Ordering Africa

ANTHROPOLOGY, EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM, AND THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE

Helen Tilley with Robert J. Gordon

UPA 48169

3

39
(091)

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS
Manchester and New York

distributed exclusively in the USA
by PALGRAVE

CHAPTER SEVEN

From the Alps to Africa: Swiss missionaries and anthropology

Patrick Harries

Neuchâtel in western Switzerland (pop. 15,000 in 1880) produced a remarkable group of missionary anthropologists during the last decade of the nineteenth century. It included Edmond Perregaux, remembered for his Asante work, and Héli Chatelain who labored among the Ovimbundu of Angola (Péclard 1995). Two other missionary anthropologists were particularly well educated. Edouard Jacottet studied at Neuchâtel, Tübingen and Göttingen before entering the mission field in Lesotho. In 1920 he was offered the first Chair in Bantu languages at the University of the Witwatersrand. The second, Henri-Alexandre Junod, studied in Neuchâtel, Basel and Berlin before working in southern Mozambique and the northern Transvaal. In South Africa Junod's pioneering work contributed to the establishment of anthropology as a university discipline.

Coming from a country without colonies, these missionaries were drawn to anthropology out of a desire to understand, rather than to govern, the societies to which they had been called by their vocation. Skills of observation and description developed by missionaries from Neuchâtel were partly built on a Prussian intellectual heritage in the canton that emphasized the importance of philology and the natural sciences (cf. Harries 1998, 2000). But conventions of representation developed at home also framed what they chose to write about in Africa (cf. Harries 1997). In particular, they carried to Africa the European images, themes and attitudes employed to describe the Alps as a primitive wilderness. This was an untamed environment in which Europeans found both freedom and fear, as well as a population that seemed to represent an earlier, more authentic stage of human development. The missionaries who left Neuchâtel for Africa were familiar with this image of domestic primitiveness and were, I would suggest, well equipped to describe its variant in Africa.

This chapter examines the ways in which the discovery and domestication of African society was preceded and informed by a similar process in the mountain wilderness of Switzerland. Early Swiss missionaries projected their fears and hopes onto Africa in much the same way that as a previous generation had projected sentiments onto the Alps. In this sense, the narrative strategies used to describe and explain African society were rooted in, and ultimately formed a part of, the civilizing mission at home.

Dorinda Outram has remarked on this process in the wider context of the eighteenth century when enlightened intellectuals approached the rural population of Europe 'in a way which reminds us of the way missionaries in the following century would regard indigenous peoples. They saw peasants buried in incomprehensible folk superstitions, irrational traditions and religious loyalties' (Outram 1995: 29). Outram's intellectuals defined their commitment to understanding and progress through their rejection of this old-fashioned world built on fantasy and fabrication. In the mountains of Switzerland and France, villagers continued to cling to pre-Enlightenment beliefs and practices well into the nineteenth century. Swiss evangelists serving mountain communities in the High Alps felt engaged in the same civilizing mission as their colleagues in Africa. Throughout the nineteenth century, townspeople observed and recorded the cultural practices of Alpine villagers in ways that measured their superior knowledge and prodigious material achievements. This self-imagery provided the bourgeoisie with the confidence, often seen as a duty, to assimilate a local 'culture' into a universal, modern 'civilization' (Braudel 1981: 101).

Yet simultaneously, this urban intelligentsia, its society severely shaken by industrialization, imbued mountain communities with a series of pre-capitalist virtues proclaimed to be typically Swiss. In this manner the urban bourgeoisie employed the image of an 'internal other' to celebrate both the progress and patriotism achieved under its tuition, as well as to define itself as a social entity. Reformist critics, on the other hand, used the same imagery to reflect on the ills of capitalist society and to propose a return to more simple values and sturdy traditions. Claude Reichler has drawn our attention to this process in an Alpine Switzerland where European visitors, without straying far from home, discovered a space 'destined to receive and preserve the projections and representations of a world that Enlightenment societies were seeing disappear' (Reichler 1996: 244).

While proponents and protagonists argued over the form of the new industrial order developing in nineteenth-century Switzerland, both employed the imagery of Alpine communities to construct a nation

dominated by the values and practices of the enlightened bourgeoisie (Guichonnet 1980: 198–202, 211–213; Reichler 1996: 252–253). When these mountain communities were transformed at the end of the nineteenth century, a new social yardstick had to be located against which the Swiss could measure themselves and their achievements. This was accomplished partly by invoking the memory of the Alpine village in art, exhibitions, festivals and regional literature; but it was also attained by introducing the Swiss to other primitive communities elsewhere in the world.

Swiss missionary anthropologists had at their command a positive image of primitive communities that could be used to instill their moribund culture with new life while, at the same time, incorporating African societies into a familiar system of explanation. Both Alpine and African worlds were populated by uncomplicated, small-scale societies that seemed to reflect a primitive past of communitarian values, firm social hierarchies and authentic traditions. The disappearance of the old, Alpine ways haunted the Swiss in Africa where they were determined to salvage a picture of local communities before they, too, were submerged by an invading civilization that reduced cultural diversity to a uniform modernity, and that encouraged a feckless disregard for traditional values, rights and duties. Yet here lies an arresting contradiction. For just as European intellectuals portrayed Africa and the Alps as repositories in which to situate comforting traditions and a reassuring morality, they also condemned the customs, superstitions and irrational beliefs that restricted individualism and development.

This paper has two objectives. First, it highlights Neuchâtel's importance in the emergence of anthropology as a discipline. Second, it unravels the contradictory imagery of Africa and the Alps developed by Swiss commentators. I start by investigating the notion of primitiveness in Switzerland, then turn to the ways in which men like Junod and Jacottet employed this idea to understand their surroundings in Africa. The final section attempts to show how they resolved their need to find tradition and development, stasis and progress, in the representation of Alpine and African worlds.

A wild and ignorant people

During the religious revival that swept across Europe in the wake of the Napoleonic wars, Swiss evangelists initially focused their attention on the poor and unlettered of their own region. Missionaries were particularly drawn to the High Alps of neighboring France where a 'wild' and 'ignorant' people lived in a primitive manner clearly

reminiscent of far-off savages in Africa (Bost 1841: 46–47, 1843: 145–147, also 134, 142, 145–146, 178).

