F	3F	4F+	M&W	M& fam.	F& fam.	M& suite	F& suite	Mixed family and friends with group size of 2	3	4	5+
1816	207	46	8	1	8	2	1	0	24	58	3	7	2	3	16	6	4
1820	121	21	3	0	10	0	1	0	17	19	4	5	2	4	15	3	3
1825	125	30	1	0	6	3	1	0	26	20	2	0	1	4	13	4	3
1830	130	26	4	1	5	2	2	0	29	27	2	1	0	4	10	3	1
1835	220	48	13	3	11	8	6	0	73	49	6	8	1	10	32	19	7
1840	287	54	6	1	18	10	5	3	104	103	16	6	1	26	56	25	13
1845	275	48	12	6	14	15	7	3	127	90	7	2	2	25	45	15	4
1850	384	49	10	1	26	20	8	2	129	97	10	0	1	17	50	23	10
TOTAL	**1749**	**322**	**57**	**13**	**98**	**60**	**31**	**8**	**529**	**463**	**50**	**29**	**10**	**93**	**237**	**98**	**45**
%	**44.9**	**8.3**	**1.5**	**0.3**	**2.5**	**1.5**	**0.8**	**0.2**	**13.6**	**11.9**	**1.3**	**0.7**	**0.3**	**2.4**	**6.1**	**2.5**	**1.2**

Table B7. **Single travellers and groups, 5 highest categories, selected years.**

1816

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	207	52.3
Man & family	58	14.6
Two males	46	11.6
Husband & wife	24	6.1
Mixed grp. of 3	16	4

1820

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	121	53.1
Two males	21	9.2
Man & family	19	8.3
Husband & wife	17	7.5
Mixed grp. of 3	15	6.6

1825

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	125	52.3
Two males	30	12.6
Husband & wife	26	10.9
Man & family	20	8.4
Mixed grp. of 3	13	5.4

1830

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	130	52.6
Husband & wife	29	11.7
Man & family	27	10.9
Two males	26	10.5
Mixed grp. of 3	10	4

1835

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	220	42.8
Husband & wife	73	14.2
Man & family	49	9.5
Two males	48	9.3
Mixed grp. of 3	32	6.2

1840

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	287	39.1
Husband & wife	104	14.2
Man & family	103	14
Mixed grp. of 3	56	7.6
Two males	54	7.3

1845

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	275	39.4
Husband & wife	127	18.2
Man & family	90	12.9
Two males	48	6.9
Mixed grp. of 3	45	6.4

1850

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Single male	384	45.9
Husband & wife	129	15.4
Man & family	97	11.6
Mixed grp. of 3	50	6
Two males	49	5.8

Table B8. **Male, female, and mixed groups, selected years.**

1816

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	262	66.2
Female(s)	11	2.8
Mixed Grps	123	31.1

1820

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	145	63.6
Female(s)	11	4.8
Mixed Grps	72	31.6

1825

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	156	65.3
Female(s)	10	4.2
Mixed Grps	73	30.5

1830

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	161	65.2
Female(s)	9	3.6
Mixed Grps	77	31.2

1835

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	284	55.2
Female(s)	25	4.9
Mixed Grps	205	39.9

1840

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	348	47.4
Female(s)	36	4.9
Mixed Grps	350	47.7

1845

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	341	48.9
Female(s)	39	5.6
Mixed Grps	317	45.5

1850

Category	No. of Passports	% of total
Male(s)	444	53
Female(s)	56	6.7
Mixed Grps	337	40.3

Table B9. **Destinations of British passport holders (fee-paying)** (selected years).

	Continent	B/NL	Fr.	Aust.	Ger.	It.	Switz.	Sp/Port.	Russia	Other	Overseas	Total
1816	362	0	20	2	2	2	3	4	0	0	1	396
1820	195	1	9	1	4	12	1	2	2	1	0	228
1825	174	2	12	3	4	13	0	16	4	3	8	239
1830	183	4	16	3	2	8	0	14	7	6	4	247
1835	448	0	6	4	9	3	1	22	1	6	14	514
1840	678	0	3	4	1	1	2	24	3	6	12	734
1845	589	1	1	1	2	2	0	60	14	7	20	697
1850	637	0	2	1	0	4	0	32	16	6	20	718
Total	**3266**	**8**	**69**	**19**	**24**	**45**	**7**	**174**	**47**	**35**	**79**	**3773**

Table B10. **Gratis passport holders for 'The Continent'.**

Year	No of travellers to 'The Continent'	% of all gratis passport holders
1816	49	19.8
1820	38	13.8
1825	35	15.8
1830	47	19.8
1835	75	28.1
1840	123	34.2
1845	76	33.2
1850	71	26.5

Table C1.1 **Passport registers in Geneva.**

Vol.No.	Dates covered
1	22-2-32 to 22-6-32
2	22-6-32 to 22-9-32
3	22-9-32 to 27-2-33
4	27-2-33 to 12-6-33
5	12-6-33 to 31-8-33
6	2-7-35 to 12-9-35
7	12-9-35 to 11-12-35
8	11-12-35 to 3-5-36
9	3-5-36 to 25-7-36
10	25-7-36 to 27-9-36
11	27-9-36 to 11-3-37
12	11-3-37 to 16-6-37
13	16-6-37 to 25-8-37
14	25-8-37 to 27-11-37
15	15-4-43 to 2-5-44
16	28-9-44 to 12-6-45
17	12-6-45 to 19-10-45
18	19-10-45 to 11-6-46
19	11-6-46 to 11-10-46
20	11-10-46 to 18-8-47
21	18-8-47 to 9-6-48
22	10-6-48 to 3-4-49
23	3-4-49 to 18-11-49
24	18-11-49 to 24-9-50
25	24-9-50 to 27-7-51
26	28-7-51 to 22-7-52
27	22-7-52 to 23-7-53
28	23-7-53 to 31-5-54
29	31-5-54 to 31-3-55
30	1-4-55 to 22-10-55
31	23-10-55 to 6-6-58
32	7-6-58 to 30-11-63

The registers are held in the Archives d'Etat, 1 rue de l'Hôtel-de-Ville.

Table C1.2 **British entries to Geneva 1832 - 55** (selected years)

	1832-3	1836	1845	1850	1855
Jan.	12	10	11	2	12
Feb.	11	12	14	4	10
March	27	34	16	13	14
April	60	60	51	22	21
May	92	124	122	56	79
June	139	244	188	113	164
July	152	321	260	137	294
Aug.	192	428	369	204	489
Sept.	211	426	352	210	519
Oct.	166	181	139	62	121
Nov.	53	38	41	11	22
Dec.	15	20	10	7	7
British total	**1130**	**1898**	**1573**	**841**	**1751**
Geneva total	**17600**	**20,158**	**14176**	**8222**	**11456**
British % of total	**6.4**	**9.4**	**11.1**	**10.2**	**15.3**

Table C1.3. **Seasonal variation in entries to Geneva** (selected years).

Month	Nos.	%
January	47	0.65
February	51	0.7
March	104	1.45
April	214	3.0
May	473	6.6
June	848	11.8
July	1164	16.2
August	1682	23.4
September	1718	23.9
October	669	9.3
November	165	2.3
December	59	0.8
Total	7194	100

The totals for each calendar month in the 5 selected years have been added together.

Table C1.4. **British entries to Geneva 1832-33.**

Month	a. Passport holders	b. No. of passports	c. No. of women passport holders	d. Accompanied by	e. Of whom women	a. + d. Total entry	c. + e. Of whom women
Mar.32	27	27	0	11	8	38	8
April	60	58	4	28	20	88	24
May	92	85	10	48	29	140	39
June	139	126	18	128	66	267	84
July	152	139	30	92	50	244	80
August	192	167	16	87	46	279	62
Sept.	211	177	18	164	97	375	115
Oct.	166	143	32	113	65	279	97
Nov.	53	46	8	23	13	76	21
Dec.	15	15	2	9	6	24	8
Jan.	12	10	1	2	2	14	3
Feb.	11	10	1	5	4	16	5
TOTAL	1130	1003	140	710	406	1839	546

Table C1.5. **Age of British passport-holders 1832 and 1845.**

1832

Age	Number	%
Under 20	43	7.3
20-29	256	43.5
30-39	155	26.4
40-49	72	12.2
50-59	43	7.3
60-69	15	2.6
Over 70	4	0.7

Total responses: 588 out of total of 1130, i.e. 52%.

1845

Age	Number	%
Under 20	45	5.7
20-29	279	35.3
30-39	197	24.9
40-49	137	17.3
50-59	91	11.5
60-69	38	4.8
Over 70	3	0.4

Total responses: 790 out of total of 1573, i.e. 50.2%.

Table C1.6. **Single travellers and groups 1832-3.**

TOTAL NO. OF GROUPS: **941**

	M	2M	3M	4M+	F	2F	3F	4F+	M&W	M& fam.	F& fam.	M& suite	F& suite	Mixed family and friends with group size of 2	3	4	5+
	555	80	13	6	33	13	3	2	45	9	7	78	19	24	34	12	8
%	**60**	**8.5**	**1.4**	**0.6**	**3.5**	**1.4**	**0.3**	**0.2**	**4.8**	**0.9**	**0.7**	**8.3**	**2.0**	**2.5**	**3.6**	**1.3**	**0.8**

Table C1.7a. **Occupations of passport holders 1832-3.**

	Titled	Gentry	Diplomats	Clergy	Military/ Naval	Doctors	Lawyers	Engineers	MPs	Merchants	Tradesmen/ Servants	Students	Other	Blank
March	-	11	1	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	7
April	1	15	-	-	8	4	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	29
May	-	28	1	3	8	3	-	-	-	2	1	1	5	40
June	5	36	1	2	20	8	-	1	-	3	5	1	3	54
July	7	52	1	2	12	2	1	-	-	4	2	1	1	67
Aug.	5	57	1	8	24	5	4	-	1	1	1	-	4	81
Sept.	9	59	1	4	26	4	2	-	1	1	6	-	4	94
Oct.	9	29	2	2	16	1	4	-	1	1	12	6	1	82
Nov.	1	10	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	32
Dec.	-	4	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	2	4
Jan.	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	8
Feb.	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Total	38	306	8	21	131	28	11	2	3	16	32	10	23	501

Other occupations included 9 artists/sculptors, 5 teachers, 3 architects, 3 musicians/ singers, 1 man of letters, 1 governess.

Table C1.7b. **Occupations of passport holders 1845.**

	Titled	Gentry	Diplomats	Clergy	Military/ Naval	Doctors	Lawyers	Engineers	MPs	Merchants	Tradesmen	Students	Other
Jan.	-	4	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
Feb.	-	8	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
March	-	12	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
April	-	34	1	1	7	1	-	-	-	1	2	1	3
May	2	85	-	6	17	4	1	-	-	4	-	-	3
June	4	137	2	15	7	1	-	-	1	8	4	-	9
July	3	190	1	11	23	8	2	1	1	9	3	1	7
Aug.	9	263	2	24	22	8	12	-	-	10	3	1	15
Sept.	5	253	4	14	12	6	27	1	5	11	1	6	7
Oct.	4	96	-	3	14	-	2	-	2	8	3	2	5
Nov.	-	32	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	4
Dec.	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	27	1123	11	78	108	28	44	4	10	56	18	12	53

Other occupations included 12 teachers, 8 artists and 5 architects. Blank entries included under gentry.

Table C1.8. **The largest occupational groups in 1832-3 and 1845.**

1832			1845		
Military & Naval	131	11.6%	Military/ Naval	108	6.9%
Tradesmen/ servants	32	2.8%	Clergy	78	5.0%
Doctors	28	2.5%	Merchants	56	3.6%
Clergy	21	1.9%	Lawyers	44	2.8%
Merchants	16	1.4%	Doctors	28	1.8%
Lawyers	11	1.0%	Tradesmen/ servants	18	1.1%
Students	10	0.9%	Students	12	0.8%
			Diplomats	11	0.7%
			M.P.s	10	0.6%

Table C1.9a. **Provenance of travellers arriving in Geneva 1832-3.**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Unknown	Total
Mar.32	4	1	3	13	2	2	2	27
Apr.	24	0	3	24	3	4	2	60
May	29	2	2	42	9	7	1	92
June	32	7	13	65	11	6	5	139
July	58	1	34	40	7	4	8	152
Aug.	73	2	66	31	2	12	6	192
Sept.	53	5	99	37	3	14	0	211
Oct.	62	6	56	28	1	7	6	166
Nov.	28	1	8	9	1	1	5	53
Dec.	7	1	2	4	0	1	0	15
Jan.33	6	0	2	3	0	1	0	12
Feb,	2	0	1	5	2	0	1	11
TOTAL	**378**	**26**	**289**	**301**	**41**	**59**	**36**	**1130**
%	**33.5**	**2.3**	**25.6**	**26.6**	**3.6**	**5.2**	**3.2**	**100**

Key to areas:

A - Northern France, incl. Paris.

B - Eastern France, the Rhine and Germany.

C. Switzerland

D - Italy

E - Southern France

F - Western France, incl. Lyons

Table C1.9b. **Provenance of travellers arriving in Geneva 1845.**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Annem.	Unknown	Total
Jan.	1	0	1	2	0	4	0	3	11
Feb,	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	4	14
Mar.	2	0	1	1	1	5	0	6	16
Apr.	17	3	3	4	10	9	0	5	51
May	30	9	3	32	15	25	1	7	122
June	66	14	22	48	18	5	4	11	188
July	74	32	42	43	6	6	24	33	260
Aug.	84	47	95	34	11	13	38	47	369
Sept.	63	56	125	35	21	5	21	26	352
Oct.	33	29	34	16	7	3	8	9	139
Nov.	13	7	7	7	2	1	0	4	41
Dec.	4	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	10
TOTAL	**388**	**199**	**337**	**337**	**93**	**78**	**96**	**155**	**1573**
%	**24.7**	**12.6**	**21.4**	**14.4**	**5.9**	**5.0**	**6.1**	**9.9**	**100**

Key to areas:

A - Northern France, incl. Paris.

B - Eastern France, the Rhine and Germany.

C. Switzerland

D - Italy

E - Southern France

F - Western France, incl. Lyons

Annem. - Annemasse, probably Chamonix.

Table C1.9c. **Provenance of travellers arriving in Geneva 1855.**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Annem.	Unknown	Total
Jan.	5	0	2	2	0	1	0	2	12
Feb,	4	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	10
Mar.	2	1	2	5	0	1	0	3	14
Apr.	9	0	2	3	2	3	0	2	21
May	33	0	5	13	5	15	0	8	79
June	68	6	17	20	7	16	19	11	164
July	127	24	26	8	5	22	65	17	294
Aug.	256	27	43	23	5	18	102	15	489
Sept.	226	43	49	14	5	23	138	21	519
Oct.	41	7	14	5	0	10	40	4	121
Nov.	9	2	4	0	3	1	0	3	22
Dec.	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	7
TOTAL	**784**	**110**	**169**	**93**	**33**	**113**	**364**	**86**	**1752**
%	**44.8**	**6.3**	**9.6**	**5.3**	**1.9**	**6.4**	**20.8**	**4.8**	**100**

Key to areas:

A - Northern France, incl. Paris.

B - Eastern France, the Rhine and Germany.

C. Switzerland

D - Italy

E - Southern France

F - Western France, incl. Lyons

Annem. - Annemasse, probably Chamonix.

