

James
Fenimore
Cooper

Gleanings in Europe Switzerland

Historical Introduction and Explanatory Notes
by Robert E. Spiller and James F. Beard
Text Established by Kenneth W. Staggs and
James P. Elliott



Gleanings in Europe: Switzerland

The Writings of **James Fenimore Cooper**

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Maps

The routes followed by Cooper and his family in their Swiss travels during the summer of 1828 have been traced for this volume on appropriate sections of a large folding map presumably identical to the map Cooper used. The reproductions were prepared by courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia from its copy of

CARTE ITINERAIRE DE LA SUISSE
Revue et Corrigée d'après le Manuel du Voyageur dans ce Pays
par Ebel
A Paris
chez Haycinthe Langlois, Géographe
Rue de Bussy, No. 16 F.^d S.^l G.^m

1827

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- Map 8. Plan of La Lorraine manorial estate, circa 1800, showing the house occupied by the Cooper family. Courtesy Paul Haupt Berne Publishers.

Acknowledgments

The present edition of the *Writings of James Fenimore Cooper* was initiated in the late 1960s at a series of conferences of American Literature scholars arranged through the courtesy of Professor William M. Gibson, then Director of the Center for Editions of American Authors, at annual meetings of the Modern Language Association. At that time, four-fifths of Cooper's published works were out of print and no book of his had ever been edited according to the standards of modern textual bibliography. Preliminary study of his literary manuscripts and printed texts had resulted in surprising discoveries; and the need for a new edition of his *Writings*, as complete as it was possible to make it, seemed obvious. Dr. Henry S. Fenimore Cooper and the late Paul Fenimore Cooper, great-grandsons of the novelist, responded to the proposal with generous encouragement and cooperation as did other members of the Cooper family, especially Dr. Paul Fenimore Cooper, Jr., and Henry S. Fenimore Cooper, the author's great-great-grandsons.

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The Index has been prepared by Betty Murdock, the illustrations by Herbert Walden.

Illustrations

The engravings selected for the present edition of Cooper's *Switzerland* are reproduced from a copiously illustrated, two-volume work entitled *Switzerland by William Beattie, M.D., Illustrated in a Series of Views Taken on the Spot and Expressly for This Work, by W. H. Bartlett, Esq.* and published in London in 1836, the same year as Cooper's *Switzerland*. Since Cooper visited and described numerous scenes chosen also by Beattie and Bartlett, many of Bartlett's illustrations are as appropriate for Cooper's text as for Beattie's, and Bartlett's stylized visual record may suggest to the modern reader how Cooper's verbal record derives from the picturesque conventions Cooper and Bartlett shared.

Though not a great or perhaps even superior artist, William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854) was one of England's most fashionable and prolific topographic illustrators. He travelled incessantly, producing hundreds of drawings from the Middle East and remote scenic spots in Europe and his own country, enough to illustrate more than three dozen volumes, and writing the letterpress for some of them. In 1836 and 1837, just after the publication of Cooper's *Switzerland*, Nathaniel P. Willis began energetically to promote the picturesque in the United States, accompanying Bartlett on a grand tour of North America to write the letterpress for their collaborative *American Scenery* (1840) and *Canadian Scenery* (1842). "There is a field for the artist in this country (of which this publication reaps almost the first fruits)," proclaimed Willis in his Introduction to *American Scenery*, "which surpasses every other in richness of picturesque." And he hinted that a comparison of "the sublime of the Western Continent and the sublime of Switzerland" (Bartlett's drawings of Switzerland and the United States were obviously to be the basis for comparison) would not disappoint the American Reader.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Historical Introduction

I.

Gleanings in Europe: Switzerland, published in Philadelphia on 20 May 1836 with the title *Sketches of Switzerland* [Part One], was the first of five epistolary travel narratives completed by James Fenimore Cooper between 1836 and 1838. Though their primary motive was not autobiography, these books furnished a selectively autobiographical and critical account of his experience of France, England, Switzerland, Italy, the Low Countries and the Rhine from his landing at Cowes, Isle of Wight, on 2 July 1826 to his re-embarkation from London on 28 September 1833.

According to its Preface, the present work—and presumably the four travel books that followed it—contain “fragments . . . of a much more extensive work”¹ Cooper originally intended to publish. How much, if any, of this opus already existed in draft is not now clear.² Except for the epistolary frame, it would seem not to have taken definitive form in the author’s mind. In subject, tone, structure and impact, each of the published books differs markedly from the others; and all available evidence indicates that the individual “letters” were written for the specific places they occupy in the various narratives. Not unnaturally, some letters bear topical resemblances to actual letters Cooper sent to family and friends, but no known evidence suggests that he collected such letters for use or publication. In short, the project of the European travel volumes, as it exists, appears to have evolved open-endedly, each work assuming its distinctive form as the author proceeded. “It was my intention,” Cooper informed a young admirer in 1841, “to give another, and far more elaborate book on France, a second on England, and one on Germany, but want of encouragement has induced an abandonment of the design.”³ Although the emphasis of all five travel books was social and political, the special nature of the subject made the *Switzerland* volume primarily a study in the description of nature.

Issued at Philadelphia and London in a sequence that does not correspond to the chronology of the travels, under a confusing array of variant titles, some of which were selected by the English publisher for his own editions, these works are here assigned the composite title *Gleanings in Europe* which Cooper himself chose for the last three, supplemented by the appropriate geographical designation. The chart below shows the chronology of the travels, the relationships among the titles and the order of publication:

<i>Chronology</i>	<i>Title in Cooper Edition</i>	<i>Title in American First Edition</i>	<i>Title in British First Edition</i>
14 July—15 Oct. 1828	<i>Gleanings in Europe: Switzerland</i>	<i>Sketches of Switzerland</i> (1836)	<i>Excursions in Switzerland</i> (1836)
20 Aug. 1830—17 July 1832 passim	<i>Gleanings in Europe: the Rhine</i>	<i>Sketches of Switzerland. Part Second</i> (1836)	<i>A Residence in France; with an Excursion up the Rhine, and a Second Visit to Switzerland</i> (1836)
18 July—11 Oct. 1832			
1 June 1826—27 Feb. 1828	<i>Gleanings in Europe: France</i>	<i>Gleanings in Europe</i> (1837)	<i>Recollections of Europe</i> (1837)
28 Feb.—29 May 1828	<i>Gleanings in Europe: England</i>	<i>Gleanings in Europe. England</i> (1837)	<i>England. With Sketches of Society in the Metropolis</i> (1837)
16 Oct. 1828—11 May 1830	<i>Gleanings in Europe: Italy</i>	<i>Gleanings in Europe. Italy</i> (1838)	<i>Excursions in Italy</i> (1838)

II.