Félix Neff and Ami Bost believed their work amongst the uncivilized people of the High Alps resembled that of missionaries in Africa and other corners of their world. Like their colleagues overseas, they were drawn to exotic locations where the sentiments of Christian revivalism and Romanticism overlapped. Individualism, mystery, emotion, zeal and dark spiritual torment could be expressed in areas uncorrupted by the contrived and frivolous materialism of the towns. The deferential attitudes of European peasants seemed little different from the uncorrupted simplicity of obliging blacks that missionaries read about in popular novels, the tracts of the anti-slavery movement, and a gathering tide of Sunday school literature. This led missionaries to conceive of isolated parts of the world, whether in Africa or Europe, as areas in which they could draw up a new civilization unfettered by urban and industrial corruption (Robert 1961: 358). In the High Alps of France, Swiss missionaries considered their congregants to be less depraved than the rich inhabitants of the plains (Bost 1843: 139). And they labored in the hope of replicating the successes of other missionaries in areas like Sierra Leone and Tahiti (Bost 1843: 145, 204, 178).

Yet, despite the deep suspicion with which they viewed the civilization of the plains, the missionaries were apostles of a controlled modernism. Neff considered 'the work of an evangelist in [the Freyssinières] valley' to be 'greatly similar to that of a missionary in uncivilized countries; his whole time must be given up to it' (Bost 1843: 218). Consequently, they spent long hours teaching small bands of students to read, in French, in ways that showed understanding and emotion and that defied the rote learning of oral societies. They then erected schools where students acquired a knowledge of writing, lost their 'detestable accent and pronunciation', and were introduced to grammar 'of which they have not the least idea' (Bost 1843: 243, also 208–209, 215). The missionaries also attempted to impart to their mountain congregants their knowledge of field irrigation, crop cultivation, building maintenance and hygiene (Bost 1843: 213–215).

This message was carried to North America when Bost's colleagues in the Swiss canton of Vaud established a mission to the Sioux in the 1830s. 'Evangelization must be accompanied by civilization', wrote the mission committee in Lausanne; and missionaries were instructed to avoid the 'degenerate' Indians in St Peter and civilize the nomadic Sioux by tying them to the soil (Grandjean 1917: 25, 28). The Vaudois

historian Juste Olivier believed that this pastoral mode of production condemned the mountain people of his country to an early stage of human evolution (Olivier 1837 (v.1): 14, 24, 34). Needless to say, the cultural arrogance behind this idea affronted many potential converts (Favre 1908: 18–32).

The role of churchmen as agents of both Christianity and civilization has a long history in Switzerland. In the late eighteenth century roving evangelists and educated clergymen stranded in rural outposts found in the study of nature both an intellectual challenge and a diversion from a humdrum existence. Sharp differences of soil, temperature and vegetation, often on the same mountain, provided the collector with a rich variety of environments in which to practice his pastime. Membership of learned associations, often based on the collecting of specimens to be sorted by urban experts, became a means of retaining contact with the high culture of the towns. Stern Calvinist ministers propagated the collecting of plants, insects and rocks as a way to displace frivolous, even pagan village pastimes with an activity considered disciplined, edifying and utilitarian. Collecting also took the pastor into the fields where his knowledge of science allowed him to act as a secular, as well as spiritual, advisor to his parishioners. But the overriding reason for this clerical enthusiasm for collecting and classifying was the glorification of God's handiwork: the demonstration that the rich diversity of nature could be reduced to visible patterns and systems that could only be explained in terms of divine inspiration.

By uncovering the natural order of the earth and the living organisms that inhabited it, these savants were able to exercise a symbolic dominance over the environment. They (re)ordered the perception of nature in a way that made it entirely familiar to their generation. By cataloging and classifying plants, animals and minerals according to 'modern' criteria, or by collecting meteorological statistics, they reinforced their vision of the world and convinced themselves of their ability to understand it. This confidence was supported by the many learned societies, established in the early nineteenth century, through which findings were popularized in scientific journals, museum exhibitions, botanical gardens and herbaria. Membership of these societies, and the opportunity to advertise talents appreciated by the growing commercial and industrial elite, gave intellectuals the cultural and social capital needed to enter the governing classes (Rambert 1876: 8–9). The intellectual filing system developed by men of science and letters tamed the chaos of the world and reduced the terror of the unknown.

This heroic role could lead a romantic like Rousseau, when in a climber's hut in the Alps 'unknown to the whole universe', to regard himself 'as almost another Columbus' (Rousseau 1933 [1782]: 725).

Collectors shared the self-imagery of the intrepid explorer. Using a discursive technique immediately recognizable to historians of Africa, for example, Albrecht von Haller, the epitome of the Swiss man of science and letters, believed himself to be the first person to have 'penetrated' into several 'lost valleys' of Switzerland (Secrétan 1876: 604). Horace-Benedict de Saussure regarded the Chamonix valley as 'a new world, a sort of earthly paradise locked within a ring of mountains by a benevolent divinity' (de Saussure 2002: 67; see also Reichler and Ruffieux 1998: 284). Townsmen who ventured into the Alps compounded their heroic imagery of exploration through military metaphors describing the region as an 'impenetrable redoubt' whose 'ramparts' and 'fortifications' were manned by pine 'soldiers' (Murith 1810: 14; Rousseau 1933: 724). Romanticism also infused the Alpine landscape with a gothic sensibility; for wild and dark precipices, deep ravines and torrential rivers separated the valleys and broke the mountain terrain. The collector who scoured these regions in search of rare specimens found himself in a silent, lonely world in which his humble footpaths and narrow bridges seemed to be overwhelmed by the forces of nature. To enter this forbidding, melancholic space, the man of science had to 'drive, push' his way, 'penetrate' or undertake almost military 'incursions' (Murith 1810: 13, 31, 39; Durand and Pittier 1882: 6; Rousseau 1933: 724–725).

Alpine peaks held a special appeal for those who saw their conquest as a testing ground for masculinity and as a symbol of man's domination over the land. It was to test his capacities as an explorer that Alexander von Humboldt journeyed to the Alps before tackling the peaks of South America. For a climber like Emile Javelle, scaling an Alpine peak was the equivalent of crossing an unexplored Australian desert (Javelle 1920: 295). This concept of the Alps as a natural fortress capable of withstanding the assaults of modernity led Dean Bridel to situate the authentic, 'real knowledge of the fatherland' in the 'interior' of Switzerland (Vulliemin 1855: 79, 130).

The Alps constituted a pristine wilderness where the purity of nature was beyond the contagion of commerce and modernizing farmers. But Rousseau, H.B. de Saussure and others also viewed the mountains as a geologically primitive world that recalled the very origins of the earth. The Alps provided ineluctable proof of the insignificance of humanity in a chain of time that stretched back eons before the biblical 6000 years. De Saussure conjured up a picture of deep time when he imagined an age in which the sea covered the Alps (de Saussure 2002: 87–88, 166–167). The essayist Eugène Rambert visualized himself transported back through time when he entered the Alps. 'The higher one goes', he wrote in 1865, 'the more one seems to retreat into the past; one is convinced of accomplishing a voyage through time, and that in approaching the summits one is approaching its origins' (Rambert 1888: 117). Rambert saw not just mountains, but millennia of geological movement that had created them; and found in a deep Alpine valley a silence that reminded him of a prehistoric world untroubled by the destruction accompanying human settlement.