Table C10a. **Destinations of travellers leaving Geneva 1832-33.**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Cham.	Unknown	Total
Mar.32	12	1	1	4	2	1	0	6	27
Apr.	16	3	17	8	3	1	9	3	60
May	22	8	33	16	1	3	5	4	92
June	22	11	45	15	5	3	34	4	139
July	27	6	46	12	4	3	44	10	152
Aug.	24	6	62	34	2	2	51	11	192
Sept.	43	7	36	67	8	3	46	1	211
Oct.	38	8	12	76	8	7	5	12	166
Nov.	14	0	5	24	0	0	0	10	53
Dec.	5	1	1	5	0	1	1	1	15
Jan.33	5	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	12
Feb,	6	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	11
TOTAL	**234**	**52**	**264**	**264**	**33**	**26**	**195**	**62**	**1130**
%	**20.7**	**4.6**	**23.4**	**23.4**	**2.9**	**2.3**	**17.2**	**5.5**	**100**

Key to areas:

A - Northern France, incl. Paris.

B - Eastern France, the Rhine and Germany.

C. Switzerland

D - Italy

E - Southern France

F - Western France, incl. Lyons

Cham. - Chamonix.

Table C10b. **Destinations of travellers leaving Geneva 1845.**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Cham.	Unknown	Total
Jan.	7	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	11
Feb,	5	2	2	1	1	0	1	2	14
Mar.	5	3	1	5	0	2	0	0	16
Apr.	11	9	12	10	5	1	1	2	51
May	39	14	39	3	3	3	14	7	122
June	45	16	46	9	5	2	57	8	188
July	50	21	45	22	6	2	98	16	260
Aug.	75	26	58	44	9	12	141	14	369
Sept.	81	31	49	52	17	6	106	10	352
Oct.	34	9	19	36	16	3	14	8	139
Nov.	13	1	5	15	2	1	2	2	41
Dec.	4	0	1	2	0	2	0	1	10
TOTAL	**369**	**132**	**280**	**200**	**64**	**24**	**434**	**70**	**1573**
%	**23.5**	**8.4**	**17.8**	**12.7**	**4.1**	**1.5**	**27.6**	**4.4**	**100**

Key to areas:

A - Northern France, incl. Paris.

B - Eastern France, the Rhine and Germany.

C. Switzerland

D - Italy

E - Southern France

F - Western France, incl. Lyons

Cham. - Chamonix.

Table C10c. **Destinations of travellers leaving Geneva 1855.**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Cham.	Unknown	Total
Jan.	4	0	3	1	1	0	0	3	12
Feb,	5	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	10
Mar.	7	0	4	0	1	0	0	2	14
Apr.	9	1	6	1	0	1	0	3	21
May	20	8	26	0	1	5	14	5	79
June	36	4	67	3	6	1	38	9	164
July	94	11	80	11	10	6	66	16	294
Aug.	169	16	105	10	15	16	143	15	489
Sept.	227	19	98	18	36	6	92	23	519
Oct.	49	4	17	19	8	6	7	11	121
Nov.	10	1	2	4	2	0	0	3	22
Dec.	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	7
TOTAL	**634**	**65**	**411**	**67**	**82**	**41**	**360**	**92**	**1752**
%	**36.2**	**3.7**	**23.5**	**3.8**	**4.7**	**2.3**	**20.6**	**5.2**	**100**

Key to areas:

A - Northern France, incl. Paris.

B - Eastern France, the Rhine and Germany.

C. Switzerland

D - Italy

E - Southern France

F - Western France, incl. Lyons

Cham. - Chamonix.

Table C11a. **Routes of British travellers entering and leaving Geneva 1832-3.**

	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	BB	BA	BC	BD	BE	BF	CC	CA	CB	CD	CE	CF	DD	DA	DB	DC	DE	DF	EE	EA	EB	EC	ED	EF	FF	FA	FB	FC	FD	FE	Ch.	Unkn.	Total
Mar.32	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	11	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	6	27
Apr.	1	-	4	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	14	2	7	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	9	4	60
May	4	-	6	14	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	14	4	19	-	-	-	2	2	3	1	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	4	4	92
June	3	3	8	12	3	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	4	2	-	1	-	-	1	22	4	20	-	2	-	1	7	4	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	2	23	7	139
July	5	2	25	14	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	4	12	1	3	1	1	2	20	5	9	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	19	15	152
Aug.	5	-	33	25	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	8	11	2	23	1	2	2	13	3	7	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	4	-	1	30	13	192
Sept.	6	2	10	30	1	1	-	-	2	2	3	-	5	31	2	40	2	2	4	24	-	11	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2	4	2	1	20	1	211
Oct.	3	3	8	37	4	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	4	14	2	26	3	6	5	18	3	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	-	3	11	166
Nov.	2	-	3	20	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	11	53
Dec.	1	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	15
Jan.33	1	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Feb.	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11
TOTAL	31	10	100	170	12	7	1	6	5	10	3	1	33	71	8	98	10	13	15	153	25	78	1	8	0	9	10	12	1	0	2	10	2	22	6	5	108	73	**1130**
%	2.7	0.9	8.8	15.0	1.1	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.1	2.9	6.3	0.7	8.7	0.9	1.1	1.3	13.5	2.2	6.9	0.1	0.7	0	0.8	0.9	1.1	0.1	0	0.2	0.9	0.2	1.9	0.5	0.4	9.6	6.5	

Table C11b. **Routes of British travellers entering and leaving Geneva 1845.**

	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	BB	BA	BC	BD	BE	BF	CC	CA	CB	CD	CE	CF	DD	DA	DB	DC	DE	DF	EE	EA	EB	EC	ED	EF	FF	FA	FB	FC	FD	FE	Ch./An	Unkn.	Total
Jan.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4	11
Feb.	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	4	14
Mar.	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	6	16
Apr.	2	-	4	6	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	5	1	-	1	1	7	51
May	5	-	12	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	12	7	6	1	2	-	4	1	9	-	-	-	13	3	6	-	1	13	15	122
June	7	2	17	6	3	1	1	2	3	-	-	-	2	5	-	2	2	-	-	21	10	10	-	-	-	4	2	8	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	61	14	188
July	5	1	17	8	-	2	2	2	4	5	1	-	3	9	3	7	-	-	-	13	5	3	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	122	36	260
Aug.	8	7	15	13	1	-	1	6	5	8	2	2	6	20	6	12	2	-	-	21	4	3	-	-	-	-	3	1	4	-	-	2	-	5	1	-	176	35	369
Sept.	8	4	9	16	2	1	4	12	7	5	4	1	16	20	5	24	8	3	-	19	7	2	1	2	-	6	4	8	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	127	26	352
Oct.	3	2	4	15	4	-	1	12	3	8	2	-	-	4	1	10	7	-	-	8	3	2	1	-	-	4	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	25	11	139
Nov.	1	-	4	7	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	4	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	5	41
Dec.	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10
TOTAL	42	16	83	75	12	7	11	39	23	33	10	4	29	62	16	61	20	5	1	106	39	28	8	4	1	26	14	35	5	1	0	31	14	18	1	2	528	164	**1573**
%	2.7	1.0	5.3	4.8	0.8	0.4	0.7	2.5	1.5	2.1	0.6	0.3	1.8	3.9	1.0	3.9	1.3	0.3	0.1	6.7	2.5	1.8	0.5	0.3	0.1	1.7	0.9	2.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.9	1.1	0.1	0.1	33.6	10.4	

Table C1.11c. **Routes of British travellers entering and leaving Geneva 1855.**

	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	BB	BA	BC	BD	BE	BF	CC	CA	CB	CD	CE	CF	DD	DA	DB	DC	DE	DF	EE	EA	EB	EC	ED	EF	FF	FA	FB	FC	FD	FE	Ch./An	Unkn.	Total
Jan.	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	12
Feb.	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	10
Mar.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	14
Apr.	6	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	--	-	5	21
May	4	1	18	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	2	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	3	3	4	-	-	14	12	79
June	6	2	32	2	5	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	1	1	-	-	7	-	8	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	12	-	-	57	15	164
July	26	7	33	4	2	2	-	10	3	-	-	1	8	10	-	-	2	1	2	4	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	1	13	-	-	132	26	294
Aug.	58	7	58	8	8	7	1	9	5	-	2	1	14	13	4	-	1	-	1	13	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	8	1	3	1	1	242	18	489
Sept.	68	13	46	10	15	1	1	18	3	2	4	-	9	24	1	1	4	2	-	8	2	3	1	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	11	-	5	-	-	226	36	519
Oct.	10	2	9	9	2	1	-	4	-	-	2	1	1	3	-	4	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	-	-	-	47	11	121
Nov.	4	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	5	22
Dec.	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
TOTAL	191	33	199	36	34	14	2	44	12	2	9	3	38	61	5	7	12	4	4	44	3	18	2	2	3	11	3	10	1	1	2	36	8	40	1	1	718	138	**1752**
%	10.9	1.9	11.4	2.0	1.9	0.8	0.1	2.5	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.2	2.2	3.5	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.2	2.5	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.05	0.05	0.1	2.0	0.5	2.3	0.05	0.05	41.0	7.9	

Table C1.12 **Direction of entry/departure to/from Geneva.**

The same categories have been used as in the previous tables; therefore, for example, the 'A' category groups all travellers arriving from Northern France and those leaving for Northern France. The categories are listed in order of popularity for each of the selected years.

1832

A	579
D	565
C	450
F	76
B	71
E	63

1845

A	757
C	617
D	537
An./Ch.	530
B	331
E	157
F	102

1855

A	1418
An./Ch.	724
C	580
B	175
D	160
F	115
E	63

Table C1.13. **Routes followed regardless of direction in 1832, 1845 & 1855**

In this table, the same categories of routes have been used as in the previous tables, but combining those routes which were the same except for the direction in which they were undertaken, e.g. AB is combined with BA to indicate the popularity of the route which took in Northern France, Geneva , Basel, Germany, and the Rhine regardless of whether travellers covered the route in a clockwise or anti-clockwise direction. The table lists the routes in order of popularity and includes, for the sake of comparison, those routes where travellers returned in the same direction as they had arrived.

1832		1845		1855	
AD DA	323	AD DA	181	AC CA	260
CD DC	176	AC CA	145	AA	191
AC CA	171	CD DC	89	AD DA	80
BD DB	35	BD DB	72	AB BA	77
CF FC	35	CE EC	55	AF FA	50
CC	33	AB BA	55	CF FC	44
AA	31	AA	42	CC	38
CE EC	22	BC CB	39	CD DC	25
AE EA	21	AF FA	38	CE EC	22
AF FA	17	CF FC	23	BC CB	17
AB BA	16	CC	29	BE EB	12
DD	15	BE EB	24	BD DB	5
DF FD	14	DE ED	13	DD	4
BC CB	13	BB	11	DE ED	3
BE EB	13	DF FD	5	DF FD	3
EF FE	5	EF FE	3	EE	3

Table C1.14a **Travellers entering Geneva more than once - 1832.**

Two entries.

Name	Passport issued	Date 1	Date 2	From	To	From	To	Days between visits
Bottger, Charles A.	Naples 5-4-32	27-4	1-9	Turin	Lyon	Aix	?	127
Bradyll	Geneva 7-7-32 Bern 19-9-32	2-8	14-10	Geneva	?	Bellegarde	Milan	74
Butler, Lord & Wandesford, John	London, June Bern 25-9-32	12-7	27-9	Paris	Chamonix	Bern	Milan	70
Campbell, Dorothy	Paris 5-9-29 Lausanne 19-9-32	4-8	25-11	Milan	Lausanne	Carte de sej.	Lausanne	113
Carfrue, William	London 7-9-31	25-4	22-6	Paris	Chamonix	Turin	Paris	58
Carnac, Thomas	Calais 6-11-30	16-3	21-5	St.Julien	Morges	Carte de sej.	Morges	66
Checucci, Joseph	London 2-7-32	13-7	24-8	Paris	Milan	Milan	London	42
Comte, Marc Antoine & Cox, Augustus	London 13-5-31	19-6	4-1-33	Bern	Chamonix	Turin	London	199

Courcy Laffan, Sir J. & Lord G.Paget	Paris, 24-6-31 London 21-9-32	19-6	8-10	Turin	Paris	Paris	Milan	111
Cozens, William	London 27-3-32	4-6	16-10	Bern	Chamonix	Zurich	Milan	134
Digby, Kenelm	London 11-6-32	15-7	24-9	Paris	Suisse	Turin	Paris	71
Duncan, Viscount	London 3-4-32	13-4	13-11	Paris	Lausanne	?	?	214
Fellowes, Willam H.	London 26-3-32	23-7	21-9	Lyon	Chamonix	Lucern	Milan	60
Gowland, Emily	London 5-5-30	29-5	16-7	Paris	Lyon	?	Suisse	48
Harcourt,Francis Harcourt, Octavius (captains)	London 20-7-32	31-8	10-9	Bern	Chamonix	Aoste	Turin	10
Irby, Frederick	Naples 22-5-29 Paris 31-10-32	23-5	10-11	Turin	Suisse	Paris	Milan	171
Lenfeley, Charles	Bern 13-6-28	24-7	14-12	Bellegarde	Bern	Neuchatel	Lyon	143
Morell, John	London 3-9-29	3-7	17-10	Nyon	Chamonix	Domodossola	Nyon	106
Morgan, Dr Hill	London 8-5-32	27-9	6-10	Bern	Chamonix	Bern	Milan	9

Murray, Andrew L.	London 6-9-32	24-10	21-2-33	Paris	Milan	Turin	Strasbourg/ Paris	120
Nixon, Montgomery	London 9-6-32	14-8	1-10	Paris	Chamonix	Bern	Turin	48
Orred, Capt.	London 2-4-32	25-7	19-9	Lucern	Aix	Marseille	Vienne	46
Portman, Harding	Malta, Apr.1832	19-9	20-1-33	Turin	Chamonix/ Bern	Paris	Milan	123
Ramsay, William W.	London 14-6-32	15=7	9-8	Bern	Chamonix/ Bern	Bern	Suisse	25
Robin	Marseille 10-4-32	11-4	22-9	Marseille	Bern	Milan	Bern	164
Scott, Lady	Paris 26-5-29	10-7	28-7	Calais	Soleure	Lucern	Martigny	18
Scully, Vincent	London 27-6-32	15-7	15-10	Paris	Suisse	Turin	Basel	92
Spear, James	London 8-5-32	20-5	12-9	Paris	Lyon	Milan	Chamonix/ Paris	106
Thorold, Sir John	London 7-7-32	17-8	10-9	Bern	Chamonix	Milan	Paris	24
Trafford, Clement	Lausanne 5-6-32	21-7	30-1-33	Lausanne	Lausanne	Carte de sej.	Lausanne	193
Woodward, Richard	Frankfurt 6-6-31	6-7	7-11	Milan	Chamonix/	Milan	Paris	114
<u>Three entries.</u> Hartley, John	London 1-6-32	3-8	20-8	2-10	Bern	Lausanne	Bern Millan Bern	Bern	17 & 43

Table C1.14b **Travellers entering Geneva more than once - 1845.**

Two entries.