On 14 July 1828, almost exactly two years after his arrival in Europe, Cooper set out from Paris with his family for a summer in Switzerland. He was at a turning point in his career. With his children in a private school in Paris during the previous two years, he had had time to complete *The Prairie* and write *The Red Rover*; and he had achieved one of the purposes of his European trip, an arrangement for the profitable publication and translation of his works in England, Germany and France. Now, physically exhausted from writing the greater part of his *Notions of the Americans* and seeing it through the press in a single three-month stint in London, he was not yet prepared to immerse himself in another major novel. A vacation was in order.

The excursion into Switzerland was utterly different from the summer Cooper had planned. Originally, he had projected an ambitious tour of Northern Europe with his friend Gouverneur Wilkins, an exploring expedition to satisfy his curiosity about Europe. "I have many journals in store for you," he wrote Carey, Lea and Carey, his American publishers, on 11 March 1828:

About the 1st of June I leave the Rhine in company with a friend, leaving my family at Fra[n]cfort on the Maine. We shall pass through the Netherlands, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Hanover &c. to Keil, Copenhagen, Norway, Sweden, round the gulf of Bothnia to the Arctic Circle, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin back again. I devote six months to this tour. At my return there will be a book for America. This will be the first of a series written especially for my own Countrymen. I shall be stationary in the winter at Paris, and finish a tale, which is already on the Anvil—We shall then have a touch at France also Switzerland, and perhaps of Austria, Hungary, &c. &c. in another, and so on till we work our way out at the South of Europe—I have no idea of boring mankind with statistics, and dry essays on Politics, but to give only, rapid sketches of what I shall see, with *American eyes*.⁴

Introducing American readers to Europe through "*American eyes*" was, obviously, an inversion of Cooper's strategy in *Notions of the Americans*. In *Notions*, he had intended to promote international understanding by interpreting the United States to European readers. In the various *Gleanings*, Cooper would assume that whatever attracted his "*American eyes*" in different European countries would be interesting or informative to his countrymen.

When delays with *Notions* and Mrs. Cooper's distress at learning of the death of her father, John Peter De Lancey, in Mamaroneck, New York, induced the novelist to postpone his Northern tour, a new itinerary was devised. To the unconcealed delight of the entire family, it would take them to Switzerland for the summer and to Italy in the fall. The party consisted of Cooper himself, then an energetic thirty-nine, his wife Susan Augusta, their five children, Susan, Caroline Martha, Anne

Charlotte, Maria Frances, and Paul Fenimore (ranging in age from fifteen to four), Cooper's young nephew and secretary, William Cooper, and the household help. Preparation for the trip required a month's delay in Paris. The moment of departure, according to Cooper, was heightened by a "glorious anticipation," for "a common-place converse with men was about to give place to a sublime communion with nature."⁵

The Coopers left Paris in a newly-purchased calèche, or large travelling carriage, complete with postillion and baggage, on the road to Bern, via Fontainebleau, Pontarlier on the border, and Neuchâtel (see Map 1, facing p. 180). Shortly after their arrival in Bern on 22 July, Cooper rented a comfortable villa, on the far bank of the Aar. It was an old stone house, with an excellent outlook, called La Lorraine, the property of Count Louis de Pourtalès. Here the family established headquarters and began immediately to enjoy local excursions and to project longer ones into the mountain and lake regions of central Switzerland.

To a vigorous writer whose interests were equally divided between the grand and strange in nature and the complex varieties of human society, probably no country in the world was more inviting than Switzerland. Roads and trails penetrated to the base of the snow-capped mountains and glaciers, boats plied the long, thin lakes that filled the narrow valleys, and inns and stables made travel relatively easy. And for the study of man's social and political evolution and patterns of behavior, Switzerland, past and present, offered a complete laboratory.

The Coopers had evidently done little to brief themselves specifically for the Swiss adventure, except to address queries to Louis Simond, a resident of Geneva and a family connection of Mrs. Cooper,⁶ and to obtain a copy of Simond's *Switzerland, or a Journal of a Tour and Residence in that Country* (Boston, London, Paris, 1822). At Neuchâtel, *en route*, Cooper bought the standard traveller's guide of the period, *Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse*, by M. J. G. Ebel, the seventh French edition of which was published in Paris in 1827 and came, boxed, with a corrected and linen-backed copy of the *Carte Itinéraire de la Suisse*, by Henry Keller, also a German, also dated 1827, also published (by Langlois) in Paris. Cooper's frequent references to Ebel indicate that it was, by far, his principal resource for advance planning of trips, laying out of itineraries, determining

modes of travel, and choosing the scenes and places to observe closely and describe in his narrative. As a check to Ebel's notes on history and statistics, the authority he most frequently consulted was *Statistique de la Suisse*, by J. Picot, of Geneva, which had appeared in 1819.

In Bern Cooper could and did rely on the excellent little Stadt-bibliothek on the Kesslergasse, imposing even in 1828 for the richness of its collection on the history of all the cantons, but particularly of Bern. During the reactionary period following the Napoleonic era, the twenty-two cantons, of almost every political coloring from the town-meeting to oligarchic class-rule, had relapsed into the loose affiliation they had enjoyed since the fourteenth century. Napoleon's efforts at federalizing the government under French rule had failed with the Second Treaty of Paris in 1815, and it was not until the liberalizing movements of the 30s throughout Europe that the generally conservative and aristocratic governments of most of the cantons gave way and the more democratic modern Swiss Confederation began to take form. The Switzerland Cooper visited in 1828 was therefore quite different economically and politically from that he was to visit in 1832, and the Switzerland of 1836, when his book was published, was even more changed. The time he spent in the circulating library at Bern "devouring," as he says, "all the works on this country that can be had"⁷ was evidently seminal for his later social and political criticism and his use of European history to teach political lessons to post-Federal America. But for the moment, the adventure into nature's greatest wonders was paramount.

III.

For the first two weeks in Bern, the travellers rested, read, and visited novel sites in and around the town that would live in Cooper's memory as "one of the most striking" in Europe. On 4 August, he—together with Mrs. Cooper, Susan and William—set out on the first of four longer trips. Moving by carriage, by boat, by horseback and on foot, as terrain permitted, they went from Bern to Thun and Unterseen, then round the circle by way of Lauterbrunnen, Grindelwald and Interlachen, then

back to Thun and Bern on 7 August. This is the grand tour of the Bernese Oberland, known by all travellers in Switzerland to this day, and including a near view of the Jungfrau. (The routes of each of the four trips are here traced on sections of the Keller map of 1827, reproduced in this volume between pages 180–181.)