This view of the Alps as a primordial environment had a marked impact on how Rambert and others saw the local population. In the Alps, he believed, people lived as they had since time immemorial (Rambert 1888: 87). In this dark and mysterious Alpine environment, men of science and letters came across a mountain population strikingly different from that of the cities built alongside the lakes and rivers of Switzerland. In 1512 Francesco Guicciardini had described the Swiss as 'a savage uncultured people' (Guicciardini 1969: 240). Rambert employed the same term when he described the vestiges of this population in the Alps as 'half-savage', a 'primitive humanity whom civilization has hardly reached' (Rossel 1903: 652). The great climber, the Englishman Edward Whymper went even further when, in the 1860s, he thought the three female occupants of a cluster of isolated mountain chalets so primitive as to 'belong to some missing link that naturalists are looking to discover' (Whymper 1873: 197).

At a time when many Frenchmen believed that Adam had spoken a form of Breton, the regional dialects or patois of these primitive Alpine people seemed to provide access to the thoughts and concerns of pre-Roman Swiss communities. By practicing a form of 'linguistic paleontology' on these 'most original, least altered' language forms, scholars attempted to create a picture of the extinct, primitive societies of western Switzerland (Pictet 1837; Favrat in Bridel 1866: v). For these Romantic nationalists, the patois was both a source of creativity and a repository for the 'soul' or *Volksgeist* of the people (Olivier 1837 (v. 1): 217, 219, 263, 277).

The natural goodness of the human species

Living close to nature was filled with danger. Alpine communities expressed this danger in their fear of the mountains as a place from which violent storms, boulders and murderous avalanches of snow and mud descended into the inhabited valleys. Rock, ice and a thin crust of soil, together with a long list of insalubrious monsters and ghosts allowed only the most hardy to exploit the High Alps. But even as an

oppressive environment crushed the lives of people living in the mountains, in the towns people were establishing a new dominion over nature. By the early sixteenth century a hardy band of explorers started to examine the plant and animal life of the mountains. As this new way of seeing developed, many came to view the infinite diversity, and delicate detail, of nature as resounding proof of God's existence.

Townsmen achieved a major cognitive victory over the Alps when in 1729 von Haller published a long epic poem celebrating the mountains as a source of both aesthetic beauty and moral and ethical values. In opposition to those who feared the Alps and rooted civilization in the towns, von Haller and his followers found in the mountains a refreshing physical and spiritual freedom. Rousseau provided society with a means of criticizing the growing corruption of the towns when he described the perfect communalism of the *montagnons* in the Val-de-Travers near Neuchâtel. His disciple, Dean Bridel, found in his parishioners around Chateau d'Oex a gracious absence of 'the love of novelty, nor the need to take the role of an important person; they march behind the torch of the centuries, and not that of changing fashions' (Murith 1810: 15; Vulliemin 1855: 190; Rousseau 1965: 93–96). In the 1770s Jean-André Deluc of Geneva wrote extensively on the customs of the montagnards in his *Lettres philosophiques et morales sur la montagne* (1773). In the mountains 'one learns', he remarked, 'what the real needs of man are reduced to, what he is able to achieve through the force of habit alone; but one especially learns about the gentle calm of the soul in a state of nature far removed from philosophers and the labyrinths of society' (cited in Guichonnet 1980: 208).

H.B. de Saussure combined scientific observation with romantic sensibility. Just as the great geologist subjected the alpine environment to the logic of measurement and classification, he described the 'ancient simplicity and moral purity' of the people of Chamonix; and he praised the readiness with which Alpine communities looked after their orphans, infirm and elderly (de Saussure 1979: 126–127). As Paul Guichonnet has remarked, for men like Saussure, the voyage in the Alps had become a spiritual 'pilgrimage to the sources of humanity' that 'bore witness to the natural goodness of the human species'. Alpine villagers were the homologues of the explorers' noble savages (Guichonnet 1980: 201, 208).

For a new generation the 'freedom of the soul' found in the mountains easily slid into a 'political freedom' that was sufficiently ambiguous to transcend many of the social divisions in the country. By sinking the image of political freedom in a solidly stable natural environment, the French-speaking Swiss invested themselves with a

durable, democratic character very different from that of their alternatively despotic, or violently turbulent, Gallic neighbors. At the heart of what it meant to be Swiss lay the Alpine villager who was noted for his spontaneous, candid, cordial character, his courage and hospitality, and a respect for hierarchy rooted in pastoral traditions and the natural democracy of the village *landsgemeinde*. To the Swiss, Alpine man embodied the virtues of patriotism, democracy and freedom in ways that seemed natural and authentic (Rossel 1903: 654; Niederer 1980: 133).

In Neuchâtel Henri Junod, a pastor in the Independent Church and father of the missionary-anthropologist Henri-Alexandre, could shed tears when looking at the natural beauty created by God (Junod 1884: ix). His friend Frédérick Godet, professor of Theology and a leading intellectual figure in the canton, could also be moved to tears when reading a work such as Oswald Heer's monograph *The Primeval World of Switzerland* (Godet 1913: 82, 334). In this natural environment fashioned by God, Eugène Rambert saw peasants as 'simple, hospitable and honest' individuals who, because of their 'semi-patriarchal life' and 'sharp imagination' understood the Bible more easily than enlightened compatriots in the towns.

Local superstitions and universal knowledge

The imagery used to describe this Alpine population could be read in various ways. At different times or from different viewpoints, the noble values of constancy and continuity could be perceived as brakes on the forces of change and modernization; freedom could be viewed as a source of disorder; and the natural virtue of the shepherd could be interpreted as the cause of his ignorance. So while Saussure admired the virtues of the Chamonix villagers, he also found their ideas marked by a 'mixture of reason and superstition' (de Saussure 1979: 129). He was charmed by the local idea that ammonites and fossilized molluscs were 'carvings' produced by fairies; and he enjoyed, with equal condescension, the gullibility of rural people who believed in the existence of hidden treasures guarded by magic goats high in the mountains (de Saussure 1979: 39–41).

Through his insistence on the irrational nature of these folk beliefs, Saussure distanced himself from locally held ideas and pronounced the superiority of a form of knowledge that he qualified as universal. But the men of science and letters who carried into the Alps the civilization of the towns had themselves, only recently, abandoned many of these local superstitions. The belief that the Alps, like the sea,

harbored mysterious forces had long been held by a broad cross-section of European society. Dragons had been seen or described in detail by the great Alpine botanist and zoologist, Konrad Gessner, by J.J. Scheuchzer, the pioneer of the physical geography of the region, and by Moriz-Anton Kappeler, the author of the first monograph on a summit in the Alps (Guichonnet 1980: 177–178; Boorstin 1983: 427–428). But by the end of the eighteenth century these beliefs were fast disappearing from educated society. As time went by, the debate over their existence polarized communities into polite and popular wings.