Name	Passport issued	Date 1	Date 2	From	To	From	To	Days between visits
Gibson, Nicholas & Remington, Thomas	Paris 20-5-45	4-6	10-6	Paris	Chamonix	Annemasse	?	6
Howard, Thomas	London 10-6-45	25-6	20-8	Bern	Milan	Turin	London	57
Jenkinson, Henry	London 2-7-44	12-8	23-8	St Julien	Chamonix	Annemasse	London	11
Longmire, John Martin	London 9-6-45	21-6	26-6	Lausanne	Chamonix	Bonneville	Lausanne	5
Mathew, Bertie	Bern 23-5-45 London 15-8-45	7-6	11-9	Turin	England	Paris	Rome	96
Pitt, Mrs	London 18-9-41	28-6	14-10	Vevey	Aix	Aix	Lausanne	108
Sillery, Anthony	London 30-5-45 Bern 23-9-45	8-7	4-10	Paris	Bern	Bern	Turin	88
Sperling, Henry	Paris 6-1043 Paris 30-9-45	28-6	12-10	St Julien	England	Paris	Genoa	106
Stewart, Capt.	Bern 23-9-44 Bern 30-9-45	23-4	10-10	Chambéry	Bern	(Bern)	Turin	170

Table C1.14c **Travellers entering Geneva more than once - 1855.**

Two entries

Name	Passport issued	Date 1	Date 2	From	To	From	To	Days between visit
Abercrombie, Lord	London 13-4	23-4	28-8	London	London	Geneva	Geneva	127
Armitage, Edward	London 21-5	11-8	19-9	St Maurice	Vevey	Saas	Lausanne	39
Ashton, Robert	London 5-3	18-8	4-9	London	London	St Mauarice	London	17
Blackmore, Martin	London 14-5	20-9	9-10	Milan	Vevey	Chiasso	Lyon	19
Bradford, Ralph	London 14-4	13-8	21-8	Calais	Vevey	Geneva	Bern	8
Bridge, John	London 30-5	7-8	15-8	Chiavenna	Chamonix	Gondo	France	8
Currie, William	Bern 21-8-50	23-6	6-9	St Julien	Suisse	Bern	Piedmont	75
Curtis, Elizabeth	London 23-3	7-5	2-7	St Cergues	Vevey	Annemasse	Paris	56
Fosbery, George	London 1-8	1-9	4-9	Calais	Paris	Annemasse	Paris	3
Freeman, Frederick	London 11-9-53	10-9	12-11	Calais	Nice	Beauvoisin	Paris	63
Harberton, Viscount	London 23-5	2-8	7-10	Coblentz	Chamonix	Annemasse	Paris	66
Harries, Francis	London 7-5-52	13-5	9-6	Rousses	Chamonix	Bern	Chamonix	37
Kempson, John	London 17-3	17-4	1-10	London	Switz./Italy	Annemasse	Turin	166
Neale, James	London 24-11-52	17-9	2-10	Bellegarde	Chamonix	Annemasse	Milan	15

Nesbitt, Nathaniel	Marseille 22-11-54	21-1	20-8	Livorno	Rome	London	Aix	211
Swaine, John	London 23-6	23-7	30-7	London	Vevey	Coblentz	Paris	7
Taylor, Robert	London 14-7	11-8	15-8	London	Chamonix	Annemasse	Paris	4
Walters, Frederick	London 17-6-54	28-4	11-8	Rousses	London	London	England	105

Three entries

Name	Passport issued	Date 1	Date 2	Date 3	From	To	From	To	From	To	Days betw' visits
Every, Henry H.	London 16-1	4-5	5-7	21-7	St Julien	France	Geneva	Suisse	Geneva	France	62 & 16
Gordon, John	London 30-5-54	16-4	22-5	14-10	Rousses	Vevey	Vevey	?	Paris	Savoy	36 & 155
Moillet, James	London 8-3	7-4	4-8	27-8	London	England	St Cergues	Bern	Annemasse	England	119 & 23
Turner, Joseph	London 30-6-53	1-6	31-8	22-9	Geneva	Vaud	-	Suisse	Geneva	England	91 & 22

Four entries.

Name	Passport issued	Date 1	Date 2	Date 3	Date4	From	To	From	To	From	To	From	To
Rees, Anna	Bern 23-8-53	8-1	27-3	11-4	2-7	Geneva	Neuchatel	Aubonne	Lausanne	Lausanne	Change	Lausanne	Suisse
	(Days between visits: 78, 15 & 82)												
Sumner, Robert	London 29-5	18-6	20-8	8-9	6-10	Calais	Vevey	Geneva	Chamonix	Annemasse	France	Annemasse	Nice
	(Days between visits: 63, 19 & 28)												

Table C1.15. **Place of issue of passport of British entering Geneva.**

1832		1845		1855	
Place	Nos.	Place	Nos.	Place	Nos.
London	602	London	1146	London	1484
Paris	104	Paris	106	Paris	60
Bern	35	Bern	34	Brussels	26
Naples	30	Malta	21	Bern	20
Calais	27	Boulogne	19	Edinburgh	15
Florence	22	Florence	16	Alexandria	14
Frankfurt	14	Naples	14	Florence	12
Marseilles	12	Liverpool	12	Geneva	8
Rome	11	Brussels	11	Boulogne	7
Venice	10	Frankfurt	11	Le Havre	7
Boulogne	8	Washington	11	Marseilles	7
Genoa	8	Edinburgh	9	Constantinople	6
The Hague	8	Le Havre	9	Liverpool	6
Le Havre	8	Ostend	9	Turin	6
Corfu	7	Alexandria	7	Anvers	4
Livorno	7	Calais	7	Dover	4
Malta	7	Dublin	7	Malta	4
Nice	7	The Hague	6	Nice	4
Vienna	6	Rome	6	Washington	4
Lausanne	5	Corfu	5	Calais	3
Turin	5	Geneva	5	Frankfurt	3
Aix-la-Chapelle	4	Jersey	5	Folkestone	2
Brussels	4	Trieste	5	Given	2
Geneva	3	Lyon	4	Hamburg	2
Gibraltar	3	Hull	4	Rome	2
Lucern	3	Constantinople	3	Venice	2
Lyon	3	Dover	3	Vienna	2
Dublin	2	Genoa	3		
Edinburgh	2	Given	3		
Granville	2	Hamburg	3		
Jersey	2	Marseilles	3		
Liverpool	2	Nantes	3		
Trieste	2	Turin	3		
		Vienna	3		
		Berlin	3		
		Amsterdam	3		
		Guernsey	3		
		Nice	2		
		Rouen	2		
		Karlsruhe	2		
		St Petersburg	2		

Places which issued a single passport have not been included in the table.

Table C1.16a. **Interval between passport issue in London and arrival in Geneva - 1832.**

Mnth/Yr		1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1yr	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Days	1 to 10	11 to 20	21 to 30	31 to 60	61 to 90	91 to 120	121 to 150	151 to 180	181 to 210	211 to 240	241 to 270	271 to 300	301 to 330	331 to 365							
March 32	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	9
April	1	3	-	5	-	-	-	2	6	3	-	1	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	27
May	2	7	5	2	3	-	1	3	4	5	2	-	1	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	41
June	2	11	10	7	1	6	2	-	-	5	4	3	-	2	10	2	2	3	-	-	70
July	3	21	10	20	5	5	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	5	2	2	1	-	90
August	1	31	13	34	21	11	1	1	-	-	3	1	5	1	7	2	1	1	1	-	135
Sept.	2	12	12	46	20	8	8	5	1	-	-	-	1	5	4	3	-	-	-	-	127
Oct.	2	9	15	33	6	13	4	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	5	5	1	-	-	1	97
Nov.	-	4	8	2	3	3	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	25
Dec.	-	3	-	3	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Jan.33	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	6
Feb.	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
TOTAL	13	103	74	154	61	48	19	15	17	17	11	8	10	15	40	19	9	6	2	1	642
%		29.6		24	9.5					17.4							12				100

Table C1.16b. **Interval between passport issue in London and arrival in Geneva - 1845.**

Mnth/Yr		1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1yr	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Days	1 to 10	11 to 20	21 to 30	31 to 60	61 to 90	91 to 120	121 to 150	151 to 180	181 to 210	211 to 240	241 to 270	271 to 300	301 to 330	331 to 365							
Jan.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Feb.	-		-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
March	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	9
April	2	6	3	2	1	-	-	1	3	2	-	1	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	26
May	4	11	3	5	5	2	1	4	5	6	1	8	3	4	4	5	3	-	1	1	76
June	13	32	14	28	3	6	4	2	2	4	8	4	2	5	7	2	2	1	-	-	139
July	12	45	24	48	14	9	2	6	-	2	2	2	7	4	6	3	1	3	-	3	193
August	12	54	70	73	22	11	7	2	4	-	-	8	4	2	7	2	5	3	1	1	288
Sept.	13	27	52	100	29	13	6	1	-	1	-	2	2	2	11	6	4	1	-	1	271
Oct.	2	14	10	30	13	9	6	1	3	-	-	-	2	-	5	3	2	1	-	2	103
Nov.	-	7	4	3	4	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	24
Dec.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	60	196	180	289	92	52	32	18	17	18	12	26	20	20	43	24	18	9	2	10	1138
%		38.3		25.4	8.1					18.9							9.3				100

Table C1.16c. **Interval between passport issue in London and arrival in Geneva - 1855.**

Mnth/Yr		1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1yr	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Days	1 to 10	11 to 20	21 to 30	31 to 60	61 to 90	91 to 120	121 to 150	151 to 180	181 to 210	211 to 240	241 to 270	271 to 300	301 to 330	331 to 365							
Jan.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	5
Feb.	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
March	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	7
April	2	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	12
May	8	6	8	5	2	4	-	-	5	5	1	1	3	3	6	1	5	-	1	-	64
June	11	27	10	16	8	3	4	3	2	3	5	4	3	1	13	12	5	1	1	-	132
July	20	39	42	51	9	9	1	5	2	2	4	2	2	2	18	10	11	3	-	2	240
August	43	85	59	84	38	17	14	5	2	2	2	3	2	2	30	18	15	9	2	3	435
Sept.	25	42	71	115	40	23	9	4	4	4	-	1	1	6	31	27	33	12	3	3	454
Oct.	1	9	14	20	9	16	4	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	6	8	2	3	-	-	98
Nov.	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	1	2	1	-	15
Dec.	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	4
TOTAL	113	212	214	295	108	74	32	20	19	17	14	12	14	16	108	83	74	30	8	8	1471
%		36.6		20.1	7.3					14.8							21				100

Table C1.17. **Passport issue date (London) and departure date.**

Name	Issue date	Departure date	Interval (days)
Byron, Lord	16-4-1816	25-4-1816 (Dover)	9
Burrell, William	18-7-1818	9-8-1818	22 *
Forbes, James D.	29-6-1832	2-7-1832	4
Wilkley, E.	17-4-1834	18-4-1834	1
Roby, John	8-5-1835	9-5-1835	1
Wordsworth, William	15-3-1837	19-3-1837	4
Coxe, Miss	18-9-1843	29-9-1843 (Ostend)	11
Wilkinson, Marianne	23-3-1844	8-4-1844 (Boulogne)	16
Ruskin, John	25-3-1845	2-4-1845	8
Clark, Edwin	15-10-1858	15-10-1858 (Folkestone)	0
Cox, Mrs Mary A.	13-8-1861	16-8-1861	3

* William Burrell, having obtained his passport, returned to Newcastle before heading south again on the start of his tour.

Table C1.18a. **All, and British, passport entries into Geneva in 1832-3.**

Month	All entries	All British entries	Of whom with British Passport (F.O. issued)
March 1832	1272	27	1
April	1533	60	3
May	1580	92	0
June	1498	139	12
July	1792	152	17
August	1990	192	22
September	2085	211	25
October	1592	166	10
November	1066	53	7
December	847	15	0
January 1833	738	12	1
February	778	11	0
TOTAL	17,600	1130	98

Percentage of British entries with F.O. passport: 8.8%

Table C1.18b. **All, and British, passport entries into Geneva in 1845.**

Month	All entries	All British entries	Of whom with British Passport (F.O. issued)
January	664	11	1
February	490	14	2
March	827	16	2
April	1102	51	5
May	1262	122	18
June	1521	188	22
July	1741	260	30
August	2126	369	43
September	1833	352	46
October	1319	139	26
November	774	41	7
December	517	10	2
TOTAL	14176	1573	204

Percentage of British entries with F.O. passport: 13%

Table C1.18c. **All, and British, passport entries into Geneva in in 1855.**

	All entries	All British entries
January	428	12
February	412	10
March	660	14
April	715	21
May	952	78
June	1050	164
July	1491	294
August	2210	489
September	1793	519
October	890	121
November	445	22
December	412	7
TOTAL	11458	1751

Table C2.1 **British visitors to the Rigi 1816 - 1830**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1816	99	12	111
1817	94	32	126
1818	97	31	128
1819	115	45	160
1820	90	36	126
1821	105	36	141
1822	68	32	100
1823	122	49	171
1824	119	29	148
1825	226	96	322
1826	140	65	205
1827	234	87	321
1828	176	58	234
1829	217	94	311
1830	212	74	286
Total	**2114**	**776**	**2890**
%	**73%**	**27%**	**100%**

Table C2.2 **British visitors to the Great St Bernard 1814 - 1820**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1814	43	0	43
1815	34	4	38
1816	191	42	233
1817	206	49	255
1818	167	33	200
1819	228	61	289
1820	154	65	219
Total	**1023**	**254**	**1277**
%	**80%**	**20%**	**100%**

Table C2.3. **Interval between visits to Rigi & the St. Bernard 1816 - 1820.**

Interval between entries	No. of travellers
1 week or less (1-7 days)	1
1-2 weeks (8-14 days)	17
2-3 weeks (15-21 days)	32
3-4 weeks (22-28 days)	17
4-5 weeks (29-35 days)	14
5-6 weeks (36-42 days)	8
6-7 weeks (43-49 days)	4
7-8 weeks (50-56 days)	2
Over 8 weeks (57 days +)	2

Table C2.4 **Interval between visits to Rigi & Geneva 1832.**

Interval between entries	No. of travellers
1 week or less (1-7 days)	8
1-2 weeks (8-14 days)	20
2-3 weeks (15-21 days)	18
3-4 weeks (22-28 days)	16
4-5 weeks (29-35 days)	14
5-6 weeks (36-42 days)	6
6-7 weeks (43-49 days)	5
7-8 weeks (50-56 days)	1
Over 8 weeks (57 days +)	7

Table C2.5 **Interval between visits to Rigi & Geneva 1845.**

Interval between entries	No. of travellers
1 week or less (1-7 days)	6
1-2 weeks (8-14 days)	38
2-3 weeks (15-21 days)	24
3-4 weeks (22-28 days)	10
4-5 weeks (29-35 days)	9
5-6 weeks (36-42 days)	5
6-7 weeks (43-49 days)	4
7-8 weeks (50-56 days)	2
Over 8 weeks (57 days +)	6

Table C 2.6. **Interval between visits to Rigi & the St. Bernard 1845.**

Interval between entries	No. of travellers
1 week or less (1-7 days)	2
1-2 weeks (8-14 days)	8
2-3 weeks (15-21 days)	9
3-4 weeks (22-28 days)	9
4-5 weeks (29-35 days)	3
5-6 weeks (36-42 days)	2
6-7 weeks (43-49 days)	0
7-8 weeks (50-56 days)	0
Over 8 weeks (57 days +)	2

Table D1. **Travelogue writers used in analysis.**

Name	Sex	Year(s)	Type*	Age	Profession
1814-19					
Adamson	M	1818	Man.	30	antiquary/scholar
Anon. (Journal)	F	1818	CP	?	?
Anon. (Pict. tour)	M?	1816	CP	?	?
Baillie, Marianne	F	1818	CP	23	na
Bernard	M	1814	CP	27	M.P.
Bridges	M	1814	CP	?	?
Butler	M	1819	Man.	45	schoolmaster
Byron	M	1816	LP	28	writer
Campbell	F	1817	LP	14	na
Carey	F	1816-7	CP	?	na
Cockburn	M	?1816	CP	c.37	army officer
Digby	M	1816	Man.	19	undergraduate
Hookham	M	1816	CP	c.30	bookseller/publisher
Matthews	M	1818	CP	28	don
Mayne	M	1814	LP	23	lawyer
Milford	M	1814-5	CP	?	?
Pounden	M	1816	CP	?	clergyman
Raffles	M	1817	CP	29	non-conformist minister
Rogers	M	1814	LP	51	writer
Scott	M	1818-9	CP	35	editor
Shelley, Lady	F	1816	LP	29	na
Sheppard	M	1816	CP	31	
Tisdall	M	1814	LP	22	gentleman
Waldie	F	1817	CP	23	na
1820-29					
Agassiz	M	1829	CP	?	army officer
Bakewell	M	1820-2	CP	52	geologist
Blessington	F	1822	CP.	33	n.a.
Boddington	F	1826?	CP	c.50	n.a.
Brockedon	M	1824	CP	37	writer/artist
Brockedon	M	1825	CP	38	writer/artist
Carne	M	1826-7	CP	37	traveller
Downes	M	1825	CP	35	writer/poet
Dunlop	M	1825	CP	?	?
Hazlitt	M	1825	CP	46	writer
Latrobe	M	1825-7	CP	24	? tutor
Liddiard	M	1827	CP	54	clergyman
Murray	M	1825	CP	39	scientist
Pennington	M	1818-21	CP	?	clergyman
Rickman	M	1824	CP	31	?
Stevenson	M	1825	CP	40	printer/publisher
Tennant	M	1821	CP	25	
Walter	M	1826-7	CP	29	clergyman
Webb	M	1822-3	CP	?	army officer
Wilson	M	1823-4	CP	45	clergyman
Wordsworth	F	1820	LP	49	n.a.