On the second trip (25 August to 4 September), Cooper, again accompanied by his wife, oldest daughter and William, took the road to the northeast to Schaffhausen, skirting the German border, penetrating the Austrian Tyrol briefly, and returning by way of Zurich and Lucerne. The third trip (8 September to 19 September), made only with a guide, took Cooper again through Unterseen and Meyringen, the lakes of Lucerne and Zurich, then to Glaris and St. Gall, with a stop at the monastery of Einsiedeln, and finally from Coire southwest through rugged country to the source of the Rhine, and north over the Grimsel to Meyringen again and back to Bern. The last (24 September to 1 October), again taken by Cooper alone, was a less strenuous excursion southwest from Bern to Lausanne on Lake Geneva, then by boat to Geneva with a brief visit to Voltaire's home at Ferney, and back by the same route.

Meanwhile, though Cooper had postponed his Northern tour (and would eventually abandon it), he had not forgot the promised travel books. On each of the four Swiss tours, he carried a stiff, serviceable notebook (measuring 16.7 cm. x 21 cm.), sewn but unlined, into which he faithfully entered his movements and impressions.⁸ In the fifty-two pages pertaining to Switzerland, detail succeeds detail in a stripped-down, factual sequence that effectually conceals the rich aesthetic experience they registered. Compare, for example, the following Journal entry for 25 September with its expansion on pages 239–44 of the present text:

Quit Payerne on foot. Heavy fog conceals the view, rises about 10 and [I] find myself in a lovely valley through which the Broye flows. Views of chateaux. Lucens a fine old chateau overhangs the town. Get into a return carriage, in which find a little Swiss woman. Her conversation. Her notions of America, where she thinks there is enough to eat, but not to wear &c. Her account of the dominion of

the Bernois—Moudon. Roman town &c—Jorat. Get a view of the Dents, and of the mountains of Valais. Appearance of the Country around Lausanne. Arrival of the Grand Duchess—⁹

Making no secret of his intended use of this Journal, Cooper observed with care, revisiting some Swiss landscapes for further study and, on occasion, erasing and rewriting entries. "I am to cross the St. Gotthard and recross by the Grimsel, Meyringen, where we have been already, and take a second look at the Oberland," he wrote his friend Luther Bradish on 16 August 1828, "as I hope to give the first volume of my intended travels (including Holland and Switzerland) next season."¹⁰

Delightful as they were, these excursions had to be interrupted when the light snows of early October warned it was time to leave La Lorraine. The Cooper family again took the road toward Lausanne, but cut off at the village of Carrouge to Vevey on Lake Geneva, continuing around the upper end of the lake, then up the circuitous route to Brig and finally south across the Simplon, past Lake Maggiore, and on to Milan and Florence. Four years later, in the summer of 1832, they made another excursion into Switzerland, this time up the Rhine to its source. Again Cooper faithfully recorded his experiences in a Journal, but the books for which both Journals were preliminary remained in incubation.¹¹

IV.

Cooper did not actively revive his project of the travel books until eighteen months after his return to New York City in November 1833. Even then, seven years after his first visit to Switzerland, he was undecided about the size and format of the series. "In my last," he wrote Richard Bentley, his English publisher, on 5 May 1835, "I mentioned an intention to bring out a book of travels. This work may extend to two large Octavo vol. or to three such Vol. as [Richard] Rush's [*Narrative of a Residence at the Court of London*]. It will include the years 1826 down to 1833. France, England, Switzerland, Holland, Ger-

many, Italy, Belgium. Four visits to London, with views at different times—Five to Paris &c &c. I wish you to state what you think such a work ought to bring in *your market*—.”¹² After another three weeks, on 27 May, he proposed further revisions,¹³ but by summer when he was actually ready to write, he had decided to proceed with the two Switzerland volumes alone and, it would seem, to postpone or abandon the other volumes.¹⁴

Cooper's long delay in resuming work on the travel books is attributable, at least in part, to the almost total transformation of his fortunes as a writer. *Notions of the Americans* (1828), his first extended nonfictional venture, had been a failure so complete that he had had difficulty comprehending or assimilating it. Not wishing to jeopardize his popularity as novelist, he proceeded to complete *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish* (1829), wrote *The Water-Witch* (1830), and avoided public expression of his displeasure. His interest in European literary materials expressed itself, nevertheless, in some aspects of *The Water-Witch* and, comprehensively, in a trilogy of historical novels with European settings designed to comment by analogy or implication on social and political struggles at home. These books drew heavily on his observation and memory of scenes he had visited abroad and on his studies of the politics of the medieval church and state: *The Bravo* (1831) on Venice with its lagoons and its Doges; *The Heidenmauer* (1832) on Durkheim, Rhenish Bavaria, and the monastery at Einsiedeln; and *The Headsman* (1833), on Bern, Geneva, Lake Lemman, Vevey and the hospice of the Great St. Bernard. The profoundly democratic, anti-monarchical, anti-aristocratic bias of these works produced a reaction so vicious, particularly in the Whig segments of the American press, that Cooper was made to feel a man without a country.

Stunned by his supposed rejection in the United States, Cooper pronounced a *nunc dimittis* to his career as a novelist in *A Letter to His Countrymen* (1834). His immediate reaction was to turn to projects outside the realm of romance: *The Monikins*, a Swiftian satire on England, France and his own country; the European travel books, and the history of the navy of the United States. By April 1835, Cooper was completing work on *The Monikins*, to be published in New York and London in July, and preparing to turn his attention once more to the long-

neglected but not forgotten travel books, at least to the two Switzerland volumes.

Neither Henry C. Carey nor Richard Bentley could have been pleased with this prospect. Bentley undoubtedly voiced Carey's opinion as well as his own in his blunt reply on 14 May to Cooper's overture of 14 April: "In reference to your Travels in Europe, I think it necessary to say that works of that class do not succeed here nearly as well as popular novels."¹⁵ The subsequent failure of *The Monikins* intensified their fears. Yet both publishers were enlightened, indulgent men who thoroughly appreciated Cooper's genius, respected his honesty and courage, and hoped he would retrieve his own fortunes—and augment theirs—by resuming the writing of fiction while they cautiously continued to back him financially. If the agreements for *Switzerland*—or for any of the travel books—seemed satisfactory to him, it was only because, for a variety of reasons, Cooper wanted to write them.¹⁶

V.