At the end of the nineteenth century, travelers remarked that tales of dragons could still be heard in Alpine villages (Javelle 1920: 47). Many old people still held imps, goblins, sprites and gnomes responsible for unusual occurrences; and witchcraft, sorcery and divination continued to challenge the teachings of the Church (Vulliemin 1849: 360–361; Renard 1892: 121–122, 126–128, 132, 261). 'Simple folk' often explained their situation by resorting to legends and fables. Thus while Rambert thought the 'population of the pastures . . . simple, hospitable and honest', he considered them

> dominated by routine, and a degree of indolence in their respect for ancient customs and their lack of enthusiasm for innovation. This calm, uneventful life, this solitude in the depths of the Alps, plunges the soul into a sort of deep peace and quiet; it acts as an opium that, over time, slowly takes effect. (Rambert 1888: 84)

Nor did Rambert have much time for the enterprise and work habits of stock-keepers who had no idea how to improve their pastures and whose occupation was 'hardly work'. Others were similarly dismissive and criticized the ignorance with which these people looked on the surrounding mountain and, even, failed to name the distant peaks. Even when modern theories, such as the notion of an Ice Age, could be traced to local observations, villagers' knowledge was treated condescendingly as somehow quaint. However, educated townspeople quickly conceded that many Alpine peasants had excelled as naturalists able to search out and find rare botanical or zoological specimens. But while pastors, doctors and other local men-on-the-spot, the purchasers of these objects, conceded the natives' 'gift of observing nature', they derided their inability to analyze their findings in a scientific manner (Vulliemin 1855: 133; Rambert 1876: 13, 1889: 156–157).

Godfrey Lunel thought 'the simple fishermen' of Lake Geneva 'ignorant of any notion of natural history'; their heads were filled with 'a mass of strange ideas about fish . . . drawn from fantasy and tradition' (Lunel 1874, v). Lunel and his colleagues thought they were uncovering common truths through their use of clear, distinctive and reasoned

ideas. This process of disenchantment was often expressed in terms of the metaphor of light and dark, and as the product of the noble self-sacrifice of the fieldworker. 'Men of letters who have been of most service to the small band of thinking individuals scattered through the world', Voltaire had written in the eighteenth century from the edge of Geneva, 'are the isolated men of letters' (Voltaire 1954: 272). This figure, the lonely savant struggling to bring light to the darkest corners of his country, became almost emblematic in Switzerland (Rousseau 1933: 726). The value placed on the qualities of fieldwork led the Swiss to pioneer the methodology of direct observation in the natural sciences. This talent was quickly applied to the Alpine world where scientific truth was self-evident, it seemed, and could be discovered in the same way as plant or animal species (Rambert 1876: 22).

Men of science and letters took their idea of knowledge into the Alps with missionary zeal, for they believed their studies would lead the popular classes from the bondage of ignorance into a universal, objective system of understanding. In the nineteenth century, the light of civilization brought by books and libraries to dark mountain huts and obscure villages became an important literary motif in Switzerland (Vulliemin 1855: 198; Secrétan 1930: 200). These new ways of thinking relegated local ideas to the position of 'folk beliefs' that, together with linguistic dialects, would disappear under the swell of modernity. By the late nineteenth century intrusive railways and roads were chasing the last goblins from their lairs, and package tours were driving the spirits and elves from their final abodes (Renard 1892: 134–5). But the substitution of the tyranny of knowledge for the tyranny of superstition was accompanied by the establishment of a new, intellectual domination based on the powers of Cartesian logic (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972). In this sense, Emile Javelle certainly regretted the passing of the old ways but at the same time he held 'patriarchal life and the weight of tradition' responsible for the primitive conditions found in the Alps (Javelle 1920: 30, 123). By implication, only enlightened knowledge and the tutelage of men of science and letters could liberate the *montagnards* from their outdated beliefs and practices.

A new world in Africa

By the end of the nineteenth century the patriarchal traditions of the Alpine villages were melting before the advance of railways, tourism, migration and the new forms of knowledge propagated by school and Church. Even the uncorrupted Alpine peaks fell victim to the advance of civilization when, in the summer of 1855 alone, fifteen climbers

reached the summit of Mont Blanc. But ecological balance was often fused with social meaning as anthropology elided with botany. Rambert believed that a struggle for survival was taking place on the plains of Switzerland between 'two rival races' of plants: the indigenous and the immigrant (Rambert 1888: 225–257). And he decried the way in which 'civilization hunts down and destroys' these 'plant victims . . . persecuted races . . . whose fate is no different to that of certain human races' (Rambert 1888: 42–43). Read in metaphorical terms, the foreign and cosmopolitan influence of the plains threatened to transform the *génie de lieu*, or distinctive creative spirit produced when people interacted with their environment. For Juste Olivier, this *génie de lieu* was at the centre of a population's 'racial temperament'. For Rambert, civilization threatened the creative energy of the mountain communities of Switzerland with the corrupting materialism and dry logic of the towns. This was an urban world filled with venal corruption that the Church was attempting to save from absinthe and alcohol – as well as from the crime, promiscuity, sexual disease and social alienation associated with industrialization.

For Javelle the Malthusian struggle for survival was most clearly visible in the Alps where village communities were subjected to the forces of rapid change rising from the plains (Javelle 1920: 224, 236). As this world disappeared, intellectuals locked its spirit within a literature filled with nostalgia for an earlier, simpler age. But the energy with which the Swiss attempted to salvage a picture of their lost past seemed increasingly contrived. A more convincing picture of primitiveness, against which the Swiss could measure their shortcoming and assess their achievements, was to be found in Africa.