1830-39

Bateman	M	1833	CP	52	
Boddington	F	1830	CP.	c.54	n.a.
Bray	F	1839	CP	50	clergyman's wife
Dyke	M	1832	CP		
Hayes	M	1833	Man.	?	
Herbert	M	1837	CP	24	
Holmes	F	1839	CP	35	writer/poet
Hoppus	M	1835	CP	46	academic
Inglis	M	1830	CP	33	traveller
Lamont	F	1838	CP	23	writer
Langford	M	1834	Man.	?	assistant judge,India
O'Conor	M	1835	CP	?	?
Roby	M	1835	CP	42	banker
Stanhope	M	1833	CP	31	titled
Strutt	F	1835-7	CP	29	na
Weatherhead	M	?	CP	?	?
Wilkley	M	1834	CP	?	clergyman
Wilson, W.Rae	M	1835	CP	63	lawyer/writer

1840-49

Anon. (Letters)	F	1843	CP		clergyman's wife
Alexander	M	1845	CP		clergyman
Barrow	M	1848	CP.	40	civil servant
Buckingham	M	1845	CP	59	writer/lecturer
Buckingham	M	1846	CP	60	"
Chambers	M	1841	CP	41	publisher
Clarke	M	1841	CP	?	
Forbes, John	M	1848	CP	61	doctor
Henniker	M	1840	CP	19	student
Massie, J.W.	M	1844	CP	45	clergyman
Morgan, J. Minter	M	1846	CP	64	clergyman
Noel	M	1847	CP	49	clergyman
Roget	M	1844	LP	16	
Talfourd 1	M	1841	CP	42	writer
Talfourd 2		1842	CP	43	"
Talfourd 3		1843	CP	44	"
Talfourd 4		1848	CP	49	"
Trench	M	1847	CP	41	clergyman
Wilkinson	F	1844	Man.	c.38	na
Yates	F	1841	CP	?	n.a.

1850-59

Anderson	M	1855	CP	52	army officer
Barrow	M	1852	CP.	c.54	civil servant
Catlow, A. & M.	F	1856-7	CP	49 & ?	
Drummond	M	1852	CP	47	clergyman
Falkner	M	1854	CP	37	editor
Ferguson	M	1852	CP	35	antiquary/philologist
Fox	M	1853	LP	20	?
Harrison	M	1851	LP	19	undergraduate
Headlam, T.& E.	M/F	1854	Man.	41	MP & n.a.
Hinchcliff	M	1855/6	CP	30-31	lawyer
Longman	M	1856	CP	43	publisher
Miller	F	1856	M		n.a.
Palmer	M	1857	M		
Reynolds	M	1856	LP	42	
Spencer	M	1853	LP	33	journalist
White	M	1853	CP	42	librarian

Table D2 **Age of travelogue writers** (where known)

Under 20	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 - 69
Campbell	Baillie	Adamson	Barrow	Bakewell	Forbes
Digby	Bernard	Alexander	Bray	Bateman	Morgan
Henniker	Byron	Anderson	Butler	Boddington	O'Conor
Roget	Fox	Blessington	Drummond	Buckingham	Wilson, R.
	Harrison	Brockedon	Hazlitt	Liddiard	
	Latrobe	Carne	Headlam	Pennington	
	Matthews	Cockburn	Hoppus	Rogers	
	Mayne	Downes	Longman		
	Raffles	Falkner	Massie		
	Shelley	Ferguson	Miller		
	Tennant	Hinchcliff	Roby		
	Tisdall	Hookham	Stevenson		
	Waldie	Inglis	Talfourd		
	Walter	Murray	Trench		
		Rickman	White		
		Scott	Wilson, D.		
		Sheppard	Wordsworth		
		Spencer			
		Wilkinson			

Table D3. **Occupations of travelogue writers** (where known)

Titled	Gentry	Clergy	Military/ Naval	Doctors	Lawyers	MPs
Blessington	Palmer	Alexander	Agassiz	Forbes	Langford	Bernard
Byron	Tisdall	Drummond	Anderson		Hinchcliff	Headlam
Shelly		Liddiard	Cockburn		Wilson, R.	
Stanhope		Massie	Webb			
		Morgan				
		Noel				
		Pennington				
		Pounden				
		Sheppard				
		Trench				
		Walter				
		Wilkley				
		Wilson, D				

Teachers/ academics	Writers	Publishers	Married	Single	Students	Other
Adamson	Brockedon	Falkner	Baillie	Campbell	Digby	Barrow
Butler	Byron	Longman	Blessington	Lamont	Henniker	(civil servant)
Matthews	Downes	Stevenson	Boddington	Waldie	Roget	Roby
Bakewell	Hazlitt		Bray	Wilkinson		(banker)
Latrobe	Holmes		Carey	Wordsworth		White
Murray	Lamont		Clergyman's wife			(librarian)
	Rogers		Holmes			
	Scott		Shelley			
	Talfourd		Strutt			
			Yates			

N.B. Names may appear under more than one heading.

Table D4. **Fellow travellers with the travelogue writers.**

1814-19

Adamson	John Burrell and Swiss servant (François Reybaz)
Anon. (Journal)	a companion
Anon. (Pict. tour)	husband and little girl
Baillie	husband and Mr G.
Bernard	alone
Bridges	friend(s)
Butler	companion and servant
Byron	2 friends and Swiss servant
Campbell	mother, 4 sisters and governess
Carey	husband and son
Cockburn	?
Digby	3 Cambridge friends
Hookham	?
Matthews	? with brother and Cambridge friend
Mayne	brother and sister-in-law
Milford	? friend
Pounden	alone
Raffles	with cousin Sir Stamford R. + his wife, daughter & sister (Mrs Flint)
Rogers	sister and Sir James Mackintosh
Scott	alone
Shelley, Lady	husband and maid
Sheppard	Swiss servant
Tisdall	James Brownlow William Cecil (Vct. Cranborne) & later, G.Horsley
Waldie	sister and 2 brothers (1 to Paris, 1 from Lyons)

1820-29

Agassiz	wife, daughter, governess, 2 infants and 2 servants
Bakewell	wife and daughter
Blessington	husband
Boddington	husband and 2 daughters
Brockedon 1	Clarkson Stanfield
Brockedon 2	?
Carne	a companion
Downes	family and occasionally friends
Dunlop	companions
Hazlitt	wife
Latrobe	alone
Liddiard	?
Murray	wife
Pennington	party
Rickman	alone
Stevenson	Mr Häussermann
Tennant	?
Walter	family group
Webb	?
Wilson,D.	college friend, wife, daughter, 2 sons, and servant
Wordsworth	William and Mary Wordsworth, Mr & Mrs Monkhouse, Miss Horrocks

1830-39

Bateman	alone, joins up with family group for c. 1 month
Bray	husband and nephew
Dyke	2 near relations
Hayes	1 male companion (Gresham)
Holmes	husband and servant
Hoppus	3 companions
Inglis	a companion
Lamont	friend and friend's mother
Langford	Captain Boyd
O'Conor	'we'
Roby	2 young friends
Stanhope	alone
Strutt	family group
Weatherhead	alone
Wilkley	alone
Wilson, W.Rae	alone

1840-49

Alexander	alone
Anon. (Letters)	husband
Barrow	2 companions (Graham and Coore)
Buckingham 1	wife
Buckingham 2	?
Chambers	wife and sister
Clarke	with wife ?
Forbes, John	2 companions
Henniker	alone
Massie, J.W.	alone
Morgan, J. Minter	alone
Noel	3 members of family
Roget	father and father's friend
Talfourd 1	wife, eldest son and niece
Talfourd 2	son
Talfourd 3	wife, eldest son and niece
Talfourd 4	wife, eldest son and daughter
Trench	brother (to Mainz)
Wilkinson	Marianne Malvars
Yates	portion of family

1850-59

Anderson	meets up with Edward Coleman in Chamonix
Barrow	mother and sister
Catlow, A. & M.	sister
Drummond	family to Thun; Mr Macdonald with his brother-in-law for Swiss tour
Falkner	2 companions
Ferguson	companion (officer and Irishman)
Fox	Francis Fox Tuckett
Harrison	Lawrence and C. Marshall Griffith
Headlam, T.& E.	spouse
Hinchcliff	Dundas (1855); brother and friend (1856)
Longman	Henry Trower
Miller	husband
Palmer	wife, 2 brothers, brother's wife, 2 sisters, ladies maid and courier
Reynolds	3 companions
Spencer	companion (Mr Lott)
White	alone

Table D5 . **Switzerland within the context of the tour.**

1814-19										
Adamson				P	S	N.It.	S	Rh		
Anon.1			P	Riv.	S.	Rh				
Anon.2			P	N.It	S	P				
Bailey			P	N.It	S	E.Fr.				
Bernard				P	S	Rh				
Bridges			NL	P	S	Rh				
Butler				P	S	N.It.		P		
Byron				Rh	S	Ro				
Campbell				P	S	Fl				
Carey			P	Riv	S	P				
Digby				Rh	S	P				
Matthews		Port.	Fl	N	S	Riv		W.Fr.	P	
Mayne				P	S	N		P		
Milford			W.Fr.	Riv	S	N	S	Rh		
Pounden				P	S	N	S	P		
Raffles				P	S	Rh				
Rogers				P	S	N		A	Rh	
Scott				P	S	N	S	P		
Lady Shelley				P	S	G		A	N	P
Sheppard			P	N.It	S	Rh				
Tisdall				P	S	Rh				
Waldie		P	Riv	N	S	P				
1820-29										
Agassiz				P	S	P				
Blessington				P	S	Riv		N		
Boddington				Rh	S	N.It.	S	P		
Brockedon 1				P	S	N.It.	S	P		
Brockedon 2			P	N.It.	S	P				
Downes				P	S	N	S	P		
Dunlop				Rh	S					
Hazlitt			P	Ro	S	Rh				
Liddiard				P	S	P				
Murray				P	S	N.It.	S	P		
Pennington	P	W.Fr.	Riv	N	S	G	S	E.Fr.	NL	
Rickman				P	S	N	S	P		
Stevenson			P	N.It.	S	Rh				
Walter				Rh	S	Ro	S	Rh		
Webb				Rh	S	B	S	P		
Wilson				Rh	S	N.It.	S	P		
Wordsworth				Rh	S	N.It.	S	P		
1830-39										
Bateman				Rh	S	Rh				
Bray				Rh	S	Rh				
Dyke				Rh	S	P				
Hayes				Rh	S					
Holmes				P	S	Fl		P		
Hoppus				Rh	S	P				
Lamont			P	Rh	S	P				
Langford				P	S	N.It.	S	Rh		
O Conor				Rh	S	P				
Roby				Rh	S	N.It.		P		
Weatherhead		P	Riv	N	S	P				
Wilkley			P	N	S	Rh				
Wilson										

1840-49										
Anon.			Rh	S	Riv		N	Riv	P	
Barrow			Rh	S	N.It.		A	Rh		
Buckingham 1			Rh	S	Rh					
Buckingham 2			P	S	N		A	G	Rh	P
Chambers			Rh	S	P					
Clarke	P	Riv	Ro	S	P		W.Fr.	P		
Forbes			Rh	S	Rh					
Henniker			Rh	S	Fl		A	G		
Massie			Rh	S	G					
Morgan			Rh	S	Riv		N	P		
Noel			Rh	S	P					
Roget			Rh	S	N.It.	S	Rh			
Talfourd 1			P	S	Rh					
Talfourd 2			Rh	S	Rh					
Talfourd 3			Rh	S	Rh					
Talfourd 4	P	Riv	N	S	Rh					
Trench			Rh	S	Rh					
Wilkinson		P	E.Fr.	S	N					
Yates			E.Fr.	S						

1850-59										
Anderson										
Barrow	G	A	N.It.	S	P					
Catlow			Rh	S	N	S	Riv	P		
Falkner			P	S	Rh					
Harrison			Rh	S	P					
Headlam			Rh	S	P					
Hinchcliff			Rh	S						
Longman		P	E.Fr.	S	P					
Miller			P	S	A		Rh			
Palmer			P	S	N.It.	S	P			
Reynolds			E.Fr.	S	P					
Spencer			Rh	S	Rh					
White			Rh	S	P					

For travellers whose names are in italics, only the outward route is known and therefore shown.

Abbreviations are used as follows: A- Austria, E.Fr. - Eastern France, Fl - Florence, G - Germany, N - Naples N.It.- Northern Italy (Genoa, Milan, Turin and/or Venice), NL- Netherlands (excluding Rhine) P- Paris, Port. - Portugal, Rh- Rhine Including Belgium/Netherlands), Riv - French Riviera, Ro - Rome, S-Switzerland, W.Fr. - Western France.

Table D6 **Main routes of tour outside Switzerland.**

	Rh.	P	Riv.	N.It.	Fl.	Ro.	N
1814-19	12	28	5	5	2	1	7
1820-29	8	21	2	6	0	1	4
1830-39	12	12	1	2	0	0	2
1840-49	23	11	4	2	0	4	4
1850-59	8	12	1	2	0	0	0

(Abbreviations: Rh - Rhine, P - Paris, Riv - French Riviera, N.It. - Northern Italy, Fl - Florence, Ro. - Rome, N - Naples)

Table D7. **Paris and the Rhine routes.**

	P.-Rh.	Rh.-Rh.	Rh.-P.	P.-P.
1814-19	7	0	1	8
1820-29	2	1	3	7
1830-39	1	2	4	3
1840-49	3	7	4	1
1850-59	2	1	4	2

Table D8. **Days from London/Channel ports to Geneva** (by decade).

1814-19	
Adamson	14
Anon.1	?
Anon.2	42
Baillie	33
Bernard	?
Bridges	c.62
Butler	12
Byron	31
Campbell	n.a.
Carey	274
Cockburn	?
Digby	62
Hookham	?
Matthews	360
Mayne	30
Milford	?
Pounden	c.51
Raffles	?
Rogers	19
Scott	?
Lady Shelley	32
Sheppard	?
Tisdall	31
Waldie	321
1820-29	
Agassiz	?
Bakewell	34
Blessington	19
Boddington	n.a.
Brockedon 1	14
Brockedon 2	n.a.
Carne	?
Downes	14
Dunlop	?
Hazlitt	c.300
Latrobe	?
Liddiard	17
Murray	4*
Pennington	745
Rickman	?
Stevenson	19 *
Tennant	57
Walter	n.a.
Webb	409
Wilson, D.	72
Wordsworth	73
1830-39	
Bateman	31
Bray	26
Dyke	49
Hayes	?
Hayes	?
Holmes	349
Hoppus	34
Inglis	?
Lamont	c.545
Langford	43
O' Conor	n.a.
Roby	24
Stanhope	n.a.
Strutt	?
Weatherhead	?
Wilkley	99
Wilson, R.	?
1840-49	
Anon.	c.124
Alexander	?
Barrow	n.a.
Buckingham 1	c.33
Buckingham 2	15
Chambers	?
Clarke	355
Forbes	30
Henniker	50
Massie	?
Morgan	36
Noel	2*
Roget	11
Talfourd 1	10
Talfourd 2	n.a.
Talfourd 3	c.9
Talfourd 4	n.a.
Trench	n.a.
Wilkinson	128
Yates	?
1850-59	
Anderson	10
Barrow	45
Catlow	?
Drummond	?
Falkner	12
Ferguson	?
Fox	n.a.
Harrison	28
Headlam	45
Hinchcliff	n.a.
Longman	n.a.
Miller	n.a.
Palmer	?
Reynolds	16
Spencer	n.a.
White	19

*from Paris

Table D9. **Days from London/Channel ports to Geneva** (shortest to longest).