Actual composition began, apparently, during the summer of 1835 while Cooper was supervising the renovation of Otsego Hall, preparatory to the family's move from New York City to Cooperstown. "I have been passing the summer in the country," he wrote Bentley from New York on 18 September, "and have been occupied, first, in repairing an old house, secondly, in arranging my journal through *Switzerland* in 1828, and in 1832, for the press."¹⁷ Susan Cooper described her father's creative process in a head-note to selected passages from the 1828 Journal she published in *Putnam's Magazine* in 1868:

The diary, when he was in movement, was often brief. A few words would bring back to his memory, long afterwards, a throng of images to fill up the picture, while fresh thoughts and fancies would arise unbidden, and blend with the recollections of the past. The very activity of his mind sometimes made his style brief, laconic Affluence of thought, and feeling, and memory, always followed, when he returned to fix his attention upon the same fact.¹⁸

The reader can follow the transformation of specific entries in the Journal text (*Letters and Journals*, Volume I) into the epistolary narrative of this edition by using the “Guide to Parallel Passages” (Appendix B, pages 321–322). The movement is consecutive. In a few instances only does Cooper omit details present in the Journal or disperse matter in one entry through more than one passage in the book. These jottings, cryptic and random as they are, summoned up in Cooper’s memory resplendent, long-dormant images for conversion into verbal landscapes, immediate and full in their kinesthetic reality. For historical or geographical facts he consulted his Ebel, Picot, Simond, and Engelmann and Reichard (the last bought at Munich in 1830 and then annotated), but his indispensable resources were his gift of total recall and his virtuosity at creating prose pictures in the then fashionable mode known as picturesque or *pittoresque* by late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century connoisseurs of natural scenery.

Already one of its most prominent practitioners, Cooper was fully habituated to the mode—its poetry, fiction, painting, landscape gardening and architecture; and he drew on its conventions in *Switzerland* more self-consciously than usual, perhaps to suggest to “matter-of-fact, utility-loving, and picturesque-despising America”¹⁹ how to appreciate its own scenery more justly. Early British theorists of the picturesque (William Gilpin, Uvedale Price, and Richard Payne Knight) had apparently not been published in the United States, but they were sufficiently well known that William Combe’s delightful burlesque *The Tour of Doctor Syntax, In Search of the Picturesque* (“I’ll prose it here, I’ll verse it there, / And picturesque it everywhere”) was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1813, only a year after its appearance in book form in London.²⁰ Outliving the early excesses of the cult, the picturesque gradually captivated the sensibility of Western Europe and the United States.²¹ Cooper had responded to its influence before going abroad, as his early novels reveal; but he was exposed to the full contagion of the vogue in the London, Paris, and Rome of the 1820s and 1830s, where the picturesque was omnipresent, flourishing in drawings, paintings and engravings, adorning walls, portfolios and travel books, sustaining artists of every degree of ability, and inspiring

publications such as *The Yearbook of Landscape* (London, 1830–1839) and *Magasin Pittoresque* (Paris, 1833–1882).²²

Cooper left no doubt of his intention. *Switzerland* was, he wrote Bentley in 1837, “a *picturesque* book.”²³ A reviewer for *Waldie’s* (31 May 1836) complained that its “pictures of scenery would have been more effective, had [the author] not taken so much pains to inform us of what does or does not add to the picturesque. Indeed, the use of this word is so frequent, that we should not be astonished to hear the work maliciously nicknamed ‘Syntax Redivivus.’”²⁴ Cooper would justly have resisted the insinuation; but he had used William Gilpin’s convention of the “picturesque traveller,” who sets out, sketchbook in hand, “*searching after effects*,” assured that “the great works of nature, in her simplest and purest stile, open inexhausted springs of amusement,” and confident in his “expectation of new scenes continually opening, and arising to his view.”²⁵ These “effects,” “scenes,” or “picturesque compositions” were Nature’s incomparable originals to be admired, studied, copied, and—Gilpin would have it—improved, though the aesthetic values for which the “traveller” searched derived, originally, from the paintings of Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, Nicolas Poussin, and the Dutch genre painters; from the poetry of John Dyer, James Thomson, Thomas Gray, and Edward Young; from the fiction of Ann Radcliffe and Sir Walter Scott; and the “picturesque” travels of—among others—Arthur Young, Thomas Gray, and William Gilpin himself.

Cooper’s version of the picturesque as it appears in *Switzerland* must be inferred from his remarks and practices in the broad context of picturesque aesthetics, for his indebtedness was general and he nowhere attempted an exact formulation.²⁶ Scenes of “a thoroughly Swiss, and, consequently, a truly picturesque character,” he repeatedly suggested, were those in which Alpine grandeur furnished “a background of sublimity to a foreground of surpassing loveliness.”²⁷ The implied distinction or discontinuity between “sublimity” and “loveliness” is crucial, for it alludes to the subtle, diffused, and unresolved tension at the heart of the picturesque. According to Uvedale Price, it is “that disposition of objects, which, by a partial and uncertain concealment, excites and nourishes curiosity.”²⁸ In

Switzerland, it is usually a visual interplay in which physical nature in the background evokes the sublime with its intense, at times terrifying intimation of the ineffable or inexplicable, while persons, places or things in the foreground present engaging or expressive reminders of the human or familiar or proportioned (the *beau*) in the microcosmic design. Transcending the “lower picturesque” of Gilpin and his followers, this symbolism explores the moral, religious, and metaphysical dimensions of the mode, approximating what John Ruskin called the “higher picturesque” in the paintings of J. M. W. Turner.²⁹

For Cooper, the identity between Swiss scenery and the picturesque was pervasive. Wherever his “picturesque eye” turned, it found the requisite combinations, contrasts, and tensions. For the sublime effect, the wild, the abrupt, the ragged, the rough, the irregular or asymmetrical were present in every conceivable shape and size: mountains, gorges, precipices, glaciers, waterfalls, avalanches, lakes, landslides, and torrents—all subject to spectacular atmospheric displays, particularly of color and mist. The mere presence of man against a background so insistent on “the sublimity of desolation”³⁰ was, Cooper increasingly felt, a jarring discordancy. Yet man *was* present (and not coincidentally) in forms approved by picturesque convention: peasants, soldiers, guides, beggars, innkeepers, coachmen, fellow travellers, and even banditti. Among other conventional accessories to the picturesque were ruins, castles, abbeys, inns, chalets, towers, chapels, animals, graveyards, monuments, grottoes, roadside crosses, and colorful costumes—most or all of which came highly recommended in handbooks for the picturesque.

Resolved to avoid “common-place accounts of common-place things,”³¹ Cooper chose subjects for their intrinsic painterly appeal and employed personal narrative to frame his sketches and impart momentum and enthusiasm, carefully varying their lengths, their perspectives, their composition, and their textures. Especially, he exploited sources of narrative interest. From the first extended landscape (pages 12–14), culminating in a momentary, breathtaking glimpse of Mt. Blanc across two cantons and half of Savoy, to the final prospect view of the variegated Italian countryside from the roof of the Duomo at

Milan (page 299), he conceived his pictures as moving panoramas (or dioramas), developed climaxes from the interaction between the sublime and the familiar, and employed tested storytelling devices: anticipatory preparation, foreshadowing, suspense, surprise, and anecdotal elaboration.