For Europeans coming from a part of the world that had been ditched, drained and fenced into submission, the African landscape, like the Alps, stood as a relic of an earlier age (Bryce 1899: 7, 29, 55–56; Stafford 1990). When the missionary Henri Berthoud gazed at the Lebombo mountains for the first time in the winter of 1885, he saw them not as an unimpressive range of low mountains separating Mozambique from South Africa, but as a means of measuring the new, boundless time in which his generation was attempting to situate itself. Berthoud described the Lebombos as a prehistoric rampart against the Indian Ocean and he imagined their peaks, in an earlier age, forming a series of islands in a sea reaching to the base of the Drakensberg (Berthoud 1904: 14). Like Horace-Benedict de Saussure in the Alps a century earlier, he saw everywhere on the coastal plain the prolonged action on the land of a sea that had once stretched to the

foot of the Highveld (Berthoud 1904: 15; similarly see Junod 1911: 26). In 1890 Junod experienced a comparable voyage into the distant past when he visited a remote grove of palm trees near his mission station at Rikatla, some 25 kilometers north of Lourenço Marques (Maputo). It reminded him of 'a pre-Flood palace whose silence we alone trouble', he wrote, where

> I believed myself in the middle of one of those antediluvian landscapes that Oswald Herr [*sic.* Heer] resurrected in his *Primeval World of Switzerland*. These are the same early plants, the same surprising dimensions, the same abundant growth that is unknown in our climes. One would not be surprised to see a few plesiosaurus or icthyosaurus, hanging about across the centuries, spring into the fetid marshland. (Junod 1892–93)

By the end of the nineteenth century, just as this kind of time travel died away in the Alps, it became a common image in much European writing on Africa (see Knox-Shaw 1986: 145). The magnificent fauna and flora of Africa not only created a setting in which the European mind could resuscitate prehistoric times; it also seemed to represent a more primitive stage in the development of the world. When Junod arrived in southeast Africa in 1889, he found himself in 'a completely new environment . . . an entirely new world . . . full of surprises and 'still virgin' (Junod 1896–97: 77–78). It hosted herds of animals made extinct elsewhere in the world and preserved a magnificent array of insect species (Distant 1892: 41, 124–125; Bryce 1899: 17).

In this 'ancient' setting, Junod believed the people he studied to have experienced a certain evolution; but they still lived at roughly the same level of civilization as the lake-dwellers of Stone-Age Switzerland (*LSAT* (2): 147–148; 151, 633). By conflating differences of culture and time, in a way that was common in those days, he was able to compare the archeological remnants of Stone-Age communities on the banks of Swiss Lakes with those of 'the black in present-day South Africa' (Junod 1898a: 7–8, 235, 238, 245, 247; *LSAT* (1): 1, 151; *LSAT* (2): 104, 133). See also Sauter 1977: 86–87). In a scholarly paper published in 1910, he compared a prehistoric grave in Europe with the burial, performed in December 1908 at Rikatla, of his neighbor Sokis (who had died of tuberculosis, a disease generally associated with industrialization). 'It is extraordinary, but it is a fact', he concluded, that 'the Bantu of today is almost identical to the Mousterian of 20,000 years ago' (Junod 1910b: 967). This form of speculation led him to value African society for the glimpse it gave him of Europe's

lost past. 'When we turn to these primitives to decipher their conception of life and the world, our own ancient history surges up before our eyes', he wrote in 1898. 'These societies explain certain problems afflicting our civilized souls, which are merely grown up versions of their primitive ones. We become more conscious of ourselves and of the mystery of our evolution' (Junod 1898a: 480).

Visiting Africa was like entering Rambert's forgotten Alpine valley. For the Swiss saw in Africa an example of a living society uncontaminated by the disenchantment and conflict caused by wars of religion and the turmoil of industrialization. This led many missionaries to be critical of aspects of imperialism. Europeans not only brought colonial wars and debilitating liquor to Africa; their civilization was afflicted with 'vices', 'curses', 'debasing influences', wrote Junod; and with 'immoral customs that paganism itself had never known, unbridled luxury, sometimes crying injustices and almost everywhere a selfishness without pity' (Junod 1898a: 481; *LSAT* (2): 541). His sister Ruth saw this process of degeneration most clearly in the drunkenness, dancing and fighting that accompanied life at Lourenço Marques in the mid-1880s. 'The paganism that has been in contact with a Christianless civilization', she wrote, 'was worse than that found in isolated areas where Whites had not yet penetrated' (Berthoud-Junod 1887: 323). Henri-Alexandre saw the consequences of uncontrolled contact between a perverted European civilization and a pure, but weak, African culture even more clearly in the mining cities on the Witwatersrand, 'where everything is for sale, everything is valued in terms of money, and where the struggle for existence has become an everyday part of human existence' (Junod 1898a: 485). In the grimly hybrid slums of these industrial centers, tribesmen lost their values and traditions, abandoned their *volksgeist*, and acquired the new diseases and practices that seemed to threaten the very reproduction of their race.

Junod admired the simple needs and genuine values of African villagers. 'Never to put yourself into a state about tomorrow, never to refuse to lend to those who want to borrow, never to amass worldly wealth, to live like birds in the sky and flowers in the field', he wrote appreciatively, 'is much easier in the simplicity of the lovely African kraal, with the system of common ownership of the soil and the limited role of money, than in our cities'. In African villages, people still displayed 'the respect for elders, the sense of family unity, the habit of mutual help, the readiness to share food with others' (*LSAT* (1): 9, 539; (2): 614).

The African villager lived in the autarchy Rousseau had found in the Val-de-Travers a century earlier. 'At little cost', wrote Junod

> he obtains from nature whatever he requires to satisfy his very restricted material needs. . . . He is perhaps happier in the simplicity of his primitive life, with his diet of vegetable foods, his simple costume and his longer leisure time than us, his superiors, taken by the impetuous current of our civilization with our industry and our strikes, with our slave-like existence, sometimes, our splendid comfort and our ever growing needs! (Junod 1898a: 114)

Europeans not only found in the culture of African peoples aspects of their civilization that had been destroyed by the values associated with unbridled economic growth, materialism and rationalism. Africa also echoed the sense of liberty found in the Alps and duplicated the creativity of its population.

For many Swiss, European civilization was stale, moribund and weighed down by custom and tradition. Europe was burdened by the dissension and doubt caused by religious strife, materialism, class struggle and a militant nationalism. These problems were compounded by the fatal undermining of the moral leadership of the Church by the secular state. The result was everywhere to be seen in the absinthe-ravaged and alcohol-dependent populations of Neuchâtel; in the uprooting and breakdown of the family, and the threat posed to its reproduction by prostitution, the spread of venereal disease, homosexuality and even masturbation. European civilization had become 'depraved and unscrupulous', wrote Henri-Alexandre Junod, for 'the curses of civilization far exceed its blessings' (*LSAT* (1): 10; (2): 629).