Name	Decade	Days
Talfourd 3	4	9
Talfourd 1	4	10
Anderson	5	10
Roget	4	11
Butler	1	12
Falkner	5	12
Adamson	1	14
Brockedon 1	2	14
Downes	2	14
Buckingham 2	4	15
Reynolds	5	16
Liddiard	2	17
Rogers	1	19
Blessington	2	19
White	5	19
Roby	3	24
Bray	3	26
Harrison	5	28
Mayne	1	30
Forbes	4	30
Byron	1	31
Tisdall	1	31
Bateman	3	31
Lady Shelley	1	32
Baillie	1	33
Buckingham 1	4	33
Bakewell	2	34
Hoppus	3	34
Morgan	4	36
Anon.2	4	42
Langford	3	43
Barrow	5	45
Headlam	5	45
Dyke	3	49
Henniker	4	50
Pounden	1	51
Tennant	2	57
Bridges	1	62
Digby	1	62
Wilson, D.	2	72
Wordsworth	2	73
Wilkley	2	99
Anon.	4	124
Wilkinson	4	128
Carey	1	274
Hazlitt	2	300
Waldie	1	321
Holmes	2	349
Clarke	4	355
Matthews	1	360
Webb	2	409
Lamont	3	545
Pennington	2	745

In the decade column, 1 represents the 1810s, 2 the 1820s, etc.

Table 10a. **Duration of whole tour and Swiss component** (by decade).

	Whole tour	Swiss component
1814-19		
Adamson	36	26
Anon.1	?	?
Anon.2	94	24
Baillie	59	19
Bernard	c.130	?
Bridges	c.142	c.38
Butler	40	11
Byron	na	143
Campbell	na	c.32
Carey	c.388	15
Cockburn	?	?
Digby	78	40
Hookham	?	14
Matthews	636	95
Mayne	197	11
Milford	c.546	c.37
Pounden	c.169	c.21
Raffles	?	?
Rogers	260	28
Scott	?	?
Lady Shelley	280	32
Sheppard	c.153	c.50
Tisdall	c.120	c.39
Waldie	353	9
1820-29		
Agassiz	209	175
Bakewell	590+	441
Blessington	C.2125	26
Boddington	119	50
Brockedon 1	66	15
Brockedon 2	57	22
Carne	?	?
Downes	c.286	c.127
Dunlop	?	?
Hazlitt	411	c.105
Latrobe	?	c.862
Liddiard	53	c.25
Murray	122	83
Pennington	1142	287
Rickman	?	18
Stevenson	55	20
Tennant	125	50
Walter	522	156
Webb	488	184
Wilson	301	53
Wordsworth	118	43
1830-39		
Bateman	58	26
Boddington	36	26
Bray	58	26
Dyke	c.60	20
Hayes	?	22+
Hayes	?	22+
Holmes	504+	53
Hoppus	c.55	18
Inglis	?	c.65
Lamont	c.750	c.190
Langford	125	41
O Conor	?	c.22
Roby	44	15
Stanhope	?	c.50
Strutt	?	?
Weatherhead	?	?
Wilkley	303	96
Wilson	?	?
1840-49		
Anon.	c.387	8
Alexander	?	26
Barrow	49	8
Buckingham 1	c.83	c.18
Buckingham 2	104	6
Chambers	c.60	20
Clarke	367	16
Forbes	43	33
Henniker	180	22
Massie	?	?
Morgan	327	38
Noel	50+	38
Roget	73	32
Talfourd 1	28	16
Talfourd 2	25	10
Talfourd 3	c.29	c.18
Talfourd 4	53	9
Trench	28	20
Wilkinson	c.429	123
Yates	?	?
1850-59		
Anderson	32	20
Barrow	53	5
Catlow	c.691	?
Drummond	?	c.65
Falkner	c.24	9
Ferguson	?	c.30
Fox	35	25
Harrison	33	21
Headlam	56	27
Hinchcliff	?	?
Longman	43	38
Miller	c.79	33
Palmer	?	?
Reynolds	35	30
Spencer	42	28
White	31	18

Table D10b. **Duration of whole tour** (longest-shortest)

Name	Decade	Days
Blessington	2	2125
Pennington	2	1142
Lamont	3	750
Catlow	5	691
Matthews	1	636
Bakewell	2	590
Milford	1	546
Walter	2	522
Holmes	3	504
Webb	2	488
Wilkinson	4	429
Hazlitt	2	411
Carey	1	388
Anon.	4	387
Clarke	4	367
Waldie	1	353
Morgan	3	327
Wilkley	2	303
Wilson, D.	2	301
Downes	2	286
Lady Shelley	1	280
Rogers	1	260
Agassiz	2	209
Mayne	1	197
Henniker	4	180
Pounden	1	169
Sheppard	1	153
Bridges	1	142
Bernard	1	130
Langford	3	125
Tennant	2	125
Murray	2	122
Tisdall	1	120
Boddington	2	119
Wordsworth	2	118
Buckingham 2	4	104
Anon.	1	94
Buckingham 1	4	83
Miller	5	79
Digby	1	78
Roget	4	73
Brockedon 1	2	66
Chambers	4	60
Dyke	3	60
Baillie	1	59
Bray	3	58
Bateman	3	58
Brockedon 2	2	57
Headlam	5	56
Hoppus	3	55
Stevenson	2	55
Barrow	5	53
Talfourd 4	4	53
Liddiard	2	53
Noel	4	50
Barrow	4	49
Roby	3	44
Longman	5	43
Forbes	4	43
Spencer	5	42
Butler	1	40
Boddington	3	36
Adamson	1	36
Reynolds	5	35
Fox	5	35
Harrison	5	33
Anderson	5	32
White	5	31
Talfourd 3	4	29
Trench	4	28
Talfourd 1	4	28
Talfourd 2	4	25
Falkner	5	24

In the decade column, 1 represents the 1810s, 2 the 1820s, etc.

Table 10c. **Duration of Swiss component** (Longest to shortest).

Name	Decade	Days
Latrobe	2	862
Drummond	5	604
Bakewell	2	441
Pennington	2	287
Lamont	3	190
Webb	2	184
Agassiz	2	175
Walter	2	156
Byron	1	143
Downes	2	127
Wilkinson	4	123
Hazlitt	2	105
Wilkley	3	96
Matthews	1	95
Murray	2	83
Inglis	3	65
Holmes	3	53
Wilson, D.	2	53
Boddington	2	50
Sheppard	1	50
Stanhope	3	50
Tennant	2	50
Wordsworth	2	43
Langford	3	41
Digby	1	40
Tisdall	1	39
Longman	5	38
Noel	4	38
Morgan	4	38
Bridges	1	38
Milford	1	37
Miller	5	33
Forbes	4	33
Roget	4	32
Lady Shelley	1	32
Campbell	1	32
Reynolds	5	30
Ferguson	5	30
Spencer	5	28
Rogers	1	28
Headlam	5	27
Alexander	4	26
Bray	3	26
Boddington	3	26
Bateman	3	26
Blessington	2	26
Adamson	1	26
Fox	5	25
Liddiard	2	25
Anon.2	1	24
Henniker	4	22
O Conor	3	22
Hayes	3	22
Brockedon 2	2	22
Harrison	5	21
Pounden	1	21
Anderson	5	20
Trench	4	20
Chambers	4	20
Dyke	3	20
Stevenson	2	20
Baillie	1	19
White	5	18
Talfourd 3	4	18
Buckingham 1	4	18
Hoppus	3	18
Rickman	2	18
Talfourd 1	4	16
Clarke	4	16
Roby	3	15
Brockedon 1	2	15
Carey	1	15
Hookham	1	14
Mayne	1	11
Butler	1	11
Talfourd 2	4	10
Falkner	5	9
Talfourd 4	4	9
Waldie	1	9
Barrow	4	8
Anon.	4	8
Buckingham 2	4	6
Barrow	5	5

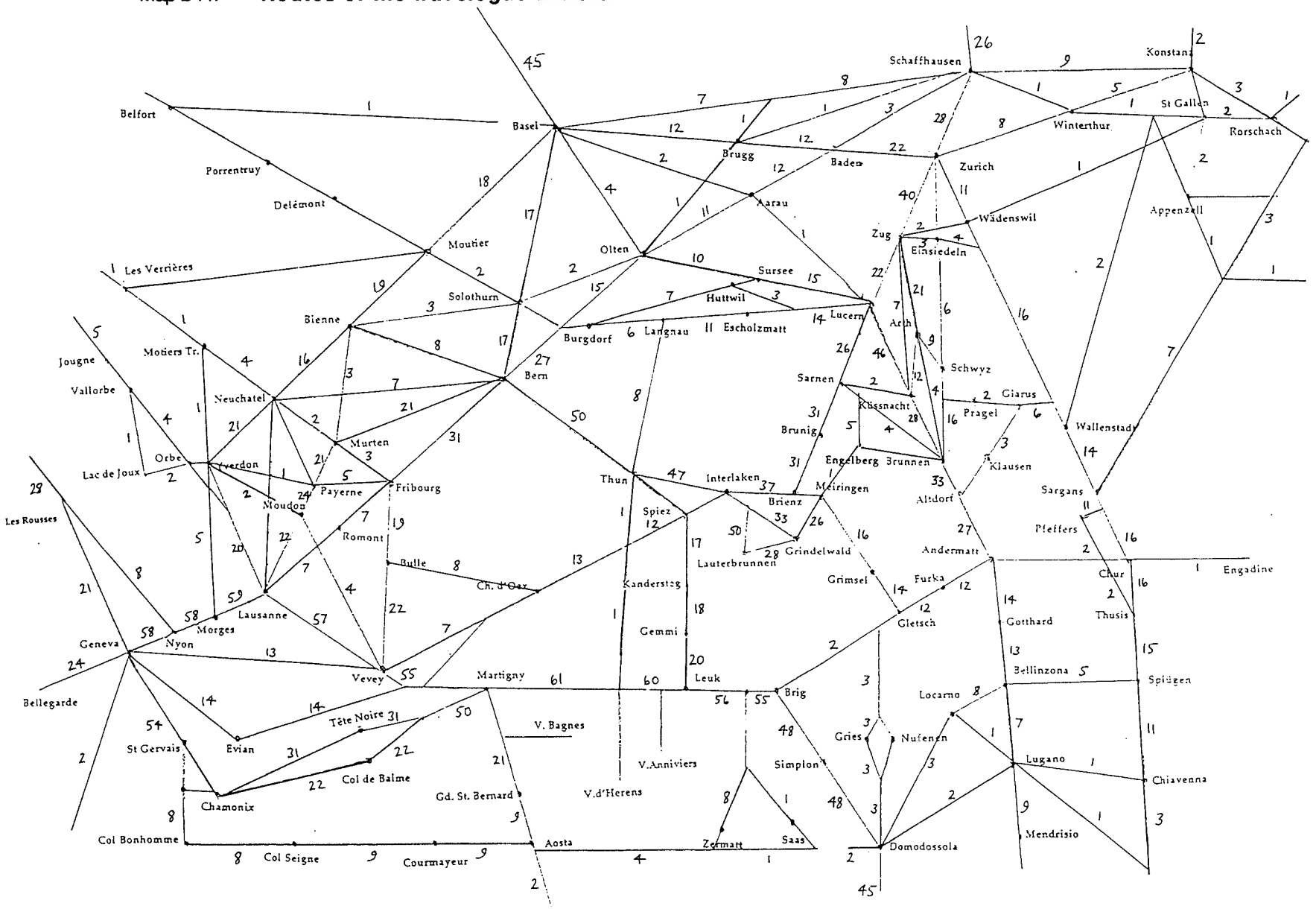
In the decade column, 1 represents the 1810s, 2 the 1820s, etc.

Table 10d. **Proportion of tour spent in Switzerland.**

Years	Average length of tour (days)	Average length of Swiss tour (days)	Proportion of tour spent in Switzerland
1814-19	216.5	36	14%
1820-29	291	88	35%
1830-39	199	48	24%
1840-49	144	26	19%
1850-59	96	27	55%

Note relevant to all parts of Table 10.
Time spent in visiting Chamonix and the area directly south of the Alps is included as time spent in Switzerland. If a traveller continued on to one of the Italian cities, the days spent beyond the Swiss frontier are excluded from the Swiss component. Some travel writers dated their journals assiduously, while others were more casual about mentioning precise dates; yet others were inconsistent and even confused. All the figures must be viewed with circumspection. Where an estimate was deliberately made by me, the *circa* abbreviation precedes the figure.