The cumulative and associative effects of language do not so much compensate for the absence of the artist's brush as provide an analogous kind of immediacy. No painting could capture the transitional effect of the sudden and "thrillingly exquisite" play of spectral light on the Oberland Alps as seen from the terrace of La Lorraine at sunset or the awesome exhilaration of a sight of this massive range, bathed in "powerful splendour," seemingly cut off from its base and floating in air (pages 39–41). Letter VI, a good sample of Cooper's kinesiastic flair, lifts the reader to the heights above Lauterbrunnen where, among other sensations, he shares the author's experience "of riding a mountain" like a horse "of uncommon power," and watches as a "picturesque avalanche"—at first a small speck, then a large field of snow—gradually filters down "to the very verge of the green pastures." But if mountains like the "Blümlis Alp, radiant, pure, and shining like a glory,"³² can invigorate and inspire, they can also make man, "his dwelling, and his estate, sudden sacrifices to the sublime and beautiful."³³ Discovering an eyewitness of the Fall of the Rossberg at Goldau, Cooper provided a chilling account of the vast mudslide that many years before had displaced a lake, destroyed a village, and in one vale left a mass of rocks "like a battle ground, where Milton's angels had contended," in ironic juxtaposition to "the exquisite loveliness of the meadows that closely embrace its sides."³⁴

As Uvedale Price had noted, the picturesque habit of mind, with its deliberate celebration of the accidental and the incongruous, readily lent itself in prose to "quick, lively, and sudden turns of fancy."³⁵ Cooper obviously enjoys this spontaneous imaginative play and indulges it, as the ductility of the mode and the variety of possible topics permits, in a diversified pattern of observations, descriptive asides, and anecdotes. These passages enrich and complicate the texture of the prose, reinforcing the effects of the larger canvases by extending the range of pointed dissociation between the expected and the

actual, the normative and the absurd, and appearance and reality. Characteristically, Cooper selects anomalies broadly applicable to human nature. He retells, for instance, a story of the minister in the Valois (noted for its goitres) who reminds his impolitely curious parishioners that it is not the fault of a visiting stranger “if he had no *goître!*”³⁶ Or, observing a group of cretins “basking in the sun, with goggling, unmeaning eyes, [and] livid, slavering lips,” he reverts to the mordant irony of *The Monikins* and reflects on the thin line “between the material and immaterial” in the human constitution and on the possibility that “nature, weary with fruitless efforts,” might, “in the end decree a final divorce.”³⁷ At times, he uses the picturesque to comment on the picturesque, as when he notices “the Corydons and Floras of the vale . . . speculating on the picturesque,”³⁸ and his description of Samuel Nahl’s grave sculpture for the tomb of Mme. Langhans and her child in the church at Hindelbank (pages 35–37) skillfully epitomizes the elements of the picturesque as they obtain in an art other than painting.

So long as he was faithful to his experience in 1828 Cooper had little difficulty with the picturesque idiom; but the mode was not always congenial to him in 1835 and 1836. An outcropping of skepticism in *Switzerland* betrays that he had not adjusted to the shattering of his expectation for the rapid emergence of a new, informed, self-confident civilization in the United States, in harmony with the superiority of its institutions; and he was still sensitive to the hostility shown him by the American press. Given the freedom to improvise which the picturesque offered, or seemed to offer, he used it to voice his current social and political concerns, though they had no source in his manuscript Journal and bore slight relationship to Switzerland or the picturesque. These passages, which are relevant only to the overall concerns of the travel series, occupy no more than five percent of the text; but no ingenuity could reconcile his desire to make a social or political comment with a formal description of nature. At times the mixture of modes resulted in prose that lent itself to misconstruction by unsympathetic readers. More often, it resulted in digressions. For example, in one footnote occupying several pages, Cooper revealed his deeper concerns by anatomizing the workings of the British and American constitutional systems; and, several pages

into another digression later on in the book, he caught himself and the reader up sharply with "*Revenons à nos Suisses.*"³⁹

Despite this division of purpose and a persistent uncertainty about format, Cooper's letters from his publishers (his letters to Carey, if extant, are unlocated) suggest that *Switzerland* was carefully composed and closely proofread. Cooper asserted that it was his only travel book "printed even decently."⁴⁰ Having spent the summer of 1835 turning his two Swiss Journals into travel narratives, he wrote Bentley from New York on 18 September that the work would be in the hands of the printers about 1 November.⁴¹ Ten weeks later the matter was still unsettled, and on 3 December Carey queried Cooper seriatim:

I—How many volumes like your novels will it make?

II—How do you propose to publish in Europe? III—If we conclude to divide it into several volumes can you arrange it so as to make each complete in itself—For instance you say that you must include part of Paris—Switzerland—Italy &c—Can you make three parts of it that would do to publish separately & that would not seem like odd volumes?

IV. If we should prefer that mode of publication can you have the same done in England? It would not answer well to do so here unless they were to follow our example—
Let me know what you think of all these matters—& when you can go to press—⁴²

Cooper's reply was evidently reassuring, for Carey wrote on 9 December: "Let us have the copy as soon as possible."⁴³

The printing, begun in Philadelphia in mid-December, would have gone faster if Cooper had not read proof in New York. As the setting began, he was apparently still composing or revising, for his copy arrived in miniscule installments and the printer assigned a small force to the work. Communication was the serious problem, and one shipment was lost in the mails.⁴⁴ When the sheets finally began to shuttle regularly overnight from Philadelphia to New York in February, Cooper was apparently still preoccupied with his copy; for the cry from the printers—who could set a gathering or twelve pages a day—was for more manuscript. By 18 February, they were nearing the cutoff point for Volume I⁴⁵ and by 12 March it was completed,

except for late revisions in the stereotype plates.⁴⁶ On 18 February, in an effort to hurry Cooper on, the publisher informed him: the printer “has now on it a large force & can [drive?] it out at once.”⁴⁷ Still, Volume II seems not to have been finished until about 18 April, when Cooper advised Bentley he would forward a full set of sheets in two days.⁴⁸

VII.