Africa presented a contrast to this grim picture. The continent was untrammeled by the constraints of a degenerate civilization. Instead, it was a place of cultural experimentation where instinct and the soul triumphed over intellectual conformity, and creativity burst through the bonds of logic. For those missionaries who refused to see the devil's hand behind the natives' cultural practices, Africans had a good deal to teach Europeans. Their creative forms were the product of the uncontaminated soul of an individual people (*LSAT* (1):9; (2): 225; Junod 1898a: 481). In Africa, Europeans could study the origins of language through a careful application of their linguistic paleontology (Junod 1896: 2; *LSAT* (2): 166). They could also find in African oral literature, or folklore, vivid expressions of the soul and morality of different tribal peoples (Junod 1898b: 514. See also Theal 1886). 'Imagination overflows' in Thonga folklore, wrote Junod of this early magical realism, 'it completely submerges all reason . . . from this perspective certain tales are stupefying. It beats all moderation'. African music and art also brought new and dynamic aspects to European cultural forms (Junod 1898a: 231, 252; *LSAT* (2): 125, 211, 215, 218–219, 221–222). But perhaps most importantly, Africans were unencumbered

by the skepticism of a material age and, like Rambert's Alpine villagers, were able to embrace Christianity in a way that was no longer possible for most Europeans. 'From various perspectives', wrote Junod in 1898

> it is easier for them to take at face value various aspects of Christianity, for example the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, than it is for us, Europeans of the nineteenth century, whose existence is so complicated. (1898a: 485)

The Mission believed that, on the basis of its experience in Europe, it could build a Christian community in Africa capable of revitalizing the universal Church (Anonymous 1896: 3–4; Berthoud 1896: 20, 140; Junod 1898a: 403; Grandjean 1917: 2, 28, 41).

Salvage anthropology

The idealized, Arcadian image of an Africa from which Europeans could learn about their abandoned values and forgotten virtues had to be finely balanced by the picture of a continent in need of Christian salvation. So the respect for hierarchy and community found in African society was tempered by criticism of the despotism that cramped the creative energies of African individuals (Junod 1898a: 246; *LSAT* (1): 271; (2): 150). The continent's isolation from Europe was responsible for the freedom and originality of African civilization; but it also accounted for the ignorance and superstition that pervaded African life. Above all, Africans had lost their original, monotheistic beliefs and, in exchange, had acquired a profusion of inconsequential cults (Junod 1898a: 403). 'The black is not always as happy as is thought', Junod had to caution Sunday school monitors, for 'the African village, which could be a little paradise, is often rendered a hell by the profusion of sin' (Junod 1922: 4–5).

The form of anthropology developed by Junod, Jacottet and Perregaux sought to salvage a picture of Europe's lost values and traditions from the study of present-day African communities (E. Perregaux 1906: 312; *LSAT* (1): 7). To achieve this they had to represent Africans as members of a pure, pre-contact society. But this was patently impossible without a good deal of literary improvisation. For the Gold Coast had a centuries-old experience of contact with both Muslim and Christian worlds; and by the 1880s Southern Africa was in the throes of an

industrial revolution occasioned by the discovery of diamonds and gold. In their attempt to capture the image of a secure, harmonious African world governed by simple values and everyday traditions, the missionaries divided their work into scientific and religious texts. While they stuffed the missionary journals with observations on the dark practices of tribal Africans and the threat posed to their existence by an invasive capitalism, they placed their scientific observations in specialist journals. One searches in vain in these works for references to the tens of thousands of Basothos and Mozambicans employed in the South African mines; no reference is made to colonial policies, particularly head taxes and forced labor, that had shattering consequences for the family; nor did the authors take account of the impact on society of new consumer trends, particularly guns and alcohol. Most blatantly absent from their scientific work were the missionaries themselves, together with their converts and their creed. Photographs too, were carefully composed, cropped, juxtaposed, titled, and even changed, in order to create a visible and realistic picture of a pristine, pre-contact African society. This form of salvage anthropology amounted to a genre of representation that segregated Africans in a space and time that was as artificial as the Swiss village at national and international exhibitions.

In Swiss cities and villages, a timelessly pre-capitalist vision of the Alps was salvaged by vigorous styles of literature and painting, and by extensive museum collections. The African and Alpine salvage traditions came together grotesquely in exhibitions that featured implements and artifacts manufactured in both regions. The Swiss Mission's collection of African artifacts, housed in a makeshift museum in the Theological College in Lausanne, was displayed on numerous occasions, starting in 1883, at cantonal and national exhibitions (Anonymous 1883; Büchler 1970). The organizers of these events were concerned to present a vivid and realistic picture of various aspects of life in Africa in a way that would appeal to supporters of the Mission. At the National exhibition of 1896 in Geneva, the freedom of the Alps was linked to that of Africa by ranging an idealized, pre-industrial Swiss village alongside an equally idealized African structure. But the verisimilitude of the displays, and their juxtaposition with manufactures of modern European industry, served to reinforce European perceptions of Africans as simple and backward (Froidevaux 2002). The self-respect and pride of the Swiss as a nation grew when over two million visitors passed through the Hall of Machines at the exhibition. The admiration with which they gazed on their achievements and progress mounted as they contrasted the power of their turbines, fly-

wheels and presses with the simple industries and manufactures on display in the 'Negro', and nearby 'Swiss', villages. Spectators were led at these exhibitions to compare a visibly pre-capitalist Switzerland with an assembled image of modern Africa. The path of progress, and the route to perfectibility, was laid out before their eyes as they passed from the primitive African structure to the sturdy Swiss village before, finally, entering the Hall of Machines (Crettaz and Michaelis-Germanier 1982–83; Crettaz and Détraz 1983: 39–40; Arlettaz and Pauchard 1991: 16, 58).

Junod also drew frequent comparisons between aspects of life in Africa and Europe. But while exhibitions constructed a tangible ladder of evolution on the basis of this comparison, the missionary was more concerned to highlight the role of the Church. The culture of 'tribesmen' in Africa, he pointed out, was comparable with that of 'the peasantry or less cultivated portion of the town population' in Switzerland (Junod 1920: 84; Germond 1967: 526). 'In those parts of Europe where education is less widespread,' superstition 'still marked the basic mentality.' Many uneducated Europeans still practiced elements of animism and magic. In the industrial city of La Chaud de Fonds, Junod had seen the instruments used by a witch to cast a spell on her enemy (Junod 1898a: 246, 1910a: 622, 1920: 84; *LSAT* (2): 345–346, n1). 'In all civilized countries', wrote Junod, the culture of 'the peasantry or the less cultivated portion of the town population' could still be compared with that found in Africa (Junod 1907: 143). In some cases, such as in the field of botanical knowledge, he considered African ideas more evolved, and rational, than those of European peasants and workers (Harries 2000: 23–24, 32–33).