Map D11. **Routes of the travelogue writers.**



Map D12. **Most frequented routes (50%+ and 25%+).**

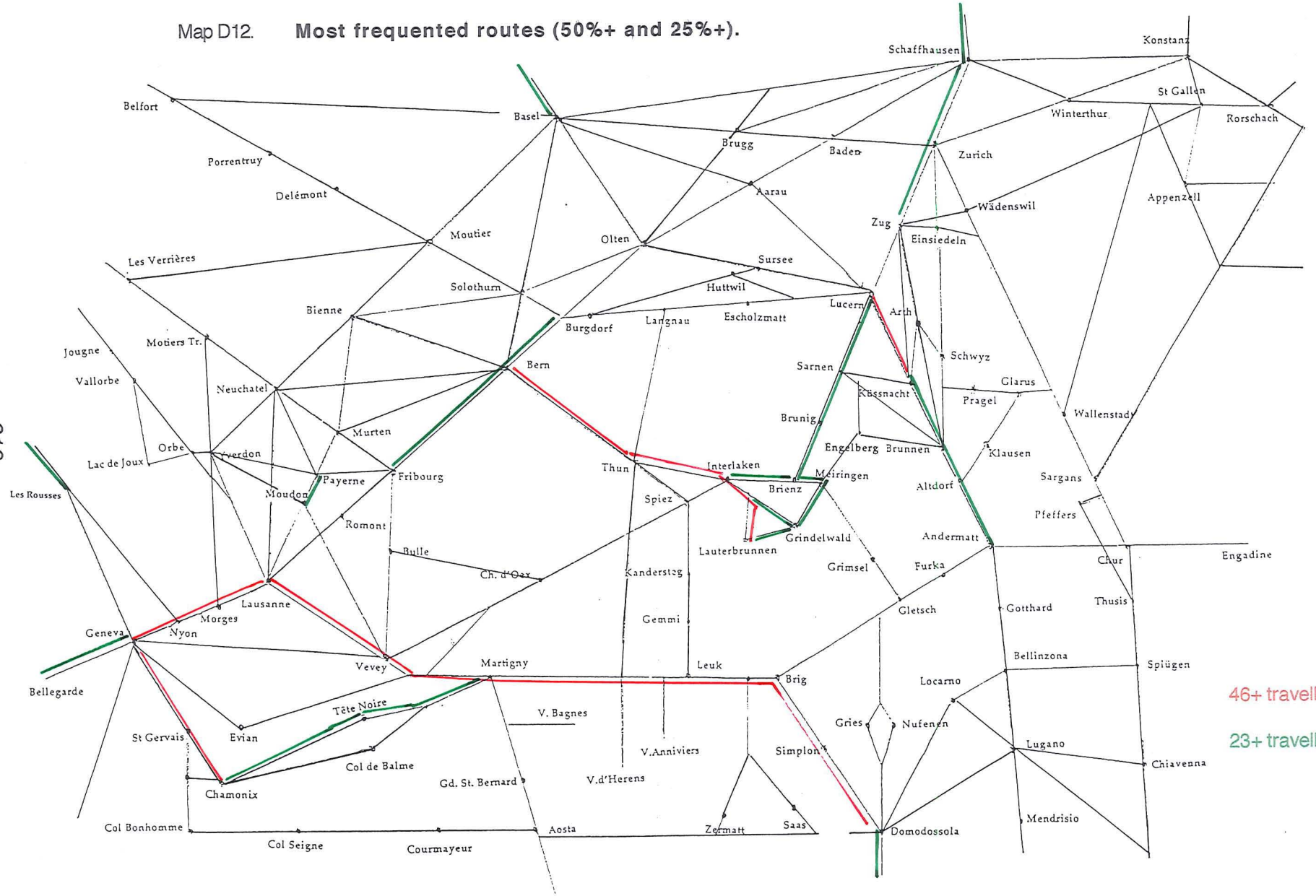


Table D13a **Travellers and the three centres**

	Chamonix	Oberland	Lucern
1814-19			
Adamson	x	x	x
Anon.1	x	x	x
Anon.2	x	-	-
Bailey	x	-	-
Bernard	x	-	x
Bridges	x	-	-
Butler	x	-	-
Byron	x	x	-
Campbell	-	-	-
Carey	-	-	-
Cockburn	x	x	x
Digby	x	x	-
Hookham	-	-	-
Matthews	x	x	x
Mayne	-	-	-
Milford	x	-	-
Pounden	-	-	-
Raffles	x	-	-
Rogers	x	-	x
Scott	-	-	-
Lady Shelley	x	x	x
Sheppard	x	x	x
Tisdall	x	x	x
Waldie	-	-	-
1820-29			
Agassiz	x	x	x
Bakewell	x	x	-
Blessington	-	-	-
Boddington	-	x	-
Brockedon 1	x	-	-
Brockedon 2	-	x	x
Carne	x	x	x
Downes	x	x	x
Dunlop	x	x	x
Hazlitt	x	-	-
Latrobe	x	x	x
Liddiard	x	x	x
Murray	x	x	x
Pennington	x	x	x
Rickman	x	x	x
Stevenson	x	x	x
Tennant	x	-	x
Walter	x	x	-
Webb	x	x	x
Wilson	x	x	x
Wordsworth	x	x	x
1830-39			
Bateman	x	x	x
Bray	x	x	x
Dyke	-	x	x
Hayes	-	x	x
Holmes	x	x	-
Hoppus	x	x	-
Inglis	-	x	x
Lamont	x	x	x
Langford	x	-	-
O Conor	-	-	x
Roby	x	-	x
Stanhope	-	x	x
Strutt	-	x	-
Weatherhead	x	-	-
Wilkley	x	x	x
Wilson	x	x	-
1840-49			
Anon.	-	-	-
Alexander	x	x	-
Barrow	-	-	-
Buckingham 1	x	x	x
Buckingham 2	-	-	-
Chambers	x	x	x
Clarke	-	-	-
Forbes	x	x	x
Henniker	-	-	-
Massie	-	-	-
Morgan	x	-	-
Noel	x	x	x
Roget	x	x	x
Talfourd 1	x	x	-
Talfourd 2	-	-	x
Talfourd 3	x	-	-
Talfourd 4	x	-	-
Trench	x	-	-
Wilkinson	x	x	x
Yates	x	x	x
1850-59			
Anderson	x	-	-
Barrow	-	-	-
Catlow	x	x	x
Drummond	-	x	x
Falkner	x	-	-
Ferguson	x	x	x
Fox	-	x	x
Harrison	x	x	x
Headlam	-	x	-
Hinchcliff	x	x	x
Longman	x	x	x
Miller	-	x	-
Palmer	x	x	x
Reynolds	x	x	x
Spencer	-	x	x
White	x	x	-

Table D13b. **Visitors each decade to the three centres.**

	Chamonix	Oberland	Lucern
1814-19	17	9	9
1820-29	18	17	15
1830-39	10	12	10
1840-49	13	9	8
1850-59	10	13	10

Table D13c. **Number of centres visited each decade.**

	Number of centres visited			
	0	1	2	3
1814-19	7	6	4	7
1820-29	1	3	4	13
1830-39	0	4	8	4
1840-49	6	5	1	7
1850-59	1	4	4	7
Total	15	23	19	41

Table D14a. **Number of visits to places over full period.**

The table indicates the number of travelogue writers who passed through individual places throughout the whole period under review.

Place	No. of travelogue writers
Geneva	78
Martigny	75
Lausanne	71
Vevey	69
Bern	67
Chamonix	62
Interlaken	59
Lucern	57
Thun	53
Basel	51
Zurich	51
Grindelwald	50
Brig	49
Lauterbrunnen	49
Domodossola	48
Zug	44
Schaffhausen	41
Altdorf	34
Fribourg	34
Rigi	31
Neuchatel	29
Andermatt	25
Murten	25
Solothurn	21
Great St Bernard	20
Kandersteg	18
Chur	17
Thusis	17
Bellinzona	15
Splügen	15
Chateau d'Oex	13
Lugano	13
Evian	12
Langnau	12
Aosta	11
Pfeffers	11
Einsiedeln	10
Konstanz	10
Locarno	8
Zermatt	7

Table D14b. **Number of visits to places each decade** (alphabetically).

	1814-19	1820-29	1830-39	1840-49	1850-59	Total
Altdorf	5	9	5	5	10	34
Andermatt	3	6	4	3	9	25
Aosta	0	2	1	2	6	11
Basel	7	9	9	14	12	51
Bellinzona	3	2	1	2	7	15
Bern	15	18	12	11	11	67
Brig	15	15	7	7	5	49
Chamonix	17	14	10	11	10	62
Chateau d'Oex	2	4	3	1	3	13
Chur	0	3	3	5	6	17
Domodossola	16	15	5	7	5	49
Einsiedeln	2	5	2	1	0	10
Evian	6	3	1	2	0	12
Fribourg	5	9	7	9	4	34
Geneva	21	18	13	15	11	78
Great St Bernard	5	4	2	3	6	20
Grindelwald	6	13	12	9	10	50
Interlaken	9	16	12	9	13	59
Kandersteg	2	2	2	3	9	18
Konstanz	2	2	3	2	1	10
Langnau	0	1	5	5	1	12
Lausanne	22	18	12	13	6	71
Lauterbrunnen	8	12	11	8	10	49
Lucern	10	17	12	9	9	57
Lugano	2	3	0	4	4	13
Martigny	24	17	10	12	12	75
Murten	8	8	5	4	0	25
Neuchatel	9	8	2	9	1	29
Pfeffers	1	2	1	2	5	11
Rigi	5	13	4	4	7	33
Schaffhausen	10	11	8	6	6	41
Solothurn	5	3	3	3	7	21
Splügen	1	3	2	3	6	15
Thun	11	13	11	8	10	53
Thusis	1	3	2	5	6	17
Vevey	21	17	9	12	10	69
Zermatt	0	1	0	0	6	7
Zug	9	10	12	6	7	44
Zurich	10	11	12	9	9	51
No. tour writers	24	20	17	16	16	93

Table D14c. **Number of travelogue writers visiting places each decade** (rank order)

1814-19		1820-29		1830-39		1840-49		1850-59	
Martigny	24	Bern	18	Geneva	13	Geneva	15	Interlaken	13
Lausanne	22	Geneva	18	Bern	12	Basel	14	Basel	12
Geneva	21	Lausanne	18	Grindelwald	12	Lausanne	13	Martigny	12
Vevey	21	Lucern	17	Interlaken	12	Martigny	12	Bern	11
Chamonix	17	Martigny	17	Lausanne	12	Vevey	12	Geneva	11
Domodossola	16	Vevey	17	Lucern	12	Bern	11	Altdorf	10
Bern	15	Interlaken	16	Zug	12	Chamonix	11	Chamonix	10
Brig	15	Brig	15	Zurich	12	Fribourg	9	Grindelwald	10
Thun	11	Domodossola	15	Lauterbrunnen	11	Grindelwald	9	Lauterbrunnen	10
Lucern	10	Chamonix	14	Thun	11	Interlaken	9	Thun	10
Schaffhausen	10	Grindelwald	13	Chamonix	10	Lucern	9	Vevey	10
Zurich	10	Rigi	13	Martigny	10	Neuchatel	9	Andermatt	9
Interlaken	9	Thun	13	Basel	9	Zurich	9	Kandersteg	9
Neuchatel	9	Lauterbrunnen	12	Vevey	9	Lauterbrunnen	8	Lucern	9
Zug	9	Schaffhausen	11	Schaffhausen	8	Thun	8	Zurich	9
Lauterbrunnen	8	Zurich	11	Brig	7	Brig	7	Bellinzona	7
Murten	8	Zug	10	Fribourg	7	Domodossola	7	Rigi	7
Basel	7	Altdorf	9	Altdorf	5	Zug	7	Solothurn	7
Evian	6	Basel	9	Domodossola	5	Schaffhausen	6	Zug	7
Grindelwald	6	Fribourg	9	Langnau	5	Altdorf	5	Aosta	6
Altdorf	5	Murten	8	Murten	5	Chur	5	Chur	6
Fribourg	5	Neuchatel	8	Andermat	4	Langnau	5	Great St Bernard	6
Gr. St Bernard	5	Andermatt	6	Rigi	4	Thusis	5	Lausanne	6
Rigi	5	Einsiedeln	5	Chateau d'Oex	3	Lugano	4	Schaffhausen	6
Solothurn	5	Chateau d'Oex	4	Chur	3	Murten	4	Splügen	6
Andermatt	3	Gr. St Bernard	4	Konstanz	3	Andermatt	3	Thusis	6
Bellinzona	3	Chur	3	Solothurn	3	Gr. St Bernard	3	Zermatt	6
Chateau d'Oex	2	Evian	3	Einsiedeln	2	Kandersteg	3	Brig	5
Einsiedeln	2	Lugano	3	Gr. St Bernard	2	Pfeffers	3	Domodossola	5
Kandersteg	2	Solothurn	3	Kandersteg	2	Rigi	3	Pfeffers	5
Konstanz	2	Splügen	3	Neuchatel	2	Solothurn	3	Fribourg	4
Lugano	2	Thusis	3	Splügen	2	Splügen	3	Locarno	4
Locarno	1	Aosta	2	Thusis	2	Aosta	2	Lugano	4
Pfeffers	1	Bellinzona	2	Aosta	1	Bellinzona	2	Chateau d'Oex	3
Splügen	1	Kandersteg	2	Bellinzona	1	Evian	2	Konstanz	1
Thusis	1	Konstanz	2	Evian	1	Konstanz	2	Langnau	1
Zermatt	1	Locarno	2	Locarno	1	Chateau d'Oex	1	Neuchatel	1
Aosta	0	Pfeffers	2	Pfeffers	1	Einsiedeln	1	Einsiedeln	0
Chur	0	Langnau	1	Lugano	0	Locarno	0	Evian	0
Langnau	0	Zermatt	1	Zermatt	0	Zermatt	0	Murten	0

Table D15. **Sights and sites visited** (each decade).

Name	Viewpoints	Disasters	Byron	Gibbon	Rousseau	Voltaire	Tell	Other
1814-19								
Adamson	Rigi	Ross.Mart.		Gib.		Ferney	Alt.Küs	Pfyff.
Anon. (Journal)	Thun	Mart.	Ch.	Gib.	Gen.(IStP)	Ferney		Coppet Pest. (Fell.)
Anon. (Pict. tour)	Thun		n.a.	Gib.		Ferney	Küss	Coppet, Lud.
Baillie, Marianne		Mart.	Ch.		Gen.,Meill.,N.H.	Ferney		Coppet
Bernard	(Rigi)		n.a.	Gib.	Cl,Gen,IStP,Meill	Ferney	Alt.,Küss.,Rüt.	Coppet,Fell., Lud.,Pfyff.
Bridges	Thun		n.a.		N.H.	Ferney		
Butler		Mart.	Ch.		Cl.Meill.			
Byron			n.a.	Gib.	N.H.			Coppet
Campbell			Ch.					
Carey				Gib.	Gen.Meill,N.H. (IStP)	Ferney		Coppet
Cockburn		Ross.		Gib.	Cl.Meill,N.H. (IStP,Trav)	Ferney	Alt.,Küss,Lake,Rüt.	Lud.
Digby	Rigi	Ross.	n.a.				Küss	
Hookham			n.a.	Gib.	Cl.Meill.N.H.,Trav.			
Matthews	Rigi	Mart.Ross	Ch.	Gib.	Cl.,N.H.	Ferney		Pfyff.
Mayne			n.a.			Ferney		
Milford			n.a.		Cl.Meill.,N.H.	Ferney		Lud.
Pounden			n.a.	Gib.		Ferney		Coppet
Raffles			Ch.	Gib.	Cl.,Meill.	(Ferney)		
Rogers		Ross.	Ch.	Gib.	Cl.,Gen,IStP, N.H.	Ferney	Alt.Küss,Lake,Rüt.	Lud., Pfyff.
Scott		Mart.	Ch.		Cl.			
Shelley, Lady	Rigi	Ross.	n.a.		Cl.IStP,Meill.,Trav.	Ferney	Alt.,Lake	Pest.
Sheppard	(Rigi)Weiss.	Ross.	n.a.	Gib.		Ferney	Küss,(Lake,Rüt.)	Coppet,Fell.,Pest.
Tisdall	Rigi	Ross.	n.a.			Ferney		
Waldie			Ch.	Gib.	Cl.Meill.	Ferney		Lud.