Until proved wrong, Cooper was inclined to be optimistic about the reception of his books, especially in letters to his wife. On 1 July 1836, about five weeks after the publication of *Switzerland*, he wrote confidently to her: “Part 1st I fancy, has done pretty well—at least Bryant says that all but the extreme aristocrats like it. They complain of its democracy.”⁴⁹ On 10 July, he was still hopeful:

The Sketches have not sold very well, but stand very fair. About twice as many have sold as of Slidell’s book [*Spain Revisited*], but they are puffing away at him, might and main. There is another work on Switzerland [*The Old World and the New*] by a Mr. Orville Dewey, that has just appeared, and he writes of fine scenery like a Yankee meeting his mother after an absence of forty years—“Why! mother—is it you?”⁵⁰

But when Cooper informed his wife on 4 November, “Switzerland, I see, has gone to a second edition” in England,⁵¹ he was misinformed. Bentley had merely reissued the first sheets with a new, tipped-in title page designated “New Edition.” Much later, in 1843, Cooper acknowledged the fate of *Switzerland* and of the other *Gleanings* in a set of autobiographical notes sent to Rufus W. Griswold:

These failed, five books in all, scarce paying for printing. I say failed, meaning in America; though, I am told they have done better abroad; Switzerland in particular having become a sort of guide book.⁵²

Even on the last point, Cooper seems to have been oversanguine. *Switzerland* was reprinted in English at Paris and is

sued in a French and in two German translations (one slightly abridged),⁵³ but no evidence of its service as a guide book has been discovered.

In a letter written on 27 May 1836, exactly a week after publication, Cooper's friend and confidant Samuel F. B. Morse accurately predicted an ambivalent reception by reviewers:⁵⁴ "I am reading your *Switzerland*. I like it very much, but this is doubtless to be set down by the [New-York] American *et omne id genus* as prejudice."⁵⁵ The *New-York American* review the following day was unexpectedly favorable, dissenting only from Cooper's politics; but Morse's "*omne id genus*" was at large in the land. *The [Boston] Evening Gazette* (28 May) denounced Cooper's political "monomania" through almost the whole of a jumbled newspaper column. *Waldie's Journal of Belles Lettres* (31 May) twisted Cooper's qualified expression of confidence in popular judgment on "the great principles which ought to predominate in the control of human affairs" into an effort to curry favor with the Trade Unionists; and *The New-York Mirror* (11 June) condemned as "very offensive . . . the careful and elaborate details entered into of the slighting and insulting manner in which Americans are looked upon in Europe."

The American press not only tended to exaggerate and distort the small proportion of *Switzerland* explicitly or implicitly controversial, it also expressed displeasure that "the Leviathan of our literature,"⁵⁶ "one of the first American writers of the day,"⁵⁷ should have forsaken the romance—a form in which he excelled—for an inferior, less congenial, less satisfying form. That he condescended to implicate himself in politics at all roused suspicions about ulterior motives. And the motives adduced—the supposed flirtation with Trade Unionism, for example—were usually wild fabrications. Edgar Allan Poe was closer to the mark when he noted in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (May) that Cooper seemed in "a degree of splenetic ill humor with both himself and his countrymen, quite different from the usual manner of the novelist, and evincing something akin to resentment for real or imaginary ill usage."⁵⁸ So fierce was this post-publication outcry that the *Saturday Evening Post*, which had praised Cooper on 28 May for being "what Rembrandt was amongst Painters, and Crabbe amongst Poets, the 'Sternest, but the best,'" returned to defend him on 4 June,

explaining: “we have observed so much illiberal censure heaped upon [*Switzerland*] by the personal enemies of the author, that we are induced to give further expression to our opinions upon it, believing it to be worthy of unqualified encomium.” William Cullen Bryant followed with a loyal defense in his *Evening Post* on 25 June, but Cooper’s friends were essentially powerless to protect him from what even they saw as a misguided confrontation.

When reviewers, hostile or not, paused to judge *Switzerland* for what it was, a travel book whose intended effects were limited and special, their comments were almost always favorable, though praise was likely to be tucked inconspicuously into afterthoughts. Even the bristling, grossly distorted review in the *Boston Evening Gazette* found *Switzerland* “a very interesting work—the majestic scenery of the Alps is described with feeling and strength”; and the review by the Reverend John G. Palfrey in *The North American Review* (July) exhibited a calculated ambivalence: one paragraph praising the pictures of “noble scenery” and another objecting to the “political mania” that profaned it.⁵⁹ *Waldie’s*, unable to accommodate to the aesthetic motive at all, complained of Cooper’s being “too much on the *qui vive* for the ‘picturesque’ to waste any time on the useful.” A few American journals, less narrowly partisan or journalistic, caught more of Cooper’s intention and recognized that *Switzerland* altogether surpassed routine travel books in its kinesthetic evocations of landscape. *The Knickerbocker Magazine* (July) declared Cooper’s “conceptions of the sublime country” original and “very perfect,” “without so much as a borrowed shade or tint.”⁶⁰ And a fellow connoisseur of Swiss scenery, in a long essay in the September *American Quarterly Review*, pronounced the book a “lively, and well-written” attempt to communicate what language could probably not express, quoted the set pieces copiously, and ostentatiously compared his own “feelings and impressions with those of the author of the *Spy* and the *Red Rover*.”⁶¹ For Cooper’s politics, he professed disdain.

British journals were more favorable. Reviewers were less sensitive to the hypertensions of American politics and more informed about the picturesque. *The Spectator* (June), in a review reprinted in the United States in *The Museum of Foreign Literature* (July),⁶² differentiated *Switzerland* sharply “from the class

of sketchy tours” or the kind of book that was “a mere ‘tour in search of the picturesque.’” Its superiority, according to the reviewer, lay in its narrative strength and in the peculiar endowments of the author: a highly instructed eye, a skillful pen, a critical discrimination sufficient to hold democracy “sacred” but democrats “fair game,” and a disposition to be “a bit of a political philosopher, who whiles away the tedium of a dull road or a wet day by spinning theories, amusing if not instructive.” *The Athenaeum* (18 June) agreed that Cooper’s “keen sensibility” for “alpine scenery” kept *Switzerland* from being a “superfluity” among the “surplusage” of books “on that country of miracles” and stressed Cooper’s rapport with his subject: “as he observes *con amore*, so he describes in all the warm colours and graphic perspicuity of a poetic imagination.” “His descriptions have all the minuteness and reality of a Dutch picture,” the reviewer continued, “yet are massive and picturesque as the originals from which they are taken.” Cooper’s extraordinary affinity for Swiss scenery and his alienation from his countrymen might both, the reviewer intimated, derive from “that elevation of character” which drives its “possessors away from the scenes of coarse and vulgar contention.” And he remarked prophetically that Cooper was “still more likely to offend his countrymen by the social verities which he thrusts into their rather unwilling ears, than by his political opinions,” verities the reviewer regarded as inevitable in the unfinished state of American culture in 1836.⁶³ A long, generally laudatory essay in *The London and Westminster Review* (October) by an extravagant admirer of Byron accorded *Switzerland* “a commanding superiority.” “We have never before,” he exclaimed, “perused so vivid, yet accurate, a delineation of the stupendous scenery of the Oberland.” His appetite for the Byronic was insatiable, however; and perhaps because Cooper failed to gratify it, he confessed that “to a certain extent” the considerable expectation aroused by “Mr. Cooper’s particular genius” had “not been realized.”⁶⁴