Through this form of analogy, Junod suggested that the poor of Europe were vestiges of a primitive past, almost savages in a civilized society. This idea was of widespread currency. Emile Zola, for instance, wrote about the urban poor with enormous compassion; but he considered them a sort of 'race apart', trapped by the oppressive forces of milieu, alcohol and, especially, biological inheritance. The base instincts of this class were inadequately repressed by the controls of civilization and had the potential to surge to the surface at any moment. This had happened most recently during the Paris Commune, when the mindless savagery of the poor had exploded in an orgy of violence. For many Europeans, these 'barbarians in our midst' seemed to present civilization with the threat of destruction (Sue 1843; Chevalier 1958: 162, 510–511; Edwards 1971: 340–341; Brown 1995: 346–357; Bullard 2000). Many expected the Church to exercise a civilizing influence over these savages at home that was

little different from the role assigned to missionaries in Africa (Thorne 1999).

Conclusion

In Switzerland, as elsewhere in the world, the outlines of modernity were defined against a primitive other. In the wilderness areas of the Alps the Swiss had discovered their own primitive world. Out of the relationship that emerged between the townsmen of the plains and their primitive cousins in the Alps, the Swiss developed a vocabulary of empire. When missionaries from Neuchâtel established themselves in various parts of Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, they employed the words, images and rhetoric of this literary genre to describe the continent. The facility with which missionaries elided the primitive worlds of Africa and Europe soon spread beyond their profession. When Arnold van Gennep accepted the first Chair in Anthropology at the University of Neuchâtel in 1912, he considered the study of Alpine communities a legitimate alternative to expensive fieldwork amongst the more primitive peoples of Africa, Tibet or New Guinea (van Gennep 1980: 91).

The missionaries from Neuchâtel took to Africa, alongside their established way of describing a primitive environment and its occupants, their own concerns with modernity and its consequences. In the field to which they had been called by their vocation, they found themselves living alongside the 'less evolved' or 'primitive' peoples that van Gennep would regard as the prime target of his discipline. In Switzerland it was possible to find the remnants of the material culture of prehistoric peoples; but in Africa the beliefs and practices of those people could be examined at first hand. This allowed missionary intellectuals to fill in the monstrous gap in time, opened by the geological discoveries, which separated the Act of Creation from the beginning of History. It also allowed the missionaries to conjure up the picture of a natural social order in which the beliefs and values of a lost European past could be (re)discovered. At the same time, the picture of primitive African communities provided both a glimpse of the dark savagery from which Europeans had escaped; and outlined the pathway to perfectibility (for a modern example, see Trevor-Roper 1965; 9).

This picture of Africa became particularly important to the Swiss at the end of the nineteenth century when the Alpine wilderness, which harbored the last redoubts of domestic primitivism, fell to the forces of modernity. Many Swiss then looked to Africa, and other

corners of their world, to provide the yardstick with which to measure their achievements and draw lessons from their failures. As they gazed on the Dark Continent, Europeans were made aware of the progressive evolution experienced by their society under the tuition of an enlightened elite. When missionaries drew an analogy between tribal Africans and the poor and dangerous classes at home, they implicitly underlined the incomplete nature of the civilizing mission in Europe. By comparing the popular classes in their country with the younger and immature members of primitive humanity in Africa, the Church gave notice of its paternal obligations and of its position at the summit of progress.

Both African and Alpine communities had the gift of observation; but neither community was able to systematize or explain its discoveries. Hence men of science and letters in Africa, like their homologues in the Alps, were duty-bound to free primitive communities from the shackles of ignorance and obscurantism. A combination of religion and science had delivered most of Switzerland from magic; and the same could be achieved in Africa if the natives submitted themselves to a controlled modernity that combined the light of reason with the truth of Christianity (Junod 1920: 84). The Church and its clergy were capable of protecting and redeeming Africans and of lifting them from darkness. But equally importantly an enlightened Church, strengthened and revitalized in the testing-ground of the mission field, had the duty and capacity to play a central role in the guidance and tutelage of the population of western Switzerland.

References

Anonymous. 1896. *Evangélisation des païens au sud-est de l'Afrique par les églises libres de la Suisse romande*. Genève: Exposition Nationale Suisse.

Arlettaz, Gérald, and Pauchard, Pierre. 1991. *Les Suisses dans le miroir: les expositions nationales suisses*. Lausanne: Payot.

Berthoud, Henri. 1904. 'Deux problèmes hydrographiques du pays de Gaza'. *BSNG* XV.

Berthoud, Paul. 1896. *Les Nègres Gouamba; ou, les vingt premières années de la Mission romande*. Lausanne: Conseil de la Mission romande.

Berthoud-Junod, Ruth. 1887. Letter in *Bulletin de la mission suisse romande* 72:323.

Boorstin, Daniel J. 1983. *The Discoverers*. New York: Random House.

Bost, Ami. 1841. *Visite dans la portion des Hautes-Alpes de France qui fut le champ des travaux de Félix Neff*. Geneva: Impr. Ch. Grauz.

Bost, Ami. 1843. *Letters and biography of Félix Neff, protestant missionary in Switzerland, the department of Isère and the High Alps*. Translated by M.A. Wyatt. London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside.

Braudel, Fernand. 1981. *The Structures of Everyday Life*. New York: Harper & Row.

Bridel, Dean. 1866 [1845]. *Glossaire du Patois de la Suisse romande*. Lausanne: G. Bridel.

Brown, Frederick. 1995. *Zola: A Life*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux.

Bryce, James. 1899. *Impressions of South Africa*. 3rd edn. London: MacMillan and Co.

Bullard, Alice. 2000. *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790–1900*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chevalier, Louis. 1958. *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle*. Paris: Plon.

Crettaz, Bernard, and Détraz, Christine. 1983. *Suisse, mon beau village: regards sur l'exposition nationale de 1896*. Genève: Le Musée.

Crettaz, Bernard and Michaelis-Germanier, Juliette. 1982–83. 'Une suisse miniature ou les grandeurs de la petitesse'. *Bulletin annuel du Musée d'éthnographie de la Ville de Genève* 25/26:63–185.

Distant, William Lucas. 1892. *A Naturalist in the Transvaal*. London: R.H. Porter.

Durand, Théophile and Pittier, Henri. 1882. *Catalogue de la flore Vaudoise*. Lausanne: Libraire Rouge.

Edwards, Stuart. 1971. *The Paris Commune, 1871*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Favre, Edouard. 1908. *François Coillard: enfance et jeunesse, 1834–1861*. Paris: Société des missions évangéliques.

van Gennep, Arnold. 1980. *Coutumes et croyances populaires en France*. Paris: Chemin vert.

Germond, Robert C. 1967. *Chronicles of Basutoland: a Running Commentary on the Events of the Years 1830–1902*. Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot.

Godet, Philippe Ernest. 1913. *Frédéric Godet: 1812–1900: D'après sa correspondance et d'autres documents inédits*. Neuchâtel: Attinger.

Grandjean, Arthur. 1917. *La Mission Romande*. Lausanne: Georges Bridel.