Name	Viewpoints	Disasters	Byron	Gibbon	Rousseau	Voltaire	Tell	Other
1820-29								
Agassiz	Rigi	Ross.	Ch.		Cl.(I.St.P)	Ferney	Kuss.Rüt	Pfyff.,Fell.
Anon. (Lion-hunting)	Rigi	Ross		Gib.	N.H.		Lake, Rüt	Lud., Coppet
Bakewell	(Thun)	Mart.	Manf.			Ferney		Lud.
Blessington			Diod.	Gib.	Gen.	Ferney		Stael
Boddington	Rigi,Thun	Ross.		Gib.	Meill., N.H.		Rüt.	
Brockedon			Ch.		Meill.		Lake (Rüt,)	
Carne		Mart.			Cl., Meill.	Ferney		
Downes	Rigi	Ross.	Ch., Diod.	Gib.	Cl.,Gen. Meill.	Ferney	Bürg.,Lake,Küss.	Coppet,Fell.,Pfyff.
Hazlitt					Cl.,Gen., (I.St.P.) Meill.			
Latrobe	Rigi	Ross.	Ch.		Cl.		Küss, Lake,Rüt.	
Liddiard	Rigi	Ross.	Manf.	Gib.	Meill.	Ferney	Alt.,Bürg.,Küs,Rüt.	Coppet,Fell.
Murray	Rigi	Ross.,Mart.	Ch.	Gib.	N.H. (I.St.P.)		Küss.,Lake,Rüt.	Fell., Lud., (Pest.)
Pennington	Rigi	Mart.	Ch.		Meill. (I.St.P.)		Alt.Küss.Lake(Bürg.)	Lud. (Pest.)
Rickman	Rigi,Thun	Ross.		Gib.		Ferney		Coppet, Fell.,Pfyff.
Stevenson	Rigi,Thun	Ross.	Ch.	Gib.	Cl., N.H.	Ferney	Küss	Coppet, Fell., Pfyff.
Tennant	Rigi	Ross.	Ch.		Cl.,Meill.,N.H.	Ferney	Küss., Lake	Coppet
Walter	Thun		Ch.		Meill.,N.H.			
Webb	Rigi	Ross		Gib.			Küss	
Wilson	Rigi	Mart.,Ross.		Gib.	I.St.P.	Ferney	Bürg.Küss.,Lake,Rüt.	Coppet,Pyff.
Wordsworth	Rigi	Ross.	Ch.		Cl.,Meill.	Ferney	Bürg., Lake	

Name	Viewpoints	Disasters	Byron	Gibbon	Rousseau	Voltaire	Tell	Other
1830-39								
Bateman			Ch.			Ferney	Küss.	
Bray	(Rigi)	Ross.		Gib.	Meill.		Lake,Rüt.	Coppet
Dyke	Rigi,Thun	Ross.		Gib.		Ferney		
Hayes	Rigi						Lake,Küss.	
Holmes	Thun	Mart.	Ch., Diod.		Meill.	Ferney		Coppet, Lud.
Hoppus		Ross.	Ch.		Cl. Meill.			Pfyff. (Fell., Pest.)
Inglis	(Rigi)Thun	Ross.	Ch.	Gib.	Cl., I.St.P.	Ferney	(Bürg.) Lake	Fell., Lud. (Coppet)
Lamont				Gib.	Vevey	Ferney	Schiller	Lud.
Langford			Ch.					Coppet
O'Connor		Ross.					Alt.	
Roby	Rigi	Ross.Mart.	Ch.	Gib.	Cl.Meill.		(Alt.Küss.Lake)	Coppet
Stanhope		Ross.					Alt., Lake, Rüt.	
Strutt	Thun,Weiss		Ch.		Cl.Meill.(I.St.P.)			Coppet, Lud.(Pest.)
Weatherhead								
Wilkley	Rigi	Ross.Mart.	Ch.	Gib.	Cl.	Ferney	Küss,	Pfyff. (Fell.)
Wilson, W.Rae	Rigi?	Ross.Mart.	Diod.	Gib.	N.H.	Ferney		Fell.
1840-49								
Alexander			Ch., Manf.					
Anon. (Letters)					I.St.P.	Ferney		
Barrow								
Buckingham	(Rigi)	Ross.	Ch.	Gib.		Ferney	Alt.,Küss., Lake,Rüt.	Lud. (Pest.)
Chambers	Rigi, Thun	Ross.	Ch.	Gib.	Cl., N.H.	Ferney	Lake	Coppet, Lud.
Clarke		Mart.	Ch.		Cl.			Coppet
Forbes, John	Rigi	Ross., Mart,	Ch.	Gib.	Cl.Meill.		Alt.Bürg. Küss, Lake, Rüt.	Coppet
Henniker								
Massie, J.W.								(Pest.)
Morgan, J. Minter			Byron		Cl.	Ferney		Fell.
Noel	Rigi	Ross.	Ch.	Gib.			Lake, Rüt.	Lud.
Roget								
Talfourd			Manf.	Gib.	Rouss.		Alt.	
Trench			Ch.	Gib.	(I.St.P.)			
Wilkinson	Rigi	Ross.			Cl.,N.H.	Ferney	Küss.	Coppet,Fell.
Yates	Thun		Byron	Gib.	Cl	Ferney	Alt., Lake, Rüt.	Coppet,Lud.

Name	Viewpoints	Disasters	Byron	Gibbon	Rousseau	Voltaire	Tell	Other
1850-59								
Anderson								
Barrow								
Catlow, A. & M.	Rigi,Weiss	Ross.	Ch., Manf.		(I.St.P.)		Alt.,Küss,Lake,Rüt.	Coppet
Drummond	(Rigi)			Gib.			Alt.	
Falkner		Mart.	Byron	Gib.	Rouss.			Stael
Ferguson							Alt.,Bürg.,Küss	
Fox	Rigi							
Harrison	Rigi							
Headlam, T.& E.	Thun		Ch.			Ferney		
Hinchcliff	Rigi	Mart.					Alt.	
Longman	Rigi						Alt.	
Miller								
Palmer	Rigi							
Reynolds	Rigi,Thun		Byron	Gib.			Alt., Lake,Rüt.	
Spencer								
White								

Abbreviations: Viewpoints: Weiss.-Weissenstein; Disasters: Mart.-Martigny, Ross.-Rossberg; Byron: Ch.-Chillon/Childe Harold, Diod.-Diodati, Manf.-Manfred; Gib. -Gibbon: Rousseau: Cl.-Clarens, Gen.-Geneva birthplace, IStP- Ile St Pierre, Meill.-Meillerie, N.H.-Nouvelle Heloïse, Rouss. - mention of Rousseau in general terms, Trav.-Môtiers-Travers; Tell: Alt.-Altdorf, Bürg.-Bürglen, Küss.-Küssnacht, Lake-Lakeside chapel, Rüt.-Rütli/Grütli; Other: Fell.-Fellenberg, Lud.-Ludlow, Pest.-Pestalozzi, Pfyff.-Pfyffer's model.

Note: Brackets round an entry indicate that the traveller did not visit the site, but clearly mentioned it and/or intended to visit it, but was prevented from doing so by the weather, lack of time, etc. The entry 'not applicable is made either when a sight did not exist when the visitor was in Switzerland, or when the chose itinerary excluded the possibility of a visit.

Table D16 **Panoramas, etc., with Swiss subjects shown in London.**

1819	Panorama of Lausanne
1821	Panorama of Bern (Leicester Square)
1823	Diorama -Valley of Sarnen
	Models of Swiss Scenery: Large part of Switzerland, Valley of Chamonix, Simplon, Geneva ((Soho Square)
1827	Panorama of Geneva (Strand)
1828	Diorama of Village of Unterseen (Regent's Park)
1830	Diorama of Mount St Gotthard (Regent's Park)
1831	Diorama of Mont Blanc Mont St Bernard
1834	Cosmorama - 7 views incl. Lake of Thun, Mont St. Bernard
1836	Diorama of Village in Val d'Alagna, Piedmont (Regent's Park)
1837	Panorama of Mont Blanc and the Valley of Chamonix (Leicester Square)
1849	Diorama - The valley of Rosenlaui
1852	Albert Smith's Mont Blanc entertainment (Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly): Basel , Rhine Zurich quay Rigi Kulm hotel Tell's Chapel (Lake) Interlaken Jungfrau, Wengernalp Chamonix & Mont Blanc Mont Blanc ascent (10 views) Tête Noire Ganther bridge Simplon Village Gondo gorge
1858	Panorama of View from Mount Rigi (Leicester Square)

Table D17. **Illustrations of Swiss views in British publications 1800 -1850.**

Lake of Geneva (Area 1).

Aubonne Valley	25 - Bour.
Chillon	01 - Coxe
Chillon	20 - Cock.
Chillon	22 - Colst.
Chillon	33 - Find.
Chillon dungeon	33 - Find.
Chillon	35 - Sat.Mag.
Chillon 2x	36 - Bart.2
Chillon fr. Villeneuve	37 - Rich.
Chillon	42 - Chamb.
Chillon	47 - Her.
Clarens	20 - Cock.
Cossonay-Lausanne road	21 - Denn.
Diodati	33 - Find.
Ferney	00 - Beau.
Geneva	00 - Beau.
Geneva	18 - Ack.
Geneva Lake 2x	18 - Ack.
Geneva	20 - Cock.
Geneva	21 - Denn.
Geneva Lake fr. Vevay	21 - Denn.
Geneva, Jonction	25 - Bour.
Geneva	30 - L.A.
Geneva lake	30 - Rog.
Geneva	33 - Find.
Geneva fr. Coligny.	36 - Bart.1
Geneva, Lake	36 - Bart.1
Geneva, ramparts	36 - Bart.1
Lausanne	00 - Beau.
Lausanne	20 - Cock.
Lausanne, view fr.	21 - Denn.
Lausanne	30 - L.A.
Lausanne 2x	33 - Find.
Lausanne	36 - Bart.2
Lausanne Castle	36 - Bart.2
Lausanne, Lake fr. Pandex	36 - Bart.2
Lausanne, Palud	36 - Bart.2
Meillerie	21 - Denn.
Meillerie & Vevey, betw.	21 - Denn.
Meillerie, near	21 - Denn.
Montreux	30 - L.A.
Morges	00 - Beau.
Morges & Lausanne betw.	21 - Denn.
Nyon	25 - Bour.
Nyon Castle 2x	25 - Bour.
Ouchy	36 - Bart.2
Pays de Vaud	36 - Bart.2
Prangins Castle	25 - Bour.
Thonon, vineyards	21 - Denn.
Versoix	00 - Beau.
Vevey	00 - Beau.
Vevey 2x	20 - Cock.
Villeneuve	33 - Find.
Wufflens Castle	36 - Bart.2

Northern and Western Switzerland(Area 2).

Basel	32 - Tomb.
Basel	36 - Bart.2
Basel, St Jacob	32 - Tomb.
Busson Castle	25 - Bour.
Fairies' Grotto	25 - Bour.
Falkenstein Castle	36 - Bart.2
Fribourg	20 - Cock.
Fribourg	22 - Colst.
Fribourg, Zaehringer Cast.	25 - Bour.
Fribourg	35 - Sat.Mag.
Fribourg 2x	36 - Bart.2
Fribourg suspension br.	36 - Bart.2
Fribourg suspension br.	42 - Chamb.
Grandson Castle	25 - Bour.
Grandson Castle	36 - Bart.2
Hermitage, Soleure	01 - Coxe
Joux Lake	25 - Bour.
Jura from Jougne 1	21 - Denn.
Jura from Jougne 2	21 - Denn.
La Sarraz Castle	25 - Bour.
La Sarraz Mill	25 - Bour.
Les Clées village	21 - Denn.
Münster valley	01 - Coxe
Neuchatel	20 - Cock.
Neuchatel	35 - Sat.Mag.
Nidau & lake	25 - Bour.
Orbe Bridge	25 - Bour.
Orbe Valley	25 - Bour.
Pierre Pertuis	01 - Coxe
Queen Bertha's Castle	25 - Bour.
St Peter's Island	36 - Bart.2
Simmental, entrance	36 - Bart.2
Simmenthal peasants	43 - Barn.

The Bernese Oberland (Area 3).

Bern	01 - Coxe
Bern 2x	20 - Cock.
Bern	21 - Ack.
Bern Bridge & Gate	25 - Bour.
Bern	35 - Sat.Mag.
Bern, Alps	36 - Bart.1
Bern	36 - Bart.2
Bern, Alps	42 - Chamb.
Bern	48 - Noel
Brienz 3x	20 - Cock.
Brienz	21 - Ack.
Brienz village	25 - Bour.
Brienz batelières	43 - Barn.
Felsenberg	20 - Cock.
Furka	43 - Barn.
Giessbach	22 - Colst.
Giessbach	43 - Barn.
Giessbach & lake	36 - Bart.2
Goat's Br., Lutschine vall.	22 - Colst.
Grimsel	43 - Barn.
Grimsel	43 - Barn.
Grimsel hospice	43 - Barn.

Grimsel	47 - Her.
Grindelwald	20 - Cock.
Grindelwald glaciers	21 - Ack.
Grindelwald	33 - Find.
Grindelwald Valley	36 - Bart.2
Grindelwald village	36 - Bart.2
Grindelwald	43 - Barn.
Grindelwald glaciers	43 - Barn.
Grindelwald, Lower gl.	49 - Glen.
Handeck	28 - Brock.
Handeck Falls	36 - Bart.2
Hofwyl	35 - Sat.Mag.
Interlaken	20 - Cock.
Interlaken	21 - Ack.
Interlaken bridge	25 - Bour.
Interlaken	33 - Find.
Interlaken	36 - Bart.2
Interlaken	43 - Barn.
Interlaken	48 - Noel
Jungfrau	21 - Ack.
Jungfrau fr. Lauterbr.	32 - Lidd.
Jungfrau	35 - Sat.Mag.
Jungfrau 2x	36 - Bart.2
Kandersteg	36 - Bart.2
Kanderthal peasants	43 - Barn.
Lauterbrunnen	20 - Cock.
Lauterbrunnen Valley	36 - Bart.2
Meiringen	21 - Ack.
Meiringen valley	28 - Brock.
Oeschinensee	35 - Sat.Mag.
Oeschinensee	36 - Bart.2
Oeschinensee	43 - Barn.
Olstenbach Fall	22 - Ack.
Reichenbach	22 - Colst.
Reichenbach bridge 2x	25 - Bour.
Reichenbach Falls 2x	25 - Bour.
Reichenbach	36 - Bart.2
Rinkenburg Castle	22 - Ack.
Rosenlaui	21 - Ack.
Rosenlaui	36 - Bart.2
Rosenlaui	43 - Barn.
St Beat cave	22 - Ack.
Scherzligen, 2x	20 - Cock.
Scherzligen	49 - Glen.
Spiez Castle	36 - Bart.2
Spiez vinedressers	43 - Barn.
Staubbach	20 - Cock.
Staubbach	21 - Ack.
Staubbach	22 - Colst.
Staubbach	32 - Lidd.
Staubbach	35 - Sat.Mag.
Staubbach	36 - Bart.2
Staubbach	43 - Barn.
Thun	01 - Coxe
Thun	20 - Cock.
Thun	21 - Ack.
Thun, near	21 - Ack.
Thun environs	22 - Ack.
Thun Lake	22 - Ack.
Thun	22 - Colst.
Thun Lake	22 - Colst
Thun	25 - Bour.
Thun Castle	25 - Bour.
Thun, near	25 - Bour.
Thun fr. churchyd.	33 - Find.
Thun 2x	36 - Bart.2
Thun, fr. cemetery	36 - Bart.2
Thun fr churchyd	43 - Barn.
Thun, churchyard	47 - Her.
Thun, Lake	22 - Colst.
Unspunnen castle	47 - Her.
Unterseen	20 - Cock.
Unterseen	21 - Ack.
Unterseen	36 - Bart.2
Unterseen	43 - Barn.
Wengernalp	43 - Barn.
Wengernalp descent	43 - Barn.

<u>The Lucern area (Area 4)..</u>

Altdorf	28 - Brock.
Altdorf 2x	20 - Cock.
Burglen	20 - Cock.
Bürglen	49 - Glen.
Engelberg Abbey	01 - Coxe
Engelberg	20 - Cock.
Fluelen	20 - Cock.
Goldau	35 - Sat.Mag.
Kussnacht	20 - Cock.
Lowerz	20 - Cock.
Lucern 2x	20 - Cock.
Lucern	20 - Cock.X
Lucern Lake tow. Flüelen	21 - Denn.
Lucern Lake nr Brunnen	32 - Lidd.
Lucern	35 - Sat.Mag.
Lucern	36 - Bart.2
Lucern Hofbrücke	36 - Bart.2
Lucern Lake from Rigi	36 - Bart.2
Lucern, Lion	42 - Chamb.
Lucern	43 - Barn.
Lucern	43 - Barn.
Lucern, quay	49 - Glen.
Lungern Lake	36 - Bart.2
Muotta	35 - Sat.Mag.
Pilatus from Brunig	36 - Bart.2
Reuss bridge	25 - Bour.
Reuss valley	28 - Brock.
Rossberg	43 - Barn.
Sarnen Lake	20 - Cock.
Stans, Winkelried	36 - Bart.2
Sursee, Gate tower	49 - Glen.
Tell's Chapel, Lake	28 - Brock.
Tell's Chapel, Lake	30 - Rog.
Tell's Chapel, Lake	36 - Bart.1
Tell's Chapel, Lake	36 - Bart.1
Tell's Chapel, Lake	42 - Chamb.
Tell's Chapel, Lake	48 - Noel
Teufelsbach falls	25 - Bour.
Zug Lake	20 - Cock.

The Zurich area (Area 5).