Switzerland was followed by its titular sequel, *Gleanings in Europe: the Rhine* [*Sketches of Switzerland. Part Second*], only four months after publication, and the former was soon forgotten. Its rapid eclipse may have had several causes: the halting of reviews and the shifting of attention to the later *Gleanings* that

followed each other briskly, the glut of books about Switzerland, the preference for Cooper's fiction, the intrusion of political and "social verities," or, simply, the inability of readers to respond to the picturesque. Doubtless Cooper would have favored the last explanation. While he was awaiting the popular verdict on *Switzerland*, he advised his friend Horatio Greenough: "this is no region for poets, so sell them your wares, and shut your ears."⁶⁵ Unwilling or unable to follow this course himself, Cooper turned his attention to more basic weaknesses in American civilization. Many would doubt his wisdom, but few would question his courage. Edgar Allan Poe, who a few months earlier had interpreted Cooper's belligerence as an expression of personal pique, wrote in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (October), commenting on the Rhine volume but also on its predecessor: "We are a bull-headed and prejudiced people, and it were well if we had a few more of the stamp of Mr. Cooper who would feel themselves at liberty to tell us so to our teeth."⁶⁶

NOTES

1. *Gleanings in Europe: Switzerland*, p. 1 (hereafter cited as *Switzerland*).
2. At several points in *Switzerland* Cooper refers to "former letters" as if they were already written or published. They had not been published; but they may have existed in draft or, more likely, in Cooper's projections for future travel books. See, for example, the reference to Osage Indians visiting in Europe, p. 10, or the description of the orange tree at Versailles, p. 85.
3. *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. James Franklin Beard. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1960–1968), IV, 194 (hereafter cited as *Letters and Journals*).
4. *Ibid.*, I, 258.
5. *Switzerland*, p. [5].
6. In a letter dated Bern, 24 August [1828], Mrs. Cooper thanked Louis Simond "for his kind attention, in answering our inquiries respecting Geneva." The "inquiries" had apparently been sent from Paris when the Coopers "intended being at Geneva very shortly." Bibliothèque Genève, Geneva, Switzerland.

7. *Switzerland*, p. 41.
8. The text is published in *Letters and Journals*, I, 270–384. The holograph is in the Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (hereafter cited as YCAL).
9. *Letters and Journals*, I, 341.
10. *Ibid.*, I, 286.
11. The manuscript Journal including Cooper's entries for his 1832 visit to Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland is published in *Letters and Journals*, II, 275–348.
12. *Letters and Journals*, III, 152. On 14 April 1835, Cooper had written Bentley: "I shall shortly publish an account of the Foreign Policy of the U— States, with an examination of the naval power of the country—also I think two or three vol. of travels. I should like to hear from you on both these subjects—The first would make a moderate-sized royal duodecimo—The last would be in vol—embracing travels in England, France, Germany, Switzerland &c, during seven years—Holland—Belgium &c—" (*Letters and Journals*, III, 149).
13. In a letter to Bentley of 27 May, Cooper proposed bringing out the "Travels. . . in a single octavo vol. a little larger than Mr. Rush's. Vol. I. will conclude with a first visit to France—Vol—II. will contain a visit or a winter in London—Vol. III. Switzerland &c. The first vol. will be ready for press in Oct." (*Letters and Journals*, III, 155–56).
14. The Preface to *Switzerland* implies clearly that Cooper intended to restrict his travel books to those recounting his experiences in Switzerland in 1828 and 1832.
15. Richard Bentley to JFC, 14 May 1835; MS: YCAL.
16. Bentley apparently paid £200 for *Switzerland* (about half the sum he had paid for *The Headsman*, Cooper's most recent romance), though the publisher's initial offer was £150 (Bentley to JFC, 27 April 1836; MS: YCAL). Carey paid a mere \$1,000 for *Switzerland*, about seventy percent less than for *The Headsman* (Carey to JFC, 29 April 1836; MS: YCAL. JFC to Bentley, 23 April 1836; MS: Miriam Lucher Stark Library, University of Texas).
17. *Letters and Journals*, III, 171.
18. *Putnam's Magazine*, n.s. 1 (June 1868), 730.
19. *Switzerland*, p. 221.
20. The quotation is from Canto I, lines 129–30.
21. The apotheosis of the picturesque in the United States came somewhat later, perhaps in the compendious, sumptuously

- illustrated *Picturesque America* (1872), to which William Cullen Bryant lent his name. Cooper himself contributed an essay entitled "American and European Scenery Compared" to G. P. Putnam's *The Home Book of the Picturesque* (1851).
22. Early celebrated for the prose pictures in his fiction, and recognized as "Constitution" and guiding spirit of the Bread and Cheese Club in New York City between 1822 and 1826, Cooper had occupied a position of cultural leadership in the United States almost from the outset of his career as novelist. By the 1830s, he had become a close friend and patron of such artists as William Dunlap, Horatio Greenough, and Samuel F. B. Morse. In Europe between 1826 and 1833, he was immediately accepted into the highest artistic and cultural circles. He was an enthusiastic visitor at art museums and exhibits, public and private, in Paris, London, Florence, and Rome; and he became something of a collector. He commissioned what was presumably the first "group" by an American, the "Chanting Cherubs," by Horatio Greenough, and a Thomas Cole painting as a personal gift to Samuel Rogers. At the home of Rogers and other London friends, he met many of the leading British artists of the day. Since he kept no list of his readings, any effort to reconstruct his readings on the picturesque would be conjectural, though we know he read omnivorously and was well informed on the subject. While writing *Switzerland*, he was remodeling Otsego Hall in the picturesque style according to a plan said to have suggested by S. F. B. Morse.
 23. *Letters and Journals*, III, 261.
 24. *Waldie's Journal of Belles Lettres*, No. 22, Part 1 (31 May 1836), n.p.
 25. William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape: to Which is Added a Poem, On Landscape Painting*, 3d ed. (London, 1808), pp. 41, 44, 47. The quotations are from the essay "On Picturesque Travel."
 26. In *Cooper's Landscapes: An Essay on the Picturesque Vision* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), Blake Nevius traces the development of Cooper's picturesque conventions through his fiction and nonfiction, emphasizing the effect of his European experience on his mode of scenic representation. This useful monograph minimizes the extent to which picturesque conventions were available to Cooper before 1826 and the extent to which his version or versions of the picturesque included the sublime, and hence the metaphysical and religious dimensions. Donald A. Ringe's *The Pictorial Mode: Space and Time in the Art of Bryant, Irving and Cooper* (Lexington,

- Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1971) contains a more comprehensive consideration of the expressive elements in Cooper's scenic art, stressing the symbolic values in Cooper's mode of representation. The approaches are different but not, one suspects, incompatible.
27. *Switzerland*, pp. 48, 32.
 28. Sir Thomas D. Lauder, *Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque; with an Essay on the Origin of Taste, and Much Original Matter, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart.* . . . (London, 1842), p. 69. Coleridge describes the picturesque impression as one in which "the parts by their harmony produce an effect of a whole, but where there is no seen form of a whole producing or explaining the parts of it, where the parts only are seen and distinguished, but the whole is felt" (*Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross [London, 1909], II, 309).
 29. Ruskin's distinction between the "lower" or "surface" picturesque and the "higher" or "noble" picturesque differentiated between the serious art of J. M. W. Turner, which involved the artist's full moral or metaphysical engagement with his subject, and the merely decorative or illustrative (*Modern Painters*, Chapter I, Book V, Volume IV). Both kinds of picturesque owed much to the tradition begun by William Gilpin, but the aesthetic results were at polar extremes. Gilpin had allowed for this possibility. Writing for "gentlemen-artists" of the leisure class who drew "only for amusement" and could not be expected to excel, he did not expect a high level of accomplishment among his readers, though he recognized the desirability of "ethical compositions," works representing achievement of "a higher character in landscape." He also recognized that to convey "ideas of this kind is the perfection of the art" (Gilpin, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-65).
 30. *Gleanings in Europe. Italy* (Philadelphia, 1838), I, 215-16.
 31. *Switzerland*, p. 23.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
 35. Sir Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque* (London, 1810), I, 341-42. This passage is quoted, with a longer excerpt, in Martin Price, "The Picturesque Moment," in *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 259-92. Martin Price's essay is an excellent summary of picturesque aesthetics.
 36. *Switzerland*, p. 67.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 270–71.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
40. *Letters and Journals*, III, 329.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 171. In the letter to Bentley of 18 September 1835, Cooper indicated that the work on Switzerland (evidently he was referring to both the 1828 and 1832 accounts) would make “two octavo volumes each about as large as the *Travels of Mr. Rush*.” Carey was not satisfied with this format, however; and he suggested on 12 November that the most favorable sale might be assured by publishing “in 3 volumes of moderate size to appear at intervals of a month or six weeks to be followed by the other parts of your travels” (Carey to JFC, 12 November 1835; MS: YCAL).
42. Carey to JFC, 3 December 1835; MS: YCAL.
43. Carey to JFC, 9 December 1835; MS: YCAL. The letter continued: “We shall put the first part in two 12mo volumes, instead of one 8mo as you suggested—The page will be of same size as the novels, but it will be leaded, so as to make the same quantity of matter cover more space. The leads will be as thick as you may direct. You know the quantity of matter, & will be able to say how much should go in a page so as to make the whole extend to about 500 pages—”
44. Carey’s letter of 21 December 1835, which covered the first parcel of sheets and which was temporarily lost in the mails, read: “We send 12 pages. They take in 5 pages of Mss including the note—to make 2 vols of about 250 pages each will take 210 pages of your mss like that sent on—Will you have more or less—where [do] you deem it advisable to stop the first part—Can you return the proofs recd. by the mornings mail to the office by 4 o clock in the afternoon of the same day—it will expedite the matter.
The second parcel of Mss is at hand—” (MS: YCAL).
45. Carey, Lea and Co. to JFC, 18 February 1836; MS: YCAL.
46. Carey, Lea and Co. to JFC, 12 March 1836; MS: YCAL.
47. Carey, Lea and Co. to JFC, 18 February 1836; MS: YCAL.
48. *Letters and Journals*, III, 209.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
52. *Ibid.*, IV, 344.
53. *Excursions d’une Famille Américaine en Suisse*. Traduit par A. J. B. Defauconpret. 3 vols. Paris: Gosselin, 1836.

- Ausflüge in die Schweiz*. Aus dem Englischen von C. F. Nietsch. 6 vols. in 2. Frankfurt-am-Main: J. D. Sauerländer, 1836.
- Streifreisen durch die Schweiz*. Nach dem Englischen von Dr. Georg Nicolaus Bärmann. 2 vols. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1836. (Abridged)
54. The following citations locate contemporaneous reviews of *Gleanings in Europe: Switzerland* mentioned or quoted in the Historical Introduction: *The* [London] *Athenæum*, No. 451 (18 June 1836), 429–30; *American Quarterly Review*, 20 (September 1836), 228–44; *The* [Boston] *Evening Gazette*, 28 May 1836; *The Knickerbocker, or New-York Monthly Magazine*, 7 (June 1836), 647, also 8 (July 1836), 102–3; *The Museum of Foreign Literature*, 29 (July 1836), 461–63, an American reprinting of the review from *The* [London] *Spectator* cited below; *New-York American*, 28 May 1836; *The* [New York] *Evening Post*, 25 June 1836; *The New-York Mirror*, 8 (11 June 1836), 399; *The North American Review*, 43 (July 1836), 280; [Philadelphia] *Saturday Evening Post*, 15 (28 May 1836), 3, also 15 (4 June 1836), 3; *Southern Literary Messenger*, 2 (May 1836), 401–3, also 2 (October 1836), 720–21; *The* [London] *Spectator*, No. 416 (18 June 1836), 586–87; *Waldie's Journal of Belles Lettres*, No. 22, Part I (31 May 1836); *The Westminster Review*, 4 (October 1836), 155–74.
55. *The Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, ed. James Fenimore Cooper [the novelist's grandson], (New Haven, 1922), I, 355–56.
56. *American Quarterly Review*, 20 (September 1836), 240.
57. *The New-York Mirror*, 8 (June 1836), 399.
58. *Southern Literary Messenger*, 2 (May 1836), 401. Poe wrote the notices for the *Messenger* for October, according to Arthur H. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1941), p. 258. The reviewer of *Sketches of Switzerland . . . Part Second* in the October issue, p. 721, identifies himself as author of the review of *Sketches* in the May issue.
59. *The North American Review*, 43 (July 1836), 280.
60. *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, 8 (July 1836), 102.
61. *American Quarterly Review*, 20 (September 1836), 244.
62. *The* [London] *Spectator*, No. 416 (18 June 1836), 586.
63. *The* [London] *Athenæum*, No. 451 (18 June 1836), 429.
64. *The London and Westminster Review*, 4 (October 1836), 161, 174.
65. *Letters and Journals*, III, 220.
66. *Southern Literary Messenger*, 2 (October 1836), 721.