Guicciardini, Francesco. 1969. *The history of Italy*. Translated and edited by S. Alexander. New York: MacMillan.

Guichonnet, Paul. 1980. 'L'Homme devant les Alpes'. In P. Guichonnet (ed.). *Histoire et civilisation des Alpes. Vol. II, Destin Humain*. Toulouse: Privat, pp. 169–246.

Harries, Patrick. 1997. 'Under Alpine Eyes: Constructing Landscape and Society in Late Pre-colonial South-east Africa'. *Paideuma* 43:171–191.

Harries, Patrick. 1998. 'Missionary Endeavour and the Politics of Identity in Switzerland'. In 'L'héritage missionnaire en perspective: approches croisées'. Special edition of *Le Fait Missionnaire* 6. Lausanne: Le Fait Missionaire, pp. 39–69.

Harries, Patrick. 2000. 'Field Sciences in Scientific Fields: Entomology, Botany and the Early Anthropological Monograph in the Work of H.-A. Junod'. In S. Dubow (ed.). *Science and society in southern Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 11–41.

Horkheimer, Max and Adorno, Theodor. 1972. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Herder and Herder.

Javelle, Emile. 1920. *Souvenirs d'un Alpiniste*. Lausanne: Payot.

Junod, Henri. 1884. *Sermons*. Neuchâtel: A G. Berthoud.

Junod, Henri Alexandre. 1892–93. 'Correspondences: De Rikatla à Marakpuène, 23 novembre 1891'. *BSNG* VI:318–327.

Junod, Henri Alexandre. 1896–97. 'Le climat de la baie de Delagoa'. *Bulletin de la société neuchâteloise des sciences naturelles*.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1898a. 'Les Ba-Ronga'. *BSNG* 10:1–500.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1898b. 'Edouard Jacottet, *Contes populaires des Bassoutos*'; book review. *BSNG* X:514.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1907. 'The Best Means of Preserving the Traditions and Customs of the Various South African Native Races'. *Reports of the South African Association of Science*:141–159.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1910a. 'Sorcellerie d'Afrique et sorcellerie d'Europe: étude d'ethnographie comparée'. *Foi et Vie* 13:616-624.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1910b. 'Deux enterrements à 20,000 and de distance'. *Anthropos* V:964–967.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1911. *Zidji; étude de moeurs sud-africaines*. Saint-Blaise: Foyer Solidariste.

Junod, Henri Alexandre. 1920. 'The Magic Conception of Nature Amongst Bantus'. *South African Journal of Science* XVII:76–85.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1922. 'La biographie d'Elias Libombo, jadis connu sous le nom de Spoon'. *Causeries sur l'Afrique à l'usage des cercles d'étude missionnaire pour enfants des écoles du Dimanche, des Unions Cadettes et des familles*, 2nd edn. Lausanne: pp. 10–12.

Junod, Henri-Alexandre. 1927. *Life of a South African Tribe*. 2 vols London: MacMillan.

Knox-Shaw, Peter. 1986. *The Explorer in English Fiction*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Lunel, Godefroy. 1874. *Histoire naturelle des poissons du Bassin du Léman*. Genève: H. Georg.

Murith, Laurent Joseph. 1810. *Le guide du botaniste qui voyage dans le Valais*. Lausanne: H. Vincent.

Olivier, Juste. 1837. *Le Canton de Vaud; sa vie son histoire. II vol.* Lausanne: Librairie de Marc Dulcoux.

Outram, Dorinda. 1995. *The Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Perregaux, Henri. 1906. *Edmond Perregaux missionaire: d'après sa correspondence 1868–1905*. Neuchâtel: Delachaux.

Rambert, Eugène. 1876. *La Société vaudoise des sciences naturelles: sa fondation et son développement*. Lausanne: F. Rouge.

Rambert, Eugène. 1888. *Etudes d'histoire naturelle*. Lausanne: F. Rouge.

Rambert, Eugène. 1889. *Récits et Croquis*, 2nd edn. Lausanne: F. Rouge.

Reichler, Claude. 1996. 'La bibliothèque des voyageurs'. In R. Francillon (ed.). *Histoire de la littérature en Suisse Romande. I, Du Moyen Age à 1815*. Lausanne: Editions Payot, pp. 243–254.

Reichler, Claude and Ruffieux, Roland (eds). 1998. *Le voyage en Suisse: anthologie des voyageurs français et européens de la Renaissance au XXe siècle*. Paris: Laffont.

Renard, Georges. 1892. *Autour des Alpes*. Lausanne: F. Payot.

Robert, Daniel. 1961. *Les églises réformées en France (1800–1830)*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Rossel, Virgile. 1903. *Histoire littéraire de la Suisse romande*. Neuchâtel: F. Zahn.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1933 [1782]. *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire*. Texet établi et annoté par Louis-Martin Chauffer. Paris: La Pléiade, 1933.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1965 [1758]. *Lettre à M. d'Alembert sur les spectacles*. Paris: Garnier.

Stafford, R.A. 1990. 'Annexing the Landscapes of the Past: British Imperial Geology in the Nineteenth Century'. In J.M. MacKenzie (ed.). *Imperialism and the Natural World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

de Saussure, Horace-Bénédict. 1979 [1852]. *Premières ascensions au Mont-Blanc 1774–1787*. Abridged edition, with introduction by R. Canac. Paris: F. Maspero.

Secrétan, Charles. 1876. 'Albert de Haller'. In Secrétan (ed.) *Galerie Suisse: Biographies Nationales*. Lausanne: Bridel.

Secrétan, Charles. 1930. 'Savants et chercheurs'. In D. Baud-Bovy, et al. (eds). *La Vie Romantique au Pays Romand*. Lausanne: Freudweiler-Spiro, pp. 189–202.

Sue, Eugène. 1843. *Les mystères de Paris*. Paris: C. Gosselin.

Theal, George McCall. 1886. *Kaffir folk-lore*. London: S. Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowrey.

Thorne, Susan. 1999. *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet de. 1954 [1765]. Introduced and Annotated by Julien Benda. *Dictionnaire philosophique*. Paris: Garnier.

Vulliemin, L. 1849. *Tableau du canton de Vaud*. Lausanne: F. Weber.

Vulliemin, L. 1855. *Le Doyen Bridel: essai biographique*. Lausanne: Bridel.

Whymper, Edward. 1873. *Escalades dans les Alpes de 1860 à 1869*. Translated from English by A. Joanne. Paris: Hachette.

Abbreviations

BSNG	*Bulletin de la société neuchâteloise de géographie*
BSSNN	*Bulletin de la société des sciences naturelles de Neuchâtel*
LSAT	Junod 1927. *Life of a South African tribe.*