Aarburg	35 - Sat.Mag.
Aarburg Castle	21 - Denn.
Albis, view fr.	21 - Denn.
Baden	25 - Bour.
Dussell Castle	25 - Bour.
Eglisau	32 - Tomb.
Einsiedeln	36 - Bart.1
Einsiedeln Convent	37 - O'Con.
Gessner tomb	25 - Bour.
Javo Castle	25 - Bour.
Königsfelden convent	21 - Denn.
Laufenburg	32 - Tomb.
Lauffen Castle	36 - Bart.2
Oberried Ferry	32 - Tomb.
Rheinau convent	32 - Tomb.
Rhine Falls	01 - Coxe
Rhine Falls	20 - Cock.
Rhine Falls	25 - Bour.
Rhine Falls	32 - Tomb.
Rhine Falls	36 - Bart.2
Rhine Falls	49 - Glen.
Rhine falls	43 - Barn.
Zurich fr. river	36 - Bart.2
Zurich	37 - Rich.
Zurich lake fr. Rapperswil	37 - O'Con.

Eastern Switzerland (Area 6).

Arbon	32 - Tomb.
Cardinells Passage	36 - Bart.1
Chur	28 - Brock.
Chur	32 - Tomb.
Chur, Marsoil	32 - Tomb.
Constance	32 - Tomb.
Disentis	32 - Tomb.
Haldenstein castle	32 - Tomb.
Ilanz	32 - Tomb.
Konstanz	20 - Cock.
Meinau	32 - Tomb.
Misocco Castle	28 - Brock.
Misocco Castle	36 - Bart.1
Moesa Falls	28 - Brock.
Naefels	01 - Coxe
Pfeffers	32 - Tomb.
Pfeffers	36 - Bart.1
Reichenau	01 - Coxe
Reichenau	32 - Tomb.
Retzuns	01 - Coxe
Rhein, Curlim valley	32 - Tomb.
Rheineck	32 - Tomb.
Rheinwald glac. 2x	32 - Tomb.
Rheinwald valley	35 - Sat.Mag.
Rhine source, Badus	32 - Tomb.
Rhine source, confluence	32 - Tomb.
Rhine source, Toma	32 - Tomb.
Rhine-Tamina junction	36 - Bart.1
Roffla Falls 2x	32 - Tomb.
Roffla Falls	36 - Bart.1
Roffla tunnel	32 - Tomb.
St Bernardino	28 - Brock.
St Bernardino	36 - Bart.1
Sargans	32 - Tomb.
Splügen	01 - Coxe
Splügen descent 2x	28 - Brock.
Splügen, bridge	28 - Brock.
Splügen Village	32 - Tomb.
Splügen Village	36 - Bart.1
Stachelberg baths	49 - ForbJ.
Suvers Bridge	36 - Bart.1
Tamina Gorge	36 - Bart.1
Thusis	32 - Tomb.
Via Mala	01 - Coxe
Via Mala	20 - Cock.
Via Mala	28 - Brock.
Via Mala	32 - Tomb.
Via Mala	36 - Bart.1
Via Mala 3x	36 - Bart.1
Via Mala	48 - Noel
Wallenstadt lake	37 - O'Con.
Waltenspurg ruins	32 - Tomb.
Werdenberg	32 - Tomb.
Wildkirchlein, Appenzell	36 - Bart.2
Wolfsberg Ctle, Const.	36 - Bart.2

The Gotthard route (Area 7).

Airolo	28 - Brock.
Amsteg	20 - Cock.
Bellinzona 2x	20 - Cock.
Bellinzona	28 - Brock.
Bellinzona	36 - Bart.1
Bellinzona	49 - Glen.
Dazio Grande	25 - Bour.
Dazio grande	49 - Glen.
Devil's Bridge	00 - Beau.
Devil's Bridge	20 - Cock.
Devil's Bridge	28 - Brock.
Devil's Bridge	35 - Sat.Mag.
Devil's Bridge	36 - Bart.1
Devil's Bridge	37 - O'Con.
Devil's Bridge	49 - Glen.
Göschenen	20 - Cock.
Göschenen	28 - Brock.
Gotthard 2x	20 - Cock.
Gotthard, summit	28 - Brock.
Hospenthal	43 - Barn.
Locarno	37 - O'Con.
Locarno	47 - Her.
Lugano	01 - Coxe
Lugano	20 - Cock.
Lugano	28 - Brock.
Lugano	36 - Bart.1
Lugano Lake	36 - Bart.1
Lugano Lake	49 - Glen.
Madonna del Sasso	36 - Bart.1
Maggiore, Lake 2x	28 - Brock.
Piotino	36 - Bart.1
Piottina bridge	37 - O'Con.
Rotzberg Castle	25 - Bour.
St Gotthard	00 - Beau.
St Gotthard Hospice	00 - Beau.
St Gotthard	37 - Rich.

St Gotthard, nr Urnerloch	37 - Rich.
Stalvedro gorge	37 - O'Con.
Tremolo Bridge	28 - Brock.
Urnerloch	20 - Cock.
Urseren pass	37 - O'Con.
Wasen, Pfaffensprung	20 - Cock.
Zwing Uri Castle	25 - Bour.

The Rhone Valley and the Simplon (Area 8).

Albinen	43 - Barn.
Algaby Gallery 2x	19 - Ack.
Bex	00 - Beau.
Bex	20 - Cock.
Brig	18 - Ack.
Brig	36 - Bart.1
Crevola Bridge	20 - Ack.
Crevola Gallery	20 - Ack.
Dossola Valley	36 - Bart.1
Dovedro Valley	19 - Ack.
Doveria, Simplon	36 - Bart.1
Ganther Gallery	18 - Ack.
Gemmi	20 - Cock.
Gemmi	36 - Bart.2
Gemmi	43 - Barn.
Glacier Gallery	18 - Ack.
Gondo	19 - Ack.
Gondo Gallery	36 - Bart.1
Grand Gallery 3x	19 - Ack.
Isella Gallery	19 - Ack.
Lavey	30 - L.A.
Martigny	00 - Beau.
Martigny	22 - Colst.
Martigny, Batiaz	28 - Brock.
Martigny	30 - L.A.
Martigny	30 - Rog.
Martigny	33 - Find.
Martigny, Batiaz	36 - Bart.1
Matterhorn	43 - ForbJ.D.
Matterhorn	49 - ForbJ.
Mont Collon	43 - ForbJ.D.
Monte Rosa fr. Riffel	49 - ForbJ.
Pissevache	18 - Ack.
Pissevache	28 - Brock.
Pissevache	36 - Bart.1
Ponte Alto	19 - Ack.
Ponte Alto	36 - Bart.1
Rhone Glacier	49 - Glen.
Rhone source	00 - Beau.
Rhone source	28 - Brock.
Rhone source	35 - Sat.Mag.
St Bernard	00 - Beau.
St Bernard, summit	00 - Beau.
St Bernard	20 - Cock.
St Bernard forest	28 - Brock.
St Bernard Hospice	28 - Brock.
St Bernard 2x	30 - Rog.
St Bernard Hospice	35 - Sat.Mag.
St Bernard Hospice	36 - Bart.2
St Bernard Hospice	37 - Rich.
St Bernard, travellers	37 - Rich.
St Maurice	00 - Beau.
St Maurice	18 - Ack.
St Maurice	20 - Cock.
St Mauarice bridge	22 - Colst.
St Maurice	30 - Rog.
St Maurice bridge	30 - L.A.
St Nicolas Valley 2x	36 - Bart.1
Schalbet gallery	18 - Ack.
Sesto	20 - Ack.
Simplon Monastery	18 - Ack.
Simplon Village	19 - Ack.
Simplon Village	33 - Find.
Sion	00 - Beau.
Sion	01 - Coxe
Sion, 2x	18 - Ack.
Sion	30 - L.A.
Sion , Cathedral	36 - Bart.1
Sion, Street	36 - Bart.1
Sion, Bishop's Palace	36 - Bart.1
Sion, Castle	36 - Bart.1
Sion	37 - Rae
Sion	47 - Her.
Valais from Forclaz	20 - Cock.
Valais from Forclaz	36 - Bart.1
Viesch	47 - Her.
Visp	30 - L.A.
Visp	36 - Bart.1

Chamonix and area (Area 9).

Aosta	28 - Brock.
Arveiron source	36 - Bart.1
Balmarussa Rock	36 - Bart.1
Bossons Glacier	01 - Coxe
Bossons Glacier	36 - Bart.1
Brenva Glacier	43 - ForbJ.D.
Chamonix	33 - Find.
Chamonix valley	35 - Sat.Mag.
Chède, near	32 - Lidd.
Cluse	36 - Bart.1
Col de Balme	36 - Bart.1
Macugnaga glacier	43 - ForbJ.D.
Mer de Glace	20 - Cock.
Mer de Glace	35 - Sat.Mag.
Mer de Glace	36 - Bart.1
Mer de Glace	37 - Rae
Mer de Glace	43 - ForbJ.D.
Mer de Glace	48 - Noel
Mont Blanc 2x	20 - Cock.
Mont Blanc fr. Nyon	25 - Bour.
Mont Blanc fr. Sallanches	25 - Bour.
Mont Blanc views 4x	35 - Sat.Mag.
Mont Blanc fr. Chamonix	36 - Bart.1
Mont Blanc fr. Geneva	36 - Bart.1
Mont Blanc fr. Sallanches	36 - Bart.1
Mont Blanc	48 - Noel
Mont Blanc fr. Flégère	49 - ForbJ.
Monte Rosa fr. Alagna	43 - ForbJ.D.
Pellessier	20 - Cock.
St Bernard, Ital. side	28 - Brock.
St Gervais	36 - Bart.1
Sallanches	37 - Rich.
Tete Noire	36 - Bart.1

Key to list of illustrations.

Ack.	*Ackermann's Repository of Arts*, January 1818 to June 1822.
Barn.	Barnard, G., *Switzerland, Scenes ... in the Bernese Oberland*, 1843.
Bart.	Bartlett, W. in Beattie, W., *Switzerland*, 2 vols. 1836.
Beau.	Beaumont, Albanis, *Travels through the Lepontine Alps*,1800
Bour.	Bourgeois, C., *Travels through Switzerland*, London, 1825.
Brock.	Brockedon, *Illustrations of passes of the Alps*, 2 vols., 1828-9.
Chamb.	Chambers, W., *A tour in Switzerland*, 1842.
Cock.	Cockburn, J.P., *Swiss Scenery*, 1820
Colst.	Colston, Marianne, *Journal of a tour in France*, 1822
Coxe	Coxe, William, *Travels in Switzerland*, 3 vols., 4th ed., 1801.
Denn.	Dennis, John, *Views in Savoy*, (1820).
Find.	*Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron*
Forb., J.	Forbes, John, *A Physician's Holiday*, 1849.
Forb., J.D.	Forbes, J.D., *Travel through the Alps*, 1843.
Glen.	Glennie, I.D., *Views on the Continent*, London, 1849.
Her.	Hering,George E., *The mountains and lakes of Switzerland, etc., 1847*
L.A.	Roscoe, T., *The Tourist in Switzerland*, Landscape Annual 1830
Lidd.	Liddiard, William, *A three months' tour*, 1832.
Noel	Noel, Baptist, *Notes of a tour in Switzerland*, 1848.
Rich.	Richardson, T.M., *Sketches in Italy*, 1837.
Rog.	Rogers, Samuel, *Italy*, 1830.
Sat.Mag.	Saturday Magazine, issues between 1832 and 1840.
Tomb.	Tombleson, *Upper Rhine*, London, 1834.

Map D18. **Areas containing views illustrated.**

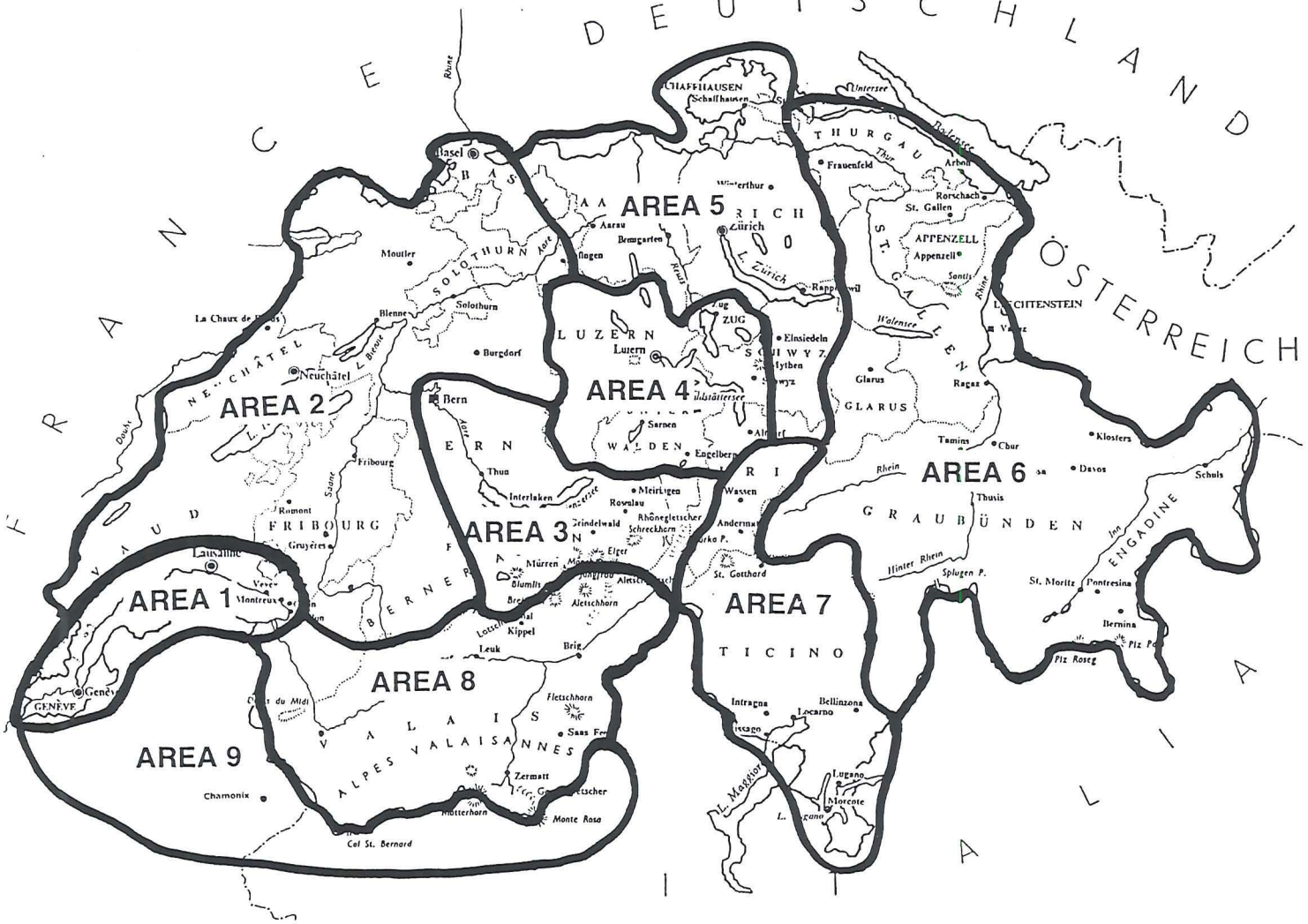


Table D19 **Number of illustrations of each area.**

See Map D18 for the boundaries of the nine areas.

Area 1	Geneva and the borders of its lake	57
Area 2	North-Western Switzerland	33
Area 3	The Bernese Oberland	100
Area 4	Lucern and surroundings	41
Area 5	Zurich and Northern Switzerland	25
Area 6	Eastern Switzerland	60
Area 7	The Gotthard and Southern Switzerland	46
Area 8	The Rhone Valley and the Simplon	83
Area 9	Chamonix and the area around Mont Blanc